

A Dissertation
entitled
The Jews of Toledo
1845-1895

by
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as partial fulfillment of the requirements of
the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in
History

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August 1974

PREFACE

Jews in Toledo have always been few in proportion to the total population. For that reason a study of the Jewish experience in the nineteenth century offers an opportunity to deal with individuals and small groups--to assess their impact on the city and, at the same time, to suggest ways in which the Jews were molded by the community. It is this interaction which illuminates the American urban experience. It is also possible in a small group of Jews to trace family connections, in order to illustrate the network of Jewish enterprise which involved shared capital and a strong sense of family responsibility. This inter-city Jewish network is a factor in the economic development of urban America which is frequently overlooked.

Ours is a time in which community has become an increasingly important value, and we sometimes seek to impose community where little or none existed. The history of the Jews in Toledo in the nineteenth century indicates a kind of pluralism in which country of origin, education, and length of time in the United States were more important factors for social accommodation than was a shared Judaic tradition. In that sense there were several Jewish communities in Toledo in the 1890's and many individual Jews who identified with no religious community at all.

One of the problems in any ethnic study is to determine who belongs within the group being studied. In the case of the Jews this problem is particularly difficult and has called forth many differing opinions. The most reasonable criterion is to determine if a person thinks of himself or herself as a Jew. This is not always easy, and Guido Marx and his brothers are perhaps incorrectly included in these pages, although an attempt has been made to show the ambiguity of their position. It would be indefensible to include their children as Jews.

I am grateful to the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Welfare Federation of Toledo for suggesting this study, and for their confidence in me, a non-Jew, to undertake it. Mrs. Morris Fruchtman, a member of the committee, has been a helpful liaison.

Dr. Charles N. Glaab of the University of Toledo, who supervised my study of urban history, has guided the preparation of this manuscript and made many helpful suggestions. I am also grateful to Dr. Eugene Hollon and Dr. William Longton of the University of Toledo for reading the completed work and for their editorial help. Dr. Randolph C. Downes, professor emeritus at the University of Toledo, deserves my thanks and that of all Ohioans for his painstaking devotion to local topics. His work has added a scholarly dimension to the Toledo record as it now exists.

I have received much helpful assistance from Mrs.

Fannie Zelcer at the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, and from the staff of the Local History Room of the Toledo-Lucas County Public Library. Morgan Barclay, David Noel, and Helen Kershaw were particularly generous with their time. Ruth Anderson of the newspaper room of the Library has been both enthusiastic in her pursuit of local papers and helpful in providing original issues whenever problems developed with the microfilm. I also wish to thank Alice Weaver of the William S. Carlson Library, University of Toledo, for her careful attention to inter-library loans.

The whole project would have been impossible without the enthusiasm and support of many people who discussed their families and their own recollections with me. In particular I want to thank Leah Ginsburg Epstein for her conviction that this history had to be written and Jane Zimmerman for her patient help in putting the pieces together.

Lucille Endsley of the history department of the University of Toledo has been a valuable and supportive friend throughout, as has Ruth Ann Meacham who painstakingly read the first draft and asked important questions. Finally, I want to thank my husband and my children for their understanding, their support, and their time.

PART ONE: PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT
1845-1870

If "no man is an island," then the German Jew of yesterday can only be understood in relation to the American non-Jews among whom he lived. They outnumbered him more than 100 to 1. Their concept of him--and it was often a sorry one--never left him untouched.

Jacob Rader Marcus.

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Chapter One: THE PEOPLE AND THE CITY

The German Jews who streamed into the Ohio Valley at Cincinnati and then drifted slowly north to the Lakes, came for the same reasons as the German non-Jews. They were looking for financial opportunities and a place to establish and raise their families. They brought with them a cultural baggage similar to and yet significantly different from that of their Christian compatriots.

They were German, but only since Napoleon's domination of Europe had they known any of the rights of German citizens. For many of them the ghetto was but one generation away, and their new surnames, frequently not of their own choosing, flowed uneasily from their pens.¹ They came largely from the southern German states and from the parts

¹ Lee M. Friedman, Pilgrims in a New Land (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1948), 203-208. Friedman quotes Oscar S. Straus as follows: "Up to the time of Napoleon's taking possession of the country, the Jews of the Palatinate had not adopted family names. This they did later, beginning in 1808, when, under Napoleon, the Palatinate became the Department of Mount Tennerre and part of France. My great-grandfather, for instance, before adopting the family name of Straus was known as Jacob Lazar, from Jacob ben Lazarus, or Jacob, son of Lazarus in biblical times." The best study of the naming process has been done by Rudolf Glanz and is entitled "German-Jewish Names in America." It appeared originally in Jewish Social Studies, Volume XXIII, 1961 and is reprinted in Glanz's Studies in Judaica Americana (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1970), 278-304. Glanz emphasizes the geographical character of German-Jewish names.

of Poland which had been recently incorporated into Prussia --from the places where an uneasy political equality and the stirrings of capitalism had combined to produce rising expectations, and where post-Napoleonic reaction and economic depression quickly destroyed their hopes.²

The German-Jewish immigrants were mostly young people, the sons principally, but also the daughters, of village tradesmen, many of whom had learned trades themselves.³ In contrast to the general German immigration, most of the Jews were unmarried and they frequently gave "settling," "marriage," and "a better existence," as their reasons for leaving Europe.⁴ They were the ones who felt most keenly the restrictions of the German society. An account written in 1839 explains the problems of Bavarian Jews:

As it is known, the register (Matrikel) makes it little short of impossible for young Israelites to set up housekeeping in Bavaria; often their head is adorned with gray hair before they receive the permission to set up house and can, therefore, think of marriage. Once

²Bernard D. Weinryb, "The German Jewish Immigrants to America (A Critical Evaluation)," in Eric E. Hirshler, ed., Jews from Germany in the United States (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1955), 118.

³Ibid. See also Marcus Lee Hanson, The Atlantic Migration (New York: Harper, 1961), 139.

⁴Rudolf Glanz, "Source Material on Jewish Immigration," Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science, Volume VI, 1951; reprinted in Glanz, Studies in Judaica Americana, 39. See also Adolf Kober, "Jewish Emigration from Wurttemberg to the United States of America, 1848-1855," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society (March, 1952), 253-268. Gotthilf Bloch, who eventually came to Toledo, left Oberdorf in 1854 at the age of sixteen, with 200 florins in his pocket. He gave "settling" as his reason for undertaking the journey (262).

having learned their profession, whereby they can hope to gain their livelihood everywhere, why should they not transfer their desires and powers to the hospitable North America, where they can live freely alongside members of all confessions. Likewise the alien taxes, goose taxes, horse taxes, etc. etc. taxes, reintroduced everywhere by the Bavarian estates and recently once more left to their sweet will, obsolete imposts that are a great burden on the Jews, and this at a time when the growing demand is confronted with the decline in industry, all this tends to cause young, strong men and even those of more advanced age to seek their salvation in other regions of the earth where they don't at least have to bear this.⁵

And so they came with, or shortly after, the great wave of German peasants who immigrated in the first half of the nineteenth century, and they supplied services for the relocated farmers much as they and their families had in the villages and towns of Central Europe.⁶ They peddled household goods and trinkets to the isolated areas, made and sold clothing in the cities, lent money, and in some places became involved in the manufacture and sale of beer and whisky.⁷ These were supportive roles that they understood

⁵Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums (1839) no. 24, 420, reprinted as part of "Source Material on Jewish Immigration," in Glanz, Studies in Judaica Americana, 20-21.

⁶The census of 1790 records 400,000 Germans in the United States; the census of 1870 lists 1.6 million inhabitants who were natives of Germany. The number of German-speaking people in the United States was estimated at between five and six million (Glanz, "Jews in Relation to the Cultural Milieu of the Germans in America Up to the Eighteen-Eighties," translated from Yivo Bleter, Vol. 15, Nos. 1 and 2 / New York, 1947, reprinted in Studies in Judaica Americana, 203). See also Jacob Lestchinsky, "Jewish Migrations, 1840-1946," in Louis Finkelstein, ed., The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion, Vol. II (New York: Harper, 1949), 1198-1238.

⁷Glanz reports that German-Jewish names are missing among the brewers of beer. This was not the case in Toledo.

well: they dealt, in the beginning at least, with the kind of people they had always known, in a language they had always spoken.⁸ What was different and exhilarating about it all was their freedom to move about, expand, and try out various ventures.

In a perceptive new study, The Shaping of Jewish History, Ellis Rivkin suggests that larger forces were at work in the immigration of great numbers of German Jews. They came, he says, not because of intensified persecution, but because of the "snapping of the links connecting Jews to the old precapitalist agricultural system." What had formerly been a "hostile symbiosis" between precapitalist urbanized Jews and the German peasant was transformed by the dynamism of nineteenth century American capitalism into a mutually profitable partnership.⁹ Certainly the German Jews did well in their new country, but Rivkin, in taking the broad view, would probably concede that the snapping of a link of any kind brings social dislocation. What was significant in nineteenth century Europe was that the social dislocation did not have to be tolerated. There was an alternative to anti-semitism and economic restriction, and the

("German-Jewish Names," Studies in Judaica Americana, 278).

⁸There is evidence that the Jewish peddler came quickly to prefer dealing with English-speaking Americans; the Germans were frequently bad customers (Glanz, "Source Material on Jewish Immigration," Studies in Judaica Americana, 57).

⁹Ellis Rivkin, The Shaping of Jewish History: A Radical New Interpretation (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 196-197.

ery "Up and to America" reverberated throughout the Jewish communities of Central Europe.¹⁰ And the more successful the initial settlers were, the more assistance and encouragement they were able to offer to members of their families and their "co-religionists" who were considering the move to North America.

In some ways, life in the American hinterland was easier for the German Jew than it was for the German non-Jew. When the Jew ran into prejudice and intense nativism, he had his hereditary defenses. For the non-Jew who had never known discrimination, the early years were frequently a jarring experience.¹¹ The establishment of religious institutions, on the other hand, was more difficult for the Jew, particularly after he left the Eastern seaboard where Sephardic congregations had existed since colonial times. The Jew in the Middle West helped the German Christian to organize and preserve his mode of living and participated with him in a general German social life, but then, if he was conscientious, the Jewish settler still had the task of organizing his own religious and communal life. And he frequently had to do this while Christians, at best, were praying earnestly for his conversion. He was a German, and

¹⁰"Source Material on Jewish Immigration," in Glanz, Studies in Judaica Americana, 27, 30, 42.

¹¹Glanz, "Jews in Relation to the Cultural Milieu of the German," in Studies in Judaica Americana, 205. Animosity toward the German immigrant centered largely around the issues of temperance and observance of the sabbath.

a new American, and a Jew, and the added religious dimension was a complicating factor in his life which sometimes explained the delay in the establishment of enduring congregations. In many instances, there was simply too much for the German-Jewish immigrant to handle at one time.¹² His first priority had to be to make a living.

Given what seem to be the preconditions for Jewish settlement--a growing German population, a relatively undeveloped market with a recognizable urban center, and a transportation link with the source of manufactured goods--Toledo, Ohio was a predictable choice for the establishment of a community of Jewish merchants in the mid-1840's. Cincinnati, which was sixty hours away by canal, had been a center for Jewish settlement since Joseph Jonas arrived there with his family in 1817. By 1845 the city had two Jewish congregations and four years later the Jewish population was estimated at 4,000, considerably more than the total population of Toledo at that time.¹³ In addition, Cincinnati was a major wholesale center for the West and the seat of the extensive Jewish clothing industry. The mid-forties is also chronologically consistent with the establishment of other Jewish settlements in Ohio and Michigan. The community in

¹²Ibid., 223.

¹³Jacob R. Marcus, The Jews of Ohio (Cincinnati: The American Jewish Archives, 1967), 5-6. Toledo Blade, September 4, 1850. In a 1970 master's thesis at the University of Cincinnati, Ann Deborah Michael suggests the presence of Jews in the city as early as 1814 ("The Origins of the Jewish Community of Cincinnati," 28).

Cleveland dates from the late 1830's, the Dayton community from 1842, and Detroit's first congregation, Beth El, was established in 1850.¹⁴

While undoubtedly there were Jewish travelers, peddlers, and merchants in and out of the Toledo area before the mid-1840's, their record is lost. The earliest Jews to settle permanently in the city were from Germany by way of Cincinnati, and they started as suppliers of clothing. Furthermore, they were related to each other by blood and by marriage, and they formed a close-knit group. They were the Krauses, the Roemers, and the Thorners. The three Kraus brothers, Jacob, William, and Lahman, operated the first Jewish clothing store with Joseph Roemer as a junior partner.¹⁵ William Kraus and Roemer were brothers-in-law, both

¹⁴Joseph Rappaport, "The Relation of Jewish and General Institutional Development," in Proceedings of the Conference on the Writing of Regional History with Special Emphasis on Religious and Ethnic Groups, Cleveland, Ohio, December 1, 1955 (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1956), 57; Marcus, Jews of Ohio, 5; Irvin I. Katz, The Beth El Story with a History of the Jews in Michigan Before 1850 (Detroit: Temple Beth El, 1950)

¹⁵It is an interesting coincidence that a 1957 work on the Jews of Des Moines, Iowa, begins with the arrival of Wilhelm Krauss, born in Bavaria in 1823, who reached Des Moines in 1854 and went into the clothing business with his brother-in-law. He had stopped first in Cincinnati and while there changed his name to William Kraus. That Kraus left Des Moines in 1854 and returned to Cincinnati. He was probably the man who was active in the Reform synagogue there. He later moved to New York where he died in 1899 (Frank Rosenthal, The Jews of Des Moines, The First Century /Des Moines: The Jewish Welfare Federation, 1957/, 1, 2, 6, 189). See also James G. Heller, As Yesterday When It Is Past: A History of the Isaac M. Wise Temple--K.K. B'nai Yeshurun--of Cincinnati in Commemoration of the Century of Its Founding (Cincinnati: Isaac M. Wise Temple, 1942), 32, 100, 102.

married to daughters of the Thorner family of Cincinnati. And the Thorner sons were also represented among the early merchants of the city. They opened clothing stores in 1849 and 1851.¹⁶

The record is contradictory as to who actually arrived first. According to the Maumee Valley Pioneer Association, Henry Thorner came to Toledo on September 21, 1845, and Joseph Roemer and William Kraus arrived with their families on May 14, 1846. But since Henry Thorner was only thirteen years old in 1845, it seems reasonable to assume that the records of the Deutschen Pionier Vereins are correct and that young Henry first came to Toledo in September 1846 when he would have been able to make his home, at least temporarily, with one of his sisters, Marianne Kraus or Fredericka Roemer.¹⁷

On the other hand, there is evidence that the Kraus and Roemer store opened for business in the fall of 1845, and somebody must have been running it before the arrival of the proprietors and their families.¹⁸ It is not at all un-

¹⁶An ad for S. Thorner and Company appears in the Toledo Blade, May 16, 1849. Joseph and Henry Thorner were both involved in the operation of the Great Western Clothing store which first advertised on September 24, 1851.

¹⁷Addresses, Memorials, Sketches, Maumee Valley Pioneer Association (Toledo: Vrooman and Anderson, 1900), 202-204. Chronik des Deutschen Pionier Vereins von Toledo, Ohio (Toledo: Peter Mettler, 1898), Witglieder, unnumbered.

¹⁸Toledo Blade, September 24, 1845. The initial ad gave notice of "a cheap clothing store from Cincinnati" to be operated by Kraus and Roemer.

usual in the history of Jewish mercantile families to give young men responsibility very early in their lives, and it might very well be that the Thorner brothers (Joseph was older than Henry) were the earliest Jewish settlers in Toledo.¹⁹

Actually, the question of who came first is of little importance. It is significant that almost simultaneously a small group of German Jews decided in the mid-1840's to try their luck at commerce in the muddy little city on the Maumee, and many of them remained there for the rest of their lives. Their story is one of business successes and failures, of changing partnerships, growing families, and increasing involvement in national and community affairs.

Legend has it that the name Toledo, borrowed from the sumptuous Moorish center in Spain, comes in turn from the Hebrew toledot, a word which connotes history and continuity and which means, roughly, "generations."²⁰ Perhaps those early German-Jewish immigrants who mustered their resources and gathered their families for the journey north by canal in 1846 were comforted by that knowledge.

If they were, it must have been one of their few com-

¹⁹Stephen Birmingham's account of the Seligman family is one example (Our Crowd, New York: Harper and Row, 1966, 17-23; 33-40). See also Harry Golden, Forgotten Pioneer (New York: Fawcett World Library, 1966).

²⁰Stephen Birmingham repeats this story in The Grandees (New York: Dell, 1972), 20. An earlier source is H.S. Knapp, History of the Maumee Valley (Toledo, 1877), 560. Knapp quotes Appleton's Cyclopedia, Vol. XV, which says that the original Hebrew word was toledom.

forts, because moving to Toledo, Ohio was a chancey undertaking in the 1840's. The speculative boom which had launched the city was over. Where once, only a few years before, the entire course of the Maumee River had been alive with city builders who founded eleven towns in the fifteen miles from Maumee to the Bay, only a few struggling settlements remained. In the words of Jesup W. Scott, editor of the Toledo Blade from 1844 to 1847, Toledo was in 1844 "little more than the dead carcass of speculation."²¹

Although Scott felt that the city was stagnating, he used the columns of his paper and those of national magazines to keep Toledo's name alive. He believed that there were numerous impersonal forces at work which would eventually make Toledo an entrepôt for western trade. He was convinced and said publicly many times that the future of the United States lay in the growth of domestic commerce, and that interior cities would have to develop to channel that commerce. He also believed that agricultural progress would enable the country to support a larger population with fewer and fewer farms. In short, Scott was convinced that the future of the country was urban.²²

Jesup Scott used trade statistics, population tables, and geographical studies to support his arguments, and while his crystal ball was frequently cloudy as to which city

²¹"Recollections of J.W. Scott," in Knapp, History of the Maumee Valley, 543.

²²Charles N. Glaab, "Jesup W. Scott and a West of Cities," Ohio History, Winter, 1964, 6-7.

would be the leader, the entire booster philosophy which he and other urban promoters expressed was contagious. Cincinnatians thought that the Queen City was destined to be the center of interior trade, and for a time Scott agreed. Maumee, Ohio also looked briefly as if it might be the winner. By the 1850's, however, Scott felt that the competition had narrowed. The leading trade center would be located on the Great Lakes, and it would be either Chicago or Toledo.²³

How much this urban boosterism or city speculation influenced the Jewish migrants is impossible to determine. Surely they must have had some long range hopes to offset the grim reality of their move. In the words of Jacob Landman, one of the earliest Jewish settlers:

In October 1846 I left Cincinnati with David Heinsheimer and started a clothing business in Toledo, the Town at that time contained about 1300 inhabitants, full of fever and ague, no railroads only depending upon the Lake and Canal Trade.²⁴

In this single descriptive sentence Landman has identified three of the young city's problems. Small population meant a small market for goods and services, and prospects were not good. With much of the surrounding area gobbled up by speculators who had subsequently gone broke, the hinterland was not well populated. In addition, the citizens of Toledo had been single-mindedly devoted to the idea of

²³Ibid., 9.

²⁴Undated letter from Jacob Landman to his son, from the family manuscripts of Mrs. Robert Zimmerman, Toledo, Ohio.

canals as the key to expansion.²⁵

When the canal link to Fort Wayne was completed in 1843 and the Miami and Erie connected Toledo with Cincinnati in 1845, people felt that the city's prosperity was assured. Instead they had to cope with poor canal construction, with washouts, low water levels, and with the disenchantment of shippers who quickly lost interest in the Toledo market. Toledoans realized too late that the alternatives of plank roads and railroads would have afforded shippers some flexibility and that canals alone would not produce an economic bonanza.²⁶

The third problem which Jacob Landman mentioned, the city's reputation for disease, is more difficult to assess. It involves not only actual health conditions for which statistics are few, but what people thought health conditions to be, and the reputation which the Maumee Valley, and Toledo in particular, had at mid-century. In general, that reputation was bad. The city was considered unhealthy. As Jesup Scott put it in the language of the nineteenth century, Toledo "had acquired a widespread and almost universally believed character for insalubrity."²⁷

²⁵The best explanation of the canal problem is contained in Randolph C. Downes chapter, "The Paradox of the Canal," in Canal Days (Toledo: Historical Society of Northwest Ohio, 1949), 79-90.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷"Recollections of J.W. Scott," in Knapp, History of the Maumee Valley, 543.

As usual, Scott had an explanation--one which was also a reflection of its time. He said that malarial fevers were severe in the area from the start but that the original settlers could have done better had they been "industrious and moral people, having the means to provide comfortable habitations and healthy food." But because the early settlers could not and did not measure up, there was much suffering, and when the canal building began, workers and crews were decimated by summer fevers. The word spread quickly to bypass the Maumee area.²⁸

Scott may not have been ahead of his time when it came to the causes of disease, but one thing he did know something about was urban promotion. He understood clearly in those days of intense urban rivalry that a reputation which worked to the disadvantage of a city was seldom allowed to die. In the first place, its rivals kept the tales circulating. And secondly, there was the phenomenon of the nineteenth century newspaper in the years before and shortly after the introduction of the telegraph. There never was enough copy to fill its pages, and editors snipped from their exchange papers at will. The same stories appeared all over the country, and there was no way to stop them from being circulated and recirculated.

The Blade devoted many inches in the decades from

²⁸Ibid.; Downes, Canal Days, 70-72.

1840 to 1860 to proving that the city was no less healthy than any other, but the attitude prevailed and damaging articles bounced around from newspaper to newspaper. For example, the following is an excerpt from an editorial on the city's health which appeared during the summer of 1846:

The news comes to us from all quarters that Toledo is very sickly and that deaths occur here daily. To many of our readers residing in Toledo--such as are out of the path of travelling gossip--this great sickness and mortality will be an item of news as novel as it will be unexpected. To us it appears rather healthy for this season of the year. Our physicians say there is less sickness than is usual in towns the size of Toledo. . . .

But our neighbors say we are sickly.--Travellers tell one another we are dying off very fast, and everybody seems disposed to believe it all. . . .

Baron Munchausen himself, if alive, could not get up a story about Toledo sickness and mortality too monstrous for general belief. There is a determined credulity in the matter that time only can cure. It is no testimony in our favor to deny that we are sick or dead. The public will make us sick and kill us off and bury us. We can't help ourselves. It is a duty or an amusement in which the public will not deny themselves.²⁹

Later in the same month the editor wrote plaintively that "few men die within a year after visiting the Maumee country without having their death attributed to the poison inhaled here."³⁰ And the effect was serious, Scott felt. He wrote in his journal that when canal business did pick up, the city's reputation for sickness diverted from it, to other western cities, "most of the enterprising men who flocked

²⁹Toledo Blade, August 17, 1846.

³⁰Ibid., August 24, 1846. This editorial is also quoted by Downes, Canal Days, 172.

thither from the Old States and Europe."³¹

Clearly, then, the City of Toledo offered much to hope for and many drawbacks to be lived with and overcome. But things were beginning to happen. What had looked like stagnation in 1844, seemed much improved two years later, and 1846 was declared to be a banner year. By February, Toledo had twelve warehouses which stood two and three stories high and two more were being built. The quay along the river--Water street--was connected with Summit by fourteen intersecting streets, and Summit had already been graded for nearly a mile. There were five churches, one of them a German Reform congregation, and three common schools. Population was estimated at 2,100 as of the first of the year. In the opinion of Editor Scott better days were coming. "The field is now prepared for the reaper," he promised just three months before the earliest Jewish clothing merchants disembarked from the Cincinnati packet and took charge of their Toledo enterprise.³²

Certainly those men must have weighed their decisions to try the Toledo market very carefully. Although they were all born in Germany, most of them were not neophytes to the United States in 1846, and many of them had crowded a varied experience into a few years' time. The story of Jacob Land-

³¹"Recollections of J.W.Scott," in Knapp, History of the Maumee Valley, 543.

³²John H. Doyle, A Story of Early Toledo (Bowling Green: C.S. Van Tassel, 1919), 96; Toledo Blade, February 6, 1846.

man serves as an example.

Landman was born on April 13, 1823 in the town of Fussgoenheim in what was then the Bavarian Palatinate. His grandfather, who died in 1790, was named Isaac Raphael, and as was the case with most Bavarian Jews, the family took a geographical name.³³ Landman had one brother, two half brothers and two half sisters. He was the youngest of the family, and at the age of sixteen he left his parents' home in the company of a school friend. It was the boys' intention to travel to America, but they stopped off in Paris on their way to Le Havre and stayed for three months. They spent all their money and had to ask for help from home. "I wrote for more money," Landman said, "which my father sent to me in care of a bank at Havre to secure my passage to America." On August 2, 1839 the two young men boarded a sailing vessel for the trip. They arrived in New York sixty-three days later.³⁴

³³The information about Jacob Landman's family comes from a family tree prepared in Germany, now in the possession of Mrs. Robert Zimmerman, Toledo. With reference to the Jewish names, Rudolf Glanz writes: "Among Germans personal names or paternal occupations transformed into family names predominate, while among German-Jewish immigrants names of geographical origin are characteristic. It is a bitter irony of history that these names, rather than bespeak their bearers' ties to German soil, actually came to characterize a whole emigrant group in a new land. Moreover, they were the mark, not of the Germans, but of German-Jewish emigrants whose number, to be sure, surpassed their proportion to the German population in general and exceeded by far their proportion to the population of South Germany" ("German-Jewish Names in America," in Studies in Judaica Americana, 278).

³⁴Landman letter to his son, undated; Mettler, Chronik des Deutschen Pionier Vereins, 18.

Following the path established by a number of Jewish immigrant boys before him, Jacob Landman went immediately to Philadelphia where he outfitted himself with a "small peddling stock of dry goods" which he tried to sell in Pennsylvania during the winter of 1839-1840. He was still only sixteen and must have suffered much of the hardship which Stephen Birmingham has described for the oldest Seligman brothers who were peddling in the same area at the same time. But where the Seligmans had, by 1840, accumulated enough money to open a small warehouse in Lancaster, Jacob Landman reported only a winter of "no success." By March 1840 he was in Cincinnati.³⁵

There Landman gave up peddling and took a job in a dry goods and clothing store at a salary of \$10.00 a month. He went to school at night. His employer was G. Goldsmith, possibly a relative of the Gustav Goldsmith who later operated the Oak Hall Clothing Store in Toledo.³⁶ Landman remained in Cincinnati until 1844 when he took a stock of

³⁵Landman letter to his son, undated; Birmingham, Our Crowd, 33-35. It is important to note that the Jewish peddler tends to be romanticized. Not all of them became merchant princes. See the story of Henry Sessel in Jacob Rader Marcus, Memoirs of American Jews, 1775-1865, Vol. I (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), 354-367. See also Maxwell Whiteman's review of Harry Golden's Forgotten Pioneer in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, June, 1964, 428-429.

³⁶Landman letter to his son, undated; Toledo Blade, April 16, 1857. Gustav Goldsmith of Toledo was born in 1832 according to the Fechheimer family genealogy in the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati. The Cincinnati City Directory for 1846 lists a Lewis Goldsmith who was a partner in the clothing business with Marcus Fechheimer.

Goldsmith's goods to Vicksburg, Mississippi to set up shop. A few months after he arrived the building in which he rented space was destroyed by fire, and he lost his entire stock, his own clothes, and almost lost his life. He had no insurance. Landman then went to work for the well-known Jewish merchants, the brothers Sartorius, and he stayed in Vicksburg until the fall of 1845.³⁷ He returned to Cincinnati where he was employed as a bookkeeper by Goodhart and Brothers, and in October of 1846, as he reported, he moved to Toledo with David Heinsheimer.³⁸ He was then twenty-three years old, unmarried, and already experienced with at least three employers.

In his decision to come to Toledo, Landman must certainly have weighed the pluses and minuses, and his later history is proof of the rewards and uncertainties of life on the urban frontier. A gregarious man, he was extremely well-liked in the city. The editor of the Blade referred frequently to "our friend Landman," and was warm in his congratulations when Landman brought his bride, the former Rosetta Stettiner of Cincinnati, to Toledo in 1848.³⁹

³⁷The Sartorius family is described in Marcus, Memoirs of American Jews, Vol. II, 22-24. Marcus writes primarily of Philip Sartorius who arrived in New Orleans in 1845 and journeyed to Vicksburg where his brothers Isaac and Jacob kept store. The family lived upstairs of the store and maintained a kosher household. It was during this period that Landman worked for them.

³⁸Mettler, Chronik des Deutschen Pionier Vereins, 18; Landman letter to his son, undated.

³⁹Rosetta Stettiner and Jacob Landman were married in

Landman had become a Mason during his year in Vicksburg and shortly after his arrival in Toledo he, along with twelve or fifteen other men, hired a big sled and rode "through the woods and hills" to Maumee where they received a dispensation to organize a new lodge. The incident later loomed large in Jacob Landman's memory. The snow was heavy, with a crust, he remembered, and the ride was an exciting one. They arrived early in the evening, thoroughly chilled, and had supper at Kingsbury House. In January of 1847 the same group called a meeting at the Odd Fellows Hall and Toledo Masonry was born. Almost sixty years later Landman alone was left to reminisce about that snowy ride to Maumee.⁴⁰

The Masons were not his only activity. He also belonged to the Odd Fellows, was a member of the volunteer fire department and was interested in politics, first in the Free Soil movement which he helped to launch in the area and then in the Republican party. He and his partner (the business was always in Heinsheimer's name) plunged into a competition with other clothing merchants, particularly with the ever-changing Kraus, Roemer, Thorner operation. But

Cincinnati by the Rev. Mr. Goodheim on April 27, 1848. The notice appeared in the Blade on May 2, 1848 and included the following: "We are commanded to 'rejoice with those that do rejoice,' and on this occasion, being in receipt of a beautiful slice of the wedding cake, which promises to make the hearts of all glad, we would do violence to our own sense of justice not to express our warm good wishes for the happiness and prosperity of these partners in their new and interesting relation."

⁴⁰ Toledo News-Bee, October 2, 1904. Toledo Times, October 18, 1903.

apparently it was a friendly competition. Late in his life Landman recalled that he, William Kraus, Joseph Roemer, and Joseph Thorner formed a quartet of inseparables who were sometimes referred to as the "four leafed clover."⁴¹

In 1849 the endemic fevers and agues of Toledo faded in importance as the newly-invented telegraph brought daily reports of a much greater scourge: cholera was moving steadily across the country. Twenty-two year old Rosetta Landman and her infant son, Justus, died within ten days of each other at midsummer. They were two of perhaps eighty victims in the Toledo area. The Blade, always seeking to avert panic, explained carefully that a large proportion of those who died were residents of boarding houses and "were said to be foreigners."⁴² There was comfort, somehow, in the idea that it was the foreigners who were dying, probably because, as Scott suggested earlier, these people either had not the means, or had not yet learned how, to live healthy lives in their new location.

Jacob Landman remained in Toledo after the death of his wife and child; he was listed in the Census of 1850 as residing in a boarding house operated by a Mrs. Windmill in the third ward. Also staying with Mrs. Windmill in August of

⁴¹Toledo News-Bee, October 2, 1904. Toledo Blade, January 23, 1852.

⁴²Toledo Blade, July 26, 1849; August 15, 1849; Downes, Canal Days, 173-174; Landman family Bible owned by Mrs. Robert Zimmerman, Toledo, Ohio.

1850 when the census taker made his rounds was Samuel Stettiner, Landman's brother-in-law, who had arrived only a few weeks before from Hamburg.⁴³ In September of the same year Landman, following a widely-practiced Jewish custom, married his first wife's sister, Fannie, also recently arrived from Germany. Fannie was not as attractive as her sister, but she was hardier. A well-loved member of the Toledo community, she bore nine children and lived to celebrate her fiftieth wedding anniversary in 1900.⁴⁴

By 1852 Landman's business was apparently going well as evidenced by an article in the Blade:

"What upon airth," inquired a Yankee customer of our friend Landman a few days ago. "What upon airth becomes of all your clothing? Toledo don't just furnish enough folks to wear it and what do you do with it?"

That's just it. Anyone familiar with the immense quantities of clothing which twice a year are piled away by this one firm will wonder where it all goes to. But besides the purchases among our citizens, this firm sells at wholesale as well as retail and clothing manufactured by them follows all the channels of trade that lead out of our city--up the railroad, down the canal, out on the plank roads, everywhere in the surrounding country, they reap the benefit of liberal advertising and we are happy to believe are rapidly accumulating wealth.⁴⁵

But there was a hint that the market might already be satur-

⁴³U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Population schedules, Toledo and Lucas County, Schedule I, 58; Addresses, Memorials, Sketches, Maumee Valley Pioneer Association, 204.

⁴⁴Interviews with Mrs. Robert Zimmerman and Mrs. Mervyn Levey, both of Toledo, Ohio, 1971.

⁴⁵Toledo Blade, September 14, 1852.

ated as the writer went on to suggest that "it would be a fine item among our commercial statistics could the actual receipts for ready-made clothing in this city be accurately ascertained. There is no branch of our business that has been more rapidly improving or more thoroughly monopolized. Our city boasts perhaps twenty dealers in this trade alone."

Less than four years later, and almost ten years after their partnership had been formed, Heinsheimer and Landman offered their complete stock of goods for sale, including the fixtures and the leasehold on the store they were then occupying in the Williams Block on Summit street.⁴⁶ In addition they offered to sell lots 247, 368, and 550 in Port Lawrence on which there were five rental houses. Further property included lot 165 in the Stickney addition and 66 feet fronting on Summit street and running back 330 feet to Superior street. The partners had indeed accumulated wealth, and yet both decided to return to Cincinnati. On February 9, 1856 they dissolved their partnership.⁴⁷

Just as he was ready to leave the city, Jacob Landman received a silver goblet from the members of the Croton Fire Company No. 3 in appreciation of his "many noble qualities and services as their foreman." The gift was unusual, and the Blade noted approvingly that "this spontaneous token of regard was as much merited by the recipient as it was

⁴⁶Toledo Blade, January 14, 1856.

⁴⁷Toledo Blade, February 9, 1856.

creditable to his brother-firemen."⁴⁸

Why Landman left what seemed to be a thriving business is uncertain. Perhaps Heinsheimer, who had been married to Amelia Felheim of Cincinnati in the spring of 1852, was eager to return to the larger city. Or perhaps the financial contractions which culminated in the panic of 1857 were beginning to be felt.⁴⁹ Maybe, as the Blade article of 1852 suggests, Toledo simply had too many clothing houses for the available market. The first city directory, published in 1858, lists fourteen clothing stores, a far cry from the two stores which Landman remembered on Summit street when he first arrived in the city. Those, he said, "had everything from meats to ready-made clothing, including hardware, dishware, and a host of other necessities."⁵⁰

At any rate, Heinsheimer never returned, but remained in Cincinnati where his son was elected to the city council in the 1870's.⁵¹ Landman, on the other hand, clearly regretted the move. As he explained it to his son:

⁴⁸Toledo Blade, May 20, 1856.

⁴⁹As evidence of a financial contraction, the dry goods merchants of Toledo decided to discontinue credit on September 1, 1856. By this time the Heinsheimer firm had been dissolved (Blade, September 1, 1856). See also Thomas Senior Berry, Western Prices Before 1861: A Study of the Cincinnati Market (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943), 519-520. Berry reports that the Cincinnati market was easy during the commercial year 1856 but that there were price declines which might have been viewed as portents of trouble.

⁵⁰H.L. Hosmer and William H. Harris, Toledo Directory, 1858, 225; Toledo News-Bee, October 2, 1904.

⁵¹American Israelite, March 30, 1877.

We were together for ten years after which we separated and both went to Cincinnati where I remained from the Fall of '56 to the Spring of '59 in which time I lost everything I accumulated in Toledo. I returned to the latter place in '59, took a situation in a Wholesale Grocery and Liquor house (Rogers and Lyman), when they closed up the concern in the spring of '60.

Landman closed his letter on a rather rueful note: "Whisky was worth 12 cents a gallon then, the war broke out and it went up from 80 cents to \$2.00 a gallon."⁵²

Jacob Landman lived to be eighty-six years old; he died in Toledo in 1909. He was survived by five sons, one of them a doctor, and by one daughter. He had managed through his various business enterprises to educate his children, to provide at least two family trips to Germany, and to afford the leisure for community projects. At one time he served as president of the Board of Directors of the Toledo House of Refuge and Correction, in addition to various non-elective political jobs.⁵³ "I love the old town," he said affectionately to a newspaper reporter when he was eighty. "I have witnessed its growth from infancy."⁵⁴

⁵²Landman letter to his son, undated.

⁵³Toledo Blade, August 21, 1870; March 18, 1873; Toledo Commercial, April 5, 1875. Landman ran for election to the Board of School Commissioners in 1855 but he was defeated (Toledo Blade, May 10, 1855).

⁵⁴Toledo Times, October 18, 1903.

Chapter Two: THE EARLY ENTREPRENEURS

Jacob Landman's success, as well as that of the other early Jewish merchants, was due in large part to the flexibility of their operations, to their willingness to slide in and out of partnerships and provide capital and jobs, however menial, for a landsmann and a co-religionist. From the time of their arrival in the United States, they were part of a network of German-Jewish activity.

The operations of the Krauses, Joseph Roemer, and the Thorner brothers during the early years serve as an illustration both of the fluidity of business enterprise and of ties with the established Jewish centers. William Kraus, perhaps the most enterprising of the German-Jewish immigrants in Toledo, went immediately into the business of exchanging money. He also became involved in building a distillery, along with his more conventional interest in the clothing business which he shared with his brothers and with Roemer.

By 1846 the clothing business was flourishing in Cincinnati. As the Jewish peddlers moved West from the seaboard and in many cases became shopkeepers themselves, they needed closer sources of supply. Wholesale operations grew up in New Orleans, in St. Louis and in Cincinnati.¹ These

¹Rudolf Glanz, "Early Jewish Peddling in America," in Studies in Judaica Americana (New York: KATV Publishing House

wholesalers provided crude and cheaply-made clothing which the shopkeeper offered for sale at retail in his store but also sent out into the countryside as part of the stock of a peddler or "traveler."²

The Kraus and Roemer clothing store was first advertised in the Blade on September 24, 1845. The proprietors identified it as "a cheap clothing store from Cincinnati," which offered a variety of men's clothing, all "warranted and fashionably made." By April of 1847 the name had been changed from Kraus and Roemer to "The Star Clothing Store," and at that time the following explanation was made to the Toledo buying public:

The undersigned have in operation a large establishment in Cincinnati where their clothing is manufactured, and it will enable them to keep their assortment full and general. All clothing warranted to fit and well made. . . .

The Star was offering coats, vests, pants, fine shirts, caps, wrappers, drawers, hats, boots, shoes, slippers, handkerchiefs, scarves, suspenders, and trunks of all sizes.

Toledoans were urged to call and examine the stock before

Inc., 1970), 109. See also Glanz, "German-Jewish Names in America," op. cit., 288.

²Lee M. Friedman, Pilgrims in a New Land (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1948), 311. The role of the storekeeper as a middleman is well described by Lewis Atherton in The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), 38-62. While Atherton writes specifically of the ante-bellum South, much of what he has to say would apply to any part of the United States during that period.

purchasing elsewhere.³

"Elsewhere" seems to have been the Lake Erie Clothing Store, operated by Heinsheimer and Landman. From their earliest days the Star and Lake Erie stores tried to outdo each other in the Blade's advertising columns. Each used a cut and various type styles and sizes within the same ad to attract attention. Also, the rivalry was obvious in the copy the owners ran. In a new ad on April 23, 1847, Kraus and Roemer claimed that under the sign of the Star they were selling goods which came from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia and which they were able to offer at "prices that will astonish the natives." Heinsheimer employed a sailing vessel in his ad and assured Toledoans that "we do not mean to be a mere star in the ready-made clothing and furnishing business, but will endeavor to make our establishment a Sun to light the darkened footsteps of others."⁴ The Star ad measured eight inches, the Heinsheimer ad nine, and they were frequently placed in the paper side by side.

Kraus's ad offering to exchange money and to buy gold and silver first appeared in December 1846 and continued off and on until he went officially into the banking business as a partner in the City Bank in 1857. On July 28, 1847 Kraus and Roemer announced the erection of a large distillery for

³Toledo Blade, April 5, 1847. The Cincinnati City Directory of 1846 lists Kraus, Roemer and Company, clothiers, at the Northeast corner of Main and Second. There is a personal listing for William Kraus but none for Roemer (236).

⁴Toledo Blade, April 26, 1847.

the manufacture of high wines.⁵ The building was 100 feet by 32 feet, four stories high, and furnished to work 350 bushels of corn a day. The whole operation, including two mill stones, was propelled by two 25 horsepower engines purchased from a Cleveland foundry.⁶ By the beginning of September, Kraus and Roemer announced that they were ready to buy 50,000 bushels of corn, rye, and barley for which they would pay the highest prices in cash. The distillery opened on September 17 and grain came in at the rate of 300-500 bushels a day.

Two days later the distillery was severely damaged by fire, a loss which the Blade reported was largely covered by insurance. Although the Sons of Temperance were extremely active in the Toledo area in 1847 (they claimed a state-wide membership of 20,000 in that year), there was no evidence that the fire was deliberate. It is clear from the extent of temperance agitation, however, that running a distillery was not socially acceptable to a number of people. Nevertheless, by January of 1848 Kraus was again advertising for grain, and the distillery was operating.⁷

On May 25, 1848, William Kraus and Company announced

⁵"High wines" was the popular term for distilled spirits containing a high percentage of alcohol.

⁶Toledo Blade, July 28, 1847.

⁷Toledo Blade, September 20, 1847; December 17, 1847; January 19, 1848. Many of the Toledo merchants were sympathetic to the temperance cause and distributed temperance materials at their stores. This was not true of the Jewish merchants.

the opening of a new store carrying a large assortment of dry goods, groceries, boots and shoes. It was located on Summit street--at the Port Lawrence end. At that time, Kraus was still in the clothing business, was involved in the new general merchandise endeavor, was offering some banking services and operating a distillery. Probably he had undertaken too much. By the beginning of the following year he liquidated his partnership with E. P. Bassett (the general store lasted less than six months), and his location at Summit and Jefferson was occupied by S. Thorner and Co., a new wholesale and retail dry goods store.⁸

The identity of S. Thorner is a mystery today. He may have been a brother or another relative who remained in Cincinnati and who financed the store from there. Unfortunately Toledo had no city directory in 1848 to provide a clue about his identity and descendants of the Thorner family do not know who he was.⁹ But S. Thorner is interesting because of the ads which he, or someone who worked for him, wrote. The original ad carried as its head "The Cry is, 'Still They Come.'" It extolled the products and then indulged in ten stanzas of verse around the theme of saving money at Thorner's Corner.¹⁰ A few months later the poetry had dis-

⁸Toledo Blade, May 25, 1848; January 6, 1849; January 25, 1849.

⁹Interview with Mrs. Robert Zimmerman and telephone interview with Mrs. M. William Goldman, granddaughter of Henry Thorner.

¹⁰Toledo Blade, May 16, 1849.

appeared, but the new ad was even more eye-catching:

BEM BAM BOUM

Latest News

Hungary has been Conquered, Venice has Capitulated,

Rome has been Crushed

but

S. Thorner and Company

are still holding out and intend to defend the corner as long as there is a rag in the store, customer to buy them, and carts to haul them away. We, like a general of old, exclaim "Never Surrender."¹¹

In the meantime, while the Thorner's were getting established, there was a reorganization in the original Kraus and Roemer clothing store, and what had been a retail operation became also a manufacturing establishment. In August 1848 the firm announced that it would be making pants, vests and shirts "in connection with their immense stock of ready-made clothing, hats, caps, boots, etc." They wanted "hands to work on the above kind of work--either men or women." Good wages were promised.¹² Apparently this kind of diversification was not unusual in the mid-nineteenth century. For example, Lewis Atherton reports the difficulties in handling census information from 1840 because so

¹¹Toledo Blade, September 28, 1849.

¹²Toledo Blade, August 19, 1848.

many storekeepers sold both at wholesale and retail and engaged in some manufacture of their own.¹³ The Star Clothing Store in Toledo was in a process of transition which was not unusual in American mercantile history.

Perhaps there was something about the new direction of the firm which did not please William Kraus. In September 1849 he withdrew from the clothing store and the company was reorganized to include only his brother Lahman Kraus and Joseph Roemer. The name of the firm remained unchanged.¹⁴ Kraus's money broker ad disappeared from the Blade at about the same time, but the distillery continued to operate. William Kraus told the census taker in 1850 that he was a distiller and he reported a household which included his wife, three daughters, a thirteen year old boy born in Germany, and a German-born female servant by the name of Elizabeth. Kraus gave his age as thirty-five.¹⁵

Even though he was in the distilling business at the time of the census in August, he was out of it by October. He dissolved his partnership with William Howe and left the business in the hands of Howe and of his older brother, Jacob. For the second time William Kraus had moved out of a business arrangement but had left one of his brothers in it.

¹³Atherton, The Southern Country Store, 40n.

¹⁴Toledo Blade, September 10, 1849.

¹⁵U.S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Population schedules, Toledo and Lucas County, Schedule I, 75.

For the next several years, William Kraus's activities were not well publicized, although he was probably involved with real estate.¹⁶ Undoubtedly he remained in Toledo because the newspaper referred to him periodically in connection with his civic interests, and he became increasingly important in the volunteer fire department.¹⁷ This seems to be a logical choice of activity for a nineteenth century merchant in the days before professional fire service was available, simply because he had so much to lose. In October 1850, for example, a fire in the Kraus and Roemer building at Summit and Monroe completely destroyed the clothing store. It remained closed for a month before the owners opened in a new location.¹⁸ William Kraus probably had some money in the new brick building erected by Kraus and Roemer in the summer of 1852. The Blade called the structure an ornament to the city and especially commended the brick construction.¹⁹

Whatever William Kraus was doing in the early part

¹⁶Kraus suffered some financial set-back about this time, a fact which was disclosed in connection with his later bankruptcy. He claimed then that he had satisfied each of his creditors fully in his early troubles (Blade, September 29, 1873). See Chapter Six.

¹⁷Kraus was foreman of Croton Fire Engine and Hose Co. No. 3 in 1852 (Blade, November 6, 1852) and was chief engineer of the fire department in 1857 (Blade, March 10, 1857).

¹⁸Toledo Blade, October 3, 1850; October 31, 1850.

¹⁹Toledo Blade, September 2, 1852.

of the 1850's, he surfaced again in November 1857 when he joined with Charles J. Wood as a partner in the City Bank of Toledo. Wood's previous partner withdrew from the firm. The Blade, in recognizing the change, called William Kraus a "man of means."²⁰ And a man of means he remained until the disastrous failure of his bank in the panic of 1873. In 1864 Kraus reported a taxable income of \$6,900, highest of the members of the Jewish community, but far from the top income reported in the city.²¹ And in 1873, when his finances were a matter for public speculation, the county treasurer estimated William Kraus's personal real estate to be valued between \$300,000 and \$400,000.²²

While Kraus's fortunes were building, his relatives were going through numerous business changes and temporary alliances. Kraus and Roemer, clothiers, relocated in their new building, weathered what seems to have been a minor labor skirmish. The Tailors' Society successfully persuaded several of the master tailors in the city to establish a fixed scale of prices, and thereby to establish wages. The grateful tailors published a card of thanks in the Blade, citing Kraus and Roemer; Mack, Thorner and Company; and Heinsheimer and Company among the eight cooperative firms.²³

²⁰Toledo Blade, November 3, 1857.

²¹Ten Toledoans reported incomes for tax purposes in excess of \$10,000. The highest was that of tobacco merchant Calvin Bronson at \$60,610 (Toledo Bee, December 28, 1893, 6).

²²Toledo Blade, October 1, 1873.

²³Toledo Blade, May 17, 1853.

But for some of the workmen that victory was short-lived. The Heinsheimer firm soon disbanded, and in March 1857 Kraus and Roemer also announced a going-out-of-business sale of its \$30,000 inventory.

We are going to retire from business and offer our entire stock of goods from the first of April at cost. Ready made clothing from the cheapest to the finest, a full assortment of furnishing goods, India rubber and oiled clothing, trunks, valices, carpet bags, umbrellas and straw goods. . . . A good cloth coat--black, blue, green, dahlia, and brown--will be made to order for \$15. Our \$20 coats, from the first of April next, will compare favorably with any \$35 coat turned out by any merchant tailor in this city. . . . Stock must be closed out by the first of January next. Cash only--no credit. . . . Country merchants will find it to their advantage to call and see us before purchasing elsewhere. This is no humbug, we mean what we say and will sell out at cost.²⁴

The liquidation of stock took place during a period of price fluctuation and then national depression, and it lasted a year. Finally in March 1858 Lahman Kraus and Joseph Roemer declared their partnership dissolved. Seven weeks later Roemer announced a new operation which would be conducted on "the one-price principle for cash or approved paper." He further stipulated that "all charges when no credit has been agreed upon will be considered cash transactions."²⁵ Clearly the earlier business had not been on such a sound footing, and Roemer had learned from the financial contraction of 1857.

But he obviously had not lost all his money. He built a three-story addition to his building at Monroe and Summit,

²⁴Toledo Blade, March 23, 1857.

²⁵Toledo Blade, March 4, 1858; April 27, 1858.

made a trip to New York to stock it, and also continued in manufacturing. In the spring of 1858 the Blade heralded a "great revival in the clothing business," and Gustav Goldsmith, a competitor of Roemer's, wrote an ad which revealed some of the conditions in the clothing business. He said that he had "bought none of this miserable Slop Shop work and consequently can sell none." Lahman Kraus opened his own tailoring shop at No. 63 Summit street and probably experienced difficult times. In 1860 he announced his willingness to barter his services in exchange for country goods.²⁶

In February 1860 Henry Thorner bought out his brother Joseph, and in June of that year entered into partnership with Joseph Roemer. The firm was called J. Roemer and Company. Thorner had extricated himself from a soap and candle manufacturing endeavor with a man named Ertel before going into business with his brother-in-law.²⁷ The following year Thorner left the Roemer partnership and became a sutler for

²⁶ Toledo Blade, April 21, 1858; April 24, 1858; August 28, 1858; February 29, 1860.

²⁷ Toledo Blade, February 6, 1860; June 4, 1860. Some confusion arises from the Thorner entries in Williams Toledo Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror for 1860 (Toledo: Anderson and Fuller, 1860) which shows Henry T. Thorner in the soap and candle business with Edward E. Ertel; Henry Thorner, clothier; and H. Thorner and Co., brewers and dealers in malt and hops. There is also a listing for Henry Thorner, salesman, at 44 Summit street (143). Part of this can be explained by William Kraus' testimony in December 1875 that he bought Andrew Stephan's brewery at a foreclosure sale in 1857 or 1858 and operated it for a time under the name of Thorner and Company (Blade, December 20, 1875).

the 14th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, stationed in Kentucky. By this time Roemer was employing at least two cutters and one hundred hands, many of whom supplied their own sewing machines.²⁸ He formed later partnerships with Henry Kiest in 1864 and with William and Henry Stern in 1868. The latter company led the clothing field in Toledo in 1868 with sales of \$103,000.²⁹ The Sterns were German Jews who came to Toledo from Fort Wayne by way of Bryan, Ohio. They apparently infused some capital into the Roemer firm because in August 1868 the business moved into a new store at 26-28 Summit street which had a fashionable plate glass front.³⁰

Once the war ended, Henry Thorner entered into a short-lived mercantile arrangement with Toledo newcomer Leopold Franc. Later he formed a business partnership with Mark Graff of Fort Wayne and Graff's son Abraham who spent

²⁸Toledo Blade, September 16, 1861; May 7, 1862; May 1, 1860. The sewing machine was invented by Elias Howe in 1846 and improved by Isaak M. Singer a few years later. Many of the early clothing shops were just cutting rooms with the actual sewing done by women in their homes. Ohio historian Eugene H. Roseboom estimates that there were 4,000 seamstresses working in Cincinnati in 1853 for wages ranging from one to six dollars a week (Joel Seidman, The Needle Trades /New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942/, 13-16, and Eugene H. Roseboom, The Civil War Era, 1850-1873, Vol. IV of The History of the State of Ohio, edited by Carl Wittke /Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1944/, 35.

²⁹Toledo Blade, February 1, 1864; August 19, 1868; March 11, 1869.

³⁰Toledo Blade, August 19, 1868. Roemer and Stern's store on Summit street measured 26½ x 100 feet and was three stories high (Richard Edwards, Toledo: Historical and Descriptive: The Businesses and Business Men in 1876 /Toledo: Commercial Company, 1876/, 243).

much of his time in New York. Once again Henry Thorner was selling clothing. In 1871 Thorner married Mark Graff's daughter Henrietta and later that year he started a liquor business with a man named E. Epker. A few years later he dissolved that partnership to deal in wholesale liquors under the firm name of Thorner and Cohen. Henry Thorner, who was only thirty-eight years old in 1870, had been in Toledo for most of twenty-four years, and had been involved in at least six business arrangements. He had many more to come before his colorful career ended in 1911.³¹ His brother Joseph was not nearly so active. Once he left the clothing business, he settled into a partnership with George Meissner, dealing in barley and brewers' supplies. Joseph was more stable and apparently also somewhat more prosperous than Henry.³²

The oldest Kraus brother, Jacob, and his partner William Howe, offered the distillery for sale in December 1857. They suggested that the 400 foot lot with the engine, boilers and line shafting might be suitable for a planing

³¹Clark Waggoner, ed., History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County Ohio (New York and Toledo: Munsell and Co., 1888), 743; Toledo Blade, April 12, 1869; April 14, 1869; Edwards, Toledo: Historical and Descriptive, 242. Henry Thorner apparently left the city for some time after the Civil War. The Commercial on April 12, 1869 said: "We are glad to welcome Mr. Henry Thorner to the active business circles of Toledo again."

³²In 1868 Joseph reported taxable income of \$1,490; Henry reported \$235 (Blade, May 7, 1868).

mill or another manufacturing purpose. The Blade, always staunchly a temperance newspaper, thought this a good idea. By the time of the first city directory in 1858, Jacob Kraus was back in the clothing business on the corner of Monroe and Perry streets.³³

Shifting business alliances such as the Kraus, Roemer, Thorner enterprises were not confined simply to the Jewish merchants. A careful study of nineteenth century newspapers would reveal considerable instability, with businessmen easing in and out of partnerships frequently. But the Jewish merchants added the dimension of family and family interests, and when the family was large the possibilities were extensive.³⁴ When Jacob Landman returned to Toledo and went into the liquor business, he invited his brother-in-law Samuel Stettiner and his nephew Isaac Landman into the firm. Gustav Goldsmith operated in partnership with M.S. Fechheimer, probably Marcus Fechheimer of Cincinnati, uncle of his wife Marie, and one-time business partner of Lewis Goldsmith who may have been Gustav Goldsmith's father.

³³ Toledo Blade, December 11, 1857; Hosmer and Harris, Toledo City Directory, 1858, 225.

³⁴ Stephen Birmingham illustrates the cohesiveness of Jewish family enterprise in Our Crowd (New York: Harper and Row, 1966). It is a dimension in the development of urban America which deserves further study. See also Lewis E. Atherton, The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America (New York: DaCapo Press, 1969), 87. Atherton makes passing reference to "the pull of family ties in business." He is dealing with the entire business community; however, the "pull" seems stronger among Jews. Ande Manners refers to "the 'Jewish Magnet'--relatives" in Poor Cousins (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1972, unnumbered insert between pages 160-161).

Goldsmith arrived in Toledo around 1855 when he was in his early twenties. After his partnership with Fecheimer dissolved he continued in business under the name of Goldsmith's Oak Hall for a number of years, until he sold out to M. Simon in 1864. Goldsmith returned to Cincinnati, but he retained an interest in Rice and Goldsmith's tobacco and cigar store which was a family enterprise, and eventually he came back to Toledo.³⁵

Goldsmith was one of several Jews who moved to Toledo in the 1850's. Others included the Stettiner brothers and their sisters (Fannie Landman and Rosa, wife of Joseph Thorner); the Gitskey brothers from the German controlled section of Poland who operated clothing stores on opposite sides of Summit street between Monroe and Jefferson; and Emil, Guido, and Joseph Marx, two of whom ^{had} fled Germany after the revolution of 1848. The Marxes were unique among the early group because they did not start out in the clothing business--and for some other reasons.

The Marxes added variation to the pattern because Emil and Guido went first of all to the country, to Wood county, Ohio, where they and some friends bought forty acres of canal lands in order to farm. They built a small log house, cut prairie grass for winter feed for a cow and a yoke of oxen, and began clearing, grubbing, and fencing. But by

³⁵Toledo Blade, August 19, 1865; February 7, 1865; October 2, 1868.

the spring of 1851, a year and a half after their arrival in New York, the urban Marxes moved to Toledo. They clerked for a time, and then in December of 1851 they leased a grocery store on the old packet dock at the foot of Perry street.³⁶

The Marxes came from a moderately well off, middle-class family who lived first in Carlsruhe and then in Baden-Baden. Their father was a book dealer and his sons went not only to the Lyceum, but they also studied Hebrew. They had access to their father's circulating library from the time they first learned to read. At fourteen Guido Marx was apprenticed to the book trade in Brunswick, North Germany, where he studied English, learned to keep books, and dealt in oil painting and other art. When his three-year apprenticeship ended, he returned to his father's business. In 1846 nineteen-year-old Guido Marx went to Paris where he worked for a firm of exporters and spent his leisure time in art galleries and in the study of art history. The following year he returned to Baden with a consignment of oil paintings. Shortly after that Guido and his brother Emil became involved with some German revolutionary societies and when

³⁶Guido Marx, "The German Element," in Waggoner, ed., History of Toledo, 753-754. A biography of Marx follows immediately after his signed article in the Waggoner volume. If he did not write this also, he certainly approved the material which was included. See also C.S. Van Tassel, "Men Who Made Toledo," Toledo Blade, April 21, 1936, and Toledo und Deutschthum im 19. Fabrhundert, (Cleveland: German-American Biographical Company, 1899, 88-89.

the agitation of 1848-1849 died down, it seemed expedient for the brothers to leave the country. Marx describes the circumstances as follows:

Emil, born in January, 1826 and Guido in June, 1827, left Baden, the country of their birth, in consequence of having taken part on the popular, but unfortunate side of the political commotions which took place there in 1849, and landed in New York on October 1st of that year.³⁷

Emil and Guido Marx do not appear by name in the studies which have been done about the German "Forty-Eighters" who came to America or in Bertram W. Korn's more particular study of the "Jewish Forty-Eighters in America."³⁸ But some of the generalizations which these historians make about the group of transplanted revolutionaries seem to apply very well to the Marx brothers, or at least to Guido about whom the most information is available. "The typical forty-eighter," according to Adolph Zucker, "was a free-thinker, if not an atheist. He was a humanist in the more militant sense in that he was opposed to conventional religious views concern-

³⁷Marx, "The German Element," in Waggoner, History of Toledo, 744. There is evidence that Guido Marx actually fought in 1848-49. He joined in a Toledo reception for General Franz Sigel, a Civil War hero, and shared reminiscences with the general in 1876. At that time he said that Sigel had been a lieutenant and he (Marx) a private during the German uprising (Toledo Sunday Journal, September 17, 1876, 4).

³⁸Guido Kisch, "The Revolution of 1848 and the Jewish 'On to America' Movement," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, March, 1949, 185-234; Bertram W. Korn, "Jewish Forty-Eighters in America," American Jewish Archives, June, 1949, 3-20; Carl Wittke, Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952); Adolph E. Zucker, ed., The Forty-Eighters (New York: 1950).

ing men's other-worldly commitments."³⁹ Or, as Bertram

Korn explained it:

For some of the Jewish "Forty-eighters" the ambivalent loyalty to German culture on the one hand and to American life on the other did not leave much room for Judaism. Partly because they shared the antagonism of the German intellectual towards all religion, partly because they were convinced all barriers between men should be broken down, some of them abandoned their Jewish background.⁴⁰

And that is exactly what Guido Marx did. Although the Israelite identified him as Toledo's second Jewish mayor in 1875, he never allied himself with the Jewish community. In fact, when a political opponent charged that he was "a Jew and an apostate to all religion and anything good," the Blade countered by saying, "It is true Mr. Marx was brought up in the Israelitish faith, but at the age of 21 years he, with his father, sisters, and brothers united with the Evangelical church of his own free choice."⁴¹ If this conversion ever occurred, it was probably a matter of expediency. Guido Marx was comfortable only as a free thinker, although when he died he was buried by a Baptist minister.⁴²

³⁹Zucker, The Forty-Eighters, 20.

⁴⁰Korn, "Jewish Forty-Eighters," 14.

⁴¹The Israelite, April 30, 1875; Toledo Commercial, April 3, 1875; Toledo Blade, April 2, 1875. The Commercial, which went to great length to print the charges and counter-charges, never said that Marx had become a Christian. The circumstances parallel those of Karl Marx's family who were also baptized as Christians in the same period. See Edmund Wilson, To the Finland Station (New York: Anchor Books, 1953), 112-113. Guido Marx's election as mayor is discussed further in Chapter Eight.

⁴²Toledo Blade, February 3, 1899, 8.

His grandchildren never knew that he was Jewish.⁴³

Marx, however, did show a great loyalty to the Toledo German community, and was frequently a leader in German activities. He married Elizabeth Brehm, the daughter of an early German settler, brought to Toledo when she was two years old, and at one time Guido Marx even wrote a newspaper article to make the case for a German discoverer of America.⁴⁴ In 1853 both Marx brothers became interested in publishing a German-language newspaper and they explained the reason why it was necessary:

Of great importance in procuring for the German element in Toledo that proportion of recognition to which it was entitled by its numbers, as well as by the moral, mental and industrial activity of its members, and of facilitating their combination into the proper Societies, was the founding of the first press and newspaper in their language.⁴⁵

In order to establish the paper, Emil and Guido Marx sent for their younger brother Joseph, who had been trained as a printer. When he arrived, Joseph brought a gift from his book-seller father, D.M. Marx of Baden--a library of several thousand volumes, most of them light German literature which circulated among Toledo's German citizens for many years.⁴⁶

⁴³Seymour Rothman, Blade reporter, contacted a grandchild of Guido Marx in Cincinnati when he was working on a centennial history of the B'nai Israel Congregation (1967).

⁴⁴Toledo Blade, May 4, 1855. Marx's candidate was geographer Martin Behaim.

⁴⁵Marx, "The German Element," in Waggoner, History of Toledo, 744.

⁴⁶Ibid.

With the help of Heinrich Hauschild, a printer friend from Saxony, the brothers secured a press and a few fonts of type and set up shop on the third floor of the brick building at Summit and Monroe of which they were part owners. The first issue of their weekly Ohio Staats Zeitung appeared in December 1853 with news of the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinopel which marked the beginning of the Crimean War. The Staats Zeitung was incorporated into the daily Express in 1857, and the paper continued in various forms until the twentieth century.⁴⁷

The Express, launched during the decade of intense American nativism and amid the controversy over the extension of slavery, took a firm position from the beginning. Julius Vortreide, editor during the first months and himself a refugee from the German revolution, stated the editorial policy very clearly. "Our political course will be that of an honest, straight-forward and progressive Anti-Slavery democracy," he said. "Yet our paper will not be a party paper in the common sense of the word. Independent in everything, we shall be neutral in nothing."⁴⁸

⁴⁷The history of the Express is complicated. It was published as a daily from June 2, 1856 to May 30, 1857, and commenced again as a daily on October 9, 1871. In the interim, the weekly Express was operated first by the Marxes, then in 1864 and 1865 by the Commercial Publishing Company, and finally in 1866 by Joseph Bender, an associate of Joseph Marx, who bought the paper from the Commercial. It was Bender who re-established the daily in 1871.

⁴⁸Toledo Express, June 2, 1856; Zucker, The Forty-Eighters, 351. Zucker lists Vortreide in his "Bibliographical Dictionary of the Forty-Eighters."

Joseph Marx published the Express, and his brother Guido eventually replaced Vortreide as editor. In 1857 the paper announced its intention to carry a lead article in English in each issue. The purpose, consistent with the reasons for founding the paper, was to improve communication with the editors of English-language newspapers who received the Express as an exchange. The Marxes wanted to be sure that American editors understood the position of German citizens on critical issues.⁴⁹

The Express reflected the intellectual interests of the Marxes and their devotion to German culture, but it did not support them all. For money they turned to the grocery business, at least at the beginning, and their stores were colorful places.⁵⁰ They offered bird cages, fishes, pigeons, baskets, glassware, marbles, wines, wooden ware, fireworks, and Detroit and Cleveland beer at wholesale prices. For a few months they took a daily ad in the Blade--an innovative idea which attracted attention in the advertising columns and also in the local column where the day's new advertisers were listed.⁵¹ The Marxes ran a wide-scale operation, accepted produce on consignment, and sold both at wholesale and retail.

⁴⁹Die Express, March 14, 1857.

⁵⁰In the early years the Marxes operated a grocery store at the Packet Dock and a "Depot of Provisions" in their building at Summit and Monroe (Blade, December 18, 1852).

⁵¹Toledo Blade. See the period from January to March, 1858.

On Christmas Day, 1857 Emil and Guido Marx opened a Lager Beer and Oyster Saloon with "a glorious free lunch featuring turtle soup and all the delicacies of the season." It was a great success.⁵² The following September the brothers divided their business with Guido retaining the grocery and Emil taking full charge of the restaurant which was located in the basement of their building.⁵³ Joseph was busy upstairs with the newspaper. He had assumed sole proprietorship in February 1857 and at that time the Blade reported that the paper was both prosperous and influential.⁵⁴

In October 1860 a devastating fire destroyed eighteen buildings in downtown Toledo, including the one housing all three Marx enterprises. Guido Marx was in the process of closing out his grocery business at the time of the fire. Although insured for \$2,000, he never resumed operations. Instead he joined the wholesale liquor firm of R. Brand and Company, a connection which he maintained for the rest of his life.⁵⁵ And he did very well at it.

Guido Marx was the only Toledo Jew to exceed William Kraus in taxable income in 1868. Marx reported an income for

⁵²Toledo Blade, December 23, 1857; December 26, 1857.

⁵³Toledo Blade, September 7, 1858.

⁵⁴Toledo Blade, February 2, 1857.

⁵⁵Marx, "The German Element," in Waggoner, History of Toledo, 749; Toledo Blade, October 18, 1860; February 3, 1899, 8.

tax purposes of \$10,423. By 1870 he, with his wife and children had spent a year in Europe, buying wines for his firm and renewing old friendships. He kept the home-towners informed of his progress, and at one point in the trip, sent a packet of Russian newspapers to the Blade. The editor acknowledged their receipt but never explained who read them.⁵⁶

Marx was vocal and important in the community. Although reluctant to speak in the early years because of his imperfect command of English, he soon became involved in local politics, served on the city council, was elected to two terms in the state legislature and also served as the city's mayor.⁵⁷ He must have learned to use the language with precision. Certainly he learned to write English well and he contributed frequently to the local newspapers, sometimes as a spokesman for the German community. For example, in July 1869 Marx defended the German celebration of the patriotic Fourth in language which was both colorful and effective:

. . . So if you will give us absolution this time, we will promise not to celebrate the Fourth of July again on Sunday for the next six years. But on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the nation's birthday, you will either have to get more stringent Sunday laws enacted or become so absorbed in your devotion that a band and a few pounds of powder will not disturb it any more than the ringing of bells or the tones of the organ; or

⁵⁶Toledo Blade, May 7, 1868; May 18, 1867; June 20, 1867; June 8, 1868.

⁵⁷Toledo Blade, January 19, 1857; Waggoner, History of Toledo, 753.

better, perhaps, if your churches by that time will become so alive to the occasions stirring up the hearts of the people that they will join us in celebrating, they may⁵⁸ then be as crowded as Lenk's park was last Sunday.

Marx was also interested in weather and the forecasting of storms. As early as 1860 he had suggested to the editor of the Blade that turbulent weather could be predicted if the telegraph and the facilities of the Associated Press were used to send regular reports of prevailing winds, wind velocity, and whatever other information was available. His letter was prompted by a devastating storm on November 23 and 24 which had taken many lives on the lakes.⁵⁹

Another of Marx's continuing interests was education. He ran a free school for boys on Friday nights which was eventually absorbed by the Board of Education; he offered a series of free lectures on "Mankind in Nature," which was undoubtedly Darwinian in interpretation; he served as an examiner of teachers for the city schools; and he became a trustee of the University of Toledo in charge of its Manual Training School in 1884. His own children received good educations--one daughter, Ella, graduated from the

⁵⁸This letter, which appeared in the Toledo Commercial, is signed "G.M." as is previous correspondence on this subject in the Blade. There can be little doubt that this was Marx (Commercial, July 12, 1869).

⁵⁹Toledo Blade, December 3, 1860.

University of Michigan as a physician in 1887.⁶⁰

Marx's older brother, Emil, died in 1867 of a lung disease. He had spent most of the years between the fire which destroyed his Lager Beer and Oyster Saloon and his death in military service.⁶¹ The younger brother, Joseph, served as U.S. Consul in Amsterdam by appointment of Abraham Lincoln. He held the position from January 1864 until Lincoln's death, after which he returned to Toledo and to a federal post as customs inspector. And even the Marxes did not remain completely detached from the clothing business; Joseph also owned the Ladies' Bazaar at 57 Monroe street where he offered "the latest in millinery" and whalebone corsets for seventy-five cents. Joseph Marx served on an organizing committee of the Mechanics Savings and Building and Loan Association and was one of the trustees of the new House of Refuge. He died in 1872.⁶²

Another family which deserves consideration among the early entrepreneurs is more difficult to trace. Unlike the Krauses, the Roemers, the Thorners, and certainly unlike the

⁶⁰Toledo Commercial, December 15, 1870; January 22, 1870; Waggoner, History of Toledo, 753, 754. Marx had thirteen children, eleven of whom survived.

⁶¹Ibid., 751, 160; Toledo Blade, April 10, 1867; April 11, 1867.

⁶²Marx, "The German Element," in Waggoner, History of Toledo, 752-753; Toledo Blade, January 1, 1869. Guido Marx says that his brother died in 1872, but Joseph Marx's tombstone in Forest Cemetery records his death on April 2, 1871.

Marxes, very little is known about the Gitskey family.⁶³ At times there were as many as seven male Gitskeys listed in the city directory and they were apparently fairly prosperous, but one senses that they did not really "belong."⁶⁴ They received great praise in the press in 1869 when they proposed to build an opera house for the city, but the project slipped away from them and was undertaken by the heirs of Lyman Wheeler. Lewis Gitskey then busied himself with the conversion of the city's skating rink into a large hall which opened in 1870 and which advertised seating for 3,000. He called it Gitskey's Opera House. In the winter of 1870, however, Gitskey offered to turn it back into a skating rink if he could be assured that two hundred people would buy season tickets. In the meantime, he was hauled into police court twice, once for posting bills for some attraction at his Opera House without getting permission from the owner of the building, and once for tying his horse to a city lamp post. He paid a \$13.20 fine on the first charge; the second which had been brought at the insistence of a Mr. E. Knapp was dropped for lack of evidence.⁶⁵

⁶³The Gitskey name is spelled a number of different ways. This is the form which appears on the high school graduation list and in the Eagle Point Cemetery.

⁶⁴See for example Scott's Directory, 1868-69, 151. Scott's Directory for 1870-71 also lists seven Gitskeys, but they are not identically the same names (168).

⁶⁵Toledo Blade, November 13, 1868; November 18, 1868. The Gitskeys owned a building, the Gitskey Block, at the corner of Monroe and St. Clair streets which was brick, three stories high, and divided into four stores, each about 20 x

In the case of the Gitskeys, even obituary notices do not offer much help. The death of Benjamin Gitskey, for example, who died in 1895 at the age of 82, and who had been in Toledo since at least 1858, was noted only by a simple paid notice.⁶⁶ Joseph Roemer, on the other hand received a lengthy obituary. Both men were in the clothing business, neither was distinguished by public office, their names appear frequently through the early years as contributors to the same patriotic and charitable causes, they even seem to have had similar incomes. And yet, Roemer emerges as a respected citizen, and Gitskey's death was scarcely noticed. The Gitskeys must have been measured and found wanting on some social or cultural scale; perhaps their Polish-German background placed them apart, even in those early years.⁶⁷ Or maybe it is more accurate to suggest that the Gitskeys had a fairly solid position in the Toledo com-

100 feet. It cost \$30,000 to build in 1868 (Toledo Blade, January 23, 1868). They announced plans to finish the upper floors of the building first as a hotel and then as an opera house (Toledo Blade, February 8, 1868). For a record of Lewis Gitskey's arrest see the Toledo Commercial, August 10 and August 19, 1870.

⁶⁶Gitskey's name appears in the first city directory in 1858. His brother, Moses, offered six horses for sale in April of that year; the Gitskeys had probably just arrived (Toledo Blade, April 8, 1858). Notice of Benjamin Gitskey's death appeared in the Blade, September 15, 1895.

⁶⁷Moses Gitskey told the census taker in 1880 that he was forty-eight, and that he and his wife who had recently died were from Poland. In the same census his brother Benjamin, 45, said that he and his wife were from Germany. Guido Marx refers to the Gitskeys only once in his lengthy article about "The German Element" in Toledo (751).

munity in the first decades after their arrival and that this was eroded when the influx of Eastern European immigrants frightened large numbers of Americans and caused them to change their attitudes.⁶⁸

The Gitskeys were an enterprising family, however. Five Gitskey young people graduated from the Toledo High School in the years from 1873 to 1883 when going to high school was still quite extraordinary. Three of these were the children of Moses Gitskey and one, at least, was the child of Benjamin Gitskey. Another child of Benjamin Gitskey, a son named Marcus, lived in Toledo until his death in 1924. From that time the Gitskeys seem to have disappeared from the record and the memory of the Toledo Jewish community.⁶⁹

The Gitskeys, the Marxes, the Krauses, Roemers, Thorners, and the other early Jewish entrepreneurs in Toledo came from somewhat different backgrounds and they developed

⁶⁸The animosity toward Eastern European Jews has been well documented and will be considered later in this study. Ande Manners calls the uneasiness on the part of the already established Jews the "Tsitterdik Syndrome." The word is Yiddish and means "uneasy, wary, nervous." (Poor Cousins, 54) As evidence that the Gitskeys might have had a more solid position in the early years, there is the notice of the death of Jonah Gitskey whom the Blade called "one of the oldest of our Hebrew citizens" in 1876 (May 4), and the inclusion of Moses Gitskey's name among those who gave gifts when Jennie Stern and Gates Thalheimer were married in the newly organized reform synagogue in 1876. He gave a sardine box (Blade, January 6, 1876).

⁶⁹The graduation list is printed in Waggoner, History of Toledo, for the years 1857 (the first class) through 1887 (620-623). Marcus Gitskey's obituary appeared in the Blade November 11, 1924.

different lifestyles. In summary, however, two things seem to be constant: they all came as part of a family group and family solidarity was important to them; and they were all enterprising people, quick to move into new opportunities and to risk their capital in new combinations. In this some were more successful than others. Being among the first businessmen in the community was not an automatic guarantee of later affluence or position. There were too many other factors at work.

Chapter Three: ORGANIZING A COMMUNAL LIFE

For the first fifteen years there was no organized Jewish communal life in Toledo. And certainly for the West in the 1840's and 1850's that was not unusual. Isaac Leeser, leading exponent of traditional Judaism and publisher of the monthly Occident, reported after a tour of Northern Ohio and Southeastern Michigan in 1857 that he could not find much religious activity. He called at Adrian and Monroe in Michigan, and at Sandusky and Toledo, Ohio, and while he met many Jews, he believed that they were hesitant to establish institutions because they were still unsettled, still moving around and testing opportunities in various areas, and because many of them feared a minister quitting his post as had happened that year at Adrian.¹

Leeser's report on Toledo is disappointingly brief: he dismissed the city in a single sentence. "Though there are many Israelites," he said, "no attempt has been made, at least as far as we heard of, to organize a congregation."² And, he might have added, only one member of the community took his magazine. Joseph Roemer was listed as a subscriber

¹Occident, September, 1857, 306.

²Ibid.

to the Occident both in 1855 and 1858.³

Leeser was not the only knowledgeable traveler in the decade of the fifties to report a lack of organizing zeal among the Jews of the West. Isaac Mayer Wise, who had arrived in Cincinnati in 1854, and who opposed Leeser in just about everything, agreed with him that institutional growth was slow. But where Leeser is disappointing in his reference to Toledo, Wise is totally frustrating. He does not mention the city at all. Reporting on a trip which he made in 1855, the energetic rabbi referred to Jewish communities or Jewish settlers in Indianapolis and Terre Haute, Indiana; St. Louis, Missouri; Keokuk and Davenport, Iowa; Rock Island, Quincy, Ottawa, LaSalle, Peoria, Morris, and Chicago, Illinois; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Detroit, Michigan. And then he said simply, "I journeyed homeward from Detroit."⁴

It is difficult to travel from Detroit to Cincinnati without going through, or very close to, Toledo, but Wise tells us nothing. He makes only the following general comment:

Outside of Detroit, I had not, in the whole course of my journeyings, found one teacher, chazan, reader or congre-

³Occident, October, 1855 and February, 1858. According to Isaac M. Wise's son-in-law, Max May, not many German Jews could read English easily and therefore few of them read the Occident, the circulation of which was confined largely to the English, Polish, and Dutch Jews of this country (Max B. May, Isaac Mayer Wise: The Founder of American Judaism [New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916], 72).

⁴Isaac M. Wise, Reminiscences, translated and edited by David Philipson (Cincinnati: Leo Wise and Company, 1901), 294-303.

gational official who had enjoyed even a common school education. I had come across not a single congregation that thought of reform and had noticed not even any beginnings suggestive of higher strivings in Jewish circles. The whole section of the country through which I had traveled during these five or six weeks appeared to me, as far as Judaism was concerned, like a dead sea.⁵

But Wise believed that there would soon be a movement toward the Reform Judaism which he was preaching. He fought hard for a rational, Americanized Judaism and found common cause with the advocates of Orthodoxy such as Leeser only occasionally when the challenge was bigger than both of them.⁶ Wise was extremely influential, particularly in the Middle West, and his influence was certainly felt in Toledo where many of the members of the community retained strong ties with Cincinnati. In addition, Wise began the publication in 1854 of The Israelite, published in English, and in 1855 of Die Deborah, its German counterpart.⁷

⁵Ibid., 303.

⁶Wise discusses his early relationship with Leeser in his Reminiscences. See especially pages 279-282. See also Max May, Isaac Mayer Wise, page 81. Arthur Hertzberg in "The American Jew and His Religion," which is part of Oscar I. Janowsky's The American Jew: A Reappraisal (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964) says that Leeser's consistent objective was the creation of an indigenous American community on the lines of a modern traditionalism. Leeser was willing to cooperate with men of other shades of opinion, including Wise, but never to the degree of countenancing major reforms (108-109). Abram Leon Sachar in A History of the Jews (New York: Knopf, 1965) says essentially the same thing about Wise's willingness to cooperate so long as the major tenets of his Reform theology were not attacked (308a).

⁷The English edition was called The Israelite for the first twenty-one years of its publication; the name was then changed to The American Israelite.

The first mention of Toledo in the Israelite and Deborah came in 1862 when Rabbi Wise officiated in his own temple at the wedding of Marie Fechheimer of Cincinnati to Gustav Goldsmith of Toledo.⁸ Three years later, in November 1865, the Israelite published an unsigned article which indicated that the Toledo community already had a widespread reputation for recalcitrance. It said:

Toledo, O.--Persons acquainted with localities will feel somewhat surprised to learn that a temporary congregation formed in this city for the last holy days and met regularly for divine worship, with all their business suspended. This was the case, however, with the new settlers only, not with the old Hebrew residents who have grown indifferent to their religion. The organization of a permanent congregation is frustrated as yet by the Minhag question. The Polish, Germans, and Italians each want their own way. The best they can do is to adopt at once the Minhag America. They claim now to be Americans and not Poles, Germans, and Italians.

If Rabbi Wise did not write the piece, he certainly approved its sentiments, because he was the author of the Americanized ritual which became an inherent part of the Reform movement.¹⁰

In 1867 Wise came to Toledo to officiate at the double wedding of "the two Misses Crouse, cousins."¹¹ As was his custom, he left a storm behind, and his account indicates

⁸Israelite, May 23, 1862. The marriage was performed on May 18. In the May 23, 1862 issue of Die Deborah Fraulein Fechheimer wished a cordial farewell to her female friends in Cincinnati.

⁹Israelite, November 17, 1865, 157.

¹⁰Wise, Reminiscences, 343-347; Sachar, A History of the Jews, 308a.

¹¹The "two Misses Crouse, cousins," were Fannie Kraus, daughter of Jacob, who married Max Frank of Delaware, Ohio and Lena Kraus, daughter of Lahman, who married Julius Mack, then of Memphis, Tennessee.

what some of the local problems were.¹²

"We were two days in Toledo," he said, "where many wealthy Jewish families live without having done anything to demonstrate that they are Jews." By the exertions of a Mr. Hochstadter, whom Wise called an intelligent young gentleman, about twelve or fifteen of the leading Jews were called together in the German Hall on Wednesday, January 9. In Wise's words:

We simply asked the question why nothing was done in this city for the cause of Judaism and we received various replies, among them also atheistical ones for be it remembered here that the atheism which was a sort of fashionable disease among Germans in the West about ten years ago when Mr. Hassaureck was the apostle of that destructive doctrine, has left some votaries in Toledo who are not men of science or inquiry: they merely believe that they must believe nothing. This is convenient to thoughtless persons who are gifted with a sound digestion.¹³

Wise decided that in Toledo the problem consisted of some such "nothingarians," others whom he described as having "orthodox stomachs," and others who were "honest about it and wished to do something." But even with such disparate views, it was possible to have some consensus. The group decided after Gitskey, Hochstadter and others had spoken that some organization was desired. They authorized the purchase of a parcel of land to be devoted to a Jewish burial ground and agreed that a benevolent society or Chevrah should

¹²This article carries no signature, but since the Blade identified the officiating minister as Rabbi Wise, and since the style of the article is in character, there seems no question that it is Wise's account (Blade, January 10, 1867).

¹³Israelite, January 18, 1867, 6.

be formed with the object of supporting the needy, visiting the sick, burying the dead, and consoling the mourner.

This, Wise decided, was the best he could do. Gitskey and Hochstadter agreed to serve as a committee to present the matter. "This we expect," Wise wrote, "will be accomplished and it is certainly better than nothing, especially as the objects of the proposed society are eminently of a religious character. Let the brethren of Toledo be united to do good, and they will soon do better." The forceful little rabbi went home to Cincinnati.¹⁴

Wise and Leiser together have provided some good clues as to what the organizational problems were. Certainly Leiser's point about mobility was well taken. The comings and goings of the Landmans, Heinsheimers, Goldsmiths, Thorners, and others serve to illustrate that there was a great deal of uncertainty in the minds of the early merchants. But the two problems which Wise described were more important, particularly in the decade of the 1860's when the first organizational attempts were made.

Jews from various backgrounds had different ideas about how services should be conducted, and the sessions within individual congregations were sometimes very stormy.¹⁵

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵The classic example of this kind of dissension occurred in Isaac Wise's congregation in Albany, New York in 1850. Wise was arrested when he tried to conduct Rosh Hashana services and bitter factionalism eventually divided that congregation (Reminiscences, 155-175).

Rabbi Wise did not found Reform Judaism in the United States, but once he associated himself with it, he became its most vigorous proponent, and he wrote the controversial Minhag America in its English version during his early years in Cincinnati. It was Wise's belief that Judaism had to be shorn of the "cabalistical portions" that had crept into the prayer book and that the service should never be longer than two hours including the sermon.¹⁶ By his own admission, Minhag America was not popular, particularly in the early years. "The book," he said, ". . . was attacked savagely in both camps in the East and rejected. . . . Individual Jews scattered throughout the country ordered the book; but the congregations held aloof. The old prayer book was deeply rooted in home, school and synagogue."¹⁷

Wise's reform of the services was controversial, but his underlying philosophy was revolutionary for Judaism and, again, caused considerable problems in the organization of communities where old and new ideas clashed. As usual, Wise's own words are most graphic, and they give some idea of his no-nonsense approach to the subject:

The Jew must be Americanized, I said to myself, for every German book, every German word reminds him of the old disgrace. If he continues under German influences as they are now in this country, he must become either a bigot or an atheist, a satellite or a tyrant. He will never be aroused to self-consciousness or to independent thought. The Jew must become an American, in order to gain the proud self consciousness of the free born man.

¹⁶Wise, Reminiscences, 343, 344.

¹⁷Ibid., 345, 346.

From that hour I began to Americanize with all my might, and was as enthusiastic for this as I was for reform. Since then, as a matter of course, the German element here as well as in Germany has completely changed, although Judeophobia and uncouthness have survived in many; but at that time it appeared to me that there was but one remedy that would prove effective for my co-religionists and that was to Americanize them thoroughly. We must not only be American citizens but American through and through outside the synagogue. This was my cry then and many years hereafter. This, too, increased the hatred of my opponents considerably.¹⁸

Toledo, as well as other communities, experienced the divisiveness which existed within Judaism, a divisiveness which would lead locally to the public excoriation of one group of Jews by another before the century was over.

The other problem, or perhaps more accurately, another facet of the same problem, was the defection of Jews into the ranks of the free thinkers and the atheists, and this was a singularly important aspect for Toledo, which, for a time, became the center of the free religion movement. It is important, however, to distinguish between the free religion which Wise courted to some extent and the "nothingarianism" which he despised.

¹⁸Ibid., 331. See also Lou H. Silberman, American Impact: Judaism in the United States in the Early Nineteenth Century (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1964). Silberman says that the most important thing to know about Wise is his unyielding and enduring belief in the transforming power of America. Wise was the protagonist of an American Judaism indigenous to the land, growing out of the soil, responsive to its challenges, its hopes, its forward thrust. He rejected Europe in toto. Nathan Glazer in American Judaism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957) sees Wise as the epitome of the German-Jewish immigration, and a man who was interested more in results than he was in ideas (37, 67-68).

Frederick Hassaurek, whom Wise saw as the atheistic enemy, was, like the rabbi, a Cincinnati who was prominent in German-American activities. He had been involved in a student revolution at the University of Vienna in 1848, and shortly after his arrival in Cincinnati he began the publication of Hochwachter, a radical, anti-clerical, socialist paper which he called an organ for intellectual enlightenment and social reform.¹⁹ In the decade of the 1850's Hassaurek stepped up his attacks on the Catholic Church and also became involved in the Free Soil Movement and then in Republicanism.²⁰ In 1860 he came to Toledo on behalf of the Republican party in an attempt to wean German-Americans away from the Democrats.²¹ He was at that time a Republican candidate for presidential elector in Ohio.

Hassaurek spoke in English at the Wigwam in Toledo

¹⁹Carl Wittke, "The Germans of Cincinnati," Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, January, 1962, 11.

²⁰Ibid., 12.

²¹Guido Marx, writing in 1888, explained the German vote in this way: "Politically the Germans of the period before 1848 (with the exception of the immigration of 1830-3) sided mostly, as by a preconceived notion, with the Democratic party. The Know Nothing movement in 1856 tried to punish them for this, but only succeeded in rallying them closer under Democratic colors until the "Free Soil" and Anti-Slavery agitation presented issues upon which the German vote quickly became divided. While the elder immigration largely retained their political predilections, the younger zealously began to advocate the advanced principles as early as 1854, and to vote with those with whom they agreed." (Guido Marx, "The German Element," in Clark Waggoner, ed., A History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio [New York and Toledo: Munsell and Company, 1888/, 751]).

and was entertained during his visit as the house guest of William Kraus in his home on Washington street. While there he was serenaded by the Union Silver Band and the Republican marching organization known as the Wide Awakes.²² Wise undoubtedly knew what he was talking about when he said that Hassaurek had good friends within the Jewish community in Toledo.

The Free Religious Association was another matter entirely. It was formed in 1867 by transcendental disciples of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Theodore Parker, and was composed largely of former members of Parker's congregation, Unitarian ministers, and others who opposed the religious fundamentalism of the day. Among the founders and members were Emerson himself who served for many years as one of the vice presidents; Octavius B. Frothingham, friend and biographer of Parker; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, abolitionist and writer; Robert Dale Owen, social experimenter; Francis Ellingwood Abbott, Unitarian minister; and Rabbis Isaac Mayer Wise and Max Lillienthal of Cincinnati. The purpose of the society was to "provide for a non-sectarian religion to which any intelligent person could subscribe despite conditions of race or birth."²³

The key figure who linked this radical religious

²²Toledo Blade, August 9, 1860; October 5, 1860.

²³Louis Ruchames, "New Light on the Religious Development of Emma Lazarus," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, September, 1952, 83-84. Emma Lazarus was also interested in this movement.

movement with Toledo was Francis E. Abbott, who came to the city in the summer of 1869. By that time Abbott had moved away from Unitarianism and his kind of radical religious teaching split the local Unitarian church. Some of the members joined with Abbott to form the First Independent Society.²⁴ Rabbi Wise was, along with Abbott, a director of the Free Religious Association, and Wise spoke at the annual meeting in Boston in May 1870. In the fall of that year Western regional meetings were scheduled in Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and Toledo. Wise was scheduled to speak at all three, but he attended only the Toledo session. His absence in Cincinnati, where the meeting was held in his temple, was noted by Octavius B. Frothingham:

The Free Religious Association, friends, presents itself this evening for the first time outside of the city of Boston. . . . We had hoped to have had here the presence of Dr. Wise and Dr. Lilienthal, whom absence on duty in New York detains. We have not been fortunate, we may say, in securing rabbis. Two years in succession we tried to get a genuine Jew to sit on our platform without success, having promises, but no presence. At our last anniversary in Boston, in May, Dr. Wise was present and aided us by his eloquent language and his fervent soul. Then we had a Rabbi without a temple; now we have a temple without a Rabbi. Would that we could have both!²⁵

²⁴Gardner Williams, "Francis Ellingwood Abbott: Free Religionist, The Toledo Episode, 1869-1873," Northwest Ohio Quarterly, Summer, 1948, 137.

²⁵The Index (Toledo), January 1, 1870; November 19, 1870. In his excellent chapter "Reformers and Conservatives" Nathan Glazer has indicated that the logic of the Reform Jewish position led some rabbis to abandon Reform Judaism "and become apostles of a religion of progress in which the distinction between religions and peoples was of no account." He cites specifically Felix Adler and the Ethical Culture Society. (American Judaism, 49).

The meeting in Toledo was held in Gitskey's Opera House, and Wise addressed himself to the subject "Religion Under the Law of Reason and Common Sense." Once a man was permitted to reason for himself, Wise said, he would break his fetters and remove all obstacles. If a man is free he will reason right, feel right, and do right:

. . . Therefore give us knowledge, science, philosophy, give us the products of reason, and send your theology to the museum. Give us God and no definitions; facts and no delusions. Give us truth and we²⁶ will have the best religion--that governed by reason.

In the future, Wise told his audience, no church will be needed. The state will become a humanitarian organization caring for the wants of the poor and furnishing the means for the education of all to a degree which shall lift them above the grossness of the present day. "I believe in the future and in a spiritual creative power."²⁷

Wise's thinking was much like Abbott's and the rabbi wrote approvingly of Abbott's newspaper, The Index.²⁸ One

²⁶Toledo Commercial, November 9, 1870; Israelite, November 18, 1870.

²⁷The Index, November 26, 1870.

²⁸In his Reminiscences Wise tells of a conversation he had with Daniel Webster in which he said: "I referred to Theodore Parker's conception of Unitarianism, and set over against this my conception of Judaism. This forced me to the conclusion that there was no essential difference in the matter of doctrine, but in historical development, which, however, did not enter into the question of doctrine. 'It is well,' said Webster, extending his hand to me, 'You are indeed my co-religionist.'" (187, 188). Abbott, like Wise, believed that rational, scientific interpretations of experience produce ultimate truths. Both men were opposed to a mystical, intuitive, "cabalistic" basis for religious knowledge (Williams, "Francis Ellingwood Abbott," 128; The Index, November 26, 1870).

pages of the weekly publication was turned over to the Free Religious Association in 1870, a practice which Abbott discontinued only because the Association had trouble filling the columns allotted to it. In the rest of the paper Abbott printed his talks before the First Independent Society of Toledo, much correspondence--some of it from leading intellectual figures of the day, news of free religious developments, and, of necessity, quite a bit of what was going on in Toledo, Ohio.

Guido Marx, a friend of Abbott's, did not approve the mixture. Marx offered a translation from the German writer Zschokke which said that faith was the blossom of the soul and from it you can tell the tree. In order to do good, you do not touch the blossom, but you cultivate the stem and give it more nourishment. Marx then used the analogy to illustrate his point about The Index:

The Index is filled with religion from beginning to end, and (allow me the pun), it is altogether too flowery! I want a little more solid food, and so, I guess, do many others.

Marx offered to provide translations of material he thought would be more satisfying, and he did.²⁹

Among the local affairs which The Index reported were

²⁹The Index, February 19, 1870. Again, this article was signed "G.M.," but a subsequent translation from the Neue Freie Presse of Vienna was also signed "G.M.," and was elsewhere credited by the editor to Guido Marx (The Index, October 15, 1870, 3, 4). All of this activity was very much in character for Marx. He had attempted to organize a Freie Maenner Verein in Toledo in 1854, but failed when it quickly became political (Marx, "The German Element," in Waggoner, History of Toledo, 743).

Marx's attempts to organize a free evening school for boys, and an interesting campaign conducted by the Radical Club (of which Marx was an officer) to eliminate Bible reading, prayer, and hymn singing from the public schools. And in that one William Kraus, then mayor of the city, was also involved. Kraus made a speech in German at a rally staged by the Radical Club, and it is worth quoting in full. Whether this translation was provided by Kraus or made by a reporter is not known:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am not the one to speak on this subject as I do not feel competent to do justice to it. I am an American citizen, not from birth, but from choice, because I love its liberty. I am among those who believe that this liberty needs some improving. It may be too late to try, but I am flattering my countrymen that the man with liberal ideas is as good as that citizen who is sectarian in his belief. You can do no good by claiming that you are better than anyone else. I don't want the education of my children to be blamed on prejudice. I don't want them to go to a school where they are not considered equal to the rest, but I want them to go where all children are equal, where they are taught that those who do right shall have the benefit of it. For this reason, I have always objected to having a religious book in the public schools. I would not have a superintendent who would teach the scholars that the infidels are not as good as anybody else, and that the Jew children will go to hell. It is because such ideas are taught in our schools that I have declined a position in the Board of Education. Mr. Marx was surprised when he came to America, because I did not take a part in the government of the schools; but I gave him my reason and he sustained me. I had rather go for dividing the school fund than to support a doctrine which I do not approve. Religion is a matter of choice; and if anyone desires to have his children educated as a Catholic, a Methodist, or a Jew, let him; but I have no right to say what your children should believe or what they should not believe. I want my children instructed in all that is right.

It ought to be one of you Americans to discuss this question in your own language. But my heart and hand are with you for liberty of the greatest extent in the

schools. They should be governed for the benefit of all without regard to sect.³⁰

Francis Abbott's ministry in Toledo was not a success. He was continually short of money and the Index Association faltered. Guido Marx was one of several Toledoans who bought stock and attempted to shore it up. Two of William Kraus's former partners, W. E. Howe and E.P. Bassett, were members of the First Independent Society and also tried to help Abbott. But eventually the Society dwindled, and in 1873 Abbott decided to return East. He took The Index with him.³¹

Francis Abbott and The Index provide a short but stimulating episode in Toledo's history. His paper was a forum for freethinkers of all types. Isaac Mayer Wise understood this and participated in the swirl of ideas. When he struck out against the "nothingarians" of his own faith, he had a particular and very different target in mind.

The disinterest in religion in Toledo, as the Israelite account of 1865 suggests, was found primarily among the early merchants who held themselves aloof from organizational efforts. Because these same early merchants were the lead-

³⁰Kraus's speech was reported in the Blade, July 18 1870. The Index reprinted it in full from that source; the Commercial condensed it but also credited the Blade as its source of information (The Index, July 30, 1870; Toledo Commercial, July 19, 1870).

³¹Williams, "Francis Ellingwood Abbott," 137. David Ross Locke of the Toledo Blade and Albert E. Macomber provided most of the financial support in the early months. The Index was continued as a publication until 1886. Francis E. Abbott died a suicide in 1903 (Williams, "Francis Ellingwood Abbott," 141, 142).

ing Jews in the community, they were probably the best equipped to transmit news of the Jewish community to the local press and to the Israelite. For this reason we cannot be sure that the services of 1865 were, in fact, the first, although the author of the Israelite article did tease his readers by telling them he had information which would surprise them. Unfortunately for all the purposes of history, the Israelite was a Reform newspaper; its correspondents were sophisticated individuals who could write in English (or perhaps in German to be translated into English), and the affairs of the more Orthodox and less articulate members of the community went largely unreported.

In the Toledo press considerable space was given to Jewish holidays from the mid-1850's on. These were general articles, usually long and scholarly explanations of the significance of the day within the Jewish tradition, and they frequently appeared in the "Local" column of the Blade, which would suggest that they originated in Toledo.³² It was not until 1864 that a hint of a local observance appeared, however. In that year, the account of Rosh Hashanah included the following sentence: "This festival of the Hebrews commenced this morning and in accordance with the ancient usage is observed by many of our citizens and some of our business houses have been closed during the day." The article con-

³²As an example, see the explanation of Passover Toledo Blade, April 1, 1862.

tinues by saying that "the reverence with which this day is held by all Israelites is shown by the fact that be they ever so wayward or sacreligious during the year, they will on this day seek a community in which services are held in order to pay the proper observance."³³ In 1866 the Blade account was more specific. The high holidays were observed by services in one of the large rooms of Lenk's Block. "The day," the article said, "is one of the Jewish holidays and among that class of our citizens, business is entirely suspended."³⁴

It is clear, then, that services were held for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur beginning sometime in the 1860's and that the leading families became involved only reluctantly when Rabbi Wise goaded them into forming a benevolent society in 1867. Shortly after that January meeting, Toledo Jews purchased a small amount of land from a farmer named Ebie Lammers. It was located on the east side of the Maumee at Eagle Point, several hours' journey from downtown Toledo. Ostensibly the land was to be used for a cider mill, and Lammers' grandson concedes that the ruse was necessary. He probably would not have sold to them had he known what the real purpose was, Harry Lammers says.³⁵

³³Toledo Blade, October 1, 1864.

³⁴Toledo Blade, September 20, 1866.

³⁵The story of the cider mill ruse was related by Marshall Isenberg, president of the Toledo Hebrew Cemetery Association, and confirmed in a telephone conversation with Harry Lammers in 1972. Lammers said that his grandfather acquired the land by serving as a Civil War substitute for the original owner.

But whatever the original objection might have been, the Lammers family has been closely linked with the development of the cemetery. Ebie Lammers' son, Henry, served as caretaker for fifty-two years, and his son, Harry, tended the burial ground for twenty-one years until his retirement in 1966. Harry Lammers expresses great pride in the way he maintained the property during his stewardship.

Land for the cemetery, which now comprises five acres, was accumulated in small increments, Lammers says. The first burial was that of Solomon Rosenbush who died on July 28, 1868. He was undoubtedly related to Frank Rosenbush, listed in the city directory as a dealer in cigars and tobacco, and he may have been the Samuel Rosenbush whom the directory lists as a clerk in the tobacco store. The name of Solomon Rosenbush does not appear after 1868.³⁶

One point remains to be made about the early communal life in Toledo. Although the Jews maintained no congregation of their own, they did call upon rabbis to officiate at weddings which were, during the 1860's, held in their homes. We have already seen that Rabbi Wise married the "two Grouse cousins" in 1867. Rabbi Max Lilienthal came to Toledo on at least two occasions. During the Civil War he married Martin Bijur of Kentucky to Harriet Kraus, and then, on August 15, 1866 he performed the marriage of Dr. F.

³⁶The date of Rosenbush's death is inscribed on his tombstone. Scott's City Directory, 1868-69, 258; 1869-70, 366.

Mossbacher of East Saginaw, Michigan to Joseph Roemer's eldest daughter, Laura.³⁷ In July 1866, when Jacob Kraus's daughter, Helen, married Jacob May of Adrian, the rabbi who journeyed to Toledo was Dr. Kalisch of Detroit.³⁸

By the late 1860's some of the traditions of Jewish life were being observed in Toledo. Some families, at least, imported a rabbi for marriages; a benevolent society had begun to function; and there was ground available for Jewish burial. Services were held on high holy days, and some

businesses suspended for the observance. But in Toledo, as in the rest of the country, there was to be no single path of Jewish worship. In November 1870, when Isaac Mayer Wise was extolling the virtue of right reason in action and predicting the withering away of the church, he was not the only rabbi in town. Tucked in the back of the city directory for the years 1870-71, in the section labeled "too late to

classifiy," there is an interesting entry:

Arago, Solomon, rabbi, house north side of Washington, near Huron.³⁹

The directory went to print in August, 1870. The rabbi must have arrived in the late spring or early summer of that year. By the next year he was gone. But there was a congregational listing for 1871-72 which read "Beny Israel,

³⁷Toledo Blade, June 18, 1863. Both William and Lohman Kraus had daughters named Harriet. Toledo Blade, August 16, 1866.

³⁸Toledo Blade, July 25, 1866.

³⁹Scott's City Directory, 1870-71, 427.

Services in Yeager Block, every Saturday a.m. from 8 to 10."⁴⁰ The religious life of those who remained within the old Jewish tradition was from that time marked with regular services. It took a few more years before Rabbi Wise's Americanized Jews were ready to organize a Reform congregation.

⁴⁰Ibid., 1871-72, 51.

Chapter Four: "THIS IS A CHRISTIAN NATION"

A study of attitudes is usually based on a series of assumptions. Perhaps the riskiest assumption of all is that one can determine a prevailing attitude toward a group of people, and our courage to try this sort of thing tends to increase as we move away from any period in time. It is a truism that historic time seems simpler than our own.

To understand what the newspapers and documents of the 1840's, 1850's, and 1860's reveal about attitudes toward the Jews within the specific locality of Toledo, Ohio, requires that the time itself be understood in terms of its social tensions. The years which led up to the Civil War were among the most turbulent in American history. Nativism, radical reform, and religious fanaticism were combined with the ever-present American drive to make money, and were tempered by frequent economic depressions.¹ Immigrant groups, especially the people who escaped from Europe's political eruptions of 1848-49, inserted a particular kind of liberal activism into the American social swirl.²

¹Documentation on this period is plentiful. For a recent article which seems to pull it together very well see Michael F. Holt, "The Politics of Impatience: The Origins of Know Nothingism" The Journal of American History, September, 1973, 309-313.

²Eric E. Hirshler, "Jews from Germany in the United States," in Hirshler, ed., Jews from Germany in the United

Against all of this, individuals--Jews and non-Jews--sought to establish positions for themselves which were profitable, comfortable, and intellectually tenable.

With these factors in mind, it is possible to examine and analyze attitudes as they were reflected in public statements, so long as one does not extend them into generalizations which are too broad or which are not indicated. There were some things written which pertained to Judaism and Jews as a group, to the Jewish merchants, and to individual Jews, and these are worth notice.

One of the first articles concerning Jews which the Toledo families must have read after their arrival in the city was a brief notice in the Blade which set them apart from other immigrants. Under the title "Jewish Emigrants" it said:

A large number of Jews recently left Germany for the United States. A German paper says that they exhibited a very different appearance from the squalid poor that usually emigrate to this country. Elegant carriages conveyed them to the place of embarkation and all were well-dressed, particularly the handsome Jewish girls.³

Jewish girls were discussed again in 1853 when the Blade ran a four-inch story which reported the views of the French author Chateaubriand. It was his opinion that "Jewesses escaped the curse which alighted on their fathers, husbands and sons." The reason for this, the article said, was that the women of Judea believed in the Saviour and assisted

States (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1955), 41.

³Toledo Blade, August 10, 1846.

and soothed him under affliction.⁴

Sometimes the papers carried stories of national Jewish interest--the will of Judah Touro and the first issue of the Israelite from Cincinnati for example.⁵ Other times, the news seemed slanted. In an article enumerating the number of Hebrews in the largest American cities (12,000 in New York, 2,500 in Philadelphia), it was also reported that forty-five clergymen of the Church of England were converted Hebrews.⁶ Another time it was suggested that in countries such as France, Belgium, and England where Jews were completely emancipated their number was diminishing while in other parts of the world it was increasing.⁷

Conversion and assimilation were favorite ideas. Evangelical Protestants traditionally set aside a day to pray for the conversion of the Jews as part of their annual week of prayer.⁸ And the Blade in 1847 published a letter translated from the Journal des Debats which said that seven hundred Jews in Konigsburg had agreed to transfer the celebration of the sabbath from Saturday to Sunday, "a remarkable

⁴Toledo Blade, January 8, 1853.

⁵Toledo Blade, January 27, 1854; August 4, 1854.

⁶Toledo Blade, April 30, 1856.

⁷Toledo Blade, February 8, 1865.

⁸Toledo Blade, January 7, 1863. In a week of prayer suggested for all Protestant churches, Thursday was set aside to pray for the Jews. This prayer week was a custom for many years. In 1864 the day was Tuesday and the topic was "for the success of mission among Jews and Gentiles" (Toledo Blade, January 5, 1864).

proof of the tendency felt by the Jews to assimilate themselves to the Christians in religious practice."⁹ Even the Free Religious Association was looking forward to a day when there would be no religious difference between Christian and Jew:

Will our Jewish brothers learn to forget their nationality in the consciousness of our common humanity and abandon the myths of historical religion? The religion of the future will not be historical but spiritual, and the sacrifice is necessary. Reformed Judaism, like liberal Christianity, is only a stepping stone to a larger and higher faith.¹⁰

Or, as Octavius Frothingham explained at the convention in Cincinnati, he had only to quote a Jewish rabbi in order to state his own views:

Sacrifice is dead. The Jewish nationality as a separate political organization is overthrown. The belief in the restoration of Israel to the land of their fathers and that the Redeemer will come to Zion is an exploded theory. God be praised for all his mercies.¹¹

Assimilation and conversion are two radically different ideas; in order to be converted one must see the error of his ways and repent. This involves guilt, and the guilt of the Jews was what the state superintendent of schools, Anson Smyth, made very clear in a speech in Toledo in 1856. Smyth, who had formerly directed Toledo's schools, spoke in the Congregational church and took as his text "the words of the Jewish population who clamored for the death of our

⁹Toledo Blade, September 17, 1847.

¹⁰The Index, March 19, 1870, 4.

¹¹The Index, November 19, 1870, 1.

Saviour: 'His blood be on us and our children.'" He said that this prophecy was literally fulfilled in the subsequent history of the Jews as evinced in the horrible scenes at the sacking of Jerusalem as well as the subsequent judgments which fell on that doomed people. But Smyth's main object, the Blade reported, was to show that retributions were transmitted from parents to children and that the innocent children would not escape the judgment which fell on their parents.¹²

How those words must have hurt! Fourteen years later William Kraus was still talking about them when he campaigned to take the Bible out of the public schools. "I would not have a superintendent," he said, "who would teach the scholars that the infidels are not as good as anybody else, and that Jew children will go to Hell."¹³

Certainly the greatest amount of open animosity which the Jews experienced came from the Protestant churches. The principal problems were the proper observance of the Christian sabbath and the whole issue of temperance. Usually the battle which the prohibitionists waged was aimed at all Europeans, and at the Germans in particular, but there were times when a religious note crept in. In the spring of 1854, during one of the temperance skirmishes, Reverend Henry B.

¹²Toledo Blade, November 10, 1856.

¹³The Index, July 30, 1870. Kraus's speech is reprinted in full in Chapter Three.

Walbridge, rector of Trinity Episcopal church, wrote a long letter to the Blade. He concluded it by saying:

They are the enemies of the German people who seek to array them against the Sabbath customs of our country. I do not care to argue the question of religious duty. It is enough for the present to recognize it as a social institution embedded soul deep in the moral sense of the American people.

This is a Christian nation. At all events it has no other and never will have any other religion. When the last Christian Sabbath has come America will be gathered to the tomb of empire and her name removed from the scroll of living nations.¹⁴

Two years later there was some trouble about a festival designed to raise money for poor relief which resulted in a heated exchange of letters between James H. Baird, pastor of the First Presbyterian church and William Kraus, one of the organizers of the festival. Apparently someone had accused the ministers of failing to get behind the idea and to urge support for it. Baird replied that he had announced the festival for the relief of the poor from his pulpit, and he was sorry he had. In fact, he felt the whole undertaking was inappropriate and his position needed explaining even more than the position of those ministers who refused to announce it. "That those gentlemen have a right to have a 'Festival' no one will deny," Baird wrote, "but let us have no mixing of things 'clean' and 'unclean.' Let contributions for the benefit of the poor and Festival fees be

¹⁴Toledo Blade, May 26, 1854. Henry Walbridge served as rector of Trinity from 1848 to 1868 (Randolph Downes, Canal Days / Toledo: The Historical Society of Northwest Ohio, 1942/7, 156).

so widely separated that there will be no appearance of a connection, and then with propriety, ministers can lend their aid and Christians will be constrained to 'lend to the Lord.'¹⁵

To this William Kraus replied two days later:

Mr. Editor: I noticed an article in Wednesday's paper signed by James H. Baird in which the festivities in Morris Hall were held up in rather a novel light. The Rev. gentleman says he made the announcement on Sabbath last, but smoothly gets over it by saying that he was not posted on the intended proceedings that were to follow the gathering of these funds for the poor; and further intimates that the Festival was of that class where Clergymen and Church members could not attend without violating their vows and their consciences. If religion, in this enlightened age, has arrived at that height where harmless and innocent amusements designed for a noble purpose cannot be tolerated by church discipline, I pronounce it false sanctity. Among those whose mite was contributed for this noble purpose (not violating their laws or consciences) were persons of the highest respectability and standing in this community, and the entertainment throughout was of the most unexceptionable character. And I will say that as true and virtuous a heart beats in the bosom adorned for the fascination of the Ball Room as in that of the would-be Diogenes who would censure it.

That touch of irony about "the clean and the unclean" bears various constructions. But in charity to the Rev. gentleman, I will give it its fairest outside. If those are denominated the clean, whose sanctimonious faces and well-stored larders make glad their hearts, while starving poverty and pining want is wasting without unfed, then may I remain unwashed. If those are the unclean whose generous hearts devise some innocent amusement for the most worthy of all purposes, then charity bears the fatal stamp. In conclusion, I will say that Rev. Mr. Church, as also the Rev. Mr. Platt, will accept our apology, as I am informed of the illness of one and the meritorious announcement by the other.

Wm. Kraus¹⁶

¹⁵Toledo Blade, February 14, 1855.

¹⁶Toledo Blade, February 16, 1855.

It sounds as if Kraus won the battle, but sixteen years and many community projects later, he lost the war. As mayor of the city in 1869, he participated in and took the blame for the rousing Fourth of July celebration which, unfortunately for him, fell on a Sunday. He was publicly castigated from the Congregational pulpit of the Reverend W.W. Williams. Williams took his text from the Old Testament--Exodus 12:49--"One law shall be to the home-born, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you." The legal issue was a state law which forbade the shooting of cannon and the music of bands on Sundays, and Kraus, as mayor was held to be responsible. Williams made it clear that Kraus was "public-spirited, large-hearted, enterprising, and energetic," but he was completely wrong in not laying aside his personal preferences and enforcing the law as it was devised by the "home-born." The only recourse, he told his congregation, was to "vote against men of this stamp, and for men who . . . will not permit their personal opinions to set aside the laws they are pledged to execute."¹⁷

When Kraus was nominated for re-election by the Republican party, some twenty months later, the Young Men's Christian Associated "strained every nerve to defeat his re-election." They succeeded in splitting the Republican vote and electing

¹⁷Williams' sermon, delivered on July 11, 1869, is quoted in full in The Index, July 2, 1870, and refuted by Francis Abbott the following week, July 9, 1870.

the Democratic candidate.¹⁸ Guido Marx later confirmed that the incident of the Fourth of July "created such ill feeling during his [Kraus's] term among other constituents, that he failed of being re-elected."¹⁹

If Williams was attacking Kraus as a Jew, he never said so, although in developing his text he made a great point of its Hebrew origin and said that it meant "the Israelite by adoption must observe the rules of the home-born Israelite." But his attack really was against anyone who would introduce "foreign" ideas which interfered with rules devised by "home-born" Americans some ninety years before. Abbott, in his defense, pointed out how illogical it was to observe Sunday as the sabbath anyway, but then asked only that each person be able to fulfill his religious obligations as he saw them.

In addition to the kind of harrassment in which being a Jew is sometimes but not always separable from being "foreign" and therefore suspect, there was considerable curiosity about Jewish customs which was reflected in the newspapers.

¹⁸The words are Francis Abbott's from The Index, July 15, 1871. He went on to explain that Kraus's defeat aroused the liberals who subsequently elected their slate to the city school board, and then coalesced to form the Liberal Alliance of Toledo.

¹⁹Guido Marx, "The German Element," in Clark Waggoner, ed., A History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio (New York and Toledo: Munsell and Company, 1888), 751, 752. Marx's letter in reaction to this incident is quoted in Chapter Two.

Not only did the editors run long explanations about holidays, but they also inserted a lengthy description of a Jewish wedding in Dayton, and urged a full house for a lecture by Dr. J.J. Abraham, "a Jew by descent." Dr. Abraham, "being of the order of the priesthood is perfectly familiar with the peculiarities of his religion," the Blade explained, "and he may be considered the best authority on the tenets and customs of the Jewish church."²⁰ Dr. Abraham spoke a second time in August 1862; his talk on Jewish customs was sponsored by the Civil War Ladies Aid Society. Tickets were twenty-five cents for adults.²¹ In 1869 the Commercial devoted considerable space on its editorial page to the New York divorce of Mr. and Mrs. J. Burnstine. A Jewish divorce was a curiosity, and the article described the procedure in detail.²²

Most Americans thought of the Jews as "a peculiar people," an idea which was reinforced time and again in the newspapers. The following example appeared in connection with an explanation of the Jewish New Year in 1867:

²⁰As an example of the frequency of articles in the Blade, there was a story on September 16, 1868 about the Jewish New Year. Another appeared the next day. On September 25, there was an explanation of Yom Kippur, and on October 1, an explanation of the Feast of Tabernacles. The earliest of these descriptive stories appeared October 5, 1854. Their frequency increased markedly during the 1860's. Someone must have been preparing them for the paper. The story of the wedding in Dayton was published in the Blade on August 15, 1854. Dr. Abraham spoke first in Toledo in May 1857 (Toledo Blade, May 30, 1857).

²¹Toledo Blade, August 7, 1862.

²²Toledo Commercial, June 1, 1869.

In all phases of life, the Jewish observances look especially to teaching the children. The Hebrew always has his children about him, whether in the ballroom or in the church. The ties of affection are very strong, whether as a result of the religion or in their nature as descended from the East where reverence to parental authority is strictly inculcated. In fact, this strong union between parents and children may be one of the reasons why this peculiar people have held together so remarkably. It is certainly one of the reasons for their preserving their faith and many ceremonies intact.²³

Occasionally, there were casual references to the Jews, as in the following:

Among the old Jewish proverbs are these two, the first of which is humane and the second very curious. "No man is to be made responsible for what he utters in his grief." "Descend a step in choosing a wife; mount a step in choosing a friend."²⁴

Or there were pieces probably meant to be humorous, which we find to be unsettling, and which defy classification today. The following discussion of whether Hannibal was a Jew or a "Nagur" is an example:

We understand one of the speakers at the Democratic Club last night, in alluding to the story of the nations of bygone days, spoke of Hannibal as a Jew. Quick as thought a son of the Emerald Isle exclaimed--"I'll bet ye a hundred dollars that ye're a liar and lave it to histhry that Hannibal was a Nagur."

A member suggested that the thoughtless Celt should be put downstairs, but strong in the right, he asserted that there was no man in the house able to do that same, declaring "I paid me fifty cents to become a member of the cloob, and bejabers, I'll have me say." The question is now fairly before the Democratic public, and it is necessary that it be decided at once that the rank and file may not be divided on the important question whether Hannibal was a Jew or a "Nagur."²⁵

²³Toledo Blade, September 30, 1867.

²⁴Toledo Blade, January 27, 1868.

²⁵Toledo Blade, November 20, 1863.

The article suggests that the question was ridiculously unimportant, maybe because it was ancient history, or maybe because neither Jew nor Black was a desirable thing to be and it was not worth fighting over. Probably the paragraphs could not have been written substituting the word "Hebrew," and it seems clear that "Israelite" would not have been used. It had a special religious connotation all its own.

There is proof that the words "Jew" and "Hebrew" had different meanings. The editor of the Blade, while pondering the problem of pigs running loose in the city streets outside his window, wrote the following:

We were not educated in the Hebrew School, were never taught to eschew swine flesh, but we are not so hard hearted as to set down those who do as Jews, or²⁶ entitled to any other particularly harsh epithet. . . .

The word "Jew," when it was used at all in the Blade, was usually fastened to a "Jew peddler" who was beaten up, or to the notorious case of the "Jew pickpockets," sought all over the midwest and captured in Toledo. Their story is an interesting one.

Hyman Kaufman, Isaac Greenburg, Simon Oppenheimer, and Joseph Harris were arrested dividing up their loot at the Toledo depot one night in 1857. Between them they had pocket books, gold rings, gold and silver coins, and bank bills totaling about \$500. They were subsequently bound over to the grand jury, indicted, and convicted. Harris

²⁶Toledo Blade, July 18, 1865.

Greenburg, and Oppenheimer were sentenced to five years each; Kaufman was granted a motion for a new trial. While the men were in custody in Toledo, word came from Chicago that they were big time operators and that Greenburg had been sentenced to the Illinois penitentiary and then pardoned when private police interceded for him in a corrupt arrangement. The Toledo police were warned that the men were not without connections on the outside. They were well-known in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit, New York and Boston.²⁷

On December 11, 1857 Toledo Sheriff Kingsbury arrested a man named Morris Goldman on the charge of bribing a witness who was important to the case. The following day the Blade announced that a plan to escape, "concocted by the prisoners in our jail under the lead of the four Jew pick-pockets," had been discovered and promptly thwarted. "The warning of the Chicago Democrat is confirmed," the Blade said. "There is evidently a strong association of the rascals having perhaps their headquarters in Chicago who are very much disturbed by the conviction of Greenburg, Kaufman, Harris, and Oppenheimer and will strain every nerve and stop at no exertion to get them out of limbo." Sentence was pronounced on Christmas Eve, and at year's end Sheriff Kingsbury took his prisoners to Columbus under strong guard. "Quite a crowd" had collected at the depot before the cars

²⁷Toledo Blade, October 22, 1857; November 5, 1857; November 7, 1857; December 9, 1857.

started.²⁸

Further proof of the attitude toward Jews and the use of the word "Jew" emerges from the testimony of a Mrs. Geller in the murder trial of Conrad Meier in the Lucas County Court of Appeals, August 1869. Meier was accused of killing a Jewish peddler named Solomon Feldenheimer, and Mrs. Geller, when called to the stand, told the jury that "the Jew was at our house and . . . we knew him four or five years. He always stopped when up there. Do not know what his first name was. He took dinner with us."²⁹ Meier was convicted and sentenced to hang, but he escaped before the sentence could be carried out.³⁰ In another similar case, a Polish Jew named Bennet Scop was hanged at Norwalk, Ohio after he was found guilty of killing Jacob Goodman, a peddler with whom he had been working for two days. In the detailed newspaper stories about both criminal trials the word "Jew" was frequently used and "Hebrew" did not appear at all.³¹

The Jewish merchants were usually referred to circum-
spectly as "Hebrew citizens" in the press, and William Kraus's

²⁸Toledo Blade, December 9, 1857; December 11, 1857; December 12, 1857; December 29, 1857.

²⁹Commercial, August 19, 1869.

³⁰Meier received a stay of execution because a Roman Catholic priest from Toledo interceded with the governor. He was sentenced to hang on December 8, 1869 and disappeared from his cell on November 25 (Commercial, November 6, 1869; November 25, 1869).

³¹Commercial, August 4, 1870.

name was frequently followed by an "Esq." or, after he was mayor, preceded by an "Honorable." There was one instance, however, which showed that the Jewish merchants were set apart to some extent. Long-time Toledo merchant N.W. Eddy took an ad in the Blade to offer his stock of fall and winter clothes on better terms "than either the King or the Jews."³² The phrase was in boldface display type. In addition to the Jewish merchants, one of Eddy's competitors was John A. King, selling at the sign of the big red coat.

The local editor of the Blade thought Eddy's advertisement was clever. He called attention to it the following day:

Eddy's advertisement is a novelty--our gentlemen readers have doubtless noticed it, and we hope they will call and notice the fine stock of clothing some day as they are passing.³³

If anyone was offended by this form of advertising, there was no public notice of it. Gustav Goldsmith followed a similar line the following spring when he advertised his new shipment of goods at prices which would "astonish the King and please the natives."³⁴

Ten years later the names "Hebrew" and "Jew" were intermingled significantly in an editorial about the proscription of Jews. Certain New York insurance companies de-

³²Toledo Blade, November 2, 1857.

³³Toledo Blade, November 3, 1857.

³⁴Toledo Blade, April 14, 1858.

cided not to grant policies to Jews on the grounds that "losses have occurred in the premises of Jews of German origin, doing business in a small way . . . far out of proportion to their numbers as compared with the business community." The indictment stated further that the Jews were "for the most part persons of no known business antecedents, of no known social standing or pecuniary responsibility, and that whatever new effort is made by the companies to defend themselves against the most barefaced and extortionate demands, the claimants have generally been found to possess a reserve corps of witnesses of like faith by whom they are always able to prove any fact necessary to support their own view of the case."³⁵

The Blade printed all of the above, quoting a president of one of the New York insurance companies, and then adding the following:

All of this may be true; but nevertheless it furnishes no good reason for the wholesale proscription of a class. There are thousands of respectable Hebrews in business whose social standing and business antecedents are good, and who are just as honest as businessmen of any other race or religion. To exclude these from participating in the benefits of insurance is senseless and unjust. The agents of a company are supposed to know who they insure; let them decide upon Israelites precisely as they do upon Christians, upon their merits. If an American, English, or Irish merchant is of such a character as to make insurance unsafe, he is rejected for that reason, not because he is an Englishman, Irishman, or American. The same ruling should be applied to Hebrews instead of proscribing an entire race because of some unworthy members.³⁶

³⁵Toledo Blade, April 23, 1867.

³⁶Ibid.

The editorial was unsigned, although the Blade was edited at that time by David Ross Locke, author of the satirical Petroleum V. Nasby letters, and champion of the underdog. Locke was a reformer at heart, characterized by his most recent biographer as a forerunner of the journalistic muck-rakers.³⁷ He probably wrote the plea for fairness.

It seems as if the only way to summarize the attitudes toward the Jews in Toledo in the mid-nineteenth century is to stress the ambivalence which is reflected in the use of different terms. There was great interest in and curiosity about Jewish customs and Jewish people so long as the Jews did not in any way interfere with Christian observances, and so long as Christians could delude themselves that the Jews would one day be converted. The merchants and other people of means were treated with public respect, although thought of by some as "Jew merchants"; the peddlers, the criminals, and anyone else whom society did not value, received the harsher name, and, by extension, harsher treatment.

³⁷ John M. Harrison, The Man Who Made Nasby: David Ross Locke (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 22.

Chapter Five: THE JEWS AS CITIZENS

Most of the early Jews found their identification as part of the German group within the city. And as Germans they seem to have been admitted to organizations without discrimination. In fact, the record in Toledo may be better than that in other cities. Rudolf Glanz reported, for example, that in the Middle West Jews were generally not admitted to the high ranking organizations of the native stock, but that they frequently joined German organizations. They were excluded usually from the pioneer societies, Glanz wrote, but they were welcomed into the German pioneer organizations where some sort of "higher Judaism" was projected as a fit companion to Germanism. In Glanz's words, "Those were the days when they were not yet talking of 'Nathan the Sly,' but of 'Nathan the Wise,'" alluding to the German dramatist Lessing's famous plea for religious toleration published in the eighteenth century.¹

Glanz used the example of Cincinnati where the Pioneer Association accepted anyone as a member who had been in the city before 1815. Most of the Germans and all of the Jews

¹Rudolf Glanz, "Jews in Relation to the Cultural Milieu of the German in America Up to the Eighteen-Eighties," in Studies in Judaica Americana (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1970), 226.

arrived after that date and they formed their own pioneer organization.² In Toledo there seems little evidence that the Jews were excluded in the early years. Jacob Landman was influential in bringing Freemasonry to Toledo, and he was also a member of the Odd Fellows, serving for a time as secretary of the lodge.³ Joseph Roemer was particularly proud of his membership in the Maumee Valley Pioneer Association. In fact, he said it was the only organization he had ever joined.⁴ It is important to stress that Roemer, although described by his family as a non-religious man, did subscribe to the Occident, did invite Rabbi Lilienthal to marry his daughter, did publicize the wedding in the Blade, and did breathe his last surrounded by friends and family on his fiftieth wedding anniversary in the Jewish social rooms, the Progress Club, in 1892. He made no attempt to hide his Jewish background, although his name never appears among the organizers of congregations. He was accepted, apparently without question, into membership in the Pioneer

²Ibid., 223-224.

³Landman was secretary of the Wapaukonica Lodge No. 38, IOOF, in 1850; he served on a committee for a festival in 1852; and he was on the committee to celebrate the opening of a new lodge hall in 1853 (Blade, December 4, 1850; January 23, 1852; August 16, 1853).

⁴Guido Marx says of Roemer, "More true to his original occupation, but taking a less active part in political matters, was Joseph Roemer who since his arrival in Toledo was first in the retail and then in the wholesale clothing line" (Guido Marx, "The German Element," in Clark Waggoner, ed., History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio /New York and Toledo: Munsell and Co., 1888/, 742).

Association.

Although the Jews were influential within the German community, not all of the early Jews were German, and not all the Germans acted within the confines of German organizations. There were numerous patriotic and service activities in which Jews participated as individuals, guided undoubtedly by their own inclinations, their own commitments, and their own values.

One area of civic service which attracted several of the Jewish men was the volunteer fire department. Landman, Samuel and Henry Stettiner, Joseph and Emil Marx, Henry Thorner, and the ubiquitous William Kraus were all firemen at one time or another. Kraus was elected chief engineer, the top post, in 1857, and both Stettiner brothers served as assistant chief engineers in the 1860's.⁵

The volunteer fire department was an enthusiastic and public-spirited, if often inefficient, attempt to solve the nineteenth century American city's fire problem. Most cities moved through the volunteer stage to the institution of a professional fire fighting force by the 1870's, and that pattern was followed in Toledo.⁶ In the early years, however, the firefighters dressed in elaborate parade costumes, held balls to raise money for equipment, met frequently for fire

⁵Toledo Blade, March 10, 1857; October 17, 1867; January 18, 1869. By the latter date when Henry Stettiner was first assistant engineer, the paid department consisted of three general officers and thirty-two men who received an aggregate annual salary of \$1800.

⁶Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 177-178.

fighting contests or to attend civic functions en masse, and added a social dimension to their lives through their affiliation with the volunteer units. And of course they fought fires, sometimes hauling their equipment by hand and, occasionally, fighting each other along the way.⁷

One such incident occurred in August 1852 when men from the Erin Engine Company No. 2 refused to work with Croton Company No. 3, and a riot ensued while the Toledo House went up in flames.⁸ In November of the same year the Croton Company, led by foreman William Kraus and at the suggestion of Jacob Landman, voted to forgive Erin Company for the disturbance and to set up a committee "to produce entire harmony and unanimity of action between all the companies of the city."⁹

"Entire harmony" is difficult to achieve and impossible to sustain, and in February 1857 Joseph Marx threatened to file assault and battery charges against an Irish fireman named Patrick Waters who struck him in the face as he was hurrying to answer a second alarm. Marx tried to arrest Waters but was quickly surrounded by a crowd of Irishmen, according to the account published in Marx's German

⁷Constance McLaughlin Green suggests that this rivalry was a widespread phenomenon (The Rise of Urban America [New York: Harper and Row, 1965], 78-79).

⁸Toledo Blade, August 17, 1852.

⁹Toledo Blade, November 6, 1852.

newspaper.¹⁰

These small fracasas aside, the men in the volunteer fire companies were a colorful and vital part of the community. How important they must have felt, for example, as they paraded down the street on a June day in 1856! The newly organized Teutonia Fire Guard led the way in their Prussian helmets, Captain Emil Marx in charge. Neptune Hose Company No. 1, the unit to which Henry Thorner belonged, wore red shirts and grey pants. Erin Engine Company No. 2, the scrappy Irishmen, marched proudly behind their green silk banner. Kraus's Croton No. 3 looked "cool and comfortable" in white shirts and black pants, and the Germania Company No. 4 withstood the June temperatures in their rich uniforms of black velvet. They were preceded by their "excellent band." After the parade and the tests of fire-fighting skill, the men marched to have daguerreotypes made.¹¹ They must, all of them, have had a strong sense of identification with their community.

Another kind of festivity in which the Jewish citizens participated with great enthusiasm was the celebration of the Fourth of July and other patriotic holidays. William and Lahman Kraus were involved in the official planning for the Fourth as early as 1849. In that year the celebration

¹⁰Toledo Express, February 2, 1857.

¹¹Toledo Blade, June 16, 1856.

included a procession toward a specially-erected bower where there were seats for the ladies and where all could hear the speeches and the band. A celebration dinner at the hotel cost fifty cents.¹² In 1854 David Heinsheimer was one of the vice presidents for the patriotic party. In 1857 William Kraus served on several sub-committees, and in 1858 he chaired the first meeting to plan the observance. Also in that year all three Marxes participated, arranging to print the programs, engage the music and buy the fireworks.¹³

This kind of patriotic activity also involved the Jewish women as planners in at least one instance. Most respectable women in the mid-nineteenth century seldom had their names in the paper. Social events were frequently described using only the initials of participants. But the women did take part publicly in an 1859 attempt to raise money for the Mount Vernon Association, to restore Washington's home and grounds. In Toledo the festival was scheduled for March 3 and involved five separate balls. Mrs. William Kraus and Mrs. Joseph Thorner served along with Mrs. Morrison R. Waite, whose husband would one day be chief justice of the United States Supreme Court; Mrs. James B. Steedman, wife of General Steedman, and many other women.

¹²Toledo Blade, June 16, 1849; June 23, 1849.

¹³Toledo Blade, June 17, 1854; July 1, 1857; June 14, 1858.

The duties were divided and Mrs. Kraus, Mrs. Roemer and Mrs. W.W. Howe were the managers at Union Hall where the benefit was German in spirit and execution. Music was provided by the Hammonia Band and the Jeagers, and the Teutonia Fire Guards and Germania Engine Company No. 4 also participated.¹⁴

Women were involved in and got credit for work in one other area--charitable undertakings. In December 1854 men and women organized ward committees, set up separately, to investigate and ameliorate the condition of the poor. Mrs. Kraus was a member of the committee in the fourth ward.¹⁵ And the women, of course, came into their own during the Civil War when they were able to provide help for the families of soldiers in the area as well as great amounts of food, clothing, bandages and other things needed by the men in the Union army. Wives and daughters within the Jewish community were mentioned frequently in connection with the Soldiers' Aid Society. Mrs. William Kraus was a director of the organization from its beginning and her daughter and niece were among those who helped to keep the rooms open and who painstakingly collected lint and worked to assemble "comfort bags" for the soldiers.¹⁶

¹⁴Toledo Blade, March 2, 1859; March 5, 1859. The Blade lists Mrs. Joseph Thorner as participating in one article and Mrs. Joseph Roemer in another. Possibly both women were involved.

¹⁵Toledo Blade, December 8, 1854.

¹⁶Toledo Blade, October 10, 1861; September 9, 1862. In his History of Toledo Clark Waggoner pays tribute to the heroism and nobility of the "loyal Christian women of the

The war and the events leading up to it politicized the men in the Jewish community until they eventually became staunch Republicans and ardent Unionists.¹⁷ Some of them, at least, moved in that direction from the Whig camp; Lahman Kraus was vice president of a Scott club, pushing the presidency of General Winfield Scott on the Whig ticket in 1852.¹⁸ The following year Jacob Landman was a fourth ward delegate to the county Whig convention, but by 1854 all of that had changed. The passage in May of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which threatened to extend slavery by popular sovereignty into territory from which it had previously been barred, caused a tumult all over the country. Toledo was no exception. On June 23 a call was issued for a great meeting in Columbus to oppose the extension of slavery and to defeat the legislators who had supported the hated bill. Landman, David Heinsheimer, William Kraus, Joseph Roemer, and Lahman Kraus signed the call, and four days later the Blade announced that the Germans "almost to a man advocate distinctive action in the present crisis and are in favor of the convention in Columbus."¹⁹

United States" for their moral and physical care of the soldiers. He then goes on to describe the work of the Soldiers' Aid Society in which Jewish women were also active (114).

¹⁷See Guido Marx's analysis of the German vote, Chapter Three, n. 21.

¹⁸Toledo Blade, July 13, 1852.

¹⁹Toledo Blade, June 23, 1854; June 27, 1854.

These men coalesced around the single issue of extending slavery. They were not yet the Republican party; much of their organizational work was still to be done. But they did represent a vocal alliance of outraged Whigs, Democrats, and radical abolitionists. In Lucas county they came together on July 1, 1854 and chose twenty-six delegates to state their case in Columbus. Jacob Landman was among them, along with Senator Henry Reed, James M. Ashley who was later elected to Congress, Jesup W. Scott, and John R. Williams, editor of the Blade.

The delegates took with them what Historian Randolph Downes has called "one of the most strikingly progressive documents ever framed in the history of Lucas County politics."²⁰ Not only did they attack the "mighty conspiracy of slave holders and dough faces who have determined to nationalize slavery," but they also indicted the "weak, corrupt, and imbecile President," who was letting them get away with it. And other planks in their platform were equally outspoken. They favored doing away with the electoral college, abridgement of the President's appointment powers, election by Congress of all foreign ministers, the distribution of public lands to actual occupants at reasonable prices, individual taxation on the basis of actual worth, free schools with no public money spent for sectarian

²⁰Randolph C. Downes, Lake Port (Toledo: Historical Society of Northwest Ohio, 1951), 112.

or political teaching, and the right of recall! As Downes suggests, the Lucas county platform of 1854 was many years ahead of its time.²¹

Guido Marx was a member of the central committee in Lucas county which organized the successful Kansas-Nebraska fight.²² Local voters sent Richard Mott to Congress to express their opposition to popular sovereignty and the extension of slavery, and their choice was echoed throughout the state. Ohio elected only two Democratic congressmen in 1854.²³

The years between Kansas-Nebraska and the outbreak of the Civil War were a time of financial dislocation and political turmoil as the nation slid toward its holocaust. But as is usually the case in times of social upheaval, the issues were not clear and decisions were difficult. A vote for Salmon P. Chase for governor in 1855, for example, was a vote against slavery, but the Germans and German Jews must have felt they were in bad company. Many of Chase's supporters were the anti-immigrant, old-line Americans who had formed the Know Nothing party. Their intentions were suspect, and the slavery question could well have been a false issue on which to ride to power. Chase carried Lucas county by 191 votes, but the third and fourth wards of Toledo, which

²¹Ibid., 113.

²²Toledo Blade, July 3, 1854.

²³Downes, Lake Port, 114.

were predominantly Irish and German and where most of the Jews lived, went Democratic.²⁴

It seems consistent that the party which espoused an end to slavery should also be in favor of extending liberties to naturalized Americans. But this was not the case. When a group of Germans in Toledo wrote to William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator in the spring of 1859 they were protesting an anti-alien law in Massachusetts and criticizing the Republicans for supporting it. They explained that the action of the Massachusetts legislature struck at "the very root of these eternal principles of equality and right." They said further that if the "Party of the Rights of All Men" discriminated against citizens, and the Democratic party maintained its impossible position with reference to the preservation of slavery, the only alternative was to form a third party which would stand up to the level of the framers of the Constitution. "We can never act with any party," they wrote "that does not recognize the eternal truth of the equality of all men and the equal rights of all citizens. . . ." The letter was signed by a representative committee: P. Lenk, Guido Marx, Geo. Weber, M. Hoffman, Geo. Tanner.²⁵

²⁴Ibid., 120. Toledo Blade, October 10, 1855. In the Blade of September 6, 1855, William Kraus was listed as a delegate to the Democratic Representative Convention. This may have been a reflection of the point made above, or it may have been an error.

²⁵Liberator, April 8, 1859, 56.

Not all Northern Jews were abolitionists: Rabbi Wise was one Jewish leader who looked with skepticism upon the abolition movement and who remained a Democrat. Wise believed that the radical activity of the anti-slavery men was a direct cause of the war, and he believed further that the abolitionists were narrow-minded men, interested only in the cause of the Negro. Louis Ruchames has done considerable research which proves that Wise was wrong and that cooperation between abolitionists and Jews tended to broaden the outlook of both.²⁶

Using Garrison as an example, Ruchames shows that the abolitionist leader was quite sympathetic to the Toledo Germans when he presented their letter for publication:

We heartily respond to the following just and reasonable appeal, in regard to the attempt to change the Constitution of Massachusetts, so as to bear proscriptively and invidiously against our naturalized fellow-citizens in the exercise of the elective franchise.²⁷

But Garrison shared Wise's concern about narrow mindedness and self interest and seemed to worry that he was being used. Two weeks after he sympathized with the naturalized citizens, he wrote a warning against anyone who fights for the rights of newcomers but who "at the same time, cares nothing that 4 million of native born Americans are stripped of every right, worked with the brutes, bought and sold as property

²⁶ Louis Ruchames, "The Abolitionists and the Jews," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, December, 1952, 131-155.

²⁷ Liberator, April 8, 1859, 56.

and subject to insults, outrages and tortures innumerable. His love of liberty is nothing but personal selfishness."²⁸

Ruchames concludes that on the whole abolitionists welcomed Jewish support and in their continual efforts to assist both slave and free Negro the abolitionists saw "more than did others, the sufferings of the Jews through the ages."²⁹ That the opposite was also true, that many Jews who supported the anti-slavery movement came to feel an affinity with Negroes was expressed directly in Toledo by William Kraus. His most succinct statement was made at a "Colored People's Jubilee," organized to celebrate the passage of the fifteenth amendment. Kraus, then mayor of the city, explained that he had become a Whig in the 1850's because it was the party most opposed to slavery, and that he could never put shackles on humanity. He then spoke of the persecution of Jews and said that he could sympathize with colored people. He urged Negroes to take advantage of their educational opportunities and stated that he favored integrated schools. He was sure it would not hurt his children to sit in schools with colored children.³⁰

What Kraus was expressing was shared minority, an idea which Lillian Hellman developed recently in considering

²⁸Ruchames, "The Abolitionists and the Jews," 136.

²⁹Ibid., See also Rufus Lears, The Jews in America: A History (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1954), 90-95.

³⁰Toledo Commercial, April 8, 1870.

the warm affinity between Southern Jews and Blacks. She indicated that this sympathy comes out of the American experience and "should not be fancied up with talk of a common bond in the Old Testament."³¹ The letter of the Toledo Germans confirms this when it pleads for a consistent attitude toward all Americans "without distinction of color or birth." Their own fight for acceptance tended to increase the awareness of the Germans and the German Jews toward the Negro and his position in American society.

As the nation struggled with the problems of "Bleeding Kansas," Dred Scott, and John Brown, Toledo politics reflected the national torment. On the municipal level, however, there was a move toward non-partisan politics and this attracted the city's Jews. Jacob Kraus chaired a meeting of German citizens in April 1857 which confirmed a slate chosen by the non-partisan People's meeting.³² The following year a call went out for a People's convention for the municipal election and Jacob Kraus, Joseph Roemer, William Kraus, Lahman Kraus, Joseph Thorner, Gustavus Goldsmith and Guido Marx were all among the signers.³³

By October 1859 William Kraus could be clearly identified with the Republican party. Speaking at a Republican celebration, Kraus made what the Blade called a "fitting

³¹Lillian Hellman, Review of The Provincials: A Personal History of the Jews of the South by Eli N. Evans, The New York Times Book Review, November 11, 1973, 5.

³²Toledo Blade, April 6, 1857.

³³Toledo Blade, March 31, 1858.

allusion to the constancy and fidelity of his fellow German Republicans at the recent election." He told them that amid many difficulties, and in the face of many appeals to prejudice of nationality, they had stood by their party to an extent worthy of praise. The Republican band paid a complimentary visit to Kraus's home as part of the victory festivities.³⁴

In 1860 Kraus was an enthusiastic supporter of Abraham Lincoln. On May 22, less than a week after the nomination of Lincoln and Hamlin in Chicago, there was a large ratification meeting in Toledo with speeches, bonfires, music, military bands, and cannons. Kraus addressed the crowd and also agreed to serve on a committee of five to launch a local "Wide Awake Club," a marching group patterned after the one which supported Lincoln in Chicago. Joseph Marx, Henry Thorner, and Joseph Roemer were among the thirty-five members of the first company of Wide Awakes in the city. They wore glazed caps and oilcloth capes and carried kerosene lanterns mounted on sticks, thereby adding color and excitement to the campaign.³⁵ By the fourth of June, Kraus had been named treasurer of the Toledo Republican Club and

³⁴Toledo Blade, October 13, 1859.

³⁵Toledo Blade, May 22, 1860; Downes, Lake Port, 139. Michael Holt sees the Wide Awake clubs as vestiges of the "super-patriotic Know Nothing lodges" and says that they attracted the young, the poor, the workingmen and the mechanics ("The Politics of Impatience: The Origins of Know Nothingism," Journal of American History, September, 1973, 322). The Jewish Wide Awakes in Toledo do not fit Holt's categories.

was suggesting that the organization erect its own Wigwam to be named after the hastily-built structure in Chicago where Lincoln was nominated. In fact, the "Wide Awake German Republican" William Kraus offered to build a Wigwam, and he did. It was a 60 x 80 foot brick building on the river side of Summit street between Adams and Madison. Kraus made it available for the party for \$450 and it was used throughout the campaign and for many years afterward.³⁶

Less than a year later, with Lincoln in the White House and the guns aimed at Fort Sumter noisily sounding the beginning of the war, political feeling in Toledo fused into a strong Union spirit. Asking that "party ties and party feelings be forgotten in this hour of our country's peril," a call went out over the signatures of hundreds of citizens, Democrats and Republicans. Again, Jewish names were on the list: all three Krauses, Jacob Landman, Gustavus Goldsmith, and Joseph E. Marx.³⁷

One of the early volunteers to serve the Union cause was Henry C. Roemer, son of Joseph Roemer, who had been a pioneer in the Toledo Public School Cadets, organized in 1856. Apparently he did not graduate from high school but went into business. In the summer of 1860 he took an ad in the Blade announcing that he was selling needles for all

³⁶Toledo Blade, June 4, 1860; June 6, 1860.

³⁷Waggoner, A History of Toledo, 85.

types of sewing machines.³⁸ Henry Roemer enlisted for three months in Company A of the Ohio Northwest Regiment, soon renamed the 14th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and he left Toledo on April 24, 1861 in one of the first units to report for service. Corporal Roemer saw action in the first battle of the Civil War at Philippi in Western Virginia on June 3, 1861, and later at Rich Mountain and Laurel Hill, Virginia in July of that year. On July 25, 1861 the 14th was welcomed home in a joyous civic celebration. Their three months completed, the men of the 14th were given a chance to rest and reorganize or "veteranize." Henry Roemer had perhaps had enough for a while. His name does not appear on the roster of the 14th as it was redrawn for the three-year enlistment. But he did fight again. On October 1, 1864 he was given the rank of captain in the then-organizing 182nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry. The 182nd joined General Sherman in the battle for Nashville and was mustered out in July 1865.³⁹

Another Toledoan who entered service twice was Emil Marx. He enlisted first on June 24, 1861 in Company K of the 25th Regiment which was known as the Anderson Guards. This was the first three-year company to volunteer from Toledo. Marx was then thirty-five years old. He fought

³⁸Toledo Blade, June 15, 1858; July 12, 1860.

³⁹Toledo Blade, May 6, 1861; Waggoner, History of Toledo, 133, 279.

through the battle of Chancellorsville and was discharged with a certificate of disability in May 1863. His wife had died and he returned to Toledo to take care of his five children. By October 1864 he had married again, the children were provided for, and Emil Marx went to war a second time as a bugler in the 67th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. He substituted for his brother Guido whose name was the first one called for the draft in Toledo's fourth ward. Emil Marx died in Toledo on April 8, 1867 of a lung disease. His funeral was attended by members of his GAR post. The Blade said that the presence of so many veterans in spite of the bad weather "speaks well for their mutual attachment and their interest in each other's welfare."⁴⁰

There were other Toledo men who served, and there were men who served who moved to Toledo in the years after the war. In the first group, Henry Stettiner joined the 67th Regiment, OVI, on October 7, 1861.⁴¹ Jacob Landman received an appointment late in 1861 as a sutler for the 68th OVI, a Henry county regiment, and Henry Thorner served in the same capacity with the 14th OVI. He carried letters, packages, and money back and forth for the men from Toledo and their families.⁴²

⁴⁰Ibid., 160, 751; Toledo Blade, April 10, 1867; April 11, 1867.

⁴¹Toledo Blade, October 7, 1861.

⁴²Toledo Blade, December 6, 1861; December 9, 1861; May 7, 1862.

In the second group, those who settled in Toledo after the war, the name of Jacob Lasalle is foremost. Lasalle came to America from Prussia in 1856 when he was twenty-three years old. He went first to Dubuque, Iowa, found employment as a clerk in a dry goods store and accumulated a few hundred dollars. When he refused to reinvest in the business, he lost his job. From there Lasalle went to Milwaukee where he bought a shaky tobacco business and continued the operation until an early winter froze his supply somewhere on the lakes. He liquidated and moved to Chicago, bought a seat on the stock exchange and, according to the legend, won and lost two fortunes before the war broke out. Lasalle lost little time in organizing and equipping a company of 181 Chicago Jews which was accepted as Company C of the 82nd Illinois Volunteers. They saw action at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. By the time that his company had been decimated by wounds, privation and disease to a total of only twenty-three, Lasalle was ready to leave the army. He returned to Chicago where he got married. In the fall of 1865 Jacob Lasalle, with four careers behind him, was in Toledo and announcing the opening of his new dry goods store in partnership with Joseph Epstein.⁴³

⁴³David Alexander, "History of the Jews in Toledo," Reform Advocate (Chicago), June 20, 1908; Toledo Blade, obituary of Jacob Lasalle, September 17, 1921; Simon Wolf, The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen (Philadelphia: The Levytype Co., 1895), 156; Toledo Blade, February 3, 1894, 2.

Louis Van Noorden came to Toledo in 1860 at the age of ten when his father, Solomon, dissatisfied with the way things were going in Detroit, hired a steamer, loaded up his family, his clothing stock, his furniture, a servant, a dog and a cat, and moved south. They landed at the foot of Adams street and quickly found a place on Summit where they could set up store. Solomon Van Noorden was an immigrant from Holland who had stopped off first in Schenectady, New York before moving to Detroit and then to Toledo. His young son started school immediately in the third ward school but remembered later that Toledo had not impressed him very much. It was a rather sorry place with no water works, poor sewerage, no bridge across the river, little paving, and plenty of swamps, creeks, ponds, and mosquitoes. In December 1864 when Lincoln called for 300,000 men, Louis Van Noorden served as a drummer at the recruiting office at Summit and Perry streets. He recalled that he was not quite five feet tall and his drum was very large; his partner, a young man named Bill Flannigan, was more than six feet tall and he played the fife.⁴⁵

The other drummer was Phillip Oesterman, brother of Nathan D. Oesterman, also from Holland. Nathan Oesterman made his home in Toledo from approximately 1863 until his death fifty years later. He was born in Amsterdam in 1838,

⁴⁵Undated clipping in the geneology file, Local History Room, Toledo and Lucas County Public Library; Toledo Blade, May 28, 1941. The Van Noorden stories were confirmed in an interview with Daisy Van Noorden, daughter of Louis.

arrived in New York at the age of thirteen, and some years later married an Irish Catholic woman who became a Jewish convert. He brought his wife and young children to Toledo after a fire destroyed his furniture business in New York and he had no insurance to handle the loss. Broke and ashamed, he chose Toledo because he knew there was another family from Holland--the Van Noordens--already in the city. N.D. Oesterman's brother Phillip spent only a short time in the United States but his years in Toledo coincided with the Civil War and he, too, spent some time as a drummer. When he returned to Europe he settled in Belgium where he prospered. In 1899 Phillip Oesterman sent his picture from Brussels to the Ford post of the GAR, confirming his participation in the American Civil War.⁴⁶

It is the opinion of the Jewish historian Bertram W. Korn that the Civil War was a crucial experience for American Jews. He says, for example, that the war Americanized the immigrant Jew because it forced him to identify with his surroundings and choose sides in the conflict. Out of this came a feeling of rootedness because of the contributions made by individual Jews in and out of battle.⁴⁷ Korn

⁴⁶Toledo Blade, September 2, 1913, 1; Interview with Lewis Osterman, son of N.D. Osterman (the spelling of the name was legally changed by N.D. before his death); the picture of Phillip Oesterman is in the Local History Room of the Toledo and Lucas County Public Library.

⁴⁷Bertram W. Korn, "American Jews in the Civil War," Message of Israel (radio program), January 8, 1961, cited in Katz, The Jewish Soldiers from Michigan, 42.

is saying that people who suffer and sacrifice together form strong ties, and for the war generation, at least, Americanization took on a special meaning. He may be right, and yet it seems from the evidence in Toledo that the Jews had already identified themselves as Americans and the war simply caused them to intensify what they were doing. The participation of the old residents in patriotic and civic affairs increased--and some new names did appear.

As a continuation of the old, William Kraus seemed tireless in his concern for those who were in need. For example, he took part in the Washington's birthday celebration in 1862 when he shared the platform with Jesup W. Scott, Morrison R. Waite, Judge Thomas Dunlap, and Father Boff of St. Francis de Sales church. Kraus, the Blade said, "made a few happy remarks in relation to the duties of the citizens in times like the present and said they should provide with a liberal hand for the wants of the soldiers' families." Kraus "struck the right vein . . . and his suggestions were greeted with immense applause."⁴⁸

Kraus was genuinely interested in the welfare of the soldiers' families. He made personal contributions as well as speeches and continued his concern to the end of the war. Late in 1864 William Kraus was part of a state-wide effort to collect contributions and organize a festival for the sup-

⁴⁸Toledo Blade, February 24, 1862.

port of needy families. But this was only one facet of his wartime activity. He also addressed war meetings and participated in the campaign to raise bounties and war subsidies in order to avoid the drafting of men in Lucas county. For a time he was chairman of the Military Finance Committee.⁴⁹

The problem was to supply enough volunteers to fill the county's quota without resorting to a draft. As hopes for a quick war faded and the reality of the military situation became evident, the competition for recruits increased. It was necessary to raise greater and greater sums of money. This was done initially by subscription and the list of contributors published in the Blade in September 1862 shows some familiar names. The largest contribution--\$1,000-- was given by the Michigan Southern Railroad. Kraus and Smith, bankers, contributed \$200; the Gitskeys pledged ten dollars a month for a year; and Joseph Roemer, Jacob Landman, Gustav Goldsmith, and Lahman Kraus each pledged five dollars a month for one year.⁵⁰

Because the threatened conscription would have been handled by wards, ward organizations developed to raise enough funds to hire substitutes, and sometimes some pretty

⁴⁹Toledo Blade, September 25, 1861; July 15, 1862; August 25, 1862; December 5, 1862; Waggoner, A History of Toledo, 113. Kraus was frequently joined in activity of this type by Jacob Landman.

⁵⁰Toledo Blade, October 6, 1862.

high pressure methods were used. The Blade published lists showing the amount of each contribution and if the contributor was eligible for the draft. The idea was that a man should have enough social conscience to contribute even if he could not be ordered to war. If not enough money was raised, and a draft was ordered, contributions would be refunded to anyone who was drafted, so that he could use that money--and add to it--in order to pay a substitute. All of this activity was considered very honorable. The disgrace would have been for Lucas county to send draftees to the war, and while some names were pulled for draft, no one ever went into the service on that basis from the county.⁵¹

A list published on April 13, 1865, just after the end of the war, showed that William Kraus, not eligible for draft, paid \$75.00 into his ward fund. Louis Wachenheimer, also not eligible, paid \$5.00. Among those who were eligible, Alexander Black paid \$50.00; B. and L. Gitskey paid \$50.00 each; M. Gitskey paid \$25.00; and Guido Marx paid \$50.00. Presumably, by the rules of the game, Marx's fifty dollars was returned because the fourth ward did not meet its quota and his name was the first one drawn. By his own statement, his brother Emil took his place, and the money probably went to the support of Emil's family.⁵²

⁵¹Downes, Lake Port, 195-204.

⁵²Toledo Blade, April 13, 1865; Marx, "The German Element," in Waggoner, History of Toledo, 751.

In addition to the raising of money, the members of the Jewish community were concerned about the problem of war-time morale which, for a period between 1862 and 1863, was very low. Military victories eluded the Northern forces, and the Copperhead sentiments, which combined a kind of war-weariness with obstructionism, plagued the soldiers from the rear. Toledo area regiments, like many others, needed to be reassured that they had loyal support at home. They asked directly for that support and they got it.

At a mass meeting on March 18, 1863, more than 2,000 Toledoans signed a pledge to provide loyal home support for Lincoln's government and for the men in the field. And here the name of Solomon Van Noorden, Jr. appears for the first time, as does that of Alexander Black, along with a familiar collection of Krauses, Goldsmiths and Gitskeys. Out of this meeting came the Loyal National League with its primary object to "bind together all Loyal men--of all trades and professions--in a common Union--to maintain the power, the glory, and the integrity of the nation." William Kraus was treasurer. A few days later a German Loyal League was proposed with Guido Marx, Jacob Landman and A. Bunert appointed to organize the Germans. An enthusiastic response assured that the Germans, too, were aligned against the Copperheads.⁵³

Also in 1863, as part of the home front response to the

⁵³Waggoner, History of Toledo, 92-107; Downes, Lake Port, 208.

Copperhead threat, the Ohio National Guard was organized in nine districts, Lucas county making up a part of the ninth district. Here the name of G. Goldsmith appeared as a first lieutenant in the second regiment of the guard, elected from Toledo's third ward. The confusion about the Goldsmiths persists, however, and there was certainly more than one G. Goldsmith in the city in the 1860's.⁵⁴

One other form of government service during the war has been noted: Lincoln's appointment of Joseph Marx as U.S. Consul in Amsterdam. The job was perhaps a Toledo sinecure: Dr. F. J. Klauser of Toledo held it from September 1861 until Marx's appointment.⁵⁵ Lincoln's choice of Joseph Marx did not secure him the support of Joseph's strong-minded brother, however. Guido Marx thought Lincoln's position on slavery and reconstruction was too moderate and he favored the Radical Democracy of John C. Fremont in the election of 1864. In fact, he quarreled with the Commercial Printing Company, then publishers of the Express, and withdrew from the editorial management of the German paper in June 1864 because he could not secure an endorsement for Fremont.⁵⁶ That should have been the end of the incident but

⁵⁴Waggoner, History of Toledo, 107. Waggoner's list of loyalists shows G. Goldsmith and Gustav Goldsmith (98).

⁵⁵Toledo Blade, September 16, 1861; January 15, 1864; Marx, "The German Element," in Waggoner, History of Toledo, 752. Marx says that Klauser followed his brother to Amsterdam, although the Blade indicates otherwise.

⁵⁶Toledo Blade, June 4, 1864.

Guido Marx did not lose easily. On June 17, 1864 the Express came out strongly for Fremont and the parent Commercial issued a quick denial. The article found its way into the Express in a "clandestine and surreptitious manner and is entirely at variance with the sentiments entertained by the publishers of the paper," the editors of the Commercial explained.⁵⁷ The Blade hoped smugly that their corporate neighbors would get themselves adjusted.⁵⁸

Once the war was over and Lincoln buried, the disenchantment with his successor came very rapidly. While Toledo editor David Ross Locke gained a national audience for his satire of Andrew Johnson, and Toledo Congressman James M. Ashley launched the quarrel which eventually led to impeachment proceedings, Toledo Jews reflected considerable ambivalence. Most of them, unlike Emil Marx who publicly opposed Johnson's soft policies, still wished to be counted as loyal Union men. They signed a public call stating that "the same organization which carried the country through the war should continue to govern it." They were loyal Republicans, but they had their problems with Johnson. William Kraus was on the committee to meet the President

⁵⁷Toledo Blade, June 4, 1864; June 18, 1864. Warning of the radical ideas of "a small faction of malcontents" among German Republicans appeared in the Illinois Staats Zeitung in March 1864. The Blade printed a translation on March 19, 1864. See Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln (Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954) for a discussion of the Fremont challenge in 1864 (pages 514-515).

⁵⁸Toledo Blade, June 18, 1864.

during the four hours he was to be in town on September 4, 1866, but Kraus withdrew from the honor and so did two other members of the committee. "It is astonishing how sensitive men are in the matter of Johnsonism," the Blade said. "They want nothing to do with him."⁵⁹

In 1868 things were looking better, however. Kraus was on the executive committee for the election of Ulysses S. Grant and the dilemma of supporting a party but not the man who headed it was about to end.⁶⁰ Kraus's own election as mayor took place on April 5, 1869. He was nominated by acclamation and elected with a plurality in six of the city's eight wards. The Commercial summed up his reputation in the community on the morning of the election:

It is not necessary to tell our city readers who William Kraus is. Few citizens have become better or more personally and favorably known. For many years he has been among our most prominent, successful and honorable businessmen. Politically, he was a one time Democrat, but when the slave power developed itself in monstrous usurpations, he left the party and for the past fifteen years has been among the most active and earnest supporters of the cause of freedom. Throughout the rebellion he was especially active on the side of the Union and his money and influence contributed largely to the support of the government. That, if elected (of which we admit no grave doubt) he will devote his rare talents to the advancement of Toledo's interests cannot be questioned.⁶¹

⁵⁹David Ross Locke's satires about Johnson were collected in Swingin Round the Cirkle (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1867). Toledo Jews who supported a Loyal Union meeting in 1866 were B. and L. Gitskey, Guido Marx, Solomon Van Noorden, Sr. and Jr., Samuel and Henry Stettiner, Joseph and Henry Roemer, and Lahman and William Kraus (Blade, September 1, 1866). See also Toledo Blade, August 30 and 31, 1866.

⁶⁰Toledo Blade, April 15, 1868.

⁶¹Toledo Commercial, April 5, 1869.

As the decade of the 1860's ended, Toledo had a Jewish mayor and there were at least seventy-five Jews listed in the city directory (See Appendix A). Since most of these were heads of family, the Jewish population of the city, by conservative estimate, must have exceeded two hundred. Some, were vocal and prosperous. Others, such as Moses Powder (he changed his name from Pulvermacher in order to sound more American), who was a peddler and who lived upstairs at No. 17 Woodruff, were probably very poor.⁶² Many of the newcomers, such as the Van Noordens and the Oestermans, had arrived during the decade with families and all their possessions. Certainly there were other, younger, men who arrived with nothing more than they could carry and who, like Jacob Landman many years earlier, sought work as clerks. Perhaps this was the case with Simon Hirsch who was a clerk for Isaac Loeb in his clothing store at 25 Summit street.⁶³

But for those who stayed, commitment to the community was evident. The Jews gave their time and money. They took part in the times of crisis and in the times of celebration, and they were good citizens.

⁶²Interview with Marshall Isenberg whose grandmother was a sister of Moses Powder.

⁶³Simon Hirsch's name disappeared from the city directory in 1872-73.

PART TWO: A DEVELOPING PLURALISM
1870-1895

The last decades of the nineteenth century . . . witnessed a succession of attempts to set up areas of exclusiveness that would mark off the favored group and protect them against excessive contacts with outsiders. In imitation of the American model, there was an effort to create a "high society" with its own protocol and conventions, with suitable residences in suitable districts, with distinctive clubs and media of entertainment, all of which would mark off and preserve the wealth of the fortunate families.

Oscar and Mary Handlin
American Jewish Year Book 1955

Chapter Six: THE ORDEAL OF WILLIAM KRAUS

When the City of Toledo celebrated his favorite holiday, the Fourth of July, in 1870 William Kraus was mayor and presided over the festivities. Six years later, at the time of the country's great centennial birthday party, Kraus was exiled and living in Canada, or perhaps in Europe. His exact whereabouts was not clear.

Kraus was a conventional mayor, perhaps more active than some. He seemed genuinely to enjoy festive occasions where he could make stirring, patriotic speeches.¹ He was a civic booster also and caught up in the transcontinental railroad frenzy of the late 1860's which was intensified by the completion of the first system to span the country in 1869. Plans in Toledo at that time involved building a road to the east to reach the coal fields of southern Ohio and to connect, in the first version, with the Erie system under Jay Gould, and when that failed, with the Pennsylvania Railroad. Much of this interest in new railroad lines developed during Kraus's term as mayor, and he was indefatigable in

¹As examples, Kraus urged continual support for the orphans and families of the Civil War dead in a Memorial Day speech, he participated in the St. Andrew's festival although conceding that he was not much of a Scotchman, and he addressed the Colored People's Jubilee in celebration of the fifteenth amendment (Toledo Commercial, May 31, 1869; December 1, 1869; April 8, 1870).

his pursuit of authority and approval for the new road.²

Once it became apparent that Jay Gould had lost interest in building the projected Toledo and Woodville Railroad, a plan developed for the city to issue bonds and finance the construction. This required special authorization by the state legislature. Under Ohio's constitution of 1851 all units of government were prohibited from investing in private enterprise and railroad construction in the state virtually ceased. What the Toledoans wanted (Cincinnati was asking for a similar law) was not to join in a private enterprise, which would have violated the constitution, but to form a totally-owned municipal corporation to build the railroad. Three weeks after his election, William Kraus headed a committee which went to Columbus and secured the necessary legislation. Toledo was authorized to issue bonds in the amount of five per cent of the taxable property, or approximately \$450,000, provided only that the voters approved.³

Getting public approval was something Kraus knew how to do. His years of war rallies and Republican stumping had given him good practice. The election was set for July 6, 1869, and Kraus, in the words of Randolph Downes, "seems to

²For a full discussion of the railroad frenzy, see Randolph Downes, Lake Port (Toledo: Northwest Ohio Historical Society, 1951). Chapter six of Downes' book is entitled "A New Railroad Hysteria" (59-82).

³Toledo Blade, April 30, 1869; Downes, Lake Port, 68-69.

have been everywhere in behalf of the road."⁴ He set up ward committees and had circulars printed to inform the voters that any tax increases would be more than offset by the extraordinarily low cost of coal and by the influx of manufacturers to the city. Kraus and his committees did their work well. More than 98 per cent of the voters favored the project. On July 26, Judge John Fitch of the Court of Common Pleas appointed Kraus to head the board of trustees of the railroad, and this was an activity he continued even after he got into financial trouble.⁵

The kind of boosterism which involved the railroad, the luring of manufacturers, and the general puffing of Toledo as the "Future Great City of the World," was undoubtedly Kraus's major contribution as mayor. He was an enterprising businessman, well accepted in the community as a warm-hearted individual.⁶ Probably one could find his counterpart in many of the major cities of the country in 1869, with the possible exception that Kraus was Jewish. At least two other cities had Jewish mayors in 1869. The Israelite made a point of identifying Philip Myer, a native of Charles-

⁴Ibid., 70.

⁵Ibid., 69; Annual Statement of Finances of Toledo for the Year Ending March 1st, 1870. The Mayor's Annual Message and Reports of the Police and Fire Department (Toledo: 1870); Toledo Commercial, July 27, 1869.

⁶Kraus's identification with charitable causes has already been documented. In the summer of 1871 the Index ran a letter from a Jewish woman in Maine who needed financial help. Kraus was among the few who sent her money (Index, September 2, 1871).

ton, South Carolina, who was mayor of Natchitoches, Louisiana, and Bernard Goldsmith who had to be coaxed to take the post of mayor in Portland, Oregon, along with William Kraus of Toledo. The fact that the Israelite compiled such a list indicates that Jewish mayors were something of a rarity.⁷

As far as the day-to-day activities of Toledo were concerned, Kraus provided a stable administration. He was understandably concerned about equipment for the fire department, he urged the impounding rather than the shooting and poisoning of stray dogs, and he launched a campaign against prostitution which must have caused him some pain. One of its victims was a twenty-two year old woman named Sophia Kraus who kept a house of prostitution on Swan street and who committed suicide in November 1869. William Kraus had a daughter named Sophia who was nine years old at that time.⁸

When Kraus was defeated for re-election (he lost in every ward), he did not exactly retire gracefully. He and his supporters were bitter about the campaign which the

⁷Israelite, October 29, 1869, 11. In The Provincials: A Personal History of the Jews in the South (New York: Atheneum, 1973), Eli Evans reports that Solomon Jacobs was acting mayor of Richmond, Virginia in 1815; that Galveston, Texas had three Jewish mayors before the war; and that Jonas Levy was mayor of Little Rock, Arkansas from 1860 to 1865 (335-336).

⁸Toledo Commercial, November 8, 1869. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States: 1870. Population Schedules, Toledo and Lucas County, Ward 4, 77. In 1877 the Blade noted as "a common evil" the adoption of the names of prominent people as soubriquets by people "of low repute" (Blade, December 4, 1877). Perhaps this was the case with Sophia Kraus.

church groups, and the YMCA particularly, had launched against him. The issues were the improper Sunday observance of the Fourth of July discussed earlier, and Kraus's alleged failure to enforce liquor laws.⁹ On the evening of April 19, 1871, two weeks after his defeat at the polls, he was serenaded by the Petersburger Maennerchor at his home. Spokesmen for the group expressed their approval of his "past official course" and Kraus replied that he had been directed only by what he understood to be right and proper and that he would always adhere to the same principles. Guido Marx, who that day had been installed in the new city council, said that Kraus's defeat was more of a victory than any success secured by the surrendering of principles, and that any Germans or Republicans who had joined to defeat Kraus were abandoning their honor. "A dozen defeats," Marx said, "under these circumstances, would be more honorable than a deviation from life-long convictions."¹⁰

The controversy over what was "proper" in the observance of the sabbath was not easily resolved, and both the Liberal Alliance of Toledo and the Radical Club were formed to combat "soul-slavery" as the Index called it. The Kraus incident led to the foundation of the Liberal Alliance and that led directly to the Index's call in the beginning of 1872 for the "Impeachment of Christianity." Meanwhile Kraus

⁹Toledo Blade, April 4, 1871.

¹⁰Toledo Blade, April 19, 1871.

involved himself in the controversy over the Bible in the public schools, and he revealed some of the bitterness he had been feeling for many years.¹¹

For very different reasons, during the remainder of 1871 and throughout 1872, William Kraus was in the news several times. In October he and Guido Marx were heckled and prevented from speaking by a vocal clamor and "grossly insulting language" at a political meeting in the fifth ward. The Commercial reported that the speakers "bore the outrage with much forbearance and patience and did not fail to make good use of the affair as an illustration of the kind of 'freedom' to be expected when that kind of Democracy got power, if it ever should."¹²

A month later Kraus took his place at the speakers' table for a dinner honoring Toledoan Morrison R. Waite. Waite was leaving to serve at the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration, which had been set up to hear American Civil War claims against Great Britain. After the dinner Kraus responded to the toast "Our Adopted Citizens," and said that he was proud to call himself an American citizen, even by adoption. For Waite he had the highest praise: "I love him--not for his good looks--but because he is such an embodiment of sterling worth. I have a thousand times wished

¹¹The Liberal Alliance of Toledo was formed as a direct result of Kraus's defeat. Its major concern was the absolute separation of church and state (Index, July 15, 1871, August 12, 1871, January 6, 1872).

¹²Toledo Commercial, October 7, 1871.

we could all be like him."¹³

In January 1872 the Blade hinted at a coming wedding of great interest, and then disclosed a few days later that the reference was to the double wedding of Lena and Laura Kraus, daughters of William Kraus. Lena, about 24, married Isaac Rosenthal of Philadelphia, and Laura, 21, married Adolph Feiss, owner of a tobacco store in Toledo. Rabbi Max Lilienthal of Cincinnati performed the ceremony. The wedding was at five o'clock in the family home with a reception for "a very large number of guests" at Hunker's parlors in the evening. The Blade account described the gifts:

Those who were fortunate enough to be invited to the house yesterday (the day before the nuptials) speak of the trousseaus of the brides and the mementos of friends, as of the most elegant and costly description. The Jewish custom of provided outfits for their daughters on such occasions goes far beyond the temporary policy of our American families, an excellence which it is to be wished, might be imitated by the latter.¹⁴

Kraus's older daughter left with her husband for Philadelphia, and three weeks later was joined by her brother James. Again the paper explained:

We learn that James J. Kraus of our city and son of Hon. William Kraus, is about to go East for the purpose of engaging in business. Mr. Kraus has become connected with the extensive firm of Rosendahl, Long and Company (421 Market street, Philadelphia) who are manufacturers of parasols and other goods of like character. By application to business he has the promise of a fine career

¹³Toledo Commercial, December 19, 1871.

¹⁴Toledo Blade, January 22, 1872; January 26, 1872.

and we hope to hear of him favorably at no distant day.¹⁵
James Kraus was nineteen or twenty at the time that he left Toledo.¹⁶

In June 1872 Kraus had an opportunity to visit his children when he attended the Republican national convention in Philadelphia--the convention which nominated Grant for the second term. He returned home with a fellow delegate, James Madison Bell, a poet and leader of the Toledo Negro community, with whom Kraus had been acquainted for many years.¹⁷

On the surface William Kraus appeared to be a man who had his house in order. He was a respected banker, a leading citizen, a father who was beginning to see his children independently established, and a person with enough leisure to enjoy life.¹⁸ Perhaps that is why the failure of his bank in September 1873 caught so many people unaware and caused so much suffering, particularly among Kraus's German friends.

The failure was linked directly to the suspension of Jay Cooke and Company on September 18, 1873. Cooke's demise

¹⁵Toledo Blade, February 21, 1871.

¹⁶Ninth Census, Population Schedule, Ward 4, 77.

¹⁷Toledo Blade, June 10, 1872. Bell was a popular orator and Kraus was among those who sponsored his talks.

¹⁸Kraus was also a director of the Toledo Brewing Company (Peter Lenk's firm) and of the Germania Insurance Company. His bank moved into new quarters in the Chamber of Commerce building in June 1871 (Toledo Commercial, September 24, 1870; Toledo Blade, January 17, 1872; June 6, 1871).

was so unbelievable that an overly zealous policeman was said to have arrested a New York newsboy for shouting "All About the Failure of Jay Cooke."¹⁹ The failure just a week later of Kraus and Smith in Toledo was equally incredible.²⁰ The firm closed its doors at 4 p.m. on Thursday, September 25, one of a number of national casualties resulting from a shaky market situation and the erosion of public confidence. Stunned depositors milled around Kraus and Smith's door on Friday but were persuaded finally that there would be no money and that they would receive some information soon. One dazed German withdrew his one hundred dollars of savings from another bank and spent it all on beer before the day was over.²¹

The Blade was reassuring about the whole situation, even in its initial story:

The announcement, after business hours yesterday, that one of our most active business firms, that of Kraus and Smith, had made an assignment, caused quite a sensation in our streets.

In addition to the individual embarrassment arising from this failure, the effect of the announcement was increased by the fact that Kraus and Smith's Bank was

¹⁹Fred Shannon tells this story in Economic History of the People of the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1934), 463.

²⁰In a later article the Blade reported there had been a run on Kraus and Smith's bank earlier in September when "some evil-disposed persons originated and circulated reports among the depositors of that bank." This resulted in large crowds blocking the streets and sidewalks, but the bank remained open and all demands were met without the assistance of other banks and private capitalists who had offered help (Blade, October 4, 1873).

²¹Toledo Blade, September 30, 1873.

well-known to be the depository of most of our public funds.

We are pleased to learn that the securities pertaining to the County and City funds are such that the public will meet with no loss.

The bond of the County Treasurer is ample for all the funds in his hands, being signed by men whose property is worth at least five times the amount called for. In addition to this, the Treasurer has real estate and other securities in his hands which will guarantee him against loss. A little time may be needed to convert the securities held into money, and the exercise of some leniency on the part of the demands on the treasury, but that no loss will come to the public through the action of the Treasurer, we are very certain.²²

And in the same way, the individual depositors were told initially that the situation was really not serious. Kraus said that his personal assets were sufficient to meet all liabilities and to leave him \$100,000 or so.²³ He spent an hour or two "down street" on the Monday morning after the closing and was quite willing to talk. When a Blade reporter asked him what had happened, he replied:

It was because we had no currency and couldn't get it. In consequence we were obliged to make part payment of the larger checks that were presented. In ordinary times, we could have had fifty or a hundred thousand dollars, but now owing to the general stringency, it was no use to ask it. And so we suspended because we could not do business on our limited amount of currency, and we were unwilling to make any discriminations in our creditors.²⁴

Kraus then told the reporter he intended to turn over all of his personal property, which he estimated at about \$400,000

²²Toledo Blade, September 26, 1873.

²³This is what Kraus told Dennis Coghlin when he turned over the bank's problems on September 25 (Blade, September 29, 1873).

²⁴Ibid.

or \$450,000, and that he held nothing in his wife's name.

He denied that the bank had been speculating:

. . . the bank has speculated in nothing. No money has been put outside the bank so as to make it unavailable in the payment of debts. We have some real estate, but that is all available.²⁵

The next question concerned the Lucas County and Toledo school board funds which had been deposited in the bank, and Kraus explained that he had had county funds for two years and school board funds for one year. He said it was true that he had loaned some money to Toledo brewer Peter Lenk, but said he had been carrying Lenk's paper for twenty years, and did not think it best to make any statement of the amount of Lenk's indebtedness.

The reporter asked a few more questions and then said, "I believe you were somewhat similarly situated once before, were you not?" Kraus answered:

Yes sir; I was twenty years ago. I was unfortunate in business, and was unable then to pay ten cents on the dollar. After a time I managed to pay one-third, and the balance was paid off in one and two years. I paid every dollar then, and I mean to do so now if my creditors do not prevent it by forcing me to sacrifice valuable real estate at half its worth. I believe that if I am not able to do so, I have friends enough who will help me through and help the bank to make a start again.²⁶

After he left Kraus, the Blade reporter walked down the street to call on the county treasurer, J.S. Kountz, who told him that \$95,000 of county funds were on deposit at the

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

time of the suspension, but that he had real estate in the amount of \$130,000 which Kraus gave to him as insurance, and that his (Kountz's) bondsmen were going to meet and consider the problem of the county funds that afternoon.

Kountz was particularly vulnerable because he was standing for re-election to the post of county treasurer, and the election was only two weeks away. On October 14 Kountz was defeated, the first casualty of the Kraus and Smith failure.²⁷

Dennis Coghlin, a Democratic politician who had been Kraus's friend for twenty-five years, agreed to settle the bank's affairs as assignee on the 26th of September. He said that he acted out of friendship and a strong conviction that the bank was solvent.²⁸ Coghlin was one of the signers of Kountz's bond, and he found himself under increasing criticism as he proceeded to sort out assets and liabilities. In fact, he tried to quit, but when the task was offered to Matthias Boos and he refused, Coghlin decided to stay on until a definitive statement could be made. This was

²⁷Toledo Blade, October 15, 1873. The Blade had tried editorially to save Kountz (Blade, October 4, 1873). Kountz was later elected county recorder for one term; he retired from public life in 1877. He was popular locally because of his Civil War record. He was a drummer boy at Missionary Ridge and lost a leg in the battle.

²⁸Toledo Blade, October 18, 1873. Kraus did a similar favor for Coghlin in 1859 when he and R.H. Bell agreed to visit the Sisters of Charity Orphan Asylum and determine if all money was being handled properly. Coghlin, who was responsible for the funds, asked them to make the audit. Kraus and Bell reported everything in order (Blade, April 2, 1859).

accomplished on October 18, and then Coghlin indicated that he intended to resign. He actually stayed with the task until the end of the year. The balance sheet which he presented in October, however, contained some surprises: assets of \$429,511 fell far short of the \$940,113 liabilities of the bank.²⁹

Concern was growing, particularly among the German depositors, but the Blade remained staunchly loyal to Kraus. It offered his explanation that the bank had loaned money on inadequate securities and that the personal property listed in the assignee's report at \$190,000 had actually cost the bank \$612,000. Kraus was sure he could raise the value of the real estate appraised at \$168,000 to at least \$357,000 if he could have up to five years' time in which to liquidate it. The Blade not only supported him but was effusive in its praise:

The embarrassment of the Bank, as thus shown, originated from the character of its credits, and not from any corrupt use of its funds. Those who have best known Messrs. Kraus and Smith have never for a moment harbored the thought that the affairs of the Bank had been managed corruptly for the purpose of defrauding its creditors. Mr. Kraus has been a prominent and active business man in Toledo for twenty years or more, and during all that time no man has been esteemed more upright in business transactions or more generous to the poor and needy. We do not believe that he ever, knowingly, wronged any person, and we are gratified to know that the actual bank assets show that its business has failed, not from any wrong motive on the part of Messrs. Kraus and Smith, but because they had, in the kindness of their hearts, loaned money upon inadequate securities. This is the extent of

²⁹Toledo Blade, October 18, 1873.

their offending, and a knowledge of the fact should put a stop to the unjust accusations which have grown out of a misunderstanding of the true condition of the Bank.³⁰

The Blade believed that the matter should be kept out of bankruptcy proceedings and that trustees should be appointed, with Kraus as their agent, to function for a period of five years. The Express printed the balance sheet for its German readers and quoted Kraus at some length pleading for the faith and trust of the German community which would enable him eventually to make restitution.³¹

Certainly there was talk from the beginning of forcing the firm into bankruptcy, a course which was filled with danger for the small depositor, some thought. A correspondent to the Blade who signed himself "Small Depositor" argued that the bank's wealthy customers could recoup their losses by buying Kraus and Smith's real estate at its appraised value and holding it themselves until it appreciated again. "To give the assets into the hands of lawyers and auctioneers is like giving a dead body over to panthers and ravens for a decent burial," the writer said.³² Other small depositors were outraged because Kraus had guaranteed the public funds by depositing real estate with Kountz. They felt that this constituted preferential creditor status for the county and could only leave less to be divided against their personal losses.

³⁰Toledo Blade, October 21, 1873.

³¹Toledo Express, October 21, 1873.

³²Toledo Blade, September 30, 1873.

Animosity was growing and by November 9 it flared into the open. On that Sunday a group of about 400 Germans, 40 or 50 of them women, met in Druid Hall for a "general consultation." John Groenewold called the meeting to order and set the tone. He said that many poor men and widows had been robbed of their property by the failure of the City Bank, which he considered "the greatest swindle he had known since he came to this country--22 years ago." Groenewold wanted to see the rascals who had perpetrated the swindle behind locks and bars--"the whole gang of robbers brought to justice." He was heartily applauded.³³

Groenewold offered as evidence of criminality a report that on the day before the failure Fritz Lange had asked for payment on a check for \$1,200, and, on being refused, had torn the check up and thrown the pieces into Kraus's face. On the next day, Groenewold said, the bank paid \$2,500 to Lahman Kraus, \$2,500 to William Kraus, \$2,500 to John Henry (cashier at the bank), and \$175.00 to Feiss and Wolf (Feiss was Kraus's son-in-law).³⁴

Amid calls that the spitzbuben should be hung up,

³³Toledo Commercial, November 10, 1873. Someone wrote an anonymous letter to the editor to say that he approved when the Commercial attacked Kraus for "marching through the streets with a band of music on Sunday," but now he could only side with Kraus and against the Commercial since the paper carried a "flashy report of the meeting of the German creditors of the City Bank" because the meeting, too, was on a Sunday (Blade, November 10, 1873).

³⁴Toledo Commercial, November 10, 1873.

there were a few who tried to speak more calmly. A man named Bruksieker, for example, said that he thought Kraus was being ill-used. Kraus was not the real guilty party, he was only a "signpost" and others took advantage of his easy good nature and his lack of capacity as an accountant to work his ruin. The ones who were really responsible should go to the penitentiary, Bruksieker said, but not Kraus.

Groenewold would not accept that. Kraus was perfectly able to supervise his own affairs, he said, and to know their condition. He had been begging deposits for years, and had swindled the people of his own town and his best friends. Meanwhile, John Schrink raised what was to become an increasingly important point. He suggested that the certificate of deposit issued for the public funds was in fact false, and when he asked Kraus about this in three direct questions, he said that Kraus had evaded an answer. The suspicion remained that the money was missing and that Kraus and Smith had cooperated to cover up that fact. The irate Germans appointed a second committee to work with their first committee and agreed to meet again the following Sunday.³⁵

But they did not sit idly by waiting for the next meeting. Some of the German depositors went to see Kraus, and some went before the grand jury (Guido Marx, foreman). Kraus told the delegation that he would do well by them if they would help him avoid bankruptcy. The grand jury re-

³⁵Ibid.

turned indictments against former county treasurers Valentine Braun and Ernest Greiner. The German depositors believed that the former treasurers or their bondsmen should pay the money owed to the county treasury and thereby release the real estate which Kraus had given to Kountz as a guarantee for the public money. They believed that Kraus had been covering up for past sins and that it was time to get the whole matter into the courts.³⁶

And they probably had good reason to think so. When the Germans came together the second week, the committee reported on their conversation with Kraus and quoted him as saying that he did not owe any money to the treasury, that the \$103,000 certificate of deposit which he gave to Kountz when Kountz took office "was given to cover up other matters" and that the "stolen money" was a matter "of twelve years standing."³⁷ Although he faced a bankruptcy hearing on November 29, Kraus still hoped to avoid such action, and told the committee that if he had the opportunity to settle his affairs without court interference, he would turn over a \$68,000 certificate held by his wife. On November 25, Upton McClaine, one of the members of the German committee, published a card correcting the Blade's account and saying that "it was not intended that Messrs. Greiner and Braun were spoken of as defaulters by Mr. Kraus."³⁸

³⁶Toledo Blade, November 12, 1873; November 13, 1873; November 17, 1873.

³⁷Toledo Blade, November 17, 1873.

³⁸Toledo Blade, November 25, 1873.

The second meeting was as stormy as the first and "considerable private history of the parties in question was discussed to the evident enlightenment of many present."³⁹ By that time the city was full of innuendo and rumor. William Kraus, who during most of his time in Toledo had been honored with an "Esq." after his name or an "Honorable" before it, became plain Kraus in the pages of the newspapers. Before December ended Kraus and Smith were forced into bankruptcy and their assets were turned over to the assignees named by the United States District Court.⁴⁰

Kraus lost the power to redeem himself and for the next two years he was a spectator at the events set in motion by his failure. On February 6, 1874 John Henry, the bank's cashier, was indicted on a charge of embezzlement. He went to jail, pleaded not guilty at his arraignment, and then asked that his trial, set for March 5, be moved because of "public feeling growing out of the failure of the City Bank."⁴¹ The change of venue was denied.

Meanwhile the date for the trial of Braun and Greiner arrived and only Braun appeared. Greiner reportedly had fled to Canada and his \$10,000 bond was forfeited.⁴² On June 8,

³⁹Toledo Blade, November 17, 1873.

⁴⁰Toledo Blade, December 18, 1873. The assignees were Charles H. Swain, Leander Burdick, and Henry E. Bruksieker.

⁴¹Toledo Blade, February 4, 1874; February 6, 1874; February 23, 1874; March 5, 1874.

⁴²Toledo Blade, March 18, 1874; March 19, 1874.

1874 Braun was acquitted. When Henry's trial came up later in the month he, too, was acquitted of criminal charges although a civil judgment was entered against him later.⁴³

During the trial Kraus was called to testify and revealed some of his business practices which seemed to confirm the charges of the German depositors. He did not keep the books, he said, and he handled correspondence only when a German letter was required. He was unable to identify the handwriting in the bank's record books.⁴⁴

Kraus and Smith's real estate was liquidated at public auctions during the summer and early fall of 1874. Sufficient property (including Kraus's home) was offered to and accepted by the city to make up the deficit in public funds and Kountz's bondsmen were released. It cost them some \$7,000 to clear the various properties of mortgages, however, and Kountz mortgaged his own house to help meet that assessment.⁴⁵ On January 1, 1875 the assignees reported they had recovered assets totaling \$465,000 against liabilities of \$795,000. William Smith's personal assets exceeded his personal indebtedness and therefore supplied some money to the firm. Kraus's assets did not meet his

⁴³Toledo Blade, July 2, 1874.

⁴⁴Toledo Blade, June 30, 1874; July 1, 1874.

⁴⁵Toledo Blade, August 20, 1874; October 1, 1874; October 2, 1874; November 21, 1874; November 27, 1874; December 14, 1874.

personal indebtedness, and they were not applicable to the firm's deficit.⁴⁶ One matter still to be settled was the collection of more than \$300,000 in notes, drafts and book accounts. Approximately \$210,000 of that was the indebtedness of three men, Andrew Stephan, former county treasurer, Peter Lenk, and Andrew Brown.⁴⁷

As the settlement dragged on the assignees brought an action against Andrew Stephan, who had preceded Kountz in the treasurer's job, and the problem was still the county funds. Although the public money had been returned, the assignees were seeking to develop the bank's assets, and they now charged that it was Stephan for whom Kraus had been covering up. The matter was referred to a board of referees who returned their report in December 1875. After hearing extensive testimony, the referees concluded that Stephan owed \$125,759 to the assignees of the bank. Stephan's attorneys filed exceptions to the report and more testimony was taken. Out of this emerged a fairly consistent story, one in which both Kraus and Stephan concurred.⁴⁸

The two men had been shoring each other up for some twenty years. During the time that Stephan was treasurer he deposited public money with Kraus and Smith. When it came time to transfer his accounts to Kountz, Stephan showed a

⁴⁶Toledo Blade, January 18, 1875.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Toledo Blade, December 16, 1875; December 18, 1875.

deficit of \$203,000. This he asked William Kraus to cover for friendship's sake, and Kraus obliged by borrowing \$80,000 in currency from Cincinnati, putting \$20,000 of his own money with it, and issuing a certificate of deposit secured by his own real estate holdings, for \$103,000. Kountz accepted the arrangement and returned the currency to Kraus and Smith for deposit without even counting it. When William Smith returned the \$80,000 to Cincinnati immediately after the transaction, the money was in its original wrappings. Kraus and Stephan admitted to the officers of the court that they were in violation of a state statute governing public treasuries. The court entered a judgment against Stephan for \$125,759 to be paid to the assignees.⁴⁹

In March 1876 two of the "heavy sufferers" who had lost much in the City Bank placed the testimony which Kraus, Smith, and Stephan gave to the referees before the grand jury. Subpoened witnesses who were standing by to corroborate that information were never called. Instead the grand jury moved quickly to indict all three men based on their testimony alone.⁵⁰

The secret action was taken on a Saturday, and the word leaked quickly to those involved. Kraus and Stephan quietly disappeared before they could be arrested. The following Monday the Blade examined the new development under

⁴⁹Toledo Blade, December 16, 1875; December 18, 1875; March 8, 1876.

⁵⁰Toledo Blade, March 8, 1876.

the headline "Will They Come Back?"

As to Mr. Kraus, the information is less complete. Mrs. Kraus, his wife, states that he left on Monday on the noon train on the Dayton and Michigan road to visit a daughter of theirs living in Louisville, and that he will be back again in a few days. Others assert that he is in Canada and on his way to Europe.

The indictment against Kraus and Stephan was found upon their own testimony, given at the examination before the referees last Fall, when the assignees of Kraus and Smith were prosecuting the suit to recover from Stephan the money he had obtained from the City Bank. In that case they found themselves between two fires--on the one hand was their infraction of the stringent laws governing treasuries, and on the other was involved the whole of Mr. Stephan's property. They threw themselves on the first mentioned horn of the dilemma in order to escape the other, and the result is that they are caught on both.⁵¹

The Blade earlier in the same account had explained what it considered to be the improbable feature of the story: "that it is generally believed that Stephan is hopelessly bankrupt, and that it will be impossible for him to retain any control in the brewery, since even if he were to satisfy his other creditors, the judgement of \$125,759 obtained against him in the United States District Court would be sufficient to sweep away everything."⁵² Stephan had extended himself too far, and he probably never returned to Toledo. Guido Marx wrote of him, "misfortune, in various ways, compelled him to seek a home in the Far West."⁵³

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Guido Marx, "The German Element," in Clark Waggoner, ed., History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio (New York and Toledo: Munsell and Co., 1888), 742. The brewery which Stephan abandoned in 1876 became, after several changes of hands, the Buckeye Brewing Company.

Of William Kraus there is not much more to say. The bankruptcy proceedings, creditors' meetings, court suits, etc., continued for many years until the Blade referred to the situation as "That Old Sore," and conceded that the "claims and accounts left by Kraus and Smith were in such wretched shape that costly litigation was necessary at every step."⁵⁴ Final settlement was not achieved until June 1879, almost six years after the failure. The last dividend of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent made a total of $13\frac{1}{2}$ cents returned on each dollar.⁵⁵ When the accounting was complete, it showed that Stephan owed the bank \$125,000, Peter Lenk owed \$43,000 and the partners themselves were short \$561,000.⁵⁶

William Kraus stayed out of the country until the indictment against him was dropped. He reappeared on the streets of Toledo in early January 1881 and was greeted warmly by his old friends. The editors of the Blade undoubtedly reflected the prevailing attitude when they wrote:

There are those who have a feeling against Mr. Kraus and it has already been manifested. The failure of the City Bank was one of the most terrible disasters that ever befell Toledo, but it has never been determined who was responsible for it. One thing, however, is certain, that those who remember the kindly generous nature, the benevolence and liberality of William Kraus are loth to believe that it was his fault, except so far that he permitted himself to be the head of a business his very generosity and liberality made him totally unfit for. It is impossible to look upon William Kraus as a scheming fraud deliberately deceiving confiding people. There was a

⁵⁴Toledo Blade, January 7, 1878.

⁵⁵Dividends of five per cent were declared in January 1875 and September 1876 (Blade, January 15, 1875; September 4, 1876.

⁵⁶Toledo Blade, June 19, 1879.

terrible crime committed against the people of Toledo in the conduct of that institution, but we do not believe that William Kraus should be held entirely responsible for it. It is certain that he reaped no advantage by the failure, for, from the date of the failure he had been living in Canada in abject poverty. The old man paid dearly for his confiding nature. He is entitled to a smooth passage for the remainder of his expiring days.⁵⁷

William Kraus had the rare opportunity to read his community's evaluation of him while he was still alive. A little less than three years later--in December 1883--Kraus died at the home of his daughter Laura Feiss in Toledo, and the Blade repeated essentially the same sentiments in his obituary.⁵⁸

The Blade's consistent defense of Kraus must be accorded some importance because it was a genuinely sympathetic reaction. David Ross Locke must have known and respected William Kraus. In another much less serious instance of bank failure Locke reacted very differently. When the Commercial Bank under Cyrus H. Coy closed its doors in 1883 Locke led a vendetta against Coy which gave the defaulting banker no peace. The newspaper documented the stories of individual suffering among the bank's many small depositors and eventually attacked Coy personally. This never happened in the case of Kraus. The most that the Blade ever expressed was a kind of exasperation at the confusion in

⁵⁷Toledo Blade, January 4, 1881.

⁵⁸Toledo Blade, December 10, 1883.

the affairs of the City Bank.⁵⁹

And yet, although the press treated Kraus charitably, the failure of the institution cannot be minimized. Clark Waggoner, looking back from a perspective of fifteen years wrote that "no similar financial disaster in Toledo has caused like distress."⁶⁰ Guido Marx, who was his friend, reported only that "William Kraus never recovered from the misfortune which overtook him."⁶¹

⁵⁹The campaign against Coy is fully described in the chapter, "The Case of the Busted Banker," in John M. Harrison, The Man Who Made Nasby, David Ross Locke (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 263-280. Harrison is careful to point out that Locke had \$1,400 deposited in Coy's bank, although he does not believe that was the reason for the vendetta. Locke was particularly interested in bank reform, and banking problems were reflected in his novel A Paper City, his play Inflation, and a series of letters entitled Inflation at the X Roads (279). Locke edited the Blade from 1865 to 1875 and again from 1878 to 1888. Perhaps it is significant that he was absent from Toledo when Kraus disappeared.

⁶⁰Waggoner, History of Toledo, 494.

⁶¹Marx, "The German Element," in Waggoner, History of Toledo, 743.

Chapter Seven: THE CONGREGATIONS, 1870-1880

There are no records of the early Jewish congregations in Toledo, and their activities must be pieced together from newspaper accounts and city directories. B'nai Israel (Sons of Israel) was established and had a rabbi for part of 1869 and 1870, and there is no question that the congregation continued after he left. In the spring of 1871, for example, the following light-hearted account appeared in the Commercial:

Yesterday was known in the Jewish calendar as Purim which means a day of feasting, the anniversary of Haman's little hanging bee, at which time he stretched his neck on a scaffold 40 cubits high for the delectation of Mordecai, King Ahasuerus, Queen Esther and the rest of the Jews. The day was observed here quite extensively.¹

The next day the Commercial corrected its story. The scaffold was 50 cubits high, and someone had cared enough to set the record straight.²

About a year later, the Blade reported the dedication of B'nai Israel's new synagogue on Linn (Lynn) street near the river. The building was leased from the Western Seaman's Friends Society which operated a mission under the name of the Bethel. It had served as a church and shelter for lake

¹Toledo Commercial, March 7, 1871.

²Toledo Commercial, March 8, 1871.

sailors and gradually for railroad men also. For a time the structure was occupied jointly by the Bethel and the First Presbyterian church. Eventually, the First Presbyterian built its own church at Huron and Orange streets and the Bethel moved to the Middle Grounds.³ The Jewish dedication was described as follows:

Yesterday the Jewish congregation of this city took possession of their lately-leased place of worship on Linn street, with appropriate dedicatory services, consisting of readings from the laws of Moses and the impressive ceremonies pertaining to the Jewish worship, Rev. Mr. Roth officiating as rabbi, assisted by Mr. Goldberger. The Chapel has been newly and beautifully refitted throughout, appropriate for a synagogue under the efficient superintendence of Messrs. Van Orden, president and Oesterman, vice president of the organization. The society is in a highly flourishing condition, receiving a large addition to their membership yesterday after the dedication. In the future services will be held on Friday evening and Saturday afternoon at the synagogue.⁴

By all accounts, the building on Lynn street was well-kept and attractive. The first Toledo city directory described it as a "neat brick Gothic structure" built chiefly through popular subscription. An article in the Israelite in 1874 called it a "neat synagogue which was formerly a church." The Israelite also reported that the owner of the building, a Christian, rented it to the congregation for much

³Toledo Blade, March 18, 1872; After 100 Years: A Sparse History of Temple B'nai Israel of Toledo, Ohio (Toledo: B'nai Israel, 1970), 7; Clark Waggoner, ed., A History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio (New York and Toledo: Munsell and Company, 1888), 598, 602-603.

⁴Toledo Blade, March 18, 1872.

less than he could have gotten for other uses of his property.⁵

Things went well in the tidy and economical synagogue on Lynn street for several years. In April 1872 the local press took note of Passover and reported that the B'nai Israel congregation was growing:

Since its establishment two years ago, the congregation has flourished finely, having more than doubled its membership, the removal to the synagogue on Linn street adding considerable to its strength. A benevolent society is connected with the congregation, affording assistance in the case of sickness or death.⁶

Later that year Solomon Van Noorden, the retiring president of the congregation was honored and presented with a solid silver snuff box. He was succeeded as president by N.D. Oesterman.⁷ In April 1873, Passover was again observed in the synagogue and the event recorded in the local newspapers.⁸

In July 1873 there was dissension within the B'nai Israel congregation, but the Blade took a light view of it:

The Ruling Passion--The Israelite church on Lynn street has seventeen members. Mr. Shugarman, who has acted as Vice President, has been brought out for President by his friends, and now finds himself confronted by no less than six candidates for that honorable position. During the war there were many persons who wanted to join a regiment composed exclusively of Brigadier Generals, and we suppose it would be pleasant to join a church where all are

⁵Hosmer and Harris' Toledo Directory, 1858, 252. Israelite, January 16, 1874. The name of the Israelite was changed to American Israelite with the issue of July 3, 1874.

⁶Toledo Blade, April 23, 1872.

⁷Toledo Blade, October 24, 1872.

⁸Toledo Blade, April 12, 1873.

President or Ruling Elders.⁹

Abraham Shugarman, listed in the city directory as a "peripatetic trader," emerged from the contest not as president but as a ruling elder. An article in the Israelite the following January identified one of the Van Noordens as president, but Shugarman was a trustee and served as vice president again under N.D. Oesterman in 1877-78. Sometime during 1873 the congregation acquired another rabbi, Abraham Goldberg. Goldberg, who served at least until 1878, lived at 30 State street and was listed in the directories sometimes as a rabbi, sometimes as a peddler, and in one instance as a junk dealer. The directory of 1873-74 also lists Aaron Goldberg, who was a peddler, at the same address.¹⁰

Because of the Israelite article early in 1874, we have an idea of the make-up of that first congregation. The writer said that the Jewish population of Toledo had increased during the previous few years, and that the majority of newcomers were natives of Poland and Holland. "The Israelites here as a class are not wealthy but are industrious and well-to-do. There is a congregation which holds divine services

⁹Toledo Blade, July 26, 1873.

¹⁰Israelite, January 16, 1874, 6. Scott's City Directory, 1875-76, lists Abram Sugerman, peripatetic trader, who lived at 19 John street (451). See Appendix B for information on the early congregations as it appears in the city directories. For Goldberg, see Scott's directory, 1873-74, 223; 1875-76, 226; 1876-77, 232. The listing for the B'nai Israel congregation in Polk's City Directory, 1887-88, shows Abraham Goldberg as rabbi.

according to the most orthodox Polish Minhag. . . ."¹¹ If the membership was seventeen as the Blade suggested, the total congregation, using the multiplier of three and a half which the city directories of that time employed, probably exceeded sixty. In September 1874 B'nai Israel announced that anyone who wished to attend divine services during the holidays would have to procure tickets from one of the trustees: S. Van Noorden, N.D. Oesterman, or A. Shugarman.¹²

And then a strange thing happened. On April 17, 1875 the Blade ran a long, scholarly article about Passover, which included the statement that there would be no public celebration in Toledo because there was no synagogue in Toledo.¹³ Two days later a quiet correction appeared:

The statement in Saturday's paper that there would be no public celebration of the Passover by the Jews of this city to-day was correct only so far as it applied to the Reformed branch of the Hebrew church which is as yet without a place of worship. The Orthodox branch has a synagogue on Lynn street where the day will be celebrated with all the ancient rites.¹⁴

The mistake probably occurred because Max Eppstein wrote the article about Passover. A newcomer who was to shape Toledo Reform Judaism, Eppstein either did not know or did not consider it important that there was an Orthodox congregation observing the holiday.

¹¹Israelite, January 16, 1874, 6.

¹²Toledo Blade, September 9, 1874.

¹³See Appendix C. The article entitled "Lel Shimmoorim" is reproduced from the Toledo Blade, April 17, 1875.

¹⁴Toledo Blade, April 19, 1875.

Eppstein's initial contact with Toledo came in January 1871 when he married Belle Roemer, daughter of Joseph Roemer, whom he had met in Fort Wayne.¹⁵ Eppstein was at that time a resident of Champaign, Illinois, but his father, Mayer Eppstein, was a highly respected rabbi at Fort Wayne. The family came originally from Heckingen in the principality of Sigmaringen, South Germany, where Mayer Eppstein worked for forty years training young men to become rabbis. In 1848 he received a gold medal from the King of Prussia as an acknowledgement of his scholarship.¹⁶

In 1856 Mayer Eppstein (then sixty years old) brought his wife, four daughters, and twin sons to the United States. The boys, Max and Rudolph, who were born on February 17, 1842, were fourteen when the Eppstein's arrived in Fort Wayne. Max went to school in the East and graduated from Palmer's University, West Chester, Pennsylvania. Then he went

¹⁵The garbled notice read as follows: "Married Wednesday, January 18th at the residence of the bride's parents, by Rev. Kohler Max, M. Eppenstein of Champaign, Illinois and Belle Roemer of Toledo. Chicago and Fort Wayne papers please copy." (Toledo Commercial, January 20, 1871). Belle Roemer was born in Toledo and graduated from high school as one of the thirteen members of the class of 1866 (Waggoner, History of Toledo, 621).

¹⁶Information about the Eppstein family, not always consistent, comes from several sources: Mayer Eppstein's obituary in the Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel, April 5, 1879, 4; Max Eppstein's obituary in the Fort Wayne Journal, February 21, 1894, 4; the American Israelite, April 11, 1879, 6; and the Toledo Blade, February 19, 1894, 1. Isaac Mayer Wise, who may have known Mayer Eppstein in Europe, described a visit to Fort Wayne in 1860 and spoke warmly of "the old and venerable gentleman" (Jacob Rader Marcus, Memoirs of American Jews, Vol. III /Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1956/7, 15, 16).

to Champaign where he launched a clothing business with his brother. Although there is confusion about these early years of Max Eppstein's life, it is clear that he took his bride, the popular Belle, back to Champaign and that they stayed there until early 1875 when they decided to return to Toledo.¹⁷

Eppstein's decision to live in Toledo was an important one for the Jewish community. He was a man of great energy, he was innovative, he had a well-developed sense of public relations, and he was deeply religious. He worked very hard to establish and maintain the Reform congregation.

On February 10, 1875 the Commercial announced the arrival in the city of Max M. Eppstein who "intends to open a men's furnishings store at 65 Summit street, Detwiler and Lewis's old stand." The Commercial followed the practice then very common of printing a testimonial from the newcomer's previous place of business. The Champaign Union had called Eppstein "one of our oldest and best-known business

¹⁷As an example of some of the confusion, Max Eppstein's obituary in the Blade tells of his attending school in Pennsylvania, which was not entirely unlikely because there was at least one rabbi trained by Mayer Eppstein in Europe who lived in Easton, Pennsylvania (Israelite, May 27, 1881, 372). He, Edward Rubin, might very well have supervised Max Eppstein during his school years. On the other hand, Max Eppstein's obituary in the Fort Wayne Journal indicates that he spent his boyhood in that city. And to complicate matters further, the Champaign-Union was quoted as saying he lived there for 17 or 18 years. Only if he had gone directly to Champaign when he arrived in America could he have accumulated 18 years there before moving to Toledo. Belle Roemer's popularity (she was called "Belle of the Wabash") was described by her granddaughter, Mrs. Mervin Levey in 1971.

men," and said that he had grown "from boyhood to man's estate" in that city, all the while showing industry, energy, and enterprise.¹⁸

Three days later Max Eppstein was again in the news. He was called by the police to identify a man from Quincy, Illinois who had gotten off the train in Toledo and who was behaving erratically at the depot. Eppstein was knocked down twice during the encounter. The man was an old school mate from Europe, Emil Levy, a member of the firm of J.D. Levy and Company of Quincy. Levy was finally subdued and taken to the Boody House in handcuffs. Detective Hanks of the Toledo police eventually took him home to Quincy. Eppstein, who had been in the city only a short time, was quickly becoming known.¹⁹

There had been some interest in organizing a Reform congregation before Eppstein arrived. An article in the Israelite in July 1874 talked at length about the health of the Orthodox congregation and its success in establishing a sabbath school, and it mentioned in passing that effort was being exerted to bring the Reform Jews together.²⁰ On February 19, 1875, however, there was real news to report. The Toledo Reform Jews had been aroused from their lethargy and several meetings had been held. Thirty potential members

¹⁸Toledo Commercial, February 10, 1875.

¹⁹Toledo Commercial, February 13, 1875; American Israelite, February 19, 1875, 6.

²⁰American Israelite, July 17, 1874, 6.

had subscribed a thousand dollars toward furnishing a synagogue, and they hoped to be joined by Jews from small towns surrounding the city. The writer conceded that many of the old-time Toledo Jews showed no interest. The impetus had come from "younger man who have come to Toledo from places where they have enjoyed a synagogue and sabbath school." Those most vigorously involved were Messrs. Goldsmith, president, and Max Eppstein, secretary. The same story contained reference to the unfortunate Emil Levy of Quincy. The chances are that Max Eppstein, temporary secretary of the congregation wrote it.²¹

On February 17, 1875 the Reform group got together again, this time in one of the rooms of the U.S. Express building on St. Clair street.²² Principal business before the meeting was adoption of a constitution, and the only controversy centered on the form of worship. It was decided to adopt Rabbi Wise's Minhag America, the proposed constitution was changed to include that decision, and the congregation was born. The members adopted the name Shomer

²¹American Israelite, February 19, 1875, 6. This article was written at least two weeks before the date on which it was published.

²²The Commercial located the meeting in S. Kohn's room. Kohn was a commission merchant in flour and hay who had an office on Monroe street. The Blade account which was sent to and reprinted in the Israelite said that the meeting took place in the U.S. Express building. Two members of the community, Louis and Jacob Cohen (of Thorner and Cohen) had rooms in the Express building, and that could explain the Commercial's mistake.

Emunim (Guardian of the Faith) which had been suggested by Rabbi Wise, and then proceeded to elect permanent officers. They chose Emanuel Stern as president, Max Eppstein as secretary, Moses Gitskey as treasurer, and Jacob Lasalle, Henry Stern and Simon Kohn as trustees. The new officers and the trustees constituted a board of directors whose first assignments were to incorporate the congregation, find a suitable place for worship, and hire a rabbi. Forty members signed the constitution and by-laws and subscribed more than \$1,500 for the support of the congregation.²³

The story in the Israelite, a reprint of what appeared in the Blade, stressed that many attempts had been made in the past to establish a congregation. Meetings were held with no effect. "The Israelites were not ready to adopt the new ideas, and although there were several who kept it alive, the project was virtually abandoned until recently."²⁴ While it is probably unfair to suggest a direct causal relationship between the arrival of Max Eppstein and the formation of the congregation, the two events cannot be entirely coincidental. Eppstein's enthusiasm and his experience had to be important factors. Not only did he

²³Toledo Commercial, February 19, 1875. American Israelite, March 5, 1875, 6. The congregational name has been spelled a number of different ways. Originally "Shomer Amonim" seemed to be preferred. The spelling today is "Shomer Emunim," a change which first appeared in the city directory of 1878-79 (Polk's City Directory, 54-55). The modern spelling will be used throughout, except in quoted material.

²⁴American Israelite, March 5, 1875, 6.

come from a deeply religious family, he came from one that was committed to congregational activity. His father conducted services for the high holy days in Champaign-Urbana and his brother served as secretary pro-tem of the congregation there. The minute book of the Fort Wayne congregation, handwritten in German, contains the frequent signature of M[ayer] Eppstein, secretary. Also Max Eppstein made an extended trip through Colorado in 1877 "stirring up an interest in smaller towns" which the Israelite said "reflected both upon his zeal and his ability."²⁵

Unquestionably Max Eppstein's early days in Toledo were busy. He had a business to establish, customers to attract. In March he spent ten days in New York buying stock for his store which he opened around the twentieth of the month.²⁶ In May he surprised Toledoans by dispatching into the streets a uniformed boy, identified by his cap as "Eppstein's Messenger." A handsome young man of thirteen or fourteen, the messenger presented a "nobby" appearance in his neatly fitting blue uniform with gilt buttons, his diamond shaped epaulettes, and the identifying shield on his cap. He soon became a familiar sight on the city's

²⁵American Israelite, October 25, 1867, 5; Constitution und Nebengesetze der /Achduth Vesholom/, Vol. I, Errichtet in Fort Wayne, October 29, 1848. Photocopy of handwritten original in the Fort Wayne Public Library (congregation name is in Hebrew). American Israelite, September 14, 1877, 6.

²⁶Toledo Commercial, March 9, 1875.

streets.²⁷ Sometime also during those early months Eppstein arranged to have his name printed 445 times in the upcoming city directory. He bought sideline advertising in Scott's directory which appeared on all the left-hand pages between 90 and 534, alternating four lines of copy.²⁸

Eppstein was a man who knew how to get attention, and from the time that the Reform group was organized most of the attention of the community, insofar as that can be determined by newspaper coverage, centered on the new congregation. In midsummer the Commercial announced that Shomer Emunim had purchased a 100 x 50 foot lot on Eleventh street between Monroe and Jefferson and paid \$2,600 for it. Members were to meet the following morning in the United States Express building to arrange to build a synagogue.²⁹ But that synagogue was never erected. In fact, the deal for the land was probably never completed.

Instead, the Reform congregation bought a small church on the corner of Adams and Superior streets which had been built originally by the Campbellite Baptists but which had been the property of the Unitarians for years.³⁰

²⁷Toledo Commercial, May 15, 1875; Toledo Blade, March 15, 1875; May 14, 1875.

²⁸Scott's City Directory, 1875-76, passim.

²⁹Toledo Commercial, July 24, 1875.

³⁰The history of this building is interesting. The Unitarians were in the process of erecting a new, larger church at Adams and Tenth streets when Francis Abbott was called to the city. When the congregation split shortly after Abbott's arrival, nothing was done to complete the new building, and Abbott and those loyal to him met in the small

Repair and renovation of the building was undertaken in September, and the synagogue was ready for the high holy days. A Mr. Gerstle of Cincinnati served as rabbi. Early in October, Rabbi Benjamin Eger, who had been formerly in Titusville, Pennsylvania, offered his services to the congregation and came to Toledo to lecture on a trial basis. Meanwhile the Israelite, in describing the renovation of the newly-acquired property in Toledo, identified it as the first Jewish synagogue in the city.³¹ Even Max Eppstein must have known better by that time.

On the 16th of October Congregation Shomer Emunim invited the public to hear Rabbi Eger speak on "The Doctrine of the Advent of the Messiah." The lecture was set for a Sunday evening, and Toledoans were assured that it would be in English.³² Apparently Eger acquitted himself well. On October 18th the account in the Blade was bursting with superlatives. The synagogue had been completely filled with "a very intelligent audience, composed of rep-

structure and called themselves the First Independent Society. This left some of the Unitarians without either a minister or a place of worship. When Abbott left Toledo in 1873, the displaced Unitarians reclaimed their small church, and the large building was foreclosed and completed by William H. Raymond. It was called the Raymond Building and was the first location of the Toledo University of Arts and Trades. In 1875 the Unitarians rented the auditorium in what was originally to have been their church in order to conduct weekly services (Toledo Blade, October 4, 1875). The small frame building was then purchased by Shomer Emunim, although the congregation did not own the land on which it stood (Toledo Blade, September 21, 1889; American Israelite, September 26, 1889, 4.

³¹ American Israelite, September 17, 1875, 6.

³² Toledo Blade, October 16, 1875.

representatives of all creeds." And further--

The address was a fine one and the learned doctor handled the subject in a superb manner, his eloquence, arguments, and sound sense, as well as the charitable expression of the eminent teachers of other doctrines, holding the undivided attention of the hearers from beginning to end. We only regret that there is not space to give the entire sermon, for it abounded in truths that could be read with benefit to all. We understand that the society contemplates calling Dr. Eger to the pastorate, and it is to be hoped that they will, for the moral influence of such men is a benefit to any community.³³

Benjamin Eger was chosen to lead the congregation by a unanimous vote on October 26.³⁴ In the words of an anonymous member, "He gave entire satisfaction as a learned man and rabbi on reform principles and all think he is the right man at the right place to instill the doctrine of Judaism in our children and to enlighten the older ones. He has awakened some of the sleepers by his sound and logical reasoning." The decision was also made to conduct a sabbath school on both Saturday and Sunday mornings.³⁵

On Sunday, October 31, another lecture was offered to the community: Adam E. Bloom, a Detroit attorney, discussed "The American Jew."³⁶ In November the congregation conducted special Thanksgiving services and was listed in a

³³Toledo Blade, October 18, 1875.

³⁴Toledo Commercial, October 28, 1875.

³⁵The quotation appeared in a letter signed "One of Ours," American Israelite, November 12, 1875, 6.

³⁶Toledo Blade, October 27, 1875; Toledo Commercial, October 28, 1875.

column in the Blade which reported religious observance of the holiday.³⁷ This was a degree of recognition which had not previously been given to a Jewish congregation. Shomer Emunim had been launched with a flurry of activity and someone made sure that the press was well informed of each new development.

The big news story came early in 1876. Headed "As It Was in Israel," it ran a full column and described the wedding of Jennie Stern of Toledo and Gates Thalheimer of Syracuse, New York, in prose that is worth preserving:

It is now approaching a half century since the first stone in the foundations of the Future Great City was laid upon the banks of the Maumee, and among all the incidents that have thronged upon the dwellers in this municipality, there has never been numbered among them, until last evening, such an event as a wedding between members of the race of Israel. This is a singular phenomenon, for this city contains a large proportion of that race among its citizens, and they are active, thrifty, well-to-do citizens of good repute in all relations of life. It is not because the Israelites are a non-matrimonial race; they are pre-eminently a domestic people, and they practice marriage more generally than do any other in the world.

It has simply happened here that the Israelites were either married when they came hither, or had formed attachments elsewhere; which led them to seek their brides in other cities. The announcement, therefore of a Hebrew wedding to be celebrated in the city was a matter of such importance as to excite the liveliest interest in all the members of the race in the city and vicinity, as well as among the Gentiles who are anxious to know how this peculiar people conduct a ceremony with which is identified the most potent sentiments of the human heart. The affair came off last evening at the little Temple of the Reformed Jewish congregation on Superior

³⁷Toledo Blade, November 13, 1875; November 24, 1875.

street, near Adams. The parties most nearly connected with it were Miss Jennie Stern, the charming young daughter of Emanuel Stern, a wealthy citizen of Toledo, and a silent partner in the firm of Roemer and Stern brothers, and the groom, Mr. Gates Thalheimer, a young man belonging to a firm of wholesale grocers in Syracuse, New York.³⁸

The account described the temple, decorated with wreaths and evergreens on the walls, the chandeliers, and in the chancel recess. "The altar was draped with white cloth, trimmed with silver lace, the cloth having a crown and two Hebrew letters embroidered in silver upon it. On the left of the dias, upon which the altar stood, was a small table, bearing a couple of lighted candles, two goblets, a Bible and some other articles. The Rabbi, Dr. Eger, was seated upon the platform. He wore a robe of black, a square cap of the same color upon his head, and a white scarf around his neck." No detail was omitted, from the carpet which was rolled out to the carriages, to the seating arrangements (Max Eppstein and Jacob Landman were ushers), to the vows exchanged by the young couple, and even to the list of "elegant and costly bridal presents (a set of fine furniture from the bride's father, a piano from her uncle, a solid silver tea set from the employees of the groom in Syracuse, etc.).³⁹

³⁸Toledo Blade, January 6, 1876. There had been previous Jewish weddings in Toledo, most of them performed at the bride's home. But given the repeated tendency to identify anything to do with the Reform synagogue as the "first," there is no certainty that this was the first synagogue wedding. Where, for example, were Julius Epstein and Lottie Powder, who got a marriage license on March 31, 1873, married?

³⁹Ibid. See Appendix C for the complete Blade story.

The Commercial's account of the Stern-Thalheimer wedding was more restrained, but it did provide a few additional details. The nineteen-year-old bride wore a dress of tea rose silk, en traine, trimmed with tulle and orange flowers. "Her maids were dressed, the first in corn-colored silk with black velvet skirt and scarlet flowers; the second in silk the color of sea foam, trimmed with tulle and crepe lace; and the third in lemon colored silk over a black velvet skirt. The mother of the bride was dressed in black velvet, richly embroidered and ornamented with lace. The gentlemen wore the conventional dress costume."⁴⁰

The ceremony had special significance for the congregation. The Israelite report, signed "M.", said that because services were begun in the new temple on the eve of Rosh Hashanah without a consecration service, the wedding was used for that purpose. Gustav Goldsmith, vice president of the congregation (the bride's father was president), presented a beautifully-bound Bible to the couple to mark the first wedding in the new temple.⁴¹

Dancing and feasting took place in the German Hall following the ceremony. Dr. Eger, General Isaac Sherwood, publisher of the Sunday Journal, and Jacob Landman responded to toasts. Max Eppstein and Alies S. Cohen, masters of ceremonies, read messages from around the country and abroad.

⁴⁰Toledo Commercial, January 6, 1876.

⁴¹American Israelite, January 14, 1876, 2.

On the day after the wedding, the bride and groom and several members of their wedding party went to Fort Wayne to participate in the dedication of a new temple. Apparently the young couple were sincerely religious and remained so all their lives. Gates Thalheimer served as president of his congregation in Syracuse for thirty years (1897 to 1927) and was looked upon during that time as the leading Jew in the city.⁴²

The community climate in which the Reform congregation was launched was an extremely receptive one. There was curiosity, but it was combined with what appears to be a genuine interest in Jewish activities, Jewish traditions, and in the Jewish position in the contemporary religious scene. It seems clear that Rabbi Eger was one of the principal reasons why this was true. He spoke well, both in German and in English, and he made himself available to the community as a religious leader and a teacher. For example, at the end of January 1876 Eger arranged a pulpit exchange with the Unitarian minister, Charles Cravens. The Blade printed Eger's sermon in full, headlining it as follows:

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING

Dr. B. Eger, A Hebrew Rabbi
in a Unitarian Pulpit

⁴²B.G. Rudolph, From a Minyan to a Community: A History of the Jews of Syracuse (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1970), 192, 201. Thalheimer gave up working for his father and opened his own grocery and produce store in Syracuse the year before his marriage. Eventually he had the largest individually-owned wholesale grocery business in the county (111).

The subject of the sermon was deism and the headline, "The Era of Good Feeling," was an editorial comment by the Blade staff.⁴³

Eger took his text from the third chapter of Malachi: "For I am the Eternal, I change not." But he could not resist using the first few minutes to reflect on his position:

This is a place of worship of professing Christians, and before them stands a Jewish Rabbi to instruct them about Divinity. . . . half a century ago such an occurrence would have been thought to be impossible . . . because people had not advanced thus far in their liberal ideas, and even had such an invitation been tendered, it is doubtful whether it would have been accepted; not that Jewish Rabbis at that period considered it to be sinful or unbecoming to address a congregation of Christians. Certainly not. . . . But let me tell you why Rabbis would have hesitated. Because they feared, had they appeared in public and rendered a rational explanation of Scripture passages, they might have been attacked and persecuted by a fanatic mob.

Eger's sermon was long and outspoken. He told his listeners that there is a class of people who ridicule religion altogether. "It is not the Jewish religion," he said, "that caused people to become skeptics, it is the very doctrine of trinity, first and foremost that did it; it was the doctrine of the fall of man; it was also the doctrine of the various atonements." And he continued:

Yes, and in modern times the promulgation of human infallibility on the one hand and bigoted puritanism on the other which put fuel to the unholy flame of atheism. Judaism, it must be confessed, was surrounded by many ceremonies, which merely served as an outward appliance to awaken the mind of man; pure Judaism will stand, if even all ceremonies have vanished. . . . Pure Judaism is free from all mysteries, is free, open to every

⁴³Toledo Blade, January 31, 1876. The complete text of Eger's sermon appears in Appendix C.

rational mind, and it is self evident, it is liberal and progressive, it is a religion of salvation and not one of damnation, it is humane, tolerant and universal. It is a rock and will stand firm against modern science, criticism and philosophy, because its dogmas are in harmony with progress and development. . . .

"Progress and development" were the magic words in the years after the Civil War and Rabbi Eger, for all his learning was a man of his time. His sermon to the Unitarians and subsequent talks in the city were well received, at least during the first years of his residence in Toledo.⁴⁴

Perhaps it was the gaiety of the Stern-Thalheimer wedding, or maybe the momentum of the new congregation, which led to the announcement of a festive Purim ball--again, the first the city had ever seen. It was set for March 9, and Toledoans were told that although the Israelites had been supporting benevolent causes in the community for thirty years, this would be the first opportunity for non-Jews to attend a Jewish charitable function. Tickets were available at Max Eppstein's store, and the Commercial announced on March 4, that nearly 500 individual tickets had been sold!

The ball was held in two rooms of the Oliver House, and the Blade reporter reached for words to describe the magnificence of it all. After seven long paragraphs describing the Biblical background of Purim, the story centered on

⁴⁴Eger preached a second sermon in the Unitarian church on May 14, 1876 (Blade, May 13, 1876). He preached in the Universalist church of Bryan, Ohio where he was well received in May 1877 (American Israelite, June 1, 1877, 2). Topics for all his weekly sermons were announced in the newspapers, and he often scheduled lectures for Sunday evenings.

the local party. The number of guests made dancing difficult--

And such guests as they were. The Hebrew maiden who
 --walks in beauty like the night
 Of cloudless climes and starry skies
 And the best of all that's dark and bright
 Gleams in her aspect and her eyes.
 There mellowed by that tender light,
 Which heaven to gaudy day denies,

was there in numbers and in radiant beauty; great, lustrous Semitic eyes, still mirroring in their midnight depths that magic fascination inherited from an Oriental ancestry, flashed from olive-tinted faces crowned with raven-hued locks, and made one sigh to think how hard fate had prevented him from being an Eastern potentate, that he might command but one of these to be his bride. Had old Ahasuerus such an assembly of houris to select from, he would probably have been compelled to remain a widower from sheer inability to decide which was the fairest and most worthy to be his Persian Queen. Esther had evidently left many descendants, and they inherit her beauties as well as her virtues. She has reason to be proud enough of those who so worthily uphold her fame.

The beauty was not by any means confined to the daughters of Abraham, though the peculiarity of their type, and the unwonted spectacle of so many specimens of it collected together, made a most striking display. There were crowds of Gentile damsels present too, who shared the honors of the evening with their sisters of Israel.⁴⁵

The striking feature of the evening, a large pyramid of flowers in the center of the dancing hall, was composed of button-hold^s bouquets. After the grand march each lady took a bouquet from the pyramid for her escort's lapel and a perfumed program for herself in which to record the twenty-two dances scheduled for the crowded floor. Undoubtedly many of the non-dancers stood around discussing the disappearance two days earlier of their banker and friend, William

⁴⁵Toledo Blade, March 10, 1876.

Kraus.

While the Reform Jews were celebrating at the Oliver' House, the Orthodox congregation found another way to observe the holiday. They kept open house in the synagogue on Lynn street, setting out tables "loaded with eatables for the refreshment of such of the poor who chose to enter and partake." Services were held in the synagogue morning and evening and the scroll containing the Book of Esther was read.⁴⁶

It appears from the newspaper that during the spring of 1876 the City of Toledo was involved in a heady infatuation with its Jewish citizens, reinforcing them in their new-found congregational identity. Both Shomer Emunim and B'nai Israel were flourishing, both were operating sabbath schools, and as "M." reported in the Israelite, "progress is the watchword of our minds and now the Rip Van Winkle sleep of our people here in religious matters has ceased. All and everybody is wide awake and ready to perform their respective duty in harmony, too, toward our great cause."⁴⁷ Forty young people were enrolled in the sabbath school.

But a little later in the same article "M." denied his own thesis. He said that twenty-five women had gotten together to form a Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society, and that

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷American Israelite, May 26, 1876, 5; the article is dated from Toledo, May 15.

spoke well for the ladies since a number of them were not yet members of the congregation. "There are as yet a great number of Israelites who have not become members of our congregation and who, through their moral and financial influence, could strengthen our cause and make this congregation larger in numbers and influence." The women chose Mrs. H. Black as president; Mrs. Joseph Roemer, vice president; Mrs. Henry Thorner, secretary; and Mrs. Isaac Landman, treasurer. Mrs. Henry Stettiner, Mrs. A. Friedlander, and Mrs. M. Git-skey were trustees; and Max Eppstein, Isaac Landman, and Joseph Thorner served as an advisory committee.⁴⁸

The reluctance of some of the old-time Jews to support the congregation was the biggest problem which the Reform group had to face in the first half of 1876, but the Orthodox congregation had a problem which was immediately more critical. Perhaps it was an ugly indication that the infatuation with things Jewish was superficial or had gone far enough. Some persons unknown (the Blade called them "sacreligious wretches") broke into the synagogue on Lynn street and practically demolished the interior. They pulled down gas fixtures, tore up books, broke seats, and destroyed the furnace. Damages were fully \$500. The B'nai Israel congregation offered a \$50 reward for the arrest of the culprits,

⁴⁸Ibid. Ernestine Friedlander, one of the trustees, was newly arrived from Austria-Hungary. She was a sister of Alexander and Herman Black, and the sister-in-law of the first president of the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society.

and Abraham Shugarman added another \$50 for arrest and conviction.⁴⁹ There is a special irony that the incident took place less than a month before the long-awaited 100th birthday party of the nation. The Blade was outraged: "In an enlightened community such transactions are simply intolerable, and the perpetrators should be sought out and punished to the fullest extent of the law."⁵⁰ No one was ever arrested for the vandalism.

Not much was recorded about the B'nai Israel congregation following the damage to their synagogue, although they probably fixed things up and continued. Their listing in the city directories, an imperfect source at best, continued on Lynn street until 1878-79 when they re-located on State street between Cherry and Allen. For eight years after that the congregation name does not appear in the directories.⁵¹

Shomer Emunim continued to send enthusiastic reports to the Israelite, however. In August the sabbath school students were examined and declared to be well prepared. "The scholars answered all questions and knew what they were talking about." The first class, under the supervision of Rabbi Eger, read essays of their own composition and answered ques-

⁴⁹Toledo Blade, June 15, 1876; June 16, 1876.

⁵⁰Toledo Blade, June 16, 1876. In December 1877 there was another incident when some boys were arrested inside the synagogue on Lynn street (Toledo Blade, December 28, 1877).

⁵¹See Appendix B for congregational listings.

tions in Biblical history and out of Wise's Judaism. The second class, under Max Eppstein, recited poems, psalms, and original essays and also answered questions from Judaism. The two lower classes, children from six to eight years old who were taught by Rabbi Eger's daughters, Rebecca and Zerlina, recited the ten commandments and other passages from the Bible. The program lasted two hours. The sabbath school had been functioning for six months and, according to the reporter (this article is signed "E."), none of the young people knew anything about religion before they started. The congregation was indeed out of its lethargy, and the children were to have an excursion to repay them for what they had done and to "animate them for the future great work which is ahead."⁵²

Also in August, there was another wedding. Rosetta Landman, daughter of Jacob and Fannie Landman, married Sol Weiler of Fort Wayne.⁵³ Rosetta, born in Toledo, was named for Jacob Landman's first wife--Fannie's sister--who died in the cholera epidemic some twenty-five years before. Young Rosetta was identified in the Blade as "the daughter of one of our eldest and most respected citizens." In fact, the newspaper reported, "the social standing of the two single contracting parties and their numerous relationship,

⁵²American Israelite, August 18, 1876, 5. The article is dated Toledo, August 7.

⁵³The spelling of the name was later changed to Wiler.

attracted a very large crowd to the Temple, and the feminine part of the throng was very brilliantly dressed." At the party which followed, twenty-nine dispatches of congratulation were read from various parts of the country and two from Europe. There was one message in Danish, one in Dutch, one in Swiss dialect, and many in German. Max Eppstein was a master of ceremonies, along with L.M. Cohen, Jacob Herff, and Samuel Stettiner, uncle of the bride. Guests at the wedding came from Fort Wayne, Lafayette, Indianapolis, and Logansport, Indiana, from Monroe and Saginaw, Michigan and from Cincinnati. Democratic Congressman Frank Hurd also attended. The young couple took a trip East and then went to Fort Wayne to live.⁵⁴

September 1876 brought a high point for the congregation and also a hint of dissension. The former U.S. Consul to Romania, Benjamin Peixotto, was in the city during the high holidays and participated in services at the Reform temple. Peixotto was a member of the famous Portuguese family of Sephardic Jews, and was one of the best known Jews in the country.⁵⁵ In the fall of 1876 he was making a political

⁵⁴Toledo Blade, August 25, 1876. Sol Wiler died of tuberculosis on May 6, 1881 in Abilene, Kansas on his way to Denver. His wife and young daughter Clara returned to Toledo (Interview with Mrs. Robert Zimmerman, daughter of Clara Wiler Black).

⁵⁵Stephen Birmingham discusses the Peixotto family in The Grandees: The Story of America's Sephardic Elite (New York: Harper and Row, 1971). Benjamin Franklin Peixotto was consul general to Romania from 1870 to 1876 (The American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 41 /Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1939/, 575. Peixotto was head of

junket in support of Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican candidate for president. Peixotto let it be known when he arrived in Toledo that he would not speak on the eve of Yom Kippur, but that he would, with the permission of Rabbi Eger, address the congregation in the temple the following afternoon, and make a general political address later that evening.⁵⁶

The services in the temple were particularly impressive, due largely to the music of John Lipman who conducted the choir, and who sang a solo part in his own composition, "Oh, what is man omnipotent." Lipman was a language teacher and a clerk for Landman, Stettiner and Company in addition to being a composer, a conductor, and a poet.⁵⁷ As for Peixotto's part in the service, the Blade reported that he occupied the pulpit for about a half hour and "highly edified his auditory."

Later that evening he appeared again before his "co-religionists":

B'nai B'rith when President Grant appointed him to Romania in an attempt to ease the anti-Semitic persecutions of the Romanian government (Rufus Learsy: The Jews in America: A History /Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1954/, 218).

⁵⁶Toledo Blade, September 27, 1876.

⁵⁷Toledo Blade, September 29, 1876. John Lipman's great granddaughter, Mrs. Clyde Still of Plainview, Texas, reports that some of his handwritten music was used at a temple in Indianapolis. Lipman recited an original poem in German at Rosetta Landman's wedding and another when Guido Marx and his wife celebrated their silver wedding anniversary (Toledo Blade, August 25, 1876; March 1, 1878).

Honorable B.F. Peixotto (lately U.S. Consul at Romania) made an excellent speech to his Jewish fellow citizens at the Adelphi last night. The attendance was much larger than could reasonably have been expected, for the Israelites of this city had just concluded the fast and devotional exercise peculiar to their Yom Kippur or Day of Atonement, and were physically in no condition to attend a protracted speech.⁵⁸

The dissension centered on Peixotto himself, and it is important to remember that he was making partisan political speeches in an election year and was vulnerable to attack. Nevertheless, some Jews in Toledo requested that the Evening Bee print a story translated from the New York Jewish Gazette of September 8, 1876 which was damaging to Peixotto. The report charged that he and his assistant consul profited on the steamship tickets they secured for Jews who could afford to pay their way out of Romania. Peixotto commented on the Bee article during his Toledo speech, and because he called attention to them, the damaging charges were also reprinted in the Blade.⁵⁹ This type of criticism probably bothered Peixotto very little, but it shows that there was divisiveness in the Toledo Jewish community and that some Jews felt it necessary, for whatever reason, political or religious, to challenge a man who had identified himself closely with the Reform group.

The politics of the day were also an important element in an exchange of editorials between the Republican Blade and the Israelite which reflected Isaac Wise's Democratic tendencies. But there were deeper issues than a

⁵⁸Toledo Blade, September 29, 1876.

⁵⁹Ibid.

single political campaign involved. Wise started it all in October 1876 by taking issue with Colonel Milton Barnes who was the Republican candidate for secretary of state, and who had signed a petition, addressed to the state constitutional convention, urging that the role of God as "creator and governor" be acknowledged in the revised document. Wise's objection to this insertion of religion into the constitution is all the more understandable in the light of his affiliation with the Free Religious Association. He wanted to be sure that church and state were forever separate, and he suggested editorially that Barnes be defeated.

To this the Blade took great exception:

Whether Jew or Gentile--Catholic or Protestant--is a matter outside the case, and to undertake to turn the issue into one of religious belief as proposed by the Israelite is a gross perversion of the true questions at stake. And that it should be undertaken by an organ of the race which, with assent and co-operation of Christian peoples, now enjoy in full the civil and political privileges, for ages denied them, is the most surprising feature of the case. Does Dr. Wise comprehend the range of the issue he thus proposes to revive? Does he really think it best to renew in this country the contest between Jew and Christian, and challenge a war for exclusion from political privileges? Does he deem it just and right, and wise and judicious? Have not the Israelites had enough of that sort of war and can't they afford to rest until somebody else provokes its renewal?⁶⁰

That made Wise very angry and he replied with one and a half columns of his best prose. The gist of his argument was that the Israelite was fighting for a broad and important principle:

⁶⁰Toledo Blade, October 4, 1876.

It is a mistake to believe or to make others believe that the Christian sects can dominate over this country. . . . It is a mistake to look upon the American Israelite as a sectarian and a sectional sheet when it has never moved one inch from the broadest base of liberalism and humanitarianism. Of course we know the issue and will always face the music. We stand or fall with the liberal phalanx of this country, come what may, because such is our conviction, and we have the moral courage to be where our conviction places us. The Blade will now understand and know where to find us.⁶¹

But the Blade believed that Wise was avoiding the question. If he was really fighting for religious freedom then he must permit Colonel Barnes his freedom to petition the constitutional convention in any way he chose. Barnes' religious beliefs would in no way affect his performance of the duties of secretary of state. And for Wise to tell his Jewish readers to vote against Barnes was an attempt to "control political issues by appeals to religious prejudices."⁶²

Wise tried once more to make his position clear:

We never say that a candidate must have any religious belief or none, nor did we say that Colonel Barnes signed the petition or sided with the Crusaders on account of any religious belief of his, nor do we feel any such thing. We said this: that politicians will learn a lesson and hereafter let religion alone and untouched, and not carry water on both shoulders. It has become an evil custom in some parts of this country to send men to Congress from the vestry room or from the secret conclaves of temperance lodges, in consequence of which numerous politicians have become hypocrites and the demagogues wearing the artificial mask which we say must be torn away in order to warn those who are yet free of that corruption.⁶³

⁶¹American Israelite, October 20, 1876, 4.

⁶²Toledo Blade, October 20, 1876.

⁶³American Israelite, October 27, 1876, 4.

Wise was struggling, he reported, for a government of honest men, "without hypocrisy or insolence, without religious lies and imposition, and also without Blue Laws, Sunday Laws, Puritan holidays, God's special police hereabouts, Bible fanatics, or other fanatics. They must learn obedience once more to the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States."⁶⁴

The Blade was still not content to let the matter die. It had its say one more time. After indulging in a weak joke (If the Israelite continues its widespread protests is it not afraid that it will come to be regarded as a "protestant"?), the writer tried to extricate himself from the argument by suggesting that the Jews were ungrateful and that the intelligent Jews did not agree with the Israelite anyway:

In the view of some people the tendency of the age--among Christian nations especially--is toward enlarged liberality of opinion and policy touching all religious beliefs. There is not a country on earth in which this is not true, and in none more thoroughly so than in the one which the Israelite thus falsely characterizes. And of all the people, none have greater reason to appreciate this today than those in whose name this journal speaks, but whose sentiments, we have reason to believe, it does not reflect. Its efforts to turn the country over to the worst element in it, with treason and repudiation as the controlling power, does not meet the approval of the more intelligent of the Jewish people, who are able to judge for themselves in political matters.⁶⁵

It is difficult to say where most Toledo Jews found

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Toledo Blade, October 31, 1876.

themselves in this controversy; undoubtedly they read the lengthy exchanges with interest. Perhaps the sharpening of issues was distasteful. In much the same way, they probably felt uneasy about the well-advertised appearances of M.L. Rossvally, "the converted Jew," who liked to talk about "the peculiarities of the religion and habits of the Jews" in general and his own "remarkable conversion" in particular.⁶⁶ Rossvally's appearances undoubtedly contributed to social tension--the Blade hinted at some trouble in 1878:

Let the house be crowded to hear what the converted Jew has to say regarding the remarks that have been circulated about him. Good songs⁶⁷ of his own composition by Mr. Rossvally and daughter.

During the months when the Israelite and the Blade were battling, and when Rossvally was drawing good-sized audiences for his intimate disclosures, Shomer Emunim was active and holding its own in the public press. There were regularly advertised services with infidels especially invited, a Thanksgiving observance, a celebration of the "historic events of the Maccabees" (it was not called Chanukah), a series of hops to replenish the treasury of the Ladies' Benevolent Society, plans for another Purim ball, and the third temple wedding. John Lipman, teacher, musician, and

⁶⁶Toledo Blade, December 8, 1877; December 15, 1877. Rossvally had been in the city during much of 1877.

⁶⁷Toledo Blade, March 14, 1878. Rossvally seems to have been well known around the country. The following appeared in the Jewish Messenger (New York): "Among the humors of the week was Rossvally's appearance and his sudden disappearance. Respectable Christian churches are at last growing suspicious of the Dr.'s baptism of the spirit (December, 18, 1878, 4)."

liquor clerk married Emma Stern of Chicago, sister of Mrs. Jacob Lasalle. The ceremony was performed in German, and the reception was held in the Lasalle home on Superior street.⁶⁸

A new element was inserted into Toledo Jewish life at the end of 1876 when a second Orthodox congregation, B'nai Jacob, filed its articles of association at the recorder's office. Officers for the group were Len (Levi) Perlstine, president; Jacob Epstein, vice president; Isadore Reis, secretary; M. Epstein, treasurer; and Israel Epstein, Michael Davis and Jacob Epstein, Jr., trustees. All of these men lived in the area just west of the Maumee river, between Oak and Cherry streets. It was in that locality that they eventually located their synagogue, at the southwest corner of John and Union streets (Southard and North Twelfth streets today). Most of those listed as officers in 1876 were identified in the city directory as peddlers. The exceptions were Perlstine, a junk dealer and Israel Epstein, a merchant. The first city directory listing for the congregation came in 1879-80, but there is evidence that B'nai Jacob was active from the time of its organization.⁶⁹

An article in the Blade in April 1877, for example,

⁶⁸Toledo Blade, November 3, 1876; November 29, 1876; December 9, 1876; January 5, 1877; January 13, 1877; January 30, 1877. The wedding was on January 10 and was reported in the Blade the following day.

⁶⁹Toledo Blade, December 13, 1876; Scott's City Directory, 1876-77, 180, 202, 383, 401. The men lived on Woodruff, Union, State, John, and Allen (now Canton) streets. See Appendix B for congregational listings.

pointed out that there were three congregations when it described the continuing problem of the Reform group and the uncertain status of Rabbi Eger:

One of the Hebrew congregations of this city has enjoyed the ministrations of the Rev. Dr. Eger for more than a year, and in that time he has become known to us as an eloquent pulpit orator, as a profound scholar and an accomplished gentleman. A rumor is current that his relation to the congregation may soon terminate. We should greatly regret to find this to be true, as the general public have only fairly begun to properly estimate the Doctor's worth as an erudite theologian and an able expositor of his ancient and honored faith.

The congregation which Dr. Eger is serving embraces in its number some of our most influential citizens, whose culture, business position, and personal worth gives them influence in our city; and the fact that a Rabbi so distinguished and acceptable is leading their devotions and instructing their young people in the faith of their fathers serves to make Israelites feel more at home in Toledo, and attracts others of their desirable class to our midst. We learn that there are three Hebrew congregations in the city. This looks to outsiders as if that people had followed too closely the example of Christian sects in frittering away their power by unnecessary divisions. Why not, by uniting these congregations, gather strength to maintain a scholarly pastor, whose presence is so acceptable to all our citizens? Many of the Christian people of Toledo have been delighted with Dr. Eger's genial modesty, and would deeply regret to see him compelled to seek a field of labor elsewhere, and they would be glad to have him continue in his present position.⁷⁰

Eger did continue in his position, at least for a while. Services were conducted during 1877, and in June 1878 the first group of young people was confirmed in the temple at Adams and Superior streets.⁷¹ By early 1880, however, the

⁷⁰Toledo Blade, April 7, 1877.

⁷¹Toledo Blade, May 27, 1878; June 24, 1878. The following young people were confirmed in that first class: Lizzie Goldsmith, Minnie Eger, Ida Koch, Ida Friedlander, Sara Koch, Abraham Stern, Solomon Lasalle, Albert Friedlander, Albert Goldsmith.

Israelite referred to Eger as "the former rabbi of the congregation" who had gotten a few people (a corporal's guard) together for the high holy days the previous fall. They were mostly women and they came "for the sake of by-gone days and in the memory of their departed dear ones." What we need here, the correspondent wrote, "is a leader to imbue our people with the religious spirit."⁷² Rabbi Eger, for all his erudition, lacked the ability to pull the disparate members of his potential congregation together. Again and again the articles in the Israelite referred to the recalcitrant Hebrews in Toledo, at one time calling them die Allwiffende--the people who think they know everything--who continually refused to aid a religious organization financially, morally, personally, or in any other way.⁷³

Eger made one notable effort at leadership before he left the city, but it only increased his problems.⁷⁴ He got involved in the case of the two Jewish children, Lilly and Joseph (sometimes called George) Englander. The children were found, apparently abandoned, "in extremely destitute circumstances in one of the worst habitations of the city," according to the judge who finally decided the case.⁷⁵ They were rescued by the Reverend P.S. Slevin who ran the St.

⁷²American Israelite, February 20, 1880.

⁷³American Israelite, October 12, 1877, 2.

⁷⁴Max Eppstein said in 1889 that the first attempt at congregation failed because the controversies involving the rabbi were too great (American Israelite, September 26, 1889, 4; Toledo Blade, September 21, 1889, 1).

⁷⁵Toledo Blade, January 21, 1879.

Clair street mission in the middle of Toledo's red light district, and by J. Cooper Price who worked with Slevin.⁷⁶

Price took Lilly Englander into his home with the permission of the probate court and promptly had her baptized. The boy was taken to the Protestant Orphans' Home.

All of this happened in late November 1878 and the following month Rabbi Eger, with some support in the Jewish community, called the case to the attention of the Probate Court, claiming that the children were Jewish and should be placed in a Jewish home.⁷⁷ A suit was filed in the name of the children's grandfather, Lazarus Schwartz of Cleveland, which was intended to return the children to the custody of their family. The father, Leopold Englander, was supposed to be somewhere in Texas, and the mother, Rosa, was located in Detroit where she was working at Mozart Hall, described by the Blade as "a low variety theatre on Jefferson avenue."⁷⁸

The circumstances which make this case interesting were Benjamin Eger's commitment to it and the reaction of the Jewish community both in Toledo and in the state. In fact, the local press claimed that the case had attracted wide attention all over the United States "with the Jewish papers largely opposed to Eger's action." Eger's object

⁷⁶The mission activity is described in Randolph Downes, Lake Port (Toledo: The Historical Society of Northwest Ohio, 1951), 276-77.

⁷⁷The details of the case are clear, but only by reconstruction. No copies of the Blade or Commercial have survived for the latter part of 1878.

⁷⁸Toledo Blade, January 11, 1879.

was to see the children returned to a Jewish environment, but he was attacked by his fellow Jews in Toledo, largely because he sought publicity for his cause. He was calling attention, after all, to a serious breakdown of Jewish family life, and the children had been received charitably into the Christian community. Leopold Englander was reported to have deserted his family because he was unable to get along with his "unworthy wife." Rosa Englander, alone with the children for four years and with little income, finally abandoned them. Most of the Jewish sentiment, expressed both by Orthodox Jews in Toledo (Solomon Van Noorden and sons and N.D. Oesterman) and by Rabbi Wise in the Israelite, favored letting the courts settle the case as quietly as possible.⁷⁹

The Van Noordens and Oesterman published a card in the Blade at the end of 1878 to which the newspaper staff fixed the headline "Go Back on the Rabbi." The men responded quickly that it had not been their intention to attack the private character of the rabbi, but instead:

Our object was more especially to discountenance the stirring up of what might seem a senseless feud of classes, especially so far as we could learn there had been no unjust discrimination against our people. Had there been, we would have cheerfully responded with moral and financial aid to correct it. We heartily concur with "Israelite" that a commendable conclusion is to await the decision of the courts, and severely deprecate manufacturing through the press public sentiment in advance of the decision, which will no doubt be a just one. As to approving of or disturbing Mr. Price in the possession of the child before the case is judicially decided, we certainly had no such

⁷⁹Toledo Blade, January 21, 1879; American Israelite, date unknown, quoted in the Toledo Blade, January 13, 1879; Toledo Blade, January 2, 1879.

intention, and regret that the language of the card permits such a construction.⁸⁰

While waiting for a hearing on the petition to return the children, Rabbi Eger made a trip to Detroit where he saw Rosa Englander. According to the reports in the Blade, he attempted to have her arrested on a morals charge in order to prevent her appearance in Toledo. The mayor of Toledo was asked to intervene and he telegraphed the mayor of Detroit, saying that Mrs. Englander's presence was necessary in court and that charges were being trumped up against her which would keep her away.⁸¹

Eger was infuriated, of course, when that story appeared in the paper, and he submitted a card of his own:

Editor Blade--Sir: Since the statement signed "Freethinker" appeared in the public press of the City I intended to stop the case of the Englander children thus being further discussed, by disregarding the mean and foolish attacks made upon me, and, as promised, treated them with silent contempt, for I am of opinion that this case ought not to be tried in the newspapers, to excite public sympathy, but in the courts of justice upon truth and facts. Mr. Price, however, does not cease with his undignified actions to rush into print, which he did since the very outset, when he found legal steps had been taken.

I feel it now a duty incumbent upon me to inform my fellow citizens that I have been both in Detroit and Cleveland . . . to ascertain certain facts bearing upon the case, but it is a most abominable and base lie that I wanted to arrest Mrs. Englander as that respectable (???) citizen informed Mr. Price. For shame Mr. Price.

Every unbiased mind will be able to form an opinion that Mr. Price should find it necessary to bring a certificate from New Jersey to defend his character when no one, as yet, has assailed it, and when he is so well known in

⁸⁰Toledo Blade, January 2, 1879.

⁸¹Toledo Blade, January 11, 1879.

this city.

Should he persist to continue in the same way, I am sorry to say, matters will have to be brought forward, which it would be better to pass over in silence.⁸²

The rabbi also called attention to an article in the Israelite which, while it seemed to support his action, nevertheless deplored the pitting of the Jews in Toledo against one another. As the Israelite expressed it:

Rev. Mr. Eger and his friends did what they thought to be their duty to counteract the conversion scheme of Mr. Price, and there was no cause for appealing to the press by Jews who oppose Rev. Mr. Eger's notion in the matter. Anybody can see that if it was an impulse of charity on the part of Mr. Price, he would not have commenced with baptizing the little girl. It is a piece of fanaticism which no man must support.

But be all that as it may, the father must come to claim the children. This notice will reach him no doubt. If the grandfather is trustworthy, of course, the court will meanwhile appoint him guardian. There is no occasion, we believe, for our people in Toledo to excite themselves against one another. Such a thing might have happened in any other city and the children would be claimed exactly in the same manner as Rev. Mr. Eger and his friends do.

We wait for the decision of the court and the action of the father of the children.⁸³

The court's decision was reached on January 21, 1879 --without the appearance of the father of the children, and without any satisfaction for Rabbi Eger. Lazarus Schwartz withdrew his petition on the grounds that he "was under an entire misapprehension of the facts" when he began the action. He had subsequently been advised by his son, who spent some

⁸²Toledo Blade, January 13, 1879.

⁸³American Israelite, date unknown, quoted in the Toledo Blade, January 13, 1879.

time in Toledo and who was guided around the city by J. Cooper Price, and he believed his grandchildren to be living under satisfactory circumstances. The problem was primarily an economic one, and neither the mother, nor the grandfather could provide adequately for the young people.⁸⁴

Probate Judge Austin considered the question of religion in his summation of the case. He confirmed that the children had been certified as wards of the Probate Court and he had let it be known he would hear any requests for guardianship. He approved the application of J. Cooper Price on November 23. He was told afterwards, the judge said, that the children were Jewish, and then the rabbi came forward and asked to have guardianship vested in some other person. Subsequently, the uncle of the little girl came to Toledo, investigated the matter, and then voluntarily told the court that he was perfectly satisfied with her condition and wanted no change. The judge then summed up the attitude of the court toward religion in a matter of adoption:

The court does not inquire into the religion or nativity of the children made its wards. When some person, no matter what his religion, has humanity enough to take them out of the slums and put them in good condition, he is appointed their guardian. Religion has naught to do with the matter. This Mr. Price has done, and has given proper and sufficient care to them, and the court cannot take charge of their religious training.⁸⁵

Rabbi Eger did not accept the verdict easily. When the

⁸⁴Toledo Blade, January 21, 1879.

⁸⁵Ibid.

matter of who was to pay the court costs came up, he jumped from his chair and produced a paper which he claimed was a sworn statement that Schwartz was able to bear the costs.

After once attracting the attention of the Court, Mr. Eger began a tirade against the injustice of the whole proceeding. The Court tried to rap him to order, but he went right on and said that a Catholic priest had done the same thing only a few days ago, and nothing had been done about it, a child having been taken away from Mr. Slevin.

This brought Missionary Slevin to his feet and he replied that no child had been taken away from him.

The attorneys here put in a word or two, the Judge hammered on his desk, the sheriff yelled at Mr. Eger and Mr. Slevin who were having a wordy war, but nothing could stop them until Mr. Price took hold of Gen. Slevin and told him to sit down, and the sheriff did the same for Mr. Eger.⁸⁶

Only one ugly aspect of the case remained. Charles Kent, attorney for Price, joined several others in warning Rabbi Eger not to carry the case any further. But Kent turned the warning into a threat. He told Eger that if he pursued the matter "his whole previous history and career would be shown up in a manner that would not be at all pleasant for him."⁸⁷ Eger, who had made a similar threat against Price earlier, seemed willing to retreat. But it was Rosa Englander who had the last word, at least according to the newspaper account:

Mrs. Englander says that her husband kicked her out of doors, and then went away and left the children with her and did nothing for their support for nearly four

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Ibid.

years, and the idea of his being able to care for them now was absurd, as he had written to her that he was working in Waco for \$4 a week and his board.⁸⁸

Lilly Englander stayed with Price, and, to some extent, he exploited her--using her as evidence to the community of his generosity and good works. Even the Blade took exception on January 27, 1879 when Price's speaking program included a song-prayer by young Lilly Englander and the scriptural verse which introduced the child read "When my father and mother forsake me, the Lord will take me up." Showman Price got great applause as he led Lilly to the stage.⁸⁹

As for Rabbi Eger, he had been branded a trouble-maker in a time of peace--a religious fanatic in a community which was having difficulty sustaining a congregation. In March 1880 a somewhat haughty notice appeared in the Blade:

Rabbi Eger will not be a justice of the peace because of jealousy of his talents. The Rabbi will pursue the even tenor of his way, therefore, and benefit the city of his adoption in other matters.⁹⁰

Before too long Eger had adopted another city. In January 1881, when he married Gisela Hofman and William Freeland, he was identified as "Dr. Eger of Jackson, Michigan." Later that year he moved to Madison, Indiana.⁹¹

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Toledo Blade, January 27, 1879. The Census of 1880 shows the Prices with a nine-year-old daughter named Nina.

⁹⁰Toledo Blade, March 31, 1880.

⁹¹Toledo Blade, January 29, 1891; American Israelite, October 14, 1881, 126; in March 1883 the congregation in Madison called the Rev. Mr. Eppstein of Schenectady, and no men-

With the rabbi either going or gone and the congregation torn by dissension, there was no need for a place of worship. On a late spring morning in 1880 the building on Adams and Superior was lifted off the ground and moved "across lots" to Huron street between Adams and Madison in order to make room for the new Masonic Temple. The synagogue building was fitted up as the Third Ward Republican headquarters.⁹² The flurry of activity which had attempted to inject a Jewish Reform congregation into Toledo's religious life was over by 1880. The correspondent to the Israelite wrote ruefully in February of that year, "I shall be pleased at some not far distant day to say to you . . . that the Israelites of Toledo have thrown off the stigma that has stamped them as non-believers for so long a time. . . ." ⁹³

What Jewish activities there were in the city at the start of the new decade centered on the two Orthodox congregations, if indeed B'nai Israel was active, on the Ladies' Benevolent Society which continued to function, and on the Jewish fraternal lodges. The intense interest in Jewish custom, tradition, and observance which had characterized the mid-seventies had passed, at least for a while.

tion was made of Eger (American Israelite, March 30, 1883, 323).

⁹²Toledo Blade, May 27, 1880; May 28, 1880. Even before the building was moved a correspondent to the Israelite complained that it was no longer available to the congregation: "Its doors are closed to us because its owners find it more profitable to lease the building to choral unions and other similar societies" (American Israelite, February 2, 1880, 3). Toledo Blade, September 21, 1889.

⁹³American Israelite, February 2, 1880, 3.

Chapter Eight: THE FABRIC OF LIFE

While it may be defensible to speak of a Jewish community in Toledo in the 1840's and 1850's, it was no longer possible to group the city's Jews into a single community or even two communities by the 1870's. The ways of life among Toledo's Jews were as varied as those of any non-Jewish segment of the city. There were the old settlers who were circumspect and wealthy; there were the struggling newcomers, many of them trying to raise large families; there were the itinerants, testing the locale and sometimes brushing up against licensing laws and other obstructions; and there were those who remained outside of any Jewish grouping--intensely individualistic, setting their own style.

The foremost example of the individual Jew in the 1870's and 1880's was, again, Guido Marx. It is important to take another look at him in middle age because of the role he played in the community and even peripherally in the nation. By the early seventies Marx's brothers were dead, and he was the patriarch, not only of his large family (eleven surviving children), but also of his brothers' wives and their children.¹ In the early part of the decade he

¹When Emil Marx's daughter, Emma, was married to Frederick Seibert in 1876, her uncle, then mayor, performed

served in the state legislature, apparently with distinction. His last days as a lawmaker were extremely stormy, however.

The cause of the trouble was a bill introduced into the state senate by E.D. Potter of Toledo. It was an amendment of the municipal code which would abolish the board of councilmen and the waterworks trustees, and consolidate municipal administration in the hands of the aldermen and a board of three trustees which would include the mayor.² The amendment was drawn in such a way, and with such exceptions, that it applied only to Toledo, and for most of the legislators the matter was initially of little concern. Marx led the fight to call attention to the power grab and the elitism which he said was inherent in the reorganization bill. As a result, the issue was widely discussed in Columbus and became a party measure. It was only narrowly defeated, and during the course of the bitter fight some of Marx's opponents charged that he did not really speak for the people of Toledo. He was infuriated by the allegation.

Marx received a tremendous welcome when he returned from Columbus. He and his fellow representative, R. C. Thompson, were conveyed from the depot to the post office

the ceremony (Toledo Blade, May 10, 1876). See also Guido Marx, "The German Element," in Clark Waggoner, ed., A History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio (New York and Toledo: Munsell and Company, 1888), 744. Marx carefully identifies his brothers' daughters who have become teachers.

²The text of the Potter bill appeared in the Commercial, January 11, 1875.

steps where Marx made a rousing speech celebrating the defeat of the Potter bill.³ He thanked his supporters "in the name of liberty, in the name of free representation, and in the name of self government in Toledo." Marx was promptly and spontaneously nominated for mayor.⁴ There seems every indication that he accepted the nomination because the charge of his fellow legislator was still sounding in his ears. What better way to prove that he represented the people of Toledo than to be elected mayor of the city?⁵

The fight in Columbus had been an ugly, partisan contest and Potter was not a good loser. He returned to the city about the same time as Marx and immediately involved himself in the mayoralty campaign. He pointed out that Marx counted among his supporters some of the religious "fanatics" of the city, such as John Osborn, president of the Young Men's Christian Association, and Jim Brown, who was "another and worse fanatic than Osborn."⁶

³Toledo Commercial, March 31, 1875. See also the Blade for the same date. Both papers refer to a fifty gun salute for Marx and Thompson, although that may have been a figure of speech.

⁴John Osborn suggested Marx for mayor at the informal reception. The Republican City Convention endorsed him the following morning (Toledo Blade, April 1, 1875).

⁵Marx said when he accepted the nomination that he wanted to establish that he did represent the people of Toledo (Toledo Blade, April 1, 1875). His refusal to run for a second term "for personal reasons" confirms that he had made his point.

⁶Toledo Commercial, April 2, 1875. Considering his background, Marx was in strange company when he accepted the support of the YMCA which had worked to defeat Kraus four years earlier.

And then Potter outdid himself. According to the Commercial, he said

Now, a few words about Guido Marx. Who is he anyway? A Jew and an apostate to all religions and to anything good. Now, I say that we want to come squarely up to the fight, and if we can't put up a man that can beat this Jew then we ought to be d---d.

Potter further reflected his bitterness when he said that Marx was really not responsible for the defeat of his bill:

"Marx never did anything," Judge Potter said, "to defeat the Bill, but read from that nasty Toledo Commercial. His way had been to blather around the House among the members, without any point to his suggestions." At one time he said he tried to make out what Marx did mean, and heard him making a speech, or something that he (Marx) would probably call a speech. He read from a big stack of Commercials and tried to tell something; but it was all such a mess of jargon that he (Potter) couldn't understand him, and had finally given up in disgust.

Mr. Potter closed by saying that they had been beaten by treachery, but that they would not give up the Bill and its principles and that by nominating good straight men they would "beat those plunderers, Marx, the apostate Jew, and the whole pack of fanatics and crusaders."

Fortunately for the city and its people, mayoralty campaigns were very short in those days. Marx returned from Columbus on March 31, was officially nominated the next day, and was elected on April 5. Potter delivered his inflammatory speech at a third ward Democratic caucus on the evening of April 1. But even in so short an interval Potter's intemperate comments created quite a stir.

The Blade editorialized that Potter had attacked not only Marx, but all Jews. They accused Potter of being "about

⁷Toledo Commercial, April 2, 1875.

as bitter in his denunciation of that class of people as he was last fall in his protests against Judge French on account of his Catholicism." The newspaper concluded that Potter would like to unite church and state so long as his church was the church and that he would also like to deprive poor men, and men in only moderate circumstances, from all participation in the affairs of government.⁸ But the Blade also reported that Marx had been brought up in the "Israelitish faith" and converted to Christianity with the rest of his family before he left Europe.⁹ His tolerance for the religious convictions of others certainly compared favorably to Potter who "on the first day of the 61st General Assembly moved to dispense with the customary prayer at the opening of the daily sessions of the Senate."¹⁰

The Commercial, which had been attacked along with Marx, responded predictably to Potter's statements:

In publicly and shamelessly assailing Mr. Marx, on account of his nationality and alleged views on religion, Judge Potter simply indicated the course to be adopted by the Ring throughout the City. Thus it is that from every quarter we hear of the emissaries of the Ring appealing alike to Protestants and Catholics to vote against the "Apostate Jew" while infidels are asked to do the same because professing Christians support him. This is the first time in the history of the city that any candidate has been publicly assailed on such grounds. Is it best for our citizens to stand by and permit such outrage to pass unrebuked?¹¹

⁸Toledo Blade, April 2, 1875.

⁹See Chapter Two, n. 41.

¹⁰Toledo Blade, April 2, 1875.

¹¹Toledo Commercial, April 5, 1875.

Meanwhile Potter was trying to set the record straight. The Commercial had misquoted him. What he really said was somewhat different, and it went like this:

The desperation of the Republican cause is manifest when the Young Men's Christian Association takes the lead in bringing to the front an apostate Jew as their standard bearer and the crusaders endorse a whisky seller and chief of the whisky ring as a candidate for municipal honor. And I added, if we cannot bring out a candidate who can beat this apostate, we ought to be d---d. This last part of the remark was made with some warmth and, I admit, might have been more mildly emphasized.

I have no objection to any man's belief on the subject of religion in a political sense. I am in favor of toleration in its broadest sense. I have voted for Catholics, Protestants, and Jews and even men of no pronounced religion for office, and my allusion to Mr. Marx was only to show the inconsistency of the parties who were rallying to his support.¹²

The Commercial ran the two versions--the one it printed originally and Potter's--side-by-side, set in half-column widths, so that the voters could make their choices.

Marx won with a plurality of 173 votes.¹³ He was Toledo's twenty-first mayor, the second German and the second Jew. Although he had probably never planned to be mayor of the city, he did the job thoroughly and efficiently, insisting on the greatest economy of government. He even went through claim ordinances item by item, vetoing any expenditure which he believed was excessive. Prisoners at the jail, for example, could be fed on twenty-five cents a day, he was sure.¹⁴ One of his biggest problems seems incredible a century later:

¹²Toledo Commercial, April 3, 1875.

¹³Toledo Blade, April 6, 1875.

¹⁴Toledo Blade, May 4, 1875.

citizens were bothered by cows running loose in the streets, wandering into people's yards, breaking down fences, and otherwise contributing to urban congestion. Impounding the cows only invited the wrath of their owners, some of whom would not even retrieve their animals but instead milked them in the city's enclosure.¹⁵ Eventually funds to maintain the pound were cut off and the cows wandered about as before. For the efficient Guido Marx, this was a frustrating situation.¹⁶

Marx was a man with a sense of history. His annual report to the common council in 1876, the centennial year, looked back to the beginning of the nation and traced the history of the Maumee Valley. He was impressed by the rapid growth of the "Future Great City" and pointed to 1845 when Toledo had been a "struggling village with not over four thousand inhabitants." And then he continued:

What has been accomplished during the life of this first generation? The struggling village of four thousand inhabitants has increased to a prosperous city of sixty thousand souls, encompassing both sides of a broad navigable stream, and occupying a territory of twenty-one and a half square miles.¹⁷

Perhaps for the Thorners, Joseph Roemer and Jacob Landman, who had experienced that development, Marx's message had a special meaning. By using 1845 as a point of comparison, he could have been talking about them.

¹⁵Toledo Blade, July 2, 1875.

¹⁶Guido Marx, "Mayor's Message to the Common Council," in Scott's City Directory, 1876-77, 47.

¹⁷Ibid., 36.

When Guido Marx finished his term of office, he announced that he would not serve again. He had already had a couple of national appointments. Governor Noyes sent him to represent the State of Ohio at the Vienna Exposition in 1873, and he was appointed by the U.S. Centennial Commissioners to be a judge at the International Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876.¹⁸ His area of expertise was malt liquors, wines and distilled spirits, and his job was to judge entries from every part of the world. Based on his observations in the Blade, he completely enjoyed the assignment, all the while protesting that it was not easy.

Now, if anyone of you think there is much fun in this work, just let him come down and assist, there is plenty more of it to be done yet in tasting of forty or fifty different kinds of wines in succession and in such a manner as to beware of his judgment (if he has any), and he will find out.¹⁹

Marx also observed that wines between ten and twenty years old were the most palatable; that after forty years wines begin to deteriorate; and that a five year old wine was a good drink "for a common mortal." He had praise for the American sparkling wines which he said had surprised the European judges, praise also for Norwegian beer which seemed to get lighter the farther north it was brewed, and for Australian wine. There were 20,000 wines to be tasted; Spain alone submitted 4,000 for the judging.

¹⁸Marx, "The German Element," in Waggoner. History of Toledo, 753.

¹⁹Toledo Blade, June 20, 1876.

Marx felt honored to be the only Ohioan among the judges, and he explained his special pleasure to the people at home:

Being the only Ohioan in the group, I was, on the reception of the news of the nomination of Governor Hayes, very cordially complimented, and instructed to telegraph him the congratulations of all the foreign and American judges which I did with the greatest of pleasure.

The Philadelphians are very friendly in inviting us to a number of private and other sociables. For next Tuesday evening Mr. George W. Childs requests the pleasure of meeting the Judges of the International Exhibition and on Wednesday evening A.T. de Carvalho Borges, President of the Brazilian Commission, wishes to see us at the Union League House, perhaps to meet Dom Pedro.²⁰

Characteristically, Marx's 13-page report on the judging was carefully prepared, and it was accorded the leading position in the printed volume which summed up the proceedings. In addition to his salary of \$600, he received a special bronze medal in recognition of his service.²¹

There can be no question that Guido Marx and his family lived well. In 1878 when the Marxes celebrated their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary, the Blade made a special point that the reception committee was both "well-known American and German gentlemen of the city" and that Mr. and Mrs. Marx "received their friends, embracing a great number of the foremost citizens of Toledo." The menu for the party was remarkable, but the wines, in the words of the Blade, were simply superb:

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Toledo Blade, March 29, 1878.

It is very rare anywhere that such a carte is placed before any company. Markebrunner 21 years old, Madeira 25 years old, and sherry that had passed its 29th year, are tipples that would excite the admiration of the most exacting wine connoisseur.

Under the mellowing influences of these generous fluids, sociality and good feeling were soon at flood tide.

The evening's program consisted of speeches by the Congregational minister, Charles Markscheffel, by the Jewish teacher Martin Friedberg, by General Wager Swayne, and by John Lipman who read an original poem in German. Dancing followed.²²

While Guido Marx was mayor of Toledo, judging wines in Philadelphia, and sending greetings to a presidential candidate, there was another Jew in the city, also highly individualistic, who provides a dramatic contrast in life style. We are fortunate to know of him from a single story in the Blade headed "A Wandering Jew," and subheaded, "One of the Queer People Who Have Drifted Into Our City--An Oriental Taylor." His name was Abraham Singer.²³

Singer was a venerable looking man with a full high forehead and a "Hebrew cast of countenance." He lived with his family in a shanty on St. Clair street that served both as shop and home:

The man and his family live and have their being in the little shop, the open front of which permits every act to be scrutinized by those who pass on the sidewalk. At one time they are busily engaged in sewing, another they seem to be playing interminable games of dominoes, in which they get fiercely interested, and sometimes

²²Toledo Blade, March 1, 1878.

²³Toledo Blade, August 18, 1875

break up the games in a wordy row. Again, they are seated around the table and the pater familias reads to them from a quaint old Hebrew book.

The Blade reporter, writing what was obviously a feature story, felt free to include his subjective judgements. Calling Singer an "odd old man" living in a "squalid hovel," he said that his story was not a particularly thrilling one, resounding with feats of arms, or love or any such things, "but it is one characteristic of the strange race to which he belongs." Singer was a Polish Jew, born in Russian Poland around 1825. He left home at the age of thirteen, traveled through Wallachia and Moldavia with a wine merchant, and finally settled in Bucharest where he learned tailoring.

He became a sutler in the Crimean War and lived for a while in Constantinople where he was married. His next venture was to Egypt because the Suez canal project was attracting workers from all over Europe. He stayed there for eight and a half years and prospered. When the canal excitement died down, Singer determined to move again, and he considered his choices to be either Japan or the United States.

When the proprietor talked to him in his cramped quarters on St. Clair street, he could not explain his decision. His only comment was "Der Tuefel hat mich hier Gebracht."²⁴ Actually, he had spent some time as a saloon keeper in New

²⁴"The devil brought me here."

York but lost money in that venture and moved West. He came to Toledo sometime around 1874 and was already talking about San Francisco, the Sandwich Islands, and Japan.

The reporter then turned philosophical, as if he were trying to put Abraham Singer into some kind of perspective in the American experience:

Such, in brief, is the story of the man. We Americans speak with no little pride of our enterprise, our adventurous spirits which lead us to the uttermost parts of the earth, but here is a humble man, of no pretension to greatness of spirit, with no advantages to assist him, in any way, but who picks up his little family and starts on a voyage into strange and even hostile lands, with less concern than any of us who move from one state to another.

If the man had the literary ability, what a book he could write of what he has seen in the strange lands in which he has sojourned. What stories he could tell us of life among the lowly in Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia, Crimea, Turkey and Egypt. . . .

The principal problem between the Blade reporter and Singer was not so much lack of literary ability as lack of a common language. "He speaks a corrupt German fluently, and is perhaps equally ready with Turkish, Arabic and Hebrew, although we did not test him in these latter tongues."

Singer's corrupt German was most likely Yiddish, a language not often heard on the streets of Toledo in 1876. One Singer daughter who was born in Constantinople spoke Turkish, Arabic and Italian, while another--born in Cairo--spoke Arabic, Italian and English, the latter "quite well."

The newsman was interested to know what Singer thought of America:

As indicated before, he does not enthuse very lavishly

over our "great and glorious land." He thinks our boasted "freiheit" is a delusion and a snare. As near as can be ascertained this low opinion of our institutions is caused by the fact that some small boys annoyed him and assaulted him and he could obtain no redress from the police. He thinks Cairo, Egypt, is the best place in the world for a poor man, but is candid enough to add that if he had come out here when he was a young man, with more energy and courage, he might have come to like the country exceedingly. As it is, he sighs for the flesh pots of Egypt.²⁵

Abraham Singer did not move on, at least not immediately. There was an Abraham Singer listed off and on in the city directories until 1886-87. He was a tailor on St. Clair street until 1880-81; after that the directory shows an Abraham Singer who had a fruit stand on Summit street and who lived in the Lenk Block. This may have been someone else.²⁶

If we permit Guido Marx, mayor and first citizen, and Abraham Singer, traveling tailor, to represent contrasting life styles in the city in the 1870's, there were many other Jews whom we must locate somewhere in between the two. Of these the old German Jews are the easiest to document and therefore to describe. Life for them was pleasant and comfortable, marked with frequent parties, excursions, and visits. The newspapers were full of this kind of socializing, as, for example, when the Roemers celebrated their eldest daughter's wedding anniversary:

A Pleasant Time--The lawn fete given last evening by Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Roemer at their residence, 113 Cherry

²⁵Toledo Blade, August 18, 1875.

²⁶Scott's City Directory, 1876-77, 440; R.L. Polk's City Directory, 1881-82, 550.

street, in honor of the 10th anniversary of their daughter's (Mrs. Dr. F. Mossbacher of Saginaw City) tin wedding was a grand affair. The grounds were illuminated and filled with the friends of the family. Music, dancing and an elegant repast formed the order of the evening, and not until a late hour did the highly elated guests depart. An amusing event of the occasion was the giving of presents to the bride, Mrs. Mossbacher, most of them being tin. They consisted of watches, fine sets of jewelry, chains, necklaces, bracelets, toilet sets, etc. Among the presents was one more noticed than the rest, a pair of slippers of immense size made of tin with the inscription upon it, "Long Feet," a take-off on a lady who always calls a lawn fete, "long feet." The whole affair was a most complete success and one long to be remembered by all who were present.²⁷

A similar example was the tenth wedding anniversary of Leopold and Ida Franc who invited only their relatives and who ended up entertaining one hundred people in the German Hall. Highlight of that evening was a two-act play entitled "One Must Marry" in which the leading roles were taken by N/athan/ Kauffman, G/ustave/ Heyn, Mrs. A/ibert/ Rosenthal, and Rosalie Heyn. There was also an original poem in German and the usual "sumptuous repast and dance."²⁸

The houses the German Jews lived in were among the best in the city. Here is the description of Henry Stern's home which was new in 1875:

Henry Stern, of the firm of Roemer and Stern Brothers, manufacturers of and wholesale dealers in clothing, piece goods and furnishing goods, built last year, a very handsome brick residence at the corner of 18th and Madison streets. The roof line is varied by a number of pleasing devices. The external walls are painted and sanded, and the doors and windows have ornamental arch-traves. The rooms are handsome and spacious, and fitted

²⁷Toledo Blade, August 16, 1876.

²⁸Toledo Blade, October 11, 1875.

up with thorough elegance, and with all the modern improvements. The coal and furnace rooms, laundry, kitchen and store-rooms are in the cellar; on the first floor are parlors, sitting rooms, library, and front and side halls, the former affording entrance from Madison street, the latter from Eighteenth street. The second story is devoted to bedrooms. The house cost \$9,000. C. Schon, architect.²⁹

Eighty people gathered for the housewarming at Henry Stern's in November 1875. There was food, dancing, and the usual toasts, offered by the usual people, among them Rabbi Eger, Martin Friedberg, Max Eppstein, and Jacob Landman.³⁰ And when it was all over Henry Stern still had enough money to give his niece a piano for a wedding present early in 1876.

As for the visiting back and forth, perhaps the excerpts from a single column in the Israelite will serve to illustrate the kind of leisure which some of the Jewish residents had acquired. The items condensed below are typical of those appearing in the Israelite throughout the 1880's. They were printed in mid-February, an indication that the traveling was not seasonal. In fact, it seemed to be a way of life.³¹

²⁹Richard Edwards, Toledo: Historical and Descriptive: The Businesses and Business Men in 1876 (Toledo: Commercial Company, 1876), 46.

³⁰Toledo Blade, November 16, 1875. When Leopold Franc built a house at the corner of 12th and Madison streets in 1883, the American Israelite identified Madison as "one of the more fashionable streets of the city" (November 23, 1883, 6).

³¹In June 1882 the correspondent "Shomer" commented on the great exodus from the city as many people went abroad. He said it seemed to be the fashion to go "abroad you know," even though many had not seen the Rocky Mountains, Yosemite Valley, or even the nearest places of interest (American Israelite, June 23, 1882, 411).

Miss Helen Kraus is visiting a sister in Chicago.
 Miss Sabrina Hirschman is in New York.
 Miss Dora Stern is visiting friends in Fort Wayne.
 Louis M. Cohen, who has been a year at his parents' in Cincinnati has returned.
 Martin Hertff is prospecting for silver or its equivalent near Leadville, Colorado.
 One prominent young man died in Omaha, Nebraska.
 Miss Tillie Schonfeld of Chicago is visiting Miss Hattie Black of Indiana avenue.
 Miss Ella Hart quite recently received an appointment as teacher of primary classes in one of our public schools. There are two other Jewish teachers, Mr. Martin Friedberg and Miss Lena Singer.
 The Roller Skating Rink (skating on rollers has become a perfect mania here) counts among the champion skatists quite a few of our Jewish maidens who are considered among the best and most graceful gliders in the rink.
 Mr. Lazarus, formerly of Warren, Ohio, is about to open an extensive clothing establishment in this city.³²

The writer of the above bits of news deplored the fact that there was no social organization among the local Jews with the exceptions of the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society and "a very prosperous lodge of B'nai B'rith."

Socially, I am sorry to say, we are at a standstill. The ancient game of "Solo" and other innocent (???) games of cards predominate as pastimes among both young and old, and such a thing as a social club is not known here.³³

That condition continued until January 29, 1889, when the Jewish club of Toledo, called the Progress Club, was chartered and rented quarters on Ontario street.³⁴

The German Jews were eminently respectable people, and any hint of scandal was troublesome to them. They took

³²American Israelite, February 20, 1880, 3.

³³Ibid.

³⁴David Alexander, "History of the Jews in Toledo," Reform Advocate (Chicago), June 20, 1908, 16; Toledo Blade, December 7, 1889.

exception, for example, to an article in the Sunday Journal sometime in September 1876, which they said slandered a young Jewess, and was causing great indignation and loud denials.³⁵ The Sunday Journal has not survived, but a Commercial of the same week offers a hint of what the fracas was all about:

Two Toledoans, Mr. S. Cohen and Miss Rachel Gitskey, were on board the Canada Southern train which was wrecked Tuesday night. Fortunately both escaped without injury.³⁶

Editors of the 1870's were intrigued with stories of couples running away together, of thwarted elopements, of interceptions by irate fathers or even more irate husbands. They were a commonplace in the news, and the fact that "S. Cohen" and Rachel Gitskey were on the same wrecked train was bound to raise a few eyebrows. The Sunday Journal probably embellished the story and brought forth the indignant Jewish response.

Samuel Stettiner was one member of the German Jewish community who must have been a trial to his more circumspect

³⁵American Israelite, October 6, 1876, 6.

³⁶Toledo Commercial, September 23, 1876. It is not clear who "S. Cohen" was although the Commercial identified him as a Toledoan. It is reasonable to assume that they did not mean S/imon/ Kohn who was then sixty-seven years old. A.S. Cohen is listed in the city directory as "S. Cohen" under Cohen and Koch, the firm name; this is probably an error. There is also a directory listing for Samuel Kohn, Jr., who was the son of Simon and who graduated from the high school in 1873. Whoever the man was, the disgrace fell upon the girl, and Rachel Gitskey, who had graduated from high school in 1874, was probably about twenty years old at that time (Scott's City Directory, 1876-77, 161, 301, 302; tombstone of S. Kohn in Woodlawn cemetery).

relatives and friends. He was probably always a quarrelsome man. Consider the following card which appeared in the newspapers in 1872:

On the first of January, when the German society had a benefit in their hall on St. Clair street, Mr. Sam Stettiner, who had been drinking with some friends, without any provocation, insulted me, while I was quietly looking on at a game of billiards in the lower room, and in a rowdy-like manner, used most insulting epithets and swearing "I can lick you &c, raising his clenched fist close to my face; naming a number of other members and saying, "They are all _____, they have blackballed me," etc.

The very long card was signed by Chris Daudt, the owner of a general store, and attested to by several other members of the club. Daudt explained that only the presence of ladies and gentlemen at supper in the adjoining room kept him from responding to the insult. Instead he laid the case before the German society at its next meeting on January 8 with the request that the group deal with it.

On the motion of the Honorable William Krause, a committee was appointed to hear the testimony and report at the next meeting. A number of witnesses before the committee corroborated the alleged insults by Mr. S. against me and the others. The grudge, as stated by the witnesses and Mr. Stettiner himself, in conversation was owing to the fact that I and a number of other members had "blackballed" him several years ago when he applied for readmittance as a member of the society after having withdrawn from it on account of an altercation and suppressed fight (only some coats tore--no blood) between him and some others at a party in the society. (It is proper to say here that the vote by ballot decided against his readmittance but that he was proposed again to the same meeting and the ballot at the last was in favor of his admittance).

³⁷Toledo Blade, February 7, 1872.

Daudt went on to describe his grievances. He said that at the meeting of February 5, presided over by Jacob Landman, who had been elected president in January, there was a great deal of fillibustering and subterfuge, interspersed with considerable logic and comical farce on the part of the friends of Mr. Stettiner about the responsibility of an intoxicated member. And finally, on motion of William Kraus, the proceedings of the previous meeting were reconsidered and declared null and void. A motion to read the report of the committee was voted down. The complainant and defendant were heard, witnesses were not permitted to talk, and Kraus moved that because the altercation took place in a part of the German Hall to which outsiders as well as members have access, the case was not under the jurisdiction of the society. The motion carried. Eight members including Daudt protested the handling of the whole incident, and it looks as if Kraus and Landman took the lead in covering up for their rowdy compatriot.³⁸

Several years later Sam Stettiner got involved in a controversy which was even more serious. This time the problem was with his second wife, Mary, and a suit for divorce was filed first in 1882 and then reinstituted some two years later.³⁹ Stettiner was married February 16, 1878.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Toledo Blade, February 8, 1882; American Israelite, January 2, 1885, 6.

His wife, who was not Jewish, made life miserable for him, or so he charged when he filed his original divorce action. He said that Mary was habitually drunk and cruel and that she threw kitchen utensils at him.⁴⁰

The case had repercussions for the German Jewish community because Mary Stettiner accused the Jews of interfering in the couple's affairs and causing their marital difficulties.⁴¹ Again, as in the case of elopements and runaways, divorces were big news in the 1870's, and the Stettiners got a great deal of publicity.⁴² Max Eppstein reported the case to the readers of the Israelite in the following way:

⁴⁰Toledo Blade, February 8, 1882.

⁴¹American Israelite, January 2, 1885, 6.

⁴²Max Eppstein said that much had been written in the local press (American Israelite, January 9, 1885, 2). One story in the Toledo Blade was so bizarre and probably so untrue that the editors did not dare to dignify it by using full names. They wrote only of an old gentleman named Samuel who had married children, and his second wife, Mary, who had been twice widowed. The story was headed "How Gore Was Avoided," and subheaded "The Efforts of an Old Man in the Fifth Ward to Wed a Young Bride, and How it Was Providentially Thwarted and Justice Appeased." In its best melodramatic style the newspaper then told the story of the older man courting his son's fiancée after the son had been called to California on business. Just as he was about to marry the young girl--the participants were gathering for the ceremony--the son returned, threatening from afar to kill his father. The old man then took the expedient way out; he married the girl's mother instead and the entire bridal party swore that had been his intention all along. The young people were also married at the same time (Toledo Blade, October 18, 1884). Older members of the Toledo Jewish community have never heard this story and believe it to be incorrect. Young Sam Stettiner, for example, did go to California, but he was never married.

Scandal--A citizen who has lived here many years forgot his religion and took a wife of another faith who drank and caroused and scolded the master of the house, whose love for their two children was the only cause for ending an earlier separation. A divorce suit is now pending and rich developments are expected.⁴³

Eppstein then used the story as an excuse to take off on his favorite theme:

I have often been asked by some of our fellow citizens: Are there any Israelites in Toledo that show by devotional exercises or any outright demonstrations the teachings of their ancestors? I hardly know, for shame, what to reply and especially when I am reminded so often by the use of the word Jew which repeatedly finds its way into public print here, and solely out of the disregard and slur to our race and no one to defend it. A Toledo Israelite is not respected nor can his influence be felt anywhere in consequence of his carelessness and indifference to his religion, all of which is the cause of the misuse and connection of his name in the press in such a manner. In some respects, however, the Toledo Israelite is benefitted by reason of his disregard, if such it can be termed, of his religion. For instance, in the case of the pending divorce suit mentioned above, the leading defense of the wife is that the Jews here are the sole cause of the alleged trouble. How easy it is to prove that there is no such thing as a Toledo Jew and the above excuse will prove to no avail.

Eppstein's sarcasm was part of his continuing campaign to raise Jewish consciousness and goad the community into responsibility. Two days after he composed his letter to the Israelite someone else wrote from Toledo to report that the differences between Samuel Stettiner and his wife had been "amicably adjusted" and that Stettiner had gone home.⁴⁴

⁴³American Israelite, January 2, 1885, 6. This article was dated December 26, 1884 and signed "Justice," a nom de plume used by Eppstein.

⁴⁴American Israelite, January 9, 1885, 2. This article was dated December 28, 1884 and signed "Maumee."

The arrangement did not remain amicable for long, and the situation was undoubtedly a tense one for Stettiner. Shortly after the first of January, 1885, he became involved in an altercation with Jacob Landman, his brother-in-law and business partner. The quarrel was mentioned in the newspapers and attributed to remarks which Landman made about Mary Stettiner. This Landman denied and the reporter asked him:

"Then your fight had no connection with Mr. Stettiner's family trouble?"

"Not at all--it was only a war of words about our business matters--something that has occurred often before. I don't need to say anything about my partner's family, and I don't see how I could well say anything to wound him after all he himself has said in his petition for a divorce."⁴⁵

Stettiner's troubles continued, and in 1886 suits were filed for the third time. Mary Stettiner began the action, and her husband filed a counter suit seeking custody of the two children. The trial was a notorious one with the courtroom closed to all but the principals and their witnesses. Nevertheless details found their way into the newspaper, including stories that Mrs. Stettiner hired an organ grinder with monkey to play dismal tunes on her front porch all day, and her insistence on celebrating both "Sam's Sunday" (Saturday) and her own with heavy drinking.⁴⁶ The divorce was granted to Sam Stettiner on his cross petition on January 19,

⁴⁵Toledo Blade, January 5, 1885, 1.

⁴⁶Toledo Blade, January 12, 1887, 1.

1887, and the children were placed in his custody. The judge complimented Stettiner on his conduct and "talked very plainly to Mrs. Stettiner."⁴⁷ Relatives in the Jewish community raised the children, and Samuel Stettiner, who lived until 1903, was buried in the Jewish section of Woodlawn cemetery next to his sister Rosa Thorner. His name appears alone on the large stone marker.

There were a number of additions to the German Jewish group through the years and a few subtractions. Some of the young men went off to the West as Samuel Stettiner's son had done.⁴⁸ Sam Roemer left his job as a clerk for Max Eppstein to join Sells Brothers Circus where he specialized in turning triple sommersaults. He eventually toured in Europe and got as far East as Russia.⁴⁹ Joseph Gitskey's young son, Selig, was drowned in the Maumee just a few weeks before he was to graduate from high school, and the entire class wore mourning in his memory.⁵⁰ Another victim of the river was Simon Kohn's wife who had a history of mental illness and who died under mysterious circumstances in 1874.⁵¹ Many young women

⁴⁷Toledo Blade, January 19, 1887, 1.

⁴⁸Both Sam Landman and Martin Hertff left in 1880 (American Israelite, February 2, 1880, 3; April 2, 1880, 6).

⁴⁹Toledo Blade, August 24, 1880; interview with Mrs. Mervin Levey.

⁵⁰Toledo Blade, June 3, 1878.

⁵¹Toledo Blade, May 30, 1874; June 2, 1874.

were married and left Toledo. Some, like Belle Eppstein and the widowed Rosetta Wiler, came back. Carrie Franc, who went to school in Washington, D.C., married Lewis Strassburger of that city and they lived in Toledo.⁵²

Among the most notable additions to the German Jewish group was Gotthilf Bloch, who immigrated from Wurttemberg in 1854.⁵³ Bloch came from a rabbinical family and had received a good education in Europe, including instruction in Hebrew language and literature. When he first came to the United States Bloch went to Valparaiso, Indiana where he joined a business firm. In 1871 and 1872 he was appointed by the Indiana legislature to be a director of the Northern Indiana Prison at Michigan City. In 1872, also, he served as the Indiana delegate to the International Prison Congress in London. He arrived in Toledo in 1882 to become a member of the Roemer and Stern clothing firm. Joseph Roemer was retiring and the firm was renamed Stern and Bloch. Gotthilf Bloch's son Moses was attending Notre Dame when his family moved to Toledo. He was graduated in 1883 and received a law degree from the University of Michigan in 1885. In 1886 Moses Bloch began the practice of law in Toledo.⁵⁴

⁵²American Israelite, September 5, 1884, 7; April 2, 1886, 10.

⁵³Chapter One, n. 4.

⁵⁴Alexander, "History of the Jews in Toledo," 20; Polk's City Directory, 1881-82, 566; Toledo Blade, December 15, 1952.

Another family group, not newcomers and not German, was augmented during these years, and it certainly deserves to be considered among the more affluent members of the community. This was the Black family, emigrants from Hungary in the 1850's. According to family records, the Blacks were overseers and managers of the estate of a Hungarian nobleman who was an absentee landlord, and they were very well off in Europe--affluent enough to hire a tutor named Friedlander for their children. The Blacks became involved in the Hungarian nationalist revolt of 1848-49, and some of the members of the family came to America with Louis Kossuth. They settled in Cleveland and slowly lost their capital--reported to be \$100,000 in gold--in five different business ventures. The sixth, the manufacture of cloaks and suits, was successful. Lazar Black, the brother who in Hungary was responsible for marketing the estate products, led the branch of the family which established itself in Toledo. His son, Alexander, became a prosperous Toledo merchant.⁵⁵

Alexander Black arrived in America in 1854 when he

⁵⁵The family name was Schwartz; it was changed to Black in order to sound more American (Interview with Mrs. Robert Zimmerman, granddaughter of Alexander Black). An interesting genealogy of the Loveman-Black family has been prepared by May Loveman Sobel and is deposited at the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati. Mrs. Sobel's record contains colorful anecdotes although it is probably inaccurate in places. It seems unlikely, for example, that the family both had great wealth and traveled with Kossuth who was soliciting monetary support for the Hungarian cause in the cities and towns of America. See Ronald K. Huth, "Louis Kossuth in Ohio," Northwest Ohio Quarterly, Summer, 1968, 111-117.

was twenty-two years old. He came to Toledo from Detroit in 1861 and his business was candy and toys in partnership with E.S. Simon (this may have been one of the five unsuccessful family ventures). Two years later Black had switched to the manufacture of hoop skirts and was associated with A. Sampliner who also boarded with the Blacks. In 1867 Alexander Black had still another partner, Jacob B. Barth of Grand Rapids, Michigan, and the firm had expanded to deal in hoop skirts, corsets, and notions. By 1870 Barth had been replaced by Samuel Hofman, a fellow Hungarian, and that partnership continued for more than a decade. In the late 1880's, hoop skirts having fallen from fashion, Alexander Black was making cloaks and shirtwaists. At that time he employed 275 people in the manufacturing side of the business and had seven salesmen on the road. He was joined in Toledo by his father and by two brothers, Herman and Julius, and other members of the family operated L. Black and Company in Detroit. Several of the Blacks remained in Cleveland.⁵⁶

Alexander Black's sister, Ernestine, married the family tutor, Adolph Friedlander, and she came to America and to Toledo in 1876. Her father, who had been living with the prosperous Alexander, went immediately to live with

⁵⁶Interview with Mrs. Robert Zimmerman; Scott's City Directory, 1864, 1866, 1867, 1870; Manufacturing and Mercantile Resources, Toledo, South Toledo and Perrysburg: A Descriptive, Historical and Statistical Review (Toledo, 1882), 797; J.A. Miller, Illustrated Review of Toledo, Ohio (Toledo: Enterprise Review Publishing Company, 1888), 45.

Ernestine and her husband, and their home became a gathering place for Hungarian Jews until 1890 when Lazar Black died and Ernestine Friedlander moved to Chicago. The elder Black, who lived to be eighty-seven, was an absent-minded old gentleman who spent his time translating Hebrew books into German. Each time he ventured out his wife went through his clothes carefully in order to return the things he accidentally put in his pockets. His grandchildren remembered him because of a copper snuff box full of pennies which he always carried for them.⁵⁷

Another group of Jews who did well in the city but who did not have as much money as the early German settlers and the Alexander Black family were the Hollanders who were important in the founding of the B'nai Israel congregation--the Van Noordens, the Oostermans and the Geleerds.⁵⁸ We have some idea of the Van Noordens and how they lived from the memoirs of Dr. Louis Effler who grew up with the family of Solomon Van Noorden, Jr., or Sam, as he was called. Effler describes the city block bounded by Huron, Locust, Erie and

⁵⁷Sobel, Loveman-Black Family Genealogy, American Jewish Archives. In the supplement to the geneology Adolph Friedlander is described as a scholar and an impractical man. The job of raising their eight children fell largely to his wife, a frail and tiny woman with one shoulder higher than the other as a result of a fall.

⁵⁸The earliest members of the Van Baalen family also came to Toledo, probably from Detroit, in the late 1870's and early 1880's. Israel and Rachel Van Baalen worked as clerks for the Van Noordens and lived in the home of Louis Van Noorden in 1881 (Polk's Toledo City Directory, 1878-79, 505; 1881-82, 598).

La Grange streets as "The Van Noorden Block" because for him that family was the most prominent on it. He knew them well, and tells a number of stories of their youth. For example, there was the Fourth of July in the nineties when Sid Van Noorden and Effler's brother Erv tried to shoot off a toy cannon. The powder from the breech hole of the cannon blew back into their faces when they leaned over to find out why it had not exploded. Effler then describes the reactions of the two sets of parents:

Well, Sid's mother immediately called their family doctor! And for the rest of the day Sid was content to watch the Fourth of July proceedings from the safety of his front porch--with his face all swathed to the eyes in gauze and bandages. Only two little round peep-holes were permitted. . . .

Mother, however, put Erv to bed--and put a poultice of freshly grated potatoes on his face. . . . When the poultices were removed--it was seen that all powder grains had also disappeared from Erv's face. In Sid's case the doctor was busy . . . in picking powder grains out of his face: for days to come.

The family that emerged from Effler's reminiscences was large, diverse, and very much a part of the community. He never referred to them as Jewish, but said instead that the Eppstein family who moved into the spacious Simmons house on Huron street was "one of the few Jewish families in the neighborhood." Eppstein ran a clothing store at Orange and Summit streets and talked a lot about his son Julius who was in Law School in Ann Arbor. Of him Effler

⁵⁹Louis R. Effler, My Memoirs of the Gay 90's (Toledo: Buettner and Breska, 1942), 125. The section entitled "The Van Noorden Block" runs from page 123 to 142.

said:

Julius graduated in law from U. of M.--and has been practicing law in Toledo ever since! An ornament to his profession, too! Not the "pushing" type but earnest, plodding and sincere!⁶⁰

Obviously Effler was not without his prejudices, but he never mentioned religion in connection with his great and good friends, the Van Noorden, Jr. family.

He told of the boys' attempts to collect all the wooden whistles which the Van Noordens were distributing as a promotional gimmick for the store, and how they were persuaded that their action was a restraint of trade. They were ordered to break up their growing collections and deliver their whistles from door to door.⁶¹ He also described Sid Van Noorden who went to New York to learn tailoring and who, when he got back, amazed his friends by squatting on his haunches on a bench near the side window of the shop, pulling his short legs into a true Oriental-tailor pose.⁶² Another of his stories involved the fascination which the legitimate theatre held for the boys. They would "grab an early supper and race down-town to take position at the gallery entrance of the Valentine--there in the Alley--before 6:30 p.m. That way they could hang on to the door-knob and be 'first in line.' They were gallery gods for fair." Everybody was

⁶⁰Ibid., 74.

⁶¹Ibid., 223.

⁶²Ibid.

theatre mad, Effler said, in the early nineties, and people went to the Valentine on theatre night "as religiously as they went to church on Sundays."⁶³

The theater craze also hit the Oesterman family, but in a different way. They went on the stage. Nathan Oesterman, patriarch of the family, was a religious man, and his Irish wife, a convert to Judaism, was conscientious in her responsibilities. Oesterman even conducted a Beth Din or rabbinical court in his home on Sunday mornings. He and his fellow Orthodox Jews believed it was a disgrace for Jews to use the civil courts, and they handled as many problems as they could internally. Oesterman eventually moved away from Orthodoxy and towards Conservatism. He became a founder of the Conservative Vermont Avenue Temple after the turn of the century.⁶⁴

But Nathan Oesterman was not a solemn man, and his household must have been one of the liveliest in the city. Three of his daughters went on the stage and married men who were connected either with the stage or with the arts. One daughter, Anna, who used the stage name Anna Belmont, was a leading lady with John Drew and was married to Ted Kraus, an artist. Another daughter, Lillian, spent only a short time on the stage, but she married Felix Risser who handled

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Interview with Lewis N. Osterman, son of Nathan Oesterman.

publicity for John Ringling North, who helped promote the New York Theatre Guild in its early days, and who managed a number of vaudeville stars, including Al Jolson. The third theatrical daughter, Kathryn, was most famous of all. She was a comedienne who had her own revue on the Keith circuit for many years, and who frequently appeared at the Valentine and at the Casino, one of the city's prominent show places. Her husband, J.J. Rosenthal was a theatrical manager and their son, Jackie Osterman, became a Keith star while still a teenager. He died in 1939 at the age of thirty-seven.⁶⁵

Nathan Oesterman, himself, tried his hand at many things. He even owned a wax museum for a time and toured the United States with it. He would bill himself as "Dr. Oesterman" of France or Holland or somewhere, and give learned talks on medicine in connection with the show. And yet he was a scrupulously moral man. Once when his son got him a job as a city street inspector, he served only two weeks. The paving contractors protested loudly when Oesterman hired the lightest buggy he could find and bumped up and down the city streets, carefully noting all the rough spots. He also lost favor as a juror because he insisted on asking questions directly from the jury box, to the con-

⁶⁵Ibid.; Toledo Blade, August 26, 1956; Toledo Times, June 11, 1939. Anna Belmont played the leading juvenile in "Hands Across the Sea," at the Peoples' Theatre in Toledo in 1891. She had then been on the stage four years (American Israelite, March 19, 1891, 7).

sternation of the attorneys in the various cases. Undoubtedly this practice had something to do with Oesterman's Sundays in the rabbinical court.⁶⁶

Lahman Geleerd, also from Holland, was a cigarmaker. He was born in 1838, the same year as Oesterman, and came to Toledo sometime after 1865. His three older children, Louis, Fannie, and Simon were born in England; and the four younger ones were born in Toledo. The Geleerds were in the city by 1868 because four-year-old Sammie (Simon) was injured by a farm wagon at Summit and Jefferson streets in August of that year.⁶⁷ A younger son, Meyer, graduated from high school in 1889 and received an appointment to West Point which Max Eppstein called "an honor to himself, his parents, and the entire Jewish community."⁶⁸ The army was not his real vocation, however; Mayer Geleerd left West Point after one semester and eventually became an attorney. Lahman Geleerd was never prominently associated with synagogue affairs although he was a member of B'nai Israel. He was a gregarious man who found satisfaction in lodge memberships, and he frequently held office in these groups. He was, for example, one of the charter members and first officers of Ephraim Lodge #183, Independent Order of B'nai

⁶⁶Interview with Lewis N. Osterman.

⁶⁷U.S. Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States: 1880. Population schedules, Toledo, Schedule I, 140A; Toledo Blade, August 28, 1868.

⁶⁸American Israelite, June 20, 1889, 7.

B'rith.⁶⁹

One of the earliest Polish Jews in the city was Alies S. Cohen, born in Warsaw in 1842 and educated in New York where he graduated from high school. He moved West in 1866 and was a member of a number of dry goods firms in Toledo, including that of Joseph Koch. Cohen eventually became president of Cohen, Friedlander and Martin, manufacturer of coats and suits. He was from the first associated with the Jewish business leaders and with the Reform congregation.⁷⁰

Unlike Cohen, most Polish Jews in the city in the 1870's and 1880's clustered around the B'nai Jacob synagogue, living on Union, John, Allen and Woodruff streets. Abraham Shugarman of Union street arrived in 1868. He was already a veteran of fifteen years in the United States, having lived first in Louisiana and then in Zanesville, Ohio. He opened his own business in Toledo in 1881. The census of 1880 showed him to be thirty-nine years old, to be living with his thirty-eight year old wife, Delia, who was also born in Poland, and with seven children, all born in Ohio. The oldest child listed, Samuel, was seventeen in 1880.⁷¹

Shugarman's address was 40 Union street. His next

⁶⁹Toledo Blade, September 16, 1872; August 12, 1943; telephone interview with Miss Bloehma Geleerd, granddaughter of Lahman and niece of Meyer.

⁷⁰Nevin O. Winter, A History of Northwest Ohio, Vol. II (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1917), 1095-1096.

⁷¹Manufacturing and Mercantile Resources of Toledo, South Toledo and Perrysburg, 868; Tenth Census, Toledo, Schedule I, 88B.

door neighbor, at number 38, was Solomon Powder, seventy years old and a peddler, probably of matches. The name Powder (it had been Pulvermacher originally) was amusing to the newspaper writers, and they liked to make puns about it. They wrote in 1881 about the old match peddler named Powder, and suggested that the "combination might be an explosive one." On another occasion someone entitled a story "Discharge of Powder." It reveals Solomon Powder to be a pugnacious man, especially when he had been drinking, and it also reveals something of the religious attitudes of the time:

Mr. Solomon Powder appeared at the Police Court this morning to answer to a charge of disturbance, preferred against him by Mr. J. Boff. The unpleasantness arose out of a religious discussion, which had been started in a saloon on Oak street, and carried on both in Hebrew and English. Powder is a Jew and Boff a Roman Catholic. The former made much use of such vile language with respect to the Virgin Mary that Boff vowed he would blow his brains out if he only had his revolver with him. He also threatened to have him stoned to death if he should repeat such language. Powder replied that he was not in Rome, but that he breathed the free air of heaven, under the shadow of the Goddess of Liberty, and, if he desired to do so, he would repeat his remarks from the top of the Hall block. Boff was so enraged at the insults hurled at his religion that he procured a warrant for Powder's arrest. The language complained of, which was repeated in court this morning, was without exception the most foul that it is possible to imagine. Judge Lorenz considered that both men were equally to blame, however, and accordingly dismissed the case.⁷²

Solomon Powder's son, Moses, who started out as a peddler like his father, was appointed to the police force in 1881. Two years later he was accused of sleeping on duty

⁷²Toledo Blade, February 26, 1880.

and brought before the police board. He said he was ill and went into a bakery on Cherry street to rest, asking the proprietor to call his superior officer. Powder had not been previously before the board and the chief of police testified he was a good officer. He got off with a reprimand.⁷³

Not many of the Jews who were permanent residents of the city ever got into the local courts, but there were occasional exceptions. Even Guido Marx was cited and fined five dollars for failure to cut the thistles on his property.⁷⁴ The Gitskeys continued to have trouble, usually about sanitation and garbage. For example, the following appeared in 1875:

The attention of the board of health is respectfully called to the condition of affairs in the rear of Gitskey's Block, St. Clair street. From an indescribable compound of old cheese, decayed vegetable and animal matter, there arises separate and overpowering stinks which those of Cologne sink into insignificance before. The spot is a pestiferous one and ought to be cleared.⁷⁵

In another instance Joseph Gitskey was charged with emptying a large pile of debris onto St. Clair street in front of his building. When he refused to remove it the street commissioner swore out a warrant for his arrest. And there was a third occasion when the Gitskey Block was reported to the health officers as being in bad condition: "It is said that persons rooming in that block have a habit of throwing

⁷³Toledo Blade, August 17, 1882.

⁷⁴Toledo Blade, August 10, 1882.

⁷⁵Toledo Blade, June 25, 1875.

slops in the basement which is objected to." In 1880 Samuel Gitskey was found technically guilty on a charge of assault and battery and was fined the witness fees in the case.⁷⁶

The Gitskeys were not always on the wrong side of the law, however. They came in for occasional praise, as in 1871 when Louis Gitskey attempted, through a benefit, to recoup some of the money he had lost in the operation of the ice skating rink. The Commercial urged people to attend, pointing out that "it was principally through Mr. Gitskey's money and influence that the citizens of Toledo were given the rink and now that he has become pecuniarily embarrassed, to a certain extent due to this very enterprise, it seems just and consistent that the citizens should patronize his benefit." Again, in 1876 when Jonah Gitskey died, the Blade referred to him as "one of our eldest Hebrew citizens--having moved here over twenty years ago." Death was from apoplexy and burial was in the Jewish cemetery on the East side. In 1882 Moses and M.M. Gitskey were forced to make an assignment of their assets. The clothing inventory, valued at \$15,938, and their store were sold at sheriff's sale. The Blade reported the transaction without editorial comment. Small scale bankruptcies were frequent news items.⁷⁷

There were others who made occasional appearances in

⁷⁶Toledo Blade, February 28, 1878; December 17, 1880.

⁷⁷Toledo Blade, May 4, 1876; June 3, 1882; June 6, 1882.

police court: Isaac and Philip Cohen pleaded guilty to a charge of resisting arrest a few days after their trial on the same charge had resulted in a hung jury. They paid fines totaling \$40.65 while, the Blade reported, the jury trial had cost \$195.⁷⁸ In another case Joseph Levi and Samuel Rosenblum were arrested for creating a disturbance on Woodruff avenue. They were fined \$5.00 and \$3.90 respectively.⁷⁹ A most unfortunate case was that of Isaac Levi whom the Blade identified as a "juvenile Jew, arrested on the complaint of his father for incorrigible conduct. Three years later sixteen-year-old Isaac Levi drowned in the river at the foot of Adams street.⁸⁰

Most of the time it was the itinerants and not the permanent residents who got into trouble with the law. And they were usually identified as Jews, a practice which became more prevalent in the 1870's and 1880's. Consider the following:

Peddling without a license was the charge to which a sickly looking Israelite answered in the affirmative. His excuse was that he hadn't enough money to pay for a license, and so he took the chance of being nabbed. He was assessed with a fine of \$8.30, but as he had nothing from which it could be collected, the penalty was suspended for one hour during which he is expected to leave the city and pursue elsewhere his peripatetic business.⁸¹

⁷⁸Toledo Blade, March 13, 1882.

⁷⁹Toledo Blade, May 16, 1881.

⁸⁰Toledo Blade, January 31, 1877; June 29, 1881.

⁸¹Toledo Blade, May 22, 1871.

Or there were cases in which no legal action was taken, but where public ridicule was clearly invited:

The day before yesterday a gentleman of the Jewish persuasion, accompanied by a dilapidated old sample case, was conveyed from the Russel House, Detroit, to the Michigan Central Depot. Everyone who saw the trunk was at a loss to understand how it stood the journey without falling to pieces, for it was the most rickety piece of goods that ever fell into the hands of a hotel porter or a railroad baggage man.

The box hung together, however, until it was taken into the Canada Southern baggage room, and checked for Toledo; and, wonderful to relate, it was landed in this city, very little the worse for its handling and transportation. The proprietor of the trunk told the baggage man to be very careful of his property, because it was delicate and valuable. The trunk was treated with more than the usual amount of consideration, and left in the baggage room until noon when its owner paid a visit.

The moment he beheld it he threw up his hands in horror, and exclaimed:

"Vy, koot kracious! Mine drunk vos ruined!"

Mr. M.H. Scott, Canada Southern baggage agent, remarked that the trunk certainly had a ruined appearance. It must have seen hard times.

"Hard dimes, nudding," exclaimed the Jew. "You haf zmashed ub mine drunk all to pieces. Dos paggage men vos all tedpeats, anyhow. Dey would pull all de screws ouat of a drunk, and pull all de nails ouat, und ven dey vos take 'em to de drunk man to get 'em fix up, dey sharge twenty-five cents and de paggage man go und get his commeeshen on it."

The idea of getting a commission on a twenty-five cent job was too funny for anything, and the men in the paggage room were obliged to laugh.

This made the trunk owner very angry. The story went on, the dialect continuing, until the disconcerted traveler took his trunk and left, uttering threats and imprecations all the way.⁸² The next day the Blade ran a follow-up:

⁸²Toledo Blade, October 30, 1879.

The Jew referred to yesterday, in connection with the rickety trunk episode, went from here to Tiffin, where he wrote a complaining letter to the Canada Southern authorities in this City, with a bill of \$5 damages inclosed, demanding immediate payment. The letter was duly received and fell into the hands of Mr. Woodford's clerk who, by way of a reply, took a copy of last evening's Blade, drew a blue pencil mark around the trunk article, and sent the paper to the Israelite's address. No doubt when that gentleman sees what a ridiculous figure he cuts in print, he will conclude to stay further proceedings.⁸³

The story about the battered trunk was probably intended to be funny, but there was nothing funny about the charge against a peddler named Lewis:

This forenoon, if report be true, a Jew peddler named L. Lewis, attempted a most dastardly crime at the house of a poor man residing out near Forest Cemetery. Lewis has a lazy, sneaking look, and would apparently not hesitate to do almost anything. He was peddling cheap jewelry out in the suburbs, when he came to a house where no one but the children were at home. The oldest was a young girl, and the old brute made proposals to her offering her some of his snide jewelry, which, of course, she rejected. Then the peddler attempted to accomplish his purpose by force. He would no doubt have succeeded had not some assistance come to hand. The Jew was arrested by Sexton Rathbone of Forest Cemetery, and lodged at the Central Station.⁸⁴

As stories of this type increased, the Jews became alarmed. A local correspondent to the Israelite expressed a feeling of futility in trying to combat such journalistic practices: "All endeavors on the part of our co-religionists to reproach it have proved in vain against the giant-like bias possessed by these supposedly fair-minded reporters."⁸⁵

⁸³Toledo Blade, October 30, 1879.

⁸⁴Toledo Blade, June 29, 1878.

⁸⁵American Israelite, January 29, 1886, 2. This article was not signed "justice"; it was probably not written

The writer complained that even the smallest offense brought forth the identification "Jew" while men of other creeds were called simply by name, no matter how serious their crime. He cited as an example a story in which "a Hebrew peddler about 40 years old, with burly hair and the distinctly clear-cut features of the children of Israel, etc., etc., is arraigned before the court in consequence of pleas brought against him by his wife for a divorce." The editors of the American Israelite and of the other Jewish papers also attacked the problem from time to time.⁸⁶ Toledo editors, who had shown a particular kind of deference when dealing with "Hebrew citizens," were certainly no better than others when it came to "Jew peddlers." But even the references to the "Jew pick-pockets of the 1850's did not contain physical descriptions of the defendants as the newspaper stories of the seventies and eighties were likely to do.⁸⁷

Just as these journalistic abuses led to the organization in 1913 of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, so did problems of poverty and illness in the late

by Max Eppstein. Eppstein was all in favor of keeping up the campaign against the identification of criminals as Jews in a letter written March 5, 1886 (American Israelite, March 19, 1886, 6).

⁸⁶ An example of the continuing concern is "Some Ridiculous Newspaper Reports in the American Israelite, October 10, 1889, 4. In 1874 an attempt was made nationally to remove the pejorative verb "to jew" from several American dictionaries. It was only temporarily successful (Toledo Blade, September 3, 1874).

⁸⁷ See Chapter Four, 86-88.

nineteenth century lead to the comprehensive Jewish welfare program of today. But in those early years, before the welfare network existed, there was considerable long-lasting hardship which the limited resources of the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society could do little to ameliorate.⁸⁸ Rosa Englander had not known where to turn in 1878 and her solution for her problem--abandoning her children--was embarrassing to the city's Jews. Mary Cook (changed from Koch) described a similar plight when she wrote to the Israelite asking for help in locating her husband Isaac. She was desperate and disillusioned. Isaac Cook left the city on April 10, 1877 because, after trying for several years, he was convinced he could not make a living in Toledo. He told his wife he had no money, but she later learned that he had \$1,000. Mary Cook went to Chicago where Isaac's sister lived, and the two women wrote letters and advertised for him in Leavenworth, Kansas, where they believed him to be. Mary Cook's major concern was that the burden of support for the family had fallen on her thirteen-year-old son, oldest of four children, who was peddling in and around Toledo. She wanted him to be in school, and she begged Jews around the country to help her locate her husband.⁸⁹

⁸⁸Most of the ladies' money came from the hops and balls they sponsored. In 1891 they raised their dues from forty-three cents a month to one dollar during the winter when suffering was greatest (American Israelite, December 24, 1891, 3).

⁸⁹American Israelite, August 17, 1877, 6. Mary Cook's letter, written from Chicago, was dated August 7, 1877.

There was a Jewish orphanage in Cleveland, sponsored by B'nai B'rith and by individual contributions, and Toledoans were donating to it as early as 1874.⁹⁰ Tillie Topper, a young Toledoan, was admitted to the orphanage in 1882, and several other Toledo children lived there during the eighties. Max Eppstein became a director of the Jewish Orphan Asylum in 1890, and as with anything he undertook, he pushed its cause and asked for contributions.⁹¹

The rudimentary nature of charitable organizations in Toledo in 1881 made it necessary to organize a subscription campaign to provide for the first of the refugees from the Russian pogroms. The vast influx of Russian Jews which was to change the nature of Jewish communities throughout the country began as a trickle.⁹² In Toledo there were already a few Russian Jews. Levi Perlstein, for example, reported to the census taker in 1880 that he was from Russia and that both of his parents were born in Russia. Abraham Singer was from Russian Poland, and undoubtedly there were others.⁹³

⁹⁰American Israelite, May 15, 1874, 7.

⁹¹American Israelite, June 23, 1882, 411; October 23, 1890, 1.

⁹²Rufus Lears, The Jews in America: A History (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1954). See chapter nine entitled "1881." See also James Parkes, Antisemitism (London: Valentine, Mitchell, 1963). Parkes entitled chapter six "The World Since 1881." The best study of the Russian Jewish problem is S.M. Dubnow, History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, 3 Vols. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1916).

⁹³Tenth Census of the United States, Toledo and Lucas County, Schedule I, 82B. The name was spelled "Perltine."

What made the immigration of 1881 different, from the standpoint of the American communities, was the outrage with which the stories of Russian persecution were received, and the initial willingness of the Jews already established to extend help to those who were coming. Immigrant aid societies sprang up in Europe and the United States.⁹⁴ The affluent Jews in Toledo who had been faulted again and again for their lack of interest in religion were never accused of being tight-fisted in charitable or humanitarian causes, and they organized quickly to raise funds.

Cincinnati received its first Russian immigrants in the fall of 1881. Between October and December 123 people arrived in that city, 44 of them children.⁹⁵ By January 1882 the Toledo community had taken care of two families, and four young men, all of whom were reported to be thrifty people who "after a few months sojourn in our midst are fully able to sustain themselves by following their various trades and avocations." Toledo had received an urgent appeal to provide

⁹⁴Learsi, The Jews in America, 134. The problems encountered in providing aid for the Russian immigrants, and the attitudes of the Jews already in America toward the newcomers are well covered in a rabbinical thesis by Irving Aaron Mandel entitled "The Attitudes of the American Jewish Community Toward East European Immigration in the United States," summarized by Bernard Martin in American Jewish Archives, June, 1959, 11-35. Using chiefly the Jewish press, Mandel describes the abortive plans for colonization of the Russians and the mixed attitudes with which they were greeted. The Russians were absorbed more peacefully in small communities than in the large cities, but everywhere those who had a trade were treated better than the unskilled.

⁹⁵American Israelite, December 23, 1881, 206.

for more Russian Jews.⁹⁶ The request resulted in

. . . a numerously attended meeting of our co-religionists at Mr. Joseph Roemer's residence last evening, Mr. Jacob Lasalle presiding. A committee to raise funds was appointed and some two hundred dollars were at once subscribed and \$500 at least will be raised for the Toledo Aid Association for Russian Refugees.⁹⁷

Another committee was formed to find suitable accommodations, to receive the refugees on their arrival and to provide for them temporarily. Jacob Landman and one of the Stettiners made a "magnificent offer" of a dwelling for one year free of rent. The house was quickly accepted and the secretary was instructed to send for more refugees at once. The Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society called a special meeting to devise "a means how best to aid this worthy cause."⁹⁸

The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society records show that in 1882 eight men, four women, and thirteen children were sent to Toledo. This contrasts with forty-two men, nine women and ten children who went to Cleveland, and 135 men, twenty-eight women and thirty-five children who were sent to Chicago.⁹⁹ Of course, this represents only one agency, and not all Russians required the help of an agency. Many made their own way to cities and towns where landsleit

⁹⁶American Israelite, February 10, 1882, 264.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Zosa Szajkowski, "The Attitude of American Jews to East European Immigration (1881-93)," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, March, 1951, 272-273.

awaited them.¹⁰⁰ Who, for example, was responsible for the band of Jews described in the Blade who were walking from Fort Wayne to Toledo?

Two weeks ago a car load of Jews, direct from Russia, arrived in this City, and being in search of employment were sent to Dupont, on the Narrow Gage to work in a mill. They soon became dissatisfied and left for Paulding. From there they went to Fort Wayne, and finally 14 of them landed in this city this morning. They are disgusted with this country, and are surprised that they have to work for their living. They claim that it was represented to them that people lived here in idleness and they were expecting to find it so. They want to get back to their old homes and were sent as far as Cleveland. They said that others were walking towards the city from Fort Wayne and should reach here in a day or two.¹⁰¹

The Blade's attitude toward "Jew peddlers" obviously extended also to unemployed Russian Jews. The citizens of Toledo continued their efforts, however. They raised more than \$600 for the Russian Relief fund in the early part of 1882 and seemed especially willing to receive refugees who had some training. "As long as artisans and mechanics are sent here there will be no trouble to supply them here with work. Such will be self-sustaining sooner than any other class."¹⁰²

By the early 1890's the Blade was still complaining and the citizens were still raising money. The newspaper

¹⁰⁰Learsi, The Jews in America, 135-136.

¹⁰¹Toledo Blade, July 28, 1882. Mandel reports that the Jewish press, uncertain itself about how to handle the immigration of Russian Jews, rallied to their support when they were attacked by a general newspaper ("Attitudes of the American Jewish Community," American Jewish Archives, 28).

¹⁰²American Israelite, March 3, 1882, 283.

reported "A Flood of Russian Jews":

A large number of Russian Jews have swooped down upon Toledo during the past four weeks. They came here from Canada and claim that they are exiles banished from Russia on account of their religious beliefs and had no where but here to rest their heads. England and Canada have been taking a great deal of interest in the cause of the Russian Jews, and they naturally thought that when they landed in Canada they would be in the house of their friends.

They soon found out that the Canadians had little use for them. They told the foreigners a glowing tale about this country and of the colonies of Russian Jews in Toledo and Cincinnati. They got them so worked up that they left for the land of Uncle Sam and landed here penniless. Mr. Ryan, immigration agent, soon located every one of them. They came here without a cent and were compelled to apply to the infirmary for assistance. Mr Ryan is now in communication with the Washington authorities in regard to what disposition shall be made of the aliens. It is expected that they will be returned to Canada.

If they had come directly to this country from Russia, the chances are that nothing would have been said or done for the reason that they were banished from Russia, and were entitled to some place on God's footstool. Their cases will be attended to as soon as possible. At present they are staying with friends on Canton avenue, Perry street and Woodruff avenue.¹⁰³

The relief agencies were expanded to include the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society, composed mostly of Polish Jews, which was formed in 1892.¹⁰⁴ An end-of-the-report from the Society to Aid the Russian Refugees in 1891 stated that a great number had arrived unsolicited, but that they had all been helped. "Quite an amount has been raised, and the officers are doing their best." The leaders of that organization were primarily German Jews: Gotthilf

¹⁰³Toledo Blade, October 22, 1891.

¹⁰⁴Toledo Blade, April 6, 1892.

Bloch was chairman.¹⁰⁵

Apparently the only organization which cut across congregational lines and even included some Jews who were not synagogue members was the Toledo chapter of B'nai B'rith. Here the Oestermans, the Van Noordens, the Goldsmiths, the Lasalles, the Geleerds, the Thorners, and the Powders all came together to work for the improvement of Israelites in the United States, and particularly for the relief of the unfortunate.¹⁰⁶ A second Jewish lodge, American Jewish Order Keshar Shel Barzel (A.J.O.K.S.B.) was made up almost entirely of Polish Jews.¹⁰⁷

The Jews of Toledo operated in very different spheres in influence in the 1870's and 1880's, and the links to draw them together were few. Only their humanitarian commitment, the activities of B'nai B'rith, and perhaps the exhortations of the Jewish press, served to unite them in any way at all. Many of them did not even speak the same languages, and their ways of life were as different as they could possibly be within any American city.

¹⁰⁵American Israelite, December 24, 1891, 3.

¹⁰⁶Toledo Blade, September 16, 1872. Officers were listed in the American Israelite, January 4, 1878 and January 10, 1879.

¹⁰⁷Toledo Blade, January 18, 1873. See also Scott's City Directory, 1872-73, 86.

Chapter Nine: TOWARD CONGREGATIONAL STABILITY

Jewish congregational life in the early 1880's centered on the B'nai Jacob congregation, meeting at the corner of Union and John streets on what must have been a regular basis, and on Shomer Emunim, meeting sporadically in the years following Eger's departure, and then not at all until a complete reorganization took place in 1885.¹ B'nai Israel members probably met at Clarke's Hall during the early part of the decade.

The Israelite of 1885 mentioned one Orthodox congregation which it called "Beth Israel," and by 1886 B'nai Israel was listed in the city directory with services at Clarke's Hall. In 1888 the Israelite, quoting the Toledo Bee, listed three congregations, B'nai Jacob, B'nai Israel, and Shomer Emunim.² This was confirmed by a religious tabulation which appeared in the Blade at the end of 1888; among the city's seventy churches there were three Hebrew congre-

¹See Appendix B. In October 1882, just a few days apart, two sets of officers were listed (1) "for the congregation at Union and John" and (2) for "B'nai Jacob." Levi Perlstine's name appeared on both lists (Toledo Blade, October 3, October 9, 1882). Others listed as officers were David Marx, M. Powder, Julius Fried, Israel Berlinski, Usher Murk, L. Toper, and Charles Holt. Neither of the sets of officers corresponds with those listed in the city directory for 1881-82 or 1882-83.

²American Israelite, June 19, 1885; January 13, 1888.

gations.³ One thing is clear in the confusion about who was meeting and who was not. The people who cared about congregational continuity and development were strong enough personalities to persevere in the face of apathy and doctrinal differences. Eventually they achieved the stability they were working for.

In the Reform group the person who fought the hardest was Max Eppstein. He never relaxed in his determination to establish a Reform temple and an educational facility in Toledo. He was the self-appointed guardian of Reform Judaism who goaded, prodded, shamed and otherwise kept the issue of a congregation alive and who recorded his wins and losses in the pages of the American Israelite. He was an outspoken man who did his duty as he saw it. As he explained it:

To vent one's spleen against certain individuals for selfish reasons in the columns of any paper deserves the condemnation of all. To chronicle events calling forth censure and rebuke to certain ones for shortcomings and misdeeds is essential, requiring exposure. For this reason "Justice" speaks of them truthfully, with the sole object and aim of stopping the recurrence and to point out such which under his domain cannot exist.⁴

³Toledo Blade, December 31, 1888, 4.

⁴American Israelite, October 19, 1888. The incident which brought forth this statement concerned the wife of a former, deceased president of the congregation who refused to pay the family assessment or even attend services. It is possible to positively identify Eppstein as "Justice" through an exchange of correspondence in the Israelite in 1885. The editor wrote on May 15, 1885 that "The Rev. M.M. Eppstein of Toledo, Ohio favored us with a call." In a letter written from Toledo on May 18, "Justice" said that he had been in Cincinnati, called on Dr. Wise, visited the Temple and the offices of the Israelite where he saw his name listed as "Reverend." Eppstein's letter was published in the Israelite June 12, 1885, 2.

Eppstein, the gadfly, was occasionally too much for the Jews of Toledo who resented his attacks. He told of an instance when a constant reader of the Israelite accosted him and asked what was to be gained by exposing the religious apathy of the Jewish community. He replied that his purpose was "to let the world know the great wrong perpetrated by such uncalled for carelessness, and that moral influence might be brought to bear to bring about change."⁵

Max Eppstein was secure in the knowledge that his was a moral cause, and he made no attempt to conceal his disgust with the Toledo situation. There was a rabbi in the city in 1882 and 1883--the Reverend J. Zeisler--who was an educated man (he received an appointment to teach school in 1883) but who never won Eppstein's approval.⁶ Perhaps he was an Orthodox rabbi, or at the least, not committed to Reform. Zeisler conducted a sabbath school for which he received due credit, but Eppstein had attended high holy day services in Fort Wayne in 1883 and he was scornful about the observance in Toledo:

At this place the "once a year" pious held worship on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur which differed this time from any other, in that reform was discarded and strictly Orthodox services were held. Very consistent, especially when some of the members kept their places of business open during all the holidays, none of them attending wor-

⁵American Israelite, December 7, 1883, 6; written November 27.

⁶American Israelite, June 23, 1882, 411. Zeisler was listed as "Rev." in Polk's City Directory for 1882-83, 668. He lived at 377½ Adams street.

ship during the balance of the year. Yes, many even raise obstacles in the way if an attempt is made to organize a congregation. Toledo Judaism needs no comment. While charity is practiced among the Jehudim here on the broadest principle of humanity, that is all that is done and the balance is left undone. The rising generation are brought up like heathen devoid of all religious teachings and influence. If Jewish missionaries are sent anywhere, here is a field for them, and their love's labor may be lost from present indications.⁷

And then, expressing what was to be his cry for months to come, he said:

There is plenty of material here in intellect, wealth, etc. that could be utilized in forming a large and prosperous congregation if the early seeds of indifferentism could be eradicated and a new life for Judaism be inspired. This could all be accomplished, if for no other purpose than to teach to the rising generation that there is a God in Israel whose name they must perpetuate after us. To see these children growing up without any religion is something to ponder over. The result of such neglect and carelessness can easily be foretold.⁸

In his next published exhortation (actually it was written earlier), Eppstein berated his fellow Toledoans for their failure to support the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and to aid in this way in the education of young American men as rabbis. There were men of religion, even "sons of rabbis" among Toledo's Jews, he said.⁹

At the end of 1884 Eppstein was moved to sarcasm, both at Thanksgiving and at Christmas. In the latter instance he

⁷American Israelite, November 9, 1883, 5; written November 2.

⁸Ibid.

⁹American Israelite, November 23, 1883, 6; written September 18.

said:

Chanukah passed here as usual, unnoticed and unobserved. The many of the rising generation are ignorant of the existence of such a day, much less its significance. No use for a Megeluth in Toledo, but the Christmas tree and Chris Kringle were in full bloom among our people. We must keep up with the things in Toledo. Stockings were filled, the children went to bed with their little minds impregnated with what good things Santa Claus had in store for them in the morning, waking up not disappointed, but with all the Christmas festivities realized to their fullest expectations. How happy these children made their parents, showing their appreciation for this great and good Christmas feast. While perusing these few lines, I hear the chimes and bells calling together the faithful Christians on this New Year's day to their respective churches and stop and think and ask myself--will the New Year coming have better prospects in store for Judaism in Toledo? Who will be the Moses in Toledo and bring his brethren from darkness to light? Who will make the start to organize?¹⁰

By February Eppstein had a new idea. He declared that if he had the authority he would withhold from anyone who refused to support a congregation all Jewish functions--marriages, burials, etc. He was aiming at the "class" who consider themselves Jews and who call upon the religion of their fathers "when all else fails."¹¹ This brought a retort from a Toledo correspondent who signed himself "Veritas" and who worried that the shadow of the dark ages was still hanging over the human race. Justice's problem, he said, was that he simply could not see his co-religionists in any other light

¹⁰ American Israelite, January 11, 1884, 6; written January 1, 1884.

¹¹ American Israelite, February 15, 1884, 5; written February 6.

than as supporters of congregations. Actually, Veritas believed, those who were not interested in forming congregations had outdone the congregationalists in channels of benevolence and human kindness. He expressed his interest in standing "on a high, broad plateau whereon all mankind could firmly stand, where no religious nor sectarian hatred could exist . . ." ¹²

Eppstein shot back with the observation that Veritas had been badly hurt by his proposal, and that apparently the shoe had fit. He said that he believed a man born a Jew does not necessarily remain one,

But what right has anyone, knowing the results of backsliding, refusing morally, financially and otherwise to aid in perpetuating Judaism, yea keeping their own offspring away from Sabbath School and themselves aloof from all that is Jewish, to demand rabbinical and other Jewish aid? ¹³

That spring Eppstein had help from outside. In March Joseph Abrams of Cincinnati, a national officer of B'nai B'rith, visited Toledo and asked express permission to disregard the order's standing rule not to discuss congregational affairs. Abrams made it clear that he deplored the great lack of interest in Toledo on all religious matters, and he asked that he be given something more tangible than a resolution of thanks. ¹⁴ A few days before Abrams' visit

¹² American Israelite, February 29, 1884, 6.

¹³ American Israelite, March 15, 1884, 6; written March 10.

¹⁴ American Israelite, April 11, 1884, 6; written April 5.

Rabbi Zirndorf of Detroit came to Toledo to marry Jennie Bloch to Isaac Rosenthal of Rochester, New York. Zirndorf, who subsequently joined the faculty of Hebrew Union College, must certainly have had his say on the religious situation in Toledo also.¹⁵

By June there was a hint of action. The Toledo Sunday Journal of June 8 reported "whispers that the Jews were about to revive the once prosperous Hebrew Congregation Shomer Emunim." The paper expressed surprise that the Israelites who ranged among the best people in "intelligence, business tact, and enterprise," had done so little to promulgate their religion and to provide religious teaching for their children.¹⁶

But the whispers were a long time in developing full voice. In August Eppstein wondered if any arrangements would be made for the coming holidays. "So far none of the pious men have taken any action in that direction. Is there all hope lost in Toledo's Judaism?"¹⁷ By the following January he reported that a revival of Judaism was as far off as ever in Toledo and that there was no Jewish sabbath school

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶American Israelite, June 20, 1884, 5; written June 8. The article from the Sunday Journal was included in Eppstein's letter.

¹⁷American Israelite, September 5, 1884, 7; written August 24.

then in existence.¹⁸

In March Eppstein revealed the true state of things in Toledo when he disclosed that the Jews in the city had been invited "through the medium of our evening papers" to attend a Purim feast "in the locality of the Polish portion of our co-religionists." Eppstein believed that it was to their credit that they showed willingness to celebrate a feast and invite all Jews. He did not say if he planned to accept the invitation.¹⁹

Eppstein's agitation, coupled as it must have been with commitment on the part of others, brought about a series of reorganization meetings in the late spring of 1885. At the first session at Concordia Hall, Gotthilf Bloch was elected temporary chairman and Max Eppstein was named secretary pro-tem. The two sons of rabbis were taking the lead, and Eppstein pronounced the group impressive. He felt certain the effort would not fail.²⁰

On June 14 they met again and Rabbi Wise was present. In his report in the Israelite, Wise told of his trip to Toledo "where in days gone by atheism had pitched its tent, and so-called free thinkers were busily engaged in fabricating the new gospel of the 'don't know creed' otherwise called

¹⁸ American Israelite, January 2, 1885, 6; written December 31.

¹⁹ American Israelite, March 6, 1885, 6; written March 1.

²⁰ American Israelite, June 12, 1885, 2; written May 18; Toledo Blade, June 5, 1885, 4.

agnosticism or 'what I don't know, nobody knows.'"²¹ Wise was met at the train on Saturday night by Eppstein, Jacob Lasalle and E.J. Cohn and taken to Roemer's "mansion" on Cherry street. The following morning, after a "royal breakfast" and numerous calls and interviews, Wise went to the GAR Hall to address "one of the finest audiences ever assembled in Toledo among the children of Israel." He said that the meeting had been organized by Bloch. Wise spoke for forty minutes, and at the end of his talk the congregation chose permanent officers, and voted to enter the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Max Eppstein was elected to represent the Toledo congregation at a UAHC meeting in St. Louis in July.²²

Shomer Emunim was launched for the second time with thirty-six members and seven young men who donated funds but who did not have full membership status.²³ The Minhag America was again the preferred ritual. In his account of the trip, Wise assessed the Toledo Jewish community. He said there were more than 180 Jewish families in the city, "that is to say, people born of Jewish parents." Quite a number of them, he reported, "stand very high as merchants and prominent citizens. Very few of them are actually poor

²¹American Israelite, June 19, 1885, 2.

²²Ibid. The meeting was also covered in the Blade, June 15, 1885, 1.

²³For a list of the members as it appeared in the Israelite, see Appendix E.

and none of them has business in the criminal court." Wise was very pleased with what he had seen in Toledo.²⁴

For the high holy days in 1885 the congregation rented space in the Central Congregational Church at Tenth and Adams streets--seats were free to all comers. M.S. Manheimer, a preceptor of the Hebrew Union College, conducted services and praised both the choir and the sabbath school. He did say, however, that he hoped the ladies would stir up their lukewarm and indifferent husbands and brothers, an indication that as in the past the congregation was largely female.²⁵

And then an event occurred which seemed to infuse genuine enthusiasm into the congregation. Rabbi Wise sent a young student--Tobias Shanfarber--to Toledo to preach and to make himself available as rabbi. Shanfarber was in his last year of school and arrangements were made by which he could have Fridays and Mondays free of classes. Following his enthusiastic election by unanimous voice vote, Shanfarber made the trip to Toledo every week. Eppstein praised both his modesty and his knowledge, and predicted a brilliant future for the congregation and its new rabbi. Whatever reservations he might have had about educating rabbis in America were removed. Shomer Emunim was indeed blessed.²⁶

²⁴American Israelite, June 19, 1885, 2.

²⁵American Israelite, October 9, 1885, 3, 8. Eppstein's letter, which appeared on page 8, was written September 25.

²⁶American Israelite, November 13, 1885, 8; written November 6.

Perhaps it was a sign of the congregation's entry into the mainstream of Reform Judaism, or of his trip to the St. Louis meeting of UAHC, that Max Eppstein commented on the Pittsburgh rabbinical conference in 1885. The meeting of nineteen leading Reform rabbis produced a platform which in the words of Nathan Glazer was "a more radical statement than any produced in Germany and the logical culmination of the movement which had begun there."²⁷ The rabbis expressed their freedom from all Mosaic laws not adapted to the view and habits of modern civilization and rejected any national aim or national character for Judaism. Their statement created one of the points of departure for the Conservative movement in Judaism.²⁸

Watching from a distance Eppstein completely approved the rabbis' position:

In my interviews with some of our people here I find that opinions differ as to the action of the recent Pittsburgh Conference. Some think the rabbis have not gone far enough in reform, while others feel that the platform adopted is too sweeping in its radical ideas.

To illustrate, an intelligent gentleman, pious and well-versed in the faith when giving out the fifth commandment to his Sabbath School class, he advised them to learn it in haste before it be changed by another conference. The cardinal principles and every part that was and is sacred to our religion is retained intact, while such as referring to diet were held impracticable for this age. The observance of such tend rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation.

²⁷Nathan Glazer, American Judaism, Second Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 41-42.

²⁸Ibid.

The retention of the historical sabbath is right and timely, but the provision that Sunday services can be held where necessary is equally proper and just and no detriment.

Let the watchword be Onward, Onward.²⁹

Onward for Toledo meant the preparations for a big Hanukkah festival. There would be no more Christmas trees and Kris Kringle for the Jewish children. Instead four weeks of preparations went into the program which was presented on December 7 to 300 Toledoans--some of them gentiles. More than 100 children were present for ice cream. The sabbath school numbered about 70 and there was a hint of something quite unexpected in the way of congregational news to come very soon.³⁰

In his next letter Eppstein was still talking about the conference of rabbis and suggested that fellow Jews around the country not "bid the Devil how-do-you-do before he appears." The choice, he said, was "to be one of us or be the other fellow. What say you?" The news from Toledo which he had promised involved preliminary steps to purchase a lot and build a temple.³¹

The year 1886 was one of successes for the newly organized congregation. The women earned \$432 toward the construction of a temple from their Purim Ball, the children had

²⁹American Israelite, December 4, 1885, 7, 10; written November 29.

³⁰American Israelite, December 18, 1885, 3; written December 8.

³¹American Israelite, January 1, 1886, 3; written December 20.

a Purim party, the congregation elected Tobias Shanfarber full-time rabbi at a salary of \$1500 a year, and 400 people attended the confirmation ceremony. More than 100 children regularly attended sabbath school although many of their parents did not belong to the congregation. In June the members of Shomer Emunim re-elected their officers and ratified an agreement to purchase a lot on Tenth street between Monroe and Washington. In July, Bloch, Eppstein, and E.J. Cohn attended the graduation and ordination of rabbis at Hebrew Union College. Their rabbi, Tobias Shanfarber, was one of three men ordained. The congregation sent him a floral piece which stood three feet high and represented an open Bible with the letters "TS" outlined on its pages. Eppstein could retreat to social chit-chat in his regular letters to the Israelite. The work was coming along fine.³²

But Shanfarber stayed only a year. He preached his last sermon in the early summer of 1887 and answered a call to Fort Wayne where, Eppstein said, he was "received with open arms and made to feel at home in a really good and pious community." He accepted unanimous resolutions of thanks from the Toledo congregation and reappeared from time

³²American Israelite, April 9, 1886, 7, written April 1; June 18, 1886, 1; March 19, 1886, 6, written March 5; July 2, 1886, written June 27; Toledo Blade, March 23, 1886, April 19, 1886, 1. The Blade reported that much of the money at the Purim Ball came from an auction. A mammoth loaf of bread baked by Mrs. A. Friedlander, for example, brought \$25.00. The Blade also reported that unleavened bread for Passover had to be bought in Cleveland in 1886 because "no bakery in the city had appliances for baking it."

to time in the city where he was always warmly welcomed.³³

The new rabbi was gone, the temple not yet built, and Eppstein again took pen in hand:

Like a year ago the promising picnic to the deserving Sabbath-school was not given; lack of interest on the part of those who made the promise and into whose hands the management of the affair was intrusted, was the cause. The handsome summer attire, new bonnets and luxurious "turnouts" were not neglected, but the joy and pleasure the children were to have, after repeated promises to them, were cast aside for want of interest and lack of spirit.

Marriages, engagements and deaths have taken place; the first administered by a retired Universalist minister and on a Saturday morning while worship was being held in the temple, and where a Jewish rabbi was within easy reach. . . .

A recent death occurred, by which is again evinced what Toledo's influence will do. The departed one was a leading spirit in his early days in all pertaining to Jewish affairs. Even later on, when living in a community where our religion is practiced in all its spheres, he was a member of the congregation there. But alas! Since his sojourn among Toledo's influences he has become an agnostic, showing that indifference and disregard for the religion he so highly revered in times past, and, alas! his remains were laid away in a Christian cemetery in this city. Fortunate it was that a near relative, who attended the funeral, and who acts as a teacher and reader in a congregation not far off, officiated, otherwise some liberal Christian divine, or an atheist near at hand would have been called upon to perform the last rites. And this all to happen in this age; to throw about these

³³American Israelite, August 26, 1887, 3; written August 22. Eppstein referred to Shanfarber with warmth on many occasions--when he was called to Baltimore (October 19, 1888, 3), when he was married, when his father died (October 23, 1890, 1), and even as late as 1891 when he was elected an honorary member of the Toledo Hebrew Literary Society almost four years after he left the city (March 19, 1891, 7). On one instance Eppstein said of Shanfarber, "All of the rabbi's advances are closely watched here, for he was beloved and well regarded by his flock. . . . (December 8, 1888, 5).

bad influences among a community which is now striving to establish Judaism in the once forsaken Toledo. Shame upon such conduct. To be silent, to let it pass without the condemnation it deserves is a greater sin than the act itself.³⁴

While Eppstein was unburdening himself, there was one other local matter he wanted to write about. Toledo was the home of a young, newly-ordained rabbi from Hebrew Union College, but even that circumstance was not without its controversy:

Rabbi E.N. Calish paid his mother and friends a visit here during his vacation. Your correspondent was highly pleased by a call from him. This young Rabbi deserves more than a passing compliment for accomplishing what he really has, fitting himself for a pulpit, and as a teacher in Israel. I well know of the many obstacles thrown in his way by his would-be pious relatives here, who looked upon the A.H.U.C. as a "treva" institution and upon Rabbi Wise as not being Kosher. These people belong to what is called the orthodox class, and believe in all ceremonies, but keep their place of business open on Saturdays, and if they would fail to evince their Jewish proclivities by keeping the doors of their business house closed once a year on the holy days--no one would know that they were Jews at all, and still they are orthodox, would not darken the doors of our temple, because we worship with our hats off, etc. Did however, send their children to Rabbi Shanfarber's Sabbath School for a long time, and withdrew them only, not because treva and unkosher was taught, but because they were asked (being abundantly able to) to contribute for the support of the Sabbath school. O! consistency thou art a jewel.³⁵

Undoubtedly Max Eppstein was relieved once he got his letter of August 21, 1887 into the mail. But his crusade still had a way to go, and he continued it, even though his

³⁴American Israelite, August 26, 1887, 3; written August 21.

³⁵Ibid.

health had begun to deteriorate and he occasionally reported his own illness, convalescence, trips to consult with doctors in other cities, etc. He even discussed his illness with a Catholic priest in Toledo who reportedly told him that it was just a question of time before any mortal soul would pass away and Eppstein replied that he was ready for that time in all respects. The priest then said:

Are you sure of that, my friend? If so, I believe you are not a member of my church, which does not matter, but when that time comes, and you are still of that mind, call on me and I will furnish you with a free pass to yonder home, and, at the same time, will arrange matters satisfactorily with your Rabbi."³⁶

Eppstein felt that his labors on behalf of Judaism were justified and once in a while he even believed he was having some effect because of his "open and fair discriminations of all that is un-Jewish." Some of the members of one congregation had refused to pay their dues because the bills were presented to them on a Saturday. "Mark the influence--do you see? Glad of it," he said.³⁷

Shomer Emunim observed the holidays of 1887 in the annex of Memorial Hall which the women of the congregation had beautified by "making a very handsome Barocho, all complete, of exquisite taste and workmanship." The volunteer choir, Eppstein reported, was perfect, and a great improvement over the old choir. Services were conducted by another HUC

³⁶American Israelite, September 9, 1887, 9, written September 2.

³⁷Ibid.

student, Clifton H. Levy. Eppstein said that there were several other Kilahs [sic] in the city who, in their way, also observed the holidays. Hebrew students in the public schools were excused in order to attend services.³⁸

Like his predecessor, Clifton Levy proved very satisfactory, and the congregation voted to retain him during his senior year on the same arrangement they had with Shanfarber. But that time things did not go smoothly. The board of governors of the college refused to approve the released time on the ground that it would be detrimental to Levy's progress during his senior year. Eppstein was forced to agree:

Wishing the young man all possible prosperity in his calling, ever remembering his stay among us, the good he accomplished in the short time, all feel that the wisdom of the Board of Governors and the faculty of the Hebrew Union College in first taking care of the education and the entire fitness of their students before they allow them to take any responsible charge or fill a position as rabbi is a credit to the college and to them. . . .³⁹

But the decision created a problem and Eppstein's letter included a want ad:

Shomer Emunim has no spiritual adviser at present; is in need and in search of one. Who is ready to fill this position? There is a splendid field here; the right man in the right place can accomplish much, put in full execution the work begun and make this congregation one of lasting benefit. A young man, full of energy, one of American habits and education, could fill this position.⁴⁰

The year 1888 brought lethargy anew and Eppstein's

³⁸American Israelite, September 30, 1887, 6; September 16, 1887, 3, written September 11.

³⁹American Israelite, October 14, 1887; written October 9.

⁴⁰Ibid.

complaints continued to fill his letters. In April he was bothered by a specific transgression which may or may not have occurred in Toledo:

When any person holds himself aloof from all Jewish (religious) doings--refuses all aid for the religion of his parents who are of Jewish extraction, who associates altogether with Jews, and he does so with consistency--and, well, isn't good--that is his business, and he has solely to be responsible for its consequences; but when the same person solicits subscriptions in aid of the Young Men's Christian Association for the erection of a new building for this noble institution, and works for its cause, no matter under what pretense, then silence to such action is cowardice, and we condemn such practice and stamp it as an insult, and as inconsistent as it possibly can be. I will not say such as above took place in Toledo, but that it did take place I can vouch for. And I say to the young man, while it is noble to aid institutions of this sort, they must not be singled out as a preference to other noble acts toward the religion of your fathers.⁴¹

In the same letter Eppstein said that the Rev. S. Philo of Cleveland had been in the city "in the interest of aiding the sleeping and slumbering congregation of Shomer Emunim and to bring her out of this lethargy." The Rev. Edward Calisch had also been in town--to marry his brother Sol to Fannie Geleerd--but Eppstein did not report the affair. Instead "A Guest" who apologized for usurping the place of the regular correspondent described not only the wedding but also the "sorrow, poverty, grief, and death" which had plagued the family and the joy of "good Mrs. Calisch, a truly God-fearing and good mother in Israel" to see one son married by his brother. Eppstein, who had had

⁴¹American Israelite, April 20, 1888, 5; written April 12.

his say about the Calisch family earlier, made no comment.⁴²

In June 1888, Eppstein reported that he had finally called the officers and would-be leaders of Jewish affairs to count. The result was a decision to proceed with the building of the temple. B'nai Israel had also announced its decision to build, and the congregation even hoped to be in its new synagogue by Rosh Hashanah. The Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society had suspended meetings for the summer, but would continue to meet requests for charity. The organization had accomplished much "although not managed wisely nor on ordinary strict business rules at time." B'nai B'rith did not quite meet Eppstein's standards either. "Whenever their convocations are made useful to mind as well as to body good results may be obtained, but as long as the usual routine of business is all that attracts attention, no increase of membership can be expected nor influence promoted in any direction."⁴³

Having put everyone firmly in his or her place, Max Eppstein then left with his family for a two-month vacation in the Pennsylvania mountains. When he returned things looked a little better to him. Jewish services were to be held in three separate locations in the city. Clifton Levy returned for the holiday observances of Shomer Emunim; the congregation had rented Odeon Hall on St. Clair street for

⁴²American Israelite, March 9, 1888, 2.

⁴³American Israelite, June 28, 1888, 4, 5; written June 20.

Rosh Hashanah and Memorial Hall for Yom Kippur. Attendance was good, there were a few new faces in the congregation, and the choir--made up of three paid members and the rest volunteers--was excellent. Eppstein was still bothered, however by those who would not conform. Some Jews had permitted their children to go to school even though they were officially excused, others had permitted (even enticed) their children, to participate in parties on the eve of Yom Kippur, and some of the Jewish women had played cards on the eve of Atonement, "thus flaunting insults in the faces of those with whom they associate daily and who in prayer and devotion were in the house of the Lord repenting of their sins . . ."⁴⁴

The plans to build a temple went ahead, and Eppstein, Leopold Franc, chairman of the building committee, and Henry Stern, a committee member, journeyed along with an architect to Youngstown where they inspected the facilities of Congregation Rodef Sholem. They pronounced themselves well pleased with their reception and impressed with the financial condition of the Youngstown congregation. The synagogue facility there was three years old. Eppstein was sure it could be done in Toledo.⁴⁵

While the initial contracting for the Reform temple was underway, Congregation B'nai Israel was putting the fin-

⁴⁴American Israelite, September 21, 1888, 3; written September 16.

⁴⁵American Israelite, October 5, 1888, 5; written September 23.

ishing touches on its new building at the corner of what is now Twelfth and Woodruff streets. The square frame structure could seat 600 people and was valued at \$5,000. It was dedicated on January 6, 1889 with the mayor, J. Kent Hamilton, in attendance. Gotthilf Bloch represented Congregation Shomer Emunim.⁴⁶ Eppstein was delighted that Toledo would have two places of worship erected at one time and dedicated to Judaism. "Who says Toledo is any longer backward and slow in the advocacy of the religion of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob?" he exulted.⁴⁷ As for the Orthodox facility itself Eppstein said:

The entire structure is in accordance with the outward manifestations of its members, a gallery for the ladies who are to be separated from the men during the service, is one feature of the edifice.⁴⁸

In the middle of April 1889 the Israelite ran a line drawing of the new Shomer Emunim building which was taken from the architect's plans, and the accompanying article included some details of the construction. The congregation paid \$2,500 for the lot on Tenth street. The building, of stone and wood, was expected to cost an additional \$10,000. The architect was A. Leopold, the contractor Miller and Company, with the glass, slate roof, and interior let sep-

⁴⁶Department of the Interior, U.S. Census Office, Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, 416. American Israelite, January 3, 1889; written December 30.

⁴⁷American Israelite, December 21, 1888, 8.

⁴⁸American Israelite, November 16, 1888, 3; written November 11.

arately.⁴⁹ The building was expected to be ready for occupancy for the fall holidays, and it was in fact dedicated on September 20.

The dedication festivities were recorded on the front page of the Blade which identified the congregation as the families of "twenty-four of the best and wealthiest Hebrews in the city, among whom are those of Messrs. G. Bloch, Jacob Lasalle, M.M. Eppstein, Isaac Landman, Leopold Franc, Julius Mack, Joseph Roth, N.N. Ries, Henry Stern, S.H. Frank, E. Goldman, Henry Thorner, Louis Strasburger, L. Hubert and others."⁵⁰

Rabbi Isaac M. Wise and Rabbi Louis Grossman of Detroit assisted Clifton Levy who was still serving as the congregation's interim leader. J.S. Kountz, the Kraus bankruptcy case long behind him, was one of the city leaders who participated along with Mayor Hamilton and the ministers of several Protestant churches. The Blade described the building as follows:

The new temple, while not one of the largest of the churches of the city, is one of handsomest and most comfortable of those in the city. Its exterior is familiar to almost everyone. It is frame, finished as imitation stone, with a trace of orientalism in the architecture. The most conspicuous feature is a tower of oriental design tipped with the time-honored six-pointed star of Solomon. The entrance is up a few steps through heavy handsome doors of polished oak.

Within the temple is finished in natural woods, the chief being Georgia pine. From the entrance hall, de-

⁴⁹American Israelite, April 18, 1889, 1.

⁵⁰Toledo Blade, September 21, 1889, 1.

scending a few stairs, one comes into the Sunday school room on the lower floor, about which there are grouped at the front end recitation rooms, cloak rooms etc. At the other end is a stage and class rooms. Below is a kitchen which, on social occasions, will send out fragrant odors. This part of the building is as yet unfinished.

Above the rooms, reached by stairs from the entrance on the right and left, is the temple proper. It is an exceedingly handsome room, finished in Georgia pine, with the wainscot and the beams of the walls and ceilings left in relief against the white plaster. The soft light enters through artistic stained glass windows furnished by Briggs and Leibius. The designs are purely conventional and are varied in form and color in each window. A motto in Hebrew is a feature of each of these windows. The temple is well lighted, for besides the windows, handsome brass chandeliers are suspended from the ceiling and the side brackets of polished brass, with candle stick burners, are placed along each of the walls. The pews are graceful in outline and are made of oak and walnut.

At the end of the temple, toward the street, is a gallery for the choir, and at the other end the platform on which stands the altar and the pillars and candle sticks and over which hangs the perpetual lamp. This part of the temple is made of solid black walnut, handsomely polished and carved and hung with crimson silk plush trimmed with bullion fringe. The combination is exceedingly effective. Behind crimson curtains is the safethora, corresponding to the holy of holies in the ancient Jewish temples, where are deposited the sacred scrolls and other priceless articles of the congregation.⁵¹

The key to the building was presented by the young Flora Herskovits who said she had been chosen to symbolize the interest and enthusiasm which the young people felt for the achievements of the congregation and their desire to assume appropriate responsibilities as they grew older. Gott-hilf Bloch accepted the key and mentioned the problems the

⁵¹Ibid. J.S. Kountz had served as the National Commander of the GAR in 1884, and he remained active both in veterans' affairs and in politics (Randolph Downes, Industrial Beginnings /Toledo: The Historical Society of Northwest Ohio, 1954/, 158, 216-217).

congregation encountered in moving from hall to hall to hold services. Mayor Hamilton, Rabbi Wise, and Max Epstein also spoke, Epstein giving the history of the congregation and hoping that the membership would soon include everyone in the city and county with Reform Jewish tendencies.

The problem facing Shomer Emunim was not only to increase its membership but also to secure a permanent rabbi. It was a problem that was quickly solved. Instead of the young, American-educated rabbi whom Epstein had been calling for, the congregation named Edward Benjamin Morris Browne, a controversial churchman and one who had been criticized frequently by Wise. For example, in 1887, more than two years before Browne was called to Toledo, the following appeared in the Israelite:

History repeats itself, Dr. Browne is again in trouble with his congregation; this time the court was appealed to which was not the case in Montgomery, Milwaukee, Evansville, Peoria, and Atlanta. This time it appears the gentleman got himself into trouble about other people's business; he spoke at a Socialist meeting with Henry George and Dr. McGlynn, they say; he attempted to save from the gallows the wife-murderer Adolph Reich, and did it in an offensive manner, they maintain; that he disgraced his office and the congregation in general is the main charge, not by immoral or irreligious conduct, but by meddling in other people's business, in a manner considered offensive to non-sensationalists. Browne was ostracized by the Rabbinical fraternity in New York right from the start, especially by the representatives of the Reform congregations. This was offensive to his congregation and rendered his position precarious. He was obliged to try and did try very hard to establish a reputation in the community. He maneuvered quite well among politicians and among the so-called orthodox people, and became by methods of his own everything to everybody. His congregation was delighted when he, at the funeral of General Grant, was the only chosen representative of

the Jewish clergy. The orthodox Israelites were enchanted when he, on that occasion, followed the funeral cortege on foot from the Battery to Riverside Park, refusing to ride in a carriage because it was on the Jewish Sabbath, and none criticized that piece of downright hypocrisy and fishing for notoriety. It does not seem that the congregation now has a right to depose Mr. Browne, for doings of the same kind which they applauded a short time ago. But the law having been appealed to, we have nothing to say in the matter. Many a robust man died of an overdose of sensationalism.⁵²

Browne had a varied background by the time he came to Toledo. He had been a professor of medical jurisprudence and diseases of the mind at the Evansville Medical College of Indiana, and had edited the Jewish Independent in Evansville for a time.⁵³ In November 1881 he became rabbi of the Reform temple, Gates of Hope, in New York. "Admittedly," says Bertram Korn, "Rabbi Browne was not one of the leading lights of the American rabbinate." He was instead, "frequently embroiled in public controversy and hardly to be described as successful in any of his pulpits."⁵⁴ When Browne was elected by Shomer Emunim the Israelite carried only a short, perfunctory note, and Max Eppstein was silent for several months.⁵⁵ He never did discuss the appointment

⁵²American Israelite, July 29, 1887, 4.

⁵³Morris U. Schappes, A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875 (New York: Citadel Press, 1950), 733, n. 9.

⁵⁴Bertram W. Korn, "Jewish Welfare During the Spanish American War," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, June, 1952, 358-360.

⁵⁵American Israelite, October 17, 1889, 6.

of the rabbi in his letters, and when he referred to him there was none of the effusive enthusiasm which he had expressed for Shanfarber and Clifton Levy. There was simply little comment. At the congregational election in April Eppstein stepped down from the post he had held since 1875, and David Winter became secretary. Eppstein identified himself as "a high private in the rear ranks ready (as of old) to lend a helping hand to all religious and congregational matters. . . ."56

Rabbi Browne spent three months in Europe, part of the time on a visit with his mother, during the summer of 1890. The congregation gave him a purse to facilitate the trip. When he returned in the fall there was some dissension and Eppstein had some strong ideas about it. The problem was that the president and vice president refused to share the platform with the rabbi as custom dictated. Eppstein wrote as follows:

How would a convention look if the presiding officer alone was to occupy the stage and the selected vice presidents should refuse to share the seat of prominence with said officer? So it does look funny in a temple if such on all and every occasion is presided over singly and alone by the Rabbi and the President and Vice President fail to take their stations on the platform. It is ridiculous and those who do this should resign and let others fill their places who are not ashamed to show the world that they are at the head of a congregation and have intrusted to them the government and destiny of their flock. Let there be no excuse given in the future, none whatever, either that their

attire is not such as to warrant them in taking their respective stations, or that they would rather sit with their families, etc. You have been ordered by the law of your congregation to take your stations Mr. President and Vice President alongside of your minister; now do so, or step down and let someone else obey the command. No more fooling business, gentlemen. If you have a right to violate the law and custom, your congregation certainly has, too, and you will be to blame.⁵⁷

Apparently Eppstein made his point, because in the Blade article describing the Jewish New Year on September 14 the services were conducted by Rabbi Browne, assisted by President G. Bloch and Vice President Julius Mack. The Blade also reported that B'nai Israel observed the holidays in their new synagogue with a large number of participants.⁵⁸

For Yom Kippur services Rabbi Browne delivered sermons in English and in German. His main message was a modern interpretation of the atonement: "You are told to fast, weep, and confess, but you are not told to be tortured, burned or endure suffering. It used to be done, but its discontinuance has made us better and purer so all civilized nations look up to us and call us 'The Chosen Race of God'."⁵⁹

Part of Rabbi Browne's problems may have been because his statements had a way of sounding arrogant, whether he intended them that way or not. When he was asked in October 1890 about the plan to relocate Russian Jews in Palestine, he replied as follows:

⁵⁷American Israelite, June 19, 1890, 6, written June 9; September 11, 1890, 3, written August 31.

⁵⁸Toledo Blade, September 15, 1890, 4.

⁵⁹Toledo Blade, September 24, 1890, 3.

I have just finished reading the article a few minutes ago. All I can say is that those men who are doing this are men of no influence. There is nothing for me to say about it now, and as soon as any such action is taken I will let you know. I am in a position to speak advisedly and with authority on the subject, for I am one of the members myself. I am well acquainted with Rabbi Joseph and Dr. Zinsler, and so far as that movement is concerned, they are men of small influence. I spent some time over in Europe, too, so I know just what the situation is. I will let you know when there is anything to be known. You see, a good deal of this talk comes from the New York press. I know the press there. I was there some time. They don't hesitate to put in anything whether it is true or not.⁶⁰

Rabbi Browne was personally ambitious and also restless during his brief time in Toledo. He was actively seeking an appointment as the first Jewish congressional chaplain in 1890, and he spent considerable time away from the city on that and other projects.⁶¹ When he was asked in September 1891 if he had accepted a call to a congregation in Chicago, Browne first refused to be interviewed. He later went to the Blade office where he presented a letter from Congregation Emanuel on North Franklin street in Chicago offering him a permanent position as rabbi at a salary of \$3,000 a year. Browne told the Blade that he had not made up his mind, that he hated to leave Toledo.

Whilst our city is not a Chicago in size, its beauty and the intelligence of its citizens are certainly equal to any city. I have lived here for two years, coming from a long residence in New York, but never regretted the change. Besides, my congregation is decidedly the average of the most intelligent Jewish congregation in the land, and I have seen the country from end to end. So-

⁶⁰Toledo Blade, October 4, 1890, 2.

⁶¹Letter from Browne to E.W. Halford, 1890. Copy in the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.

cially my people here belong to the elite of the city, and I do dearly love them all. I can say what hardly a Jewish minister in the United States can boast, there is not one amongst our members who is not dear to me; whilst with a number I am on the most intimate terms. It is therefore not very easy for me to decide, and my congregation, I am very gratified to say, do not like to see me go.⁶²

In fact, Browne said, A.S. Cohen of the Toledo congregation had even been kind enough to suggest that Browne's sermons required an intelligent congregation, and that the rabbi should consider that point before leaving. Browne stayed in Toledo through the holidays but he left soon after. By the end of the year Eppstein was writing as he had written many times before: "Religious affairs are at a standstill here. The Temple is closed for want of a rabbi; no Chanukah festival this year but lots of Christmas present and Christmas trees awaiting the children of the congregation."⁶³ In his next letter Eppstein said that several applications for the position of rabbi had been received but a decision was not yet made. He also passed on the interesting information that another Orthodox Hebrew congregation had been organized among the "Russian-Polish Hebrews," and said that "the name Sharei Zedeck was adopted."⁶⁴

The accounts of Yom Kippur for 1892 refer to what must have been an interim rabbi, a man Wechler, who conducted services in the temple. The Blade extended the Jewish congre-

⁶²Toledo Blade, September 14, 1891, 3.

⁶³American Israelite, December 31, 1891, 2.

⁶⁴American Israelite, January 7, 1892, 3.

gation's invitation to everyone in the community to attend services which, it said, were both interesting and edifying." Orthodox services in the B'nai Israel synagogue were led by Rabbis Arndt and Levin.⁶⁵

In November 1892 Emanuel Schreiber preached his first sermon as permanent rabbi, and with Schreiber Shomer Emunim achieved a degree of stability. He stayed until June 1897 when he answered a call to Youngstown, Ohio.⁶⁶ Emanuel Schreiber was almost forty years old when he took the leadership of the temple congregation. He was born in Lipnik, Austria and studied at the Gymnasium in Vienna and at the University of Berlin where he received a doctor of philosophy degree in 1872. He served for a number of years as rabbi in Bonn, Germany, but came to America and to a congregation in Mobile, Alabama in 1881 in order to be able to express his reform ideas more freely. These he advocated publicly in a newspaper called The Reform and in a number of books. After Mobile he served in Denver and Los Angeles before coming to Toledo. He was a prolific author who had turned out at least twenty books and pamphlets by 1892. His current book in that year was Reform Judaism and Its Pioneers. He also read a paper, "Historians of Judaism" before the Parliament of Religions at the Chicago World's Fair.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Toledo Blade, September 29, 1892, 5.

⁶⁶American Israelite, November 24, 1892, 3. Toledo Blade, June 16, 1897, 5.

⁶⁷Toledo Blade, February 3, 1894, 2.

Under Schreiber, and perhaps under Browne before him, there seemed to be an increased public awareness of the differences between the Reform and the Orthodox Jews. It was almost as if the rabbi was engaged in a campaign to point out these differences. An interesting example is an article which appeared in the Blade, September 28, 1893, and which describes the celebration of Succouth or the Feast of Tabernacles.

In Toledo the Orthodox Hebrews are observing the feast with all due piety. There is one orthodox synagogue in Toledo, at the corner of Woodruff avenue and Union street. The congregation is made up largely of the vendors of Canton avenue, but even there the feast is celebrated. In the rear of several of the houses fronting on Canton avenue a Blade reporter saw booths erected and the people observing the week with reverence. One of these especially attracted attention. It was in the rear dooryard of one of the dingy houses for which Canton avenue is noted. The booth was about 8 x 10 feet in size and about eight feet high. It was rudely constructed of rough cottonwood boards, with an improvised door as a means of entrance. The top of the booth was open with the exception of some maple boughs, the leaves of which offered some protection. Within the booth were rude cots on which the inmates slept during the night. Here they remain and will continue until Monday next.

While this feast is observed in the literal sense, it is not so with the reformed church. In fact, this is the salient point which distinguishes the orthodox and the reformed Jewish church. The orthodox insist upon a literal interpretation of the scriptures while the reformed church maintains that the words of the Scriptures are allegorical and only the spirit of the Scriptures shall be carried out. The difference has so estranged the two churches that they are entirely separate and distinct.

Dr. E. Schreiber, rabbi of the Tenth Street Temple, kindly explained the nature of the feast to the Blade. He said: The Feast of the Tabernacles is the festival of harvest and thanksgiving. The custom of building booths out in the open air came from the fact that in ancient times when farmers went out to harvest, tents were used to repose in at night. During harvest time men thus

slept out in the fields in open air, and from this comes down the custom of constructing booths and worshipping in the open air.

Our church celebrates the feast but not in the literal way. It is simply symbolical of the protection of God, not only during times past, as during the Middle Ages, but also in times of persecution.⁶⁸

The article contained two drawings, one titled "A Canton Avenue Booth," and the other "A Booth of More Architectural Beauty." The first was simple--boards and boughs. The second looked like a small Greek temple, but with considerable architectural embellishment.⁶⁹

In the early part of 1894 Schreiber again talked with Blade reporters; this time he discussed the Hebrews of Toledo. His name does not appear as the author of the article--no name does--but the initial paragraphs of the story come directly from Schreiber's inaugural sermon in Toledo, and the Hebrews who are described in detail are all members of the Tenth street congregation or of the elite group of early Jews in the city. They are Jacob Lasalle, Alexander Black, Max Eppstein, S.H. Frank, and Rabbi Schreiber himself.

Again, the comments are interesting because they reveal the attitude of one group of Jews toward another.

In church matters the Hebrews here as well as all over the world are irredeemably divided. The social and religious chasm dividing the Reformed and Orthodox Jews is too wide to think of bridging. The Reformed church is composed of the educated, Americanized Hebrews of broad and liberal views. The Reformed church people be-

⁶⁸Toledo Blade, September 28, 1893, 5.

⁶⁹Ibid.

lieve in liberalism in religion. They worship in modern churches in a modern way. They uncover their heads and worship in English. They don't believe in Jews as a nation. They are Jews in religion, but above all are citizens of America. They have long since discarded and repudiated the ancient dietary laws.

The article then went on to describe the Orthodox Jews from the Reform point of view:

The Orthodox church in Toledo is situated at the corner of Union street and Woodruff avenue. It is called B'nai Israel synagogue. They have no rabbi. Rev. Joseph Levin is the cantor. The cantor chants prayers in Hebrew. All services are given in the Hebrew language. There are no sermons preached. The members worship in prayer mantles called talith, an ancient custom. The talith is a sort of cloak slipped over the clothes. They worship with their hats on. They follow the old-time form of worship. They assemble at their little synagogue morning, noon, and night every day in the year.

The local Orthodox church is already split into two factions. One worships at the corner of Canton and Woodruff. The factions are bitter toward one another, and even have two cemeteries to bury their dead.

And then, as if the point was not already clear, the article made it clearer:

Americanized, educated, liberal-minded and brainy Hebrews compose the Reformed church all over the country. The Temple Shomer Emunim on Tenth street is the place of worship for the upper classes of Toledo Hebrews. . . .

The Reformed church of Toledo is in a very prosperous condition. Its membership includes all of the leading Jewish people of Toledo. They have a handsome cemetery of their own within the bounds of Woodlawn. With Rabbi Schreiber at the head, assisted as he is by the able corps of church officials, Temple Shomer Emunim has a bright future.⁷⁰

If Schreiber was not the author of these sentiments,

⁷⁰ Toledo Blade, February 3, 1894, 2. Schreiber's first sermon in Toledo was published in the Israelite, November 24, 1892, 3.

he at least supplied the information on which they were based. It is important to point out, however, that Schreiber was listed in the city directories for the years 1893-95 as the rabbi of Sharei Zedeck also, which, if it is true, provides an additional perspective on the man.⁷¹ The first rabbi of Sharei Zedeck, in 1892, was H. Benowitz who later served as cantor for Congregation B'nai Israel. There may have been more unity within the Jewish community than the published accounts would have us believe. It was important for Reform Jews in the 1890's to look as American as possible, even if that image was secured at the expense of the Orthodox newcomers.

The note on which the Blade article of February 1894 ended--the projection of a bright future for Shomer Emunim--must have brought a moment of pleasure to Max Eppstein who had devoted so much of his life and time to the creation of a stable congregation. Two weeks after it appeared Eppstein was dead, the victim at last of the throat cancer from which he had been suffering for many years.⁷² In his eulogy, Schreiber described Eppstein's faith:

During all his painful illness he never gave up because he believed in optimism, "Whatever God doth is for the best. . . ." What gave him this optimism? His firm faith in Judaism. . . . He was a "man because he was a Jew". . . . Not a Jew by race but by religion. He was proud of Judaism because it requires martyrdom and sacrifice. . . . He was one of the founders and pillars of

⁷¹See Appendix B.

⁷²The cause of Eppstein's death was reported by the Fort Wayne Journal, February 21, 1894, 4.

congregation Shomer Emunim, supported it with enthusiasm, attended the temple whenever health permitted and was superintendent of the Sabbath school since its establishment. He belonged to many charitable Jewish associations. He believed strongly in Reform Judaism which claims that the greatest liberalism and intellectual advancement in science are the best helps to the ideals of Judaism--ethical monotheism--that there is no creed in our religion that stands in the way of the searcher after truth. . . .

And then Schreiber made the following plea--a perfect final tribute to Eppstein:

Judaism does not believe in the "erection of monuments for the righteous, as their deeds are their monuments." But if you desire to honor Max Eppstein's memory, do your best to strengthen our congregation even though you might not agree with its outward forms. . . .⁷³

Max Eppstein had lived long enough to see the congregation he tended with such care housed in its own temple and secured for the future. Former Congressman Frank Hurd prepared a tribute to his friend Max Eppstein in which he stressed Eppstein's persistence: "Disaster, persecution, personal hostilities, social ostracism never weakened his convictions nor the boldness with which he advocated them."⁷⁴ Toledo's religious Jews had lost both a friend and a conscience.

⁷³Toledo Blade, February 22, 1894, 5.

⁷⁴Toledo Blade, March 12, 1894, 5. Hurd's statement was prepared for delivery at a memorial service for Eppstein on March 11, but Hurd was too ill to be present. His tribute was read by Gotthilf Bloch.

Chapter Ten: AFTER FIFTY YEARS

Max Eppstein's view of the world and of Judaism was a single-minded one. The pluralism of the Jewish experience escaped him, and when "Veritas" tried to explain it Eppstein only replied that "Veritas" was smarting from the criticism leveled at him and all non-religious Jews.¹ But the fact is that by 1895, after Jews had been active in Toledo for fifty years, the community was extremely diverse, with probably less than 10 per cent affiliated with the Reform congregation.²

There had been considerable change, both in the city and in its people in the half century that encompassed civil war, industrialization, the development of labor unions, and recurring economic contraction and depression. The edge was off the dream, the Future Great City of the World was less than a leader, a victim, perhaps of its own overconfidence.

¹See Chapter Nine, 242-243.

²This statement is based on twenty-four member families at the time of the Tenth Street Temple dedication in 1889 and on Temple records which show forty-five members for the fiscal year 1904-05. These are heads of family (Annual Report of Joseph Steinem, treasurer, Congregation Shomer Emunim, Fiscal Year September 10, 1905 to September 2, 1906, located in the Temple files). In the census of 1890 Shomer Emunim claimed 200 members and B'nai Israel claimed 500. Undoubtedly this was an individual tabulation (Department of the Interior, U.S. Census Office, Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, 416-418).

Toledoans had been assured for such a long time of their superior geographical position and their inevitable ascendancy that they had come to believe in it, a circumstance which induced a kind of complacency and led to a series of delusions and decisions based on those delusions.³ As Toledo historian Randolph Downes has expressed it, the city was far from being in the "big league" in the 1890's and was scarcely holding its own in the minors.⁴

The failure of the city to expand in accordance with the earlier extravagant dreams, determined to a large extent the size of its Jewish community. There is abundant evidence to indicate that many Jews came to Toledo and did not stay. Max Eppstein offers some specific examples: D.M. Lazarus, clothier, moved his business back to Warren, Ohio in 1882 after only two years in Toledo; and Emanuel J. Cohn, a man of considerable affluence, who moved to Toledo from Detroit in 1885 in order to go into the dry goods business with Simeon Frank. Cohn moved back to Detroit in 1888, and Frank eventually abandoned dry goods completely and went into real estate.⁵ Both Mary Cook and Rosa Englander blamed their difficulties on the fact that their husbands were unable to find work in Toledo. The displaced and disillusioned Rus-

³Randolph C. Downes, Industrial Beginnings (Toledo: The Historical Society of Northwest Ohio, 1954), 2, 3, 8, 79.

⁴Ibid., 4

⁵American Israelite, March 17, 1882, 301; April 3, 1885, 2; September 30, 1887, 6; April 20, 1888, 5.

sians wandering from Fort Wayne to Toledo were not in search of a warm welcome, and despite the Blade's editorial opinion they were probably not expecting to find gold in the streets. They were looking for jobs. It is not enough to examine a community in terms of waves of immigration or rate of natural increase; a Jewish community within a city grows in direct relation to the economic development of the city itself.⁶

Perhaps this point might be made for any ethnic group, but it seems particularly valid when one deals with the Jewish immigrants. The early Jews came as merchants and suppliers of consumer needs, dependent upon an expanding local market. Even when they went into the manufacturing and wholesaling of goods, as Roemer and Alexander Black did, they were producing consumer goods, men's and women's clothing, in a highly competitive regional market.

In an interesting hypothesis sociologist Moses Kligsberg has suggested that the Jews from Eastern Europe came to America not principally because of poverty, hunger or discrimination but in search of takhlis, the fulfillment of an end-goal. "A Jew came to America," Kligsberg says, "in order to have the perspective of working himself up, of his children being able to be socially and occupationally mobile, to achieve something, to carve out an individual

⁶See Lloyd P. Gartner, "The History of North American Jewish Communities: A Field for the Jewish Historian," Jewish Journal of Sociology, July, 1965, 22-24.

niche marked by positive achievements."⁷ And while this may be true of other immigrant groups as well, the principal of takhlis was a pervasive one for Eastern European Jews and their major motive was the search for social and material advance, restrained or modified by a belief in education and knowledge and the acceptance of a social ideal which led many Jews into radical groups.⁸

Into whatever life plan individual Jews wove these factors, they were nevertheless achievers, looking for business and educational opportunities and for the possibility of social progress, with a deeply instilled sense of goal. They naturally gravitated to the cities in Ohio and in the nation where opportunity to live the kind of life they en-

⁷Moses Kligsberg, "Jewish Immigrants in Business: A Sociological Study," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, March, 1967, 293.

⁸Kligsberg was careful to stress the hypothetical nature of his conclusions, based on more than 500 autobiographies of Jewish immigrants. In contrast to the Jewish sense of goal and reverence for education, the following describes the attitude of a Polish Catholic immigrant to Toledo, Joseph Maroszek: "In Joseph's scheme of life, a man worked until he had some money in his pocket. Then he stopped work and enjoyed the money until it ran out. Then he found work again. Joseph spent his Toledo life at a long succession of factory jobs. His children went to work for the family when they were old enough." Maroszek removed his thirteen year old daughter from school and falsified her birth record so that she appeared to be sixteen and able to go to work. Mary Cook was searching desperately for her husband because her thirteen year old boy was peddling in support of the family when he should be in school. The Maroszek story was told by Mike Tressler, "Come and Enjoy With Me, Vickie, I Got a Feeling I Will Not See You No More," Blade Sunday Magazine, May 26, 1974, 11-13.

visioned was greatest.⁹ Toledo was too small and too conservative to sustain a large Jewish community in the 1890's.¹⁰

As a further extension of that point, it is possible to compare the Jewish community in 1870 with the community in 1895 and see that of the seventy-five Jews identified from the city directory in 1870, only twenty-eight remained twenty-five years later. After subtracting the eleven who are known to have died (some of them after leaving Toledo), one has to account for thirty-six, almost half the original group, who either moved to another city or who otherwise dropped out of sight. And these figures can not include, of course, people who arrived after 1870 and left before 1895. Some of them were mentioned by Epstein when he was recounting the history of Shomer Emunim at the temple dedication in 1889. He listed the mainstays of the congregation as E.M. Stern, then deceased, and "the Messrs. G.

⁹Philip D. Jordan, Ohio Comes of Age, 1873-1900, Vol. V, The History of the State of Ohio, ed. by Carl Wittke (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1943), 280-281.

¹⁰An exchange of letters from the year 1906 illustrates the conservative nature of the Toledo labor movement. As reprinted by Ande Manners, the letter from A.C. Fischer, secretary of the Toledo Metal Trades Association to David Bressler of the Industrial Removal Office in New York asked for ten first class lathe hands who could speak English and were non-union men. "There is positively no strike on here, nor do we anticipate one, but we have a great many radical fellows in our shops whose services we wish to dispense with," Fischer said. Bressler replied ". . . it isn't likely that we will be able to fill your requisition. . . ." (Fischer's letter was dated June 23, 1906, and reprinted in Poor Cousins /New York: Coward, McCann and Geohegan, 1972/, 186).

Goldsmith, A.M. Graff, Max Isenthal, Jacob and Jerome Herff (all non-residents now) and the Messrs. Jacob Lasalle, J. Landman, Henry Stern, Joseph Roemer, S. Dallet, M.M. Eppstein and others."¹¹

But as numerous merchants and workmen drifted in and out of the Toledo area, there were a surprising number of the original band of Jews still living, and some of them still working, after fifty years. Jacob and Fannie Landman were living with their son William on Tenth street, not far from the temple.¹² Lahman Kraus, retired from his tailoring business in 1895, underwent major eye surgery at the University of Michigan hospital to stave off blindness. He had lived much of his life in a brick house at Jefferson and Superior streets, and spent his final years at 1008 Jefferson.¹³ His brother Jacob died in 1886 in Logansport, Indiana at the home of one of his six children.¹⁴ William Kraus's widow, Marianne, lived with her daughter and son-in-law Laura and Adolph Feiss on Madison street. Joseph Thorner was dead but his wife Rosa lived until 1914. Henry Thorner,

¹¹American Israelite, September 26, 1889, 4. Gustav Goldsmith had moved to Chicago, and A.M. Graff was dead. His daughter Henrietta was married to Henry Thorner.

¹²Information in this paragraph, unless otherwise indicated, comes from Polk's City Directory, 1895.

¹³American Israelite, October 19, 1888, 3. Newspaper clipping, "Another Landmark Disappearing," February 1905, in Streets Scrapbook (Jefferson Avenue), Local History Room, Toledo and Lucas County Public Library.

¹⁴Guido Marx, "The German Element," in Clark Waggoner, ed., History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio (New York and Toledo: Munsell and Company, 1888), 742.

the youngest of the Jewish immigrants in 1845-46 was still working--as a traveling agent for the liquor firm of L. Franc and Company. The Stettiner brothers were also still in business, each in his own liquor firm. Guido Marx, in his role as elder statesman, had been interested in the problems of education for a long time. He was trying to rationalize the American educational system and bring it to the level of education in Germany.¹⁵

The most dramatic death among the early settlers had undoubtedly been that of Joseph Roemer who collapsed while celebrating his fiftieth wedding anniversary at the Progress Club. He had just responded to the toast of his son-in-law Max Eppstein with reminiscences about his forty-five years in Toledo when he sat down, swayed, and fell over. Two doctors Mossbacher--his son-in-law and grandson--failed to revive him.¹⁶

The Jewish population of Toledo in 1895 probably exceeded 1500 people, between 1 and 2 per cent of the total population of the city and environs. This figure is based on 575 Jewish names in the city directory for 1895 and using the multiplier of $2\frac{1}{2}$ which the directory compilers employed in that year to arrive at a city-wide population of 122,760.¹⁷ One thing must be made clear, however, before

¹⁵Toledo Blade, December 9, 1890, 2.

¹⁶Toledo Bee, December 6, 1892, 4.

¹⁷Polk's City Directory, 1895, 16.

these names can be subjected to analysis. The 575 listings represent people known to be Jewish, verified from cemetery records, congregational memberships, Eppstein's social reporting and that of his successor, and other materials. The 575 names, a large enough group to provide valid data, can never be defended as being all the Jews in Toledo. City directories are imperfect sources at best. There were other Jews who either do not appear in the directory (the Oestermans and Alfred Arndt, who served as rabbi in the Orthodox congregation, are not listed) or who cannot be specifically identified.¹⁸ There were Mitchells, for example, who were Jewish--the marriage of Stella Mitchell is described by a correspondent to the Israelite in 1890--yet it is difficult to be sure which of the many Mitchells in the directory were Jews.¹⁹ The same thing is true of other common names: Feldman is one, Baker and Davis present problems, and so does Smith.²⁰

In the simplest breakdown, there were 453 male and 122 female Jews listed in the directory. Seventy-one of the women were unemployed, with twenty-two of that number listed

¹⁸The Oestermans were probably omitted in error. The 1894 directory listed Catherine, Anna, and Lillian Oesterman, all as actresses, N.D. Oesterman as an actor, and Michael and William, both clerks for L. Van Noorden (857).

¹⁹Stella Mitchell was married to Mose Lamfron of North Baltimore, Ohio in January 1890, and was described as follows: "Miss Stella Mitchell is one of Toledo's most charming young ladies, is well and favorably known in this city, having always taken an active part in social affairs." (American Israelite, January 23, 1890, signed "C.", written January 14).

²⁰The list also does not include the second generation of the families of Guido Marx and his brothers on the ground that they did not identify themselves as Jews.

as widows. The remaining forty-nine were undoubtedly unmarried daughters or sisters living at home. Married women's names did not appear in the directory if their husbands were living. Five women were listed as students with no indication of whether they were in college, or a business school, or what kind of training they were taking.

Among the women employed outside their homes were three teachers and one principal--Adele Dallet then at Junction school.²¹ By far the greatest number of women, seventeen, worked as clerks or shop girls for Lasalle and Koch, Lamsons, The Lion Store, Toledo Laundry, Fisher, Eaton and Co., the Emporium, W.L. Milner and Co., and other unidentified firms. Three women were bookkeepers, two were packers for Woolson Spice Co., one each was a stenographer, cashier, boxmaker, cook, domestic, and society editor of the Sunday Courier. Four women were identified as dressmakers, two as milliners, and one as a finisher. The remaining seven owned or managed businesses, some as the heirs of their husbands. Mrs. Eva Gitskey had a cigar business on Monroe Street, Dena Friedman operated a dry goods store, Celia Friedman was a music dealer, Julia Wise ran a news depot, and Sallie Simon, Fredericka Cohn and Bertha Van Noorden were in the clothing business.²²

²¹The other teachers were Regina Frank at Jefferson school, Flora Herskovits at Hoag school, and Olga Heyn at Broadway school

²²Solomon Van Noorden died April 6, 1894 at the age of seventy-seven (Polk's City Directory, 1894, 1136).

N.D. Oesterman's actress daughters were not listed, and another Oesterman daughter, Rae Wertheim, who had a flourishing millinery business earlier in the decade, had left the city by 1895.²³

Of the 453 men in the Jewish community, only thirty-five were shown without any employment and many of these were undoubtedly retired. Nine men were listed as students, at least two of them at the University of Michigan.²⁴

It is dangerous to treat employment information taken from the city directory as definitive because of omissions, and errors, and because terminology varies, but the following broad outline emerges. Four hundred-twelve Jewish men were employed, fifty-one as peddlers and forty-four as clerks. Fifteen men worked as tailors, twenty-six as cigar makers, two as apprentices, and one each as a plumber, a railroad passenger agent, a county surveyor, a postal superintendent, and a postal clerk. Five were bookkeepers. Thirty-two men identified their work as "traveling agent," only one called himself a salesman, one said he was a "canvasser" and another

²³Mrs. Wertheim might have been in Belgium in 1895. Her daughter Sadie was a musical prodigy who studied violin at the Brussels Conservatory and who toured the principal cities of Europe before her 1898 debut in Carnegie Hall. She used the name "Sada." (Musicians Scrapbook, Local History Room, Toledo and Lucas County Public Library).

²⁴James Lasalle and Coleman Frank were both at Ann Arbor. Other Toledoans who had been at the University of Michigan were Art Hubert, James Franc, and Charles K. Friedman. Leo Friedman attended Johns Hopkins and Morris Black went to a Technical College in Boston, probably MIT (American Israelite, September 28, 1893, 3, signed "Nathaniel," written September 17).

was an insurance solicitor. Five men were insurance agents, and six others identified themselves as "agents" for other firms. Two men were "helpers," one was a gardener, one a watchman, one a wagonmaker, one a machine hand, one a tinner, and five were teamsters, or draymen. There were two "collectors," one printer, one finisher and three shoemakers. Sixteen men were laborers and five were barbers. There was also one "elevator conductor," one watchman, one chairmaker, and fourteen store managers. One man was on the police force, one was the market superintendent, four worked as cutters in a clothing factory, and two were factory foremen. One man was a molder, one a cornicemaker, one a portrait agent, and one a woodworker. All of these men--266, or 64.5 per cent of those employed--worked for other people.²⁵ The remaining 35.5 per cent were either in business for themselves or were members of a firm. The nature of these businesses varied widely from a grocery store or a saloon on Canton avenue to A. Black and Company, cloak manufacturer, or to Lasalle and Koch, retailers. Most of the Jews were concentrated in the clothing business, either as manufacturers, wholesalers, or retailers; in wines and liquors; and in the manufacture and sale of cigars.

The 1895 directory lists two cloak manufacturers, Alexander Black and Company and the Toledo Hymen Company.

²⁵It is not possible to be certain in all cases. Some of the draymen, for example, might have been self-employed, as might some of the barbers or shoemakers.

The latter was headed by Daniel (sometimes David W.) Hymen who lived in Cincinnati. The resident manager was Lewis Heinsheimer, vice president of the firm. There were also two clothing wholesalers listed, both Jewish firms, Stern and Bloch, and Litman and Hoffstadt.²⁶ Among the clothing retailers, fifteen out of twenty-three were Jewish firms. In the merchant tailor listing the Jews were well represented--ten out of forty-three--but they did not dominate the field. Only seven of the fifty-one tailors whose names appear in the directory are now known to have been Jewish.²⁷

The same was true in the liquor field--Jews were prominent but they by no means held a monopoly. Nine out of twenty-five liquor and wine dealers were Jewish, including one firm owned by Herman Lustig who lived in Akron. Ten cigar manufacturers out of forty-five were Jewish, as were two cigar wholesalers out of nine and five retailers out of forty-two.²⁸ In addition, Jews operated a number of other businesses outside these three major areas: a shoe store, two crockery stores, two furniture stores, a hotel, a notion business, the manufacture of toilet preparations, the manufacture of underwear, a millinery store, a mattress factory, a hide business, the Novelty Cloak Rack Company,

²⁶Polk's City Directory, 1895, 1280.

²⁷Ibid., 1322. One of the tailoring firms, Clay Tailoring Company, was headed by Max W. Kraus of Louisville, Kentucky.

²⁸Ibid., 1278-79.

a retail wallpaper store, a dry cleaner, four jewelry stores, five meat markets, two drug stores, a fruit market, a milk distributorship, six saloons, six grocery stores and two pawnbroker-loan establishments. Simon Frank was in the real estate business.

There were also beginning to be some professional men in the Jewish community: three rabbis, one principal, one teacher, five physicians, and three attorneys. Martin Friedberg, who taught for many years in the Toledo schools and operated a business school in the summer time, had set himself up as an accountant. Ed Lemberger was principal of Nebraska street school and Leo Jacobs was listed as a teacher.²⁹ The doctors included young Otto Landman, son of Jacob and Fannie, who was an oculist. He had graduated from the University of Michigan Medical school in 1887, and spent two years in European schools working on his specialty. He returned to Toledo in 1889, married Carrie Thorner, daughter of Henry Thorner, in 1890 and opened an office in the Ontario Hotel. By 1895 he had moved to Pythian Castle.³⁰ Another well-known Jewish doctor was Philip J. Schreiber, an immigrant from Hungary who studied medicine at the Cincinnati College of Physicians and Surgeons. He lived in

²⁹Friedberg resigned as principal of the German department of the high school in 1891 (American Israelite, July 2, 1891, 5).

³⁰American Israelite, November 16, 1888, 3; written November 11; December 4, 1890, 3; written November 23; telephone interview with Mrs. M. William Goldman, daughter of Otto and Carrie Landman.

Dayton and moved his family to Toledo in 1890. Schreiber's son Cornell was a two-term mayor of Toledo, elected in 1917 and again in 1919.³¹

The three young lawyers in the Jewish community were Moses G. Bloch, mentioned earlier, Charles K. Friedman, and Samuel Kohn. Kohn was born in Toledo in 1856, the son of Simon and Ernestine Kohn, an ill-fated woman who died mysteriously in 1874.³² Samuel Kohn read law with J.C. Coffman and was admitted to the bar in March 1879. He was appointed assistant county prosecutor, a twelve-hundred-dollar a year post, in 1887, and two years later was named assistant city solicitor. Kohn was an anti-Hurd Democrat who became a power in the party, and later served on the faction-ridden and frequently self-serving board of education in the 1890's.³³ In 1895 Sam Kohn was president of the board, and was identified in the local papers as "Boss Kohn."³⁴

The third Toledo attorney, Charles Knox Friedman was also a native, born in the city in 1873, the son of Morris Friedman and his wife Annie, whose maiden name was Tyroler. Morris Friedman was a cigar manufacturer in the 1870's and 1880's. Charles Friedman graduated from the Manual Training

³¹Toledo News-Bee, January 27, 1922; July 27, 1929.

³²See Chapter Eight, 213.

³³John M. Killits, ed., Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio, 1623-1923 (Chicago and Toledo: S.J. Clarke, 1923), Vol. III, 597. Randolph C. Downes, Industrial Beginnings, 207-208.

³⁴Unidentified local newspaper clippings from Byron Ritchie scrapbook #2 in the Local History Room, Toledo and Lucas County Public Library.

School in Toledo and from the University of Michigan where he received a bachelor of laws in 1893 and a master of laws in 1894. The youngest of the Jewish attorneys in 1895, Charles Friedman had a long career as a corporate lawyer, a corporate director, and as an active community leader ahead of him. He married Nuna Landman, daughter of Isaac Landman, in 1898.³⁵

Among the newcomers to the city in the decade 1885-1895 there were undoubtedly many with interesting stories. Two of them, Pauline Steinem and Sam Cohn, were destined to become leaders in the community and their experiences are of special interest.

Pauline Steinem was born in Radziewo, Poland, then controlled by Russia, and attended the State Normal school of Bavaria. She married Joseph Steinem, a German who had been in America since 1869. The Steinems probably came to Toledo in 1886 or 1887. A son killed in World War I was born in the city in 1890. Joseph Steinem had worked first in Charleston, West Virginia and then in Fostoria, Ohio before settling in Toledo. In 1895 he was in the liquor business with his brother, but he soon established his own real estate firm. He died in 1929.³⁶

³⁵Charles Friedman's degrees, along with the documents admitting him to practice before the Supreme Court of Ohio and the Supreme Court of the United States are on file at the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati (flat file). David Alexander, "History of the Jews in Toledo," Reform Advocate (Chicago), June 20, 1908, 17. See also Killits, Toledo and Lucas County, III, 586.

³⁶Alexander, "History of the Jews in Toledo," 17. Tol-

Pauline Steinem believed in working through existing institutions, and where there were none, she founded them. In her early years in the community she served as secretary of the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society and as president of the Temple auxiliary. In September 1893 Pauline Steinem and Rabbi Browne's wife represented Toledo at the Jewish Women's Congress in Chicago. Circulars had been sent to all large cities asking Jewish women to hold mass meetings to select delegates. Papers were presented on the subject of women wage workers, on the influence of the discovery of America on Jews, and on a subject of great importance in the 1890's--how nations can be influenced to protest or even interfere in cases of religious persecution within another country. During one of the lulls in the proceedings four letters of "encouragement" were read. They came from the Jewish leader Dr. Sabato Morais of Philadelphia, from the well-known Mrs. Nina Morais Cohen of Minneapolis, from Bertha Honoré Palmer (Mrs. Potter Palmer) of Chicago and from Mrs. Joseph Steinem of Toledo, Ohio. Pauline Steinem was undoubtedly a woman who knew her own mind and who had

Toledo News-Bee, December 27, 1929. Toledo Times, January 7, 1940. Toledo Blade, January 6, 1940. In a curious interview in the Chicago Tribune, Ruth Steinem, daughter-in-law of Pauline and mother of Gloria Steinem, said that "Gloria's father's people were French Huguenots from Philadelphia," and that "Mother Steinem, Pauline, went to the Ladies' Seminary where she was active in women's rights." She also said that Gloria never knew her grandmother because she died before Gloria was born (Chicago Tribune, Sunday, November 5, 1972, Section 5, 1). None of this checks with local information. Gloria Steinem was born in 1934 and her grandmother died in January 1940.

the confidence to express her views. Her later career involved not only five years on the Toledo Board of Education but also a leading role in Jewish charitable activities and in women's rights. She was a library trustee, she led the campaign for a juvenile court, and she made many appearances before the state legislature to express her views on education.³⁷

Sam Cohn, who spelled his name with a "C", was a Republican politician, and Sam Kohn, with a "K", was a Democrat. Undoubtedly there was confusion about the two, although one was a native Toledoan and the other a relative newcomer in 1895. Cohn was born in Nanash, Hungary in 1856, the grandson of a rabbi. He was trained in rabbinical studies, was married and had four children when he decided he would emigrate to North America. He went first to Panama to work as a peddler. During a siege of yellow fever his partner died, and Cohn hitched a ride to New Orleans on an American war vessel. He peddled his way through the South, stopping to run a laundry in one city and to work as superintendent of railroads in Baton Rouge. He accumulated some capital which he invested in a hotel and four stores in Greenville, Mississippi, a venture which was totally destroyed by flood waters.

³⁷Papers of the Jewish Women's Conference Held at Chicago, September 4, 5, 6, 7, 1893 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1894), 265. Toledo Blade, January 6, 1940; Toledo Times, January 7, 1940.

His next misfortune was a railroad accident in which he was badly crushed. His wife came from Hungary to care for him, and although he recovered his mobility, he was forced to walk with crutch and cane for the rest of his life. In 1889 the Cohns came to Toledo and sent for their children. They were reputed to have brought \$30,000 in cash with them. For a time Sam Cohn operated a wholesale notions store, but he invested heavily in the Findlay oil field, lost his business and worked hard to repay his creditors. He then opened a saloon but he helped so many derelicts that that business also failed. His next step was into politics, first as an assistant assessor and then as market manager, a post which he held under Mayor Guy Major and "Golden Rule" Jones. For this he was paid \$65.00 a month.³⁸

Although the story of Sam Cohn's political service, both local and to the state of Ohio, belongs largely in the twentieth century, he made friends from the time he first moved into the community. When he died in 1915 federal and county courts were suspended, county offices were closed during the hours of the funeral and so were most of the businesses on Canton avenue. The Jewish Educational Building, where the funeral services were held, was quickly filled, while judges, lawyers, professional men, politicians and

³⁸Nevin O. Winter, A History of Northwest Ohio (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1917) Vol. II, 995-998. Alexander, "History of the Jews in Toledo," 18.

shopkeepers stood out in the rain. Always an Orthodox Jew, Sam Cohn was a member of B'nai Jacob, and of several Jewish lodges.³⁹

Sam Cohn, Republican, who lived on Canton street, and Sam Kohn, Democrat, who lived on Huron, illustrate that there was no discernible pattern of Jewish politics in 1895. Max Eppstein was an avid Democrat, chairman of the Democratic Central Committee, and about to be appointed postmaster of Toledo by Grover Cleveland at the time of his death.⁴⁰ And there were other Democrats among the affluent Jews of the city, a fact that was revealed in connection with the contested Hurd-Romeis election in 1884. Democratic Congressman Frank Hurd lost his bid for re-election in that year by a small margin. He charged that former mayor Jacob Romeis had bought votes and part of his case rested on information supplied by an itinerant Jew, Simon Gerstman, who identified himself as a rabbi.

Gerstman came to Toledo in September as an employee of the Republican National Committee charged with influencing votes among the Bohemian, Polish, and German voters. He reported that members of those ethnic groups were staunchly for Hurd and that between \$2,000 and \$3,000 would be needed

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰American Israelite, October 23, 1890, 1, written October 10, signed "Justice the Second." Letter from C. Rudolph Brand to the Toledo News, undated, Byron Ritchie Scrapbook No. 2, Local History Room, Toledo and Lucas County Public Library.

to buy a shift in vote. Gerstman said that when he came back shortly before the election this shift had been accomplished. His role in all of this, he maintained, was very innocent. While he was in Toledo Gerstman stayed with Julius Heyn, an old friend, and met Heyn's partner Leopold Franc. Both of these men were identified as Democrats, a fact which Gerstman said he neither knew nor cared about. The inquiry found no evidence of criminal acts and Romeis retained his seat in Congress. As for the rabbi, he seemed to have been generally discredited.⁴¹

Still another Democrat and a would-be politician was N.D. Oesterman who ran for city council and lost in 1888. He may have been the party maverick Eppstein was referring to when he wrote:

At the recent city election, one of our co-religionists was a candidate for alderman, and as predicted he was badly beaten. Moral--never run for office unless the voters of your own party are satisfied with your becoming a candidate; votes elect, and not empty promises.⁴²

Oesterman ran for council and Eppstein was referring to an aldermanic candidate, so the reference may not apply. There was, however, no recognizable Jewish candidate for alderman

⁴¹The Blade headed its story on March 30, 1885 as follows: "The Rabbi's Light Blown Out--The Story of a Political Pander--A Swarm of Contradictions and Curious Statements--A Convenient Loss of Memory." The paper had backed Romeis in the election, however, and its reaction was a political one. See also Toledo Blade, January 15, 1885, 1; January 19, 1885, 2; March 13, 1885, 4. For the election itself and the contest see Patrick A. Folk, "Our Frank": The Congressional Career of Frank H. Hurd, 1872-1886, unpublished master's thesis, University of Toledo, 1967.

⁴²American Israelite, April 20, 1888, written April 12.

in 1888.⁴³

As for Republican Jews, there were many of them. The Steinems were Republicans as were "Messrs. L. From, William Kraus, George Hyne, Louis Strassberger and Joe Koch" who went to Washington for the inauguration of William Henry Harrison in March 1889.⁴⁴ Alies S. Cohen was a Republican and so was Alexander Black. Black published privately in 1905 a volume which he entitled Aphorisms and Opinions on Current Events for the Past Twenty Years. In this book he spoke out as a true Republican conservative in favor of a protective tariff (an idea he says he brought with him from Hungary), the gold standard, and William McKinley. Black was a charter member of the Toledo Chamber of Commerce and a member of its first board of directors.⁴⁵

Black could well have been Max Eppstein's target in some of his more veiled references to Jews who had lost the faith. His own writing reveals a kind of religious humanism. He projected, for example, a course of worship which would involve devoting one Sunday each year to a discussion

⁴³Toledo Blade, April 3, 1888, 6.

⁴⁴American Israelite, March 14, 1889, 2, written March 11. In the Blade article about Toledo's Jews in 1894 the author said that four-fifths of them were Republican and most of those Stalwarts (Toledo Blade, February 3, 1894, 2).

⁴⁵Alexander Black, Aphorisms and Opinions on Current Events for the Past Twenty Years, published privately, July 1905; Toledo Bee, January 2, 1894; Clark Waggoner Scrapbook No. 13, Local History Room, Toledo and Lucas County Public Library.

of Moses and another to Jesus, and then

in the other fifty Sundays let us congregate, as in congregating we leave all personal animosities behind, and our pleasures in life are greatly heightened when shared with others, and listen to criticism of very great historical men, who for good or bad influenced our race. Also let the subjects be great inventors, great naturalists and scientists, or natural geniuses who gave direction to the course of the human race. Give us facts, no illusions.⁴⁶

That Alexander Black knew a natural genius when he saw one is illustrated by a story that goes back to the 1870's. Black employed fifteen-year-old Max Judd, who eventually became a nationally recognized authority on chess--a game at which Black was very good. He was, in fact, rated as one of the best players in Ohio. One day when Max Judd was playing against Sam Dallet in Black's store, the boy seemed to be winning easily. Black came to the aid of the older man and together they were defeated. Alexander Black was so amazed that he gave up chess and was said never to have played again.⁴⁷

Black was a man of firm conviction, the kind of assurance that a person needs in order to offer his thoughts to the world in the form of aphorisms. Black called his short statements "Mental Icedrops in the Cold Atmosphere of Observation." A few of them concern religion in general and the faith of his fathers (as Eppstein would remind him) in particular:

⁴⁶Black, Aphorisms, 61

⁴⁷Toledo Blade, January 17, 1886, 6. Max Judd's brother, Maurice, was a jeweler who lived in the city from 1877 until his death in 1914 (Toledo Blade, July 6, 1914, 2).

Jews never apostate, except for love or for money.

Religion is a mirror which reflects the ideal of the one who looks into it.

"Love and Fear God." There is no room for love where there is fear, as fear is a sentiment always mixed with hatred.

Atonement--I have never sinned against a God; could not if I tried to. My sins against my fellow-man he has no right to forgive me, at their expense.

Conscience is older than religion. In fact, conscience dictated the moral code to the founders of religion. The conscience of every race was thus impersonated in its religion.

The only way the Jews can save their lives is by committing suicide in allowing themselves to be absorbed by other races, but a race, aware of its superior qualities and blind to its obnoxious failings will struggle long and hard before it will obliterate itself.⁴⁸

To place the Democratic, religious, German Max Eppstein and the Republican, freethinking, Hungarian Alexander Black in the same "community" is to confront the difficulties of Jewish history. These two men could have had nothing in common, except that they were both born of Jewish parents, a fact which was central to Eppstein's life and apparently incidental to Black's. But perhaps there was something more that they shared--both men had a compulsion for didactic prose although their goals differed. Alexander Black summed up his rules for living as follows:

As our obligations on earth are only to our fellowmen,
the rules of life can be simplified to four:
Be just--that is your duty.
Be generous--that is your merit.

⁴⁸Black, Aphorisms, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Be sympathetic--that proves you humane.
 Be forgiving--thus you reach the ideal man.⁴⁹

There is one other way in which the history of Alexander Black and his wife Theresa might help to illustrate the composition of the Jewish community--and that is to show patterns of intermarriage between the leading Jewish families. The Blacks had eight children, six of them daughters. Rose, the eldest who was probably born in Europe, married Joseph Roth (and their daughter Viola married James Lasalle, son of Jacob Lasalle). A second Black daughter, Charlotte, married a distant cousin Samuel Schoenfield, whom Alexander Black took into his firm. Laura married Morris Friedman and Harriet (or Hattie) married Joseph Koch, then the sole partner of Jacob Lasalle. Estelle Black married Henry Streetman who came to Toledo from New England and who also entered the firm of A. Black and Company.

When Hattie Black Koch died in 1896, her sister Belle married the widower Joseph Koch and he lived another eight years, leaving Belle a widow in 1904. When Estelle Streetman died a few years later, Belle married her widower, Henry Streetman. Belle Black, therefore, was married to two of her sisters' husbands, and had children by both of them. Since her sisters also each had children, the family is very difficult to unravel. Consider, for example, Harold Koch who is the son of Joseph and Belle Koch. He had one full

⁴⁹Ibid., 62.

sister; two half sisters and a brother who were the children of his father and his aunt; a half sister who was the later child of his mother and his uncle, then his stepfather; and a cousin who was the daughter of his stepfather.⁵⁰ The Blacks' oldest son, Maurice, married a Catholic woman and lived in Detroit. A younger son, Arthur, married Clara Wiler, granddaughter of Jacob and Fannie Landman, uniting those two families. Arthur Black was in business in 1895 with his brother-in-law Joseph Roth, together they operated the Perfection Shirt Waist Company. Roth was also associated with Jacob Friedman in the operation of the Peerless Knitting Mills.

One other family is of special interest because it serves to illustrate another aspect of Jewish life--the rapid social mobility of the early Jews. Solomon and Gerttia Powder had three children, Hannah, Charlotte, and Moses. Solomon Powder was the match peddler who occasionally drank too much and argued too vehemently. He was seventy years old and his wife was sixty-seven in 1880.⁵¹ At that time their daughter Hannah Jacobson, her husband Michael, and three of

⁵⁰Interviews with Harold Koch, son of Joseph and Belle Koch, and with Mrs. Robert Zimmerman, daughter of Arthur and Clara Black.

⁵¹See Chapter Eight, 224. The spelling "Gerttia" appears on the Census schedule which was frequently incorrect. The names "Yetta" and "Showel" Powder appear on graves at Eagle Point cemetery. If this is the same couple their ages were also incorrect on the Census report. Yetta would have been sixty and Showel fifty-nine in 1880.

their children were living with the Powders at 38 Union street. Julius Jacobson, the baby, was less than one year old, and six children were yet to be born.

Michael Jacobson came to Toledo from Germany with his father, mother, brother, and two sisters. His father, Herman, traveled along the Maumee with a wagon, trading in barks and herbs, tin plate, and yard goods. The family settled on State street in Toledo, but before long they decided to move to Chicago. Michael Jacobson was the only member who stayed behind. He married Hannah Powder in 1874 when he was twenty-four years old and began to make his living collecting scrap metal. Jacobson became the partner of Abraham Goldberg, the man who served as rabbi of B'nai Israel for many years. When Goldberg died Jacobson bought the other half of the business.⁵²

By 1893 Michael Jacobson was a city councilman from the second ward, and a man of some influence.⁵³ His family was growing up and his children were seeking good educations. Louis became an attorney and assistant city law director in the administration of Cornell Schreiber, and Julius became a nationally renowned doctor, the first president of the Toledo Academy of Medicine at the age of twenty-four. The eldest

⁵²Interview with Howard Jacobson, grandson of Michael Jacobson; Jacobson family geneology in the possession of Howard Jacobson. Howard Jacobson has fond memories of his grandfather who took him to Bernbaum's saloon for sarsaparilla and who let him drive his motor car. Michael Jacobson died in 1920.

⁵³Toledo Blade, April 4, 1893.

daughter, Esther, married Harry Levison, originally from Leipsic, Ohio, who was also a physician. Another daughter, Florence, was a kindergarten teacher who married Moses Isenberg, a jeweler.⁵⁴

Hannah Powder Jacobson's sister Charlotte (she used Pulvermacher, the original name, as her maiden name) married Julius (Yudel) Eppstein, a peddler. They lived on State street where they raised seven children, among them Toledo attorney Joseph Eppstein, a Democratic politician and a friend of Harry Truman, and Louis Eppstein who succeeded Alfred B. Koch as president of Lasalle and Koch in 1933. Louis Eppstein recalled a boyhood of extreme poverty and hardship. He started delivering newspapers at the age of seven and went to work for Lasalle and Koch in 1887 when he was eleven.⁵⁵

The third of Solomon and Gerttia Powder's children, Moses, was an on-again, off-again policeman, but an important member of the force during the years that he served.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Interview with Howard Jacobson. See Killits, Toledo and Lucas County, III, for a five-page biography of Julius Jacobson, 174-180. Jacobson died in 1918 at the age of thirty-nine. Levison family papers including the marriage certificate (in Hebrew) of Esther Jacobson and Harry Levison are in the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati. Interview with Marshall Isenberg, son of Florence and Moses Isenberg.

⁵⁵Toledo Blade, November 29, 1933. Clippings in the collection of Harold Koch.

⁵⁶See Chapter Eight, 224-225. Powder joined the police force in 1881, resigned in 1882, rejoined soon after and resigned again in 1891. When he died in 1899, his sergeant said that he had been in continuous service for about six years (Toledo Blade, January 19, 1882; City of

He could speak Polish and was usually assigned to Canton avenue or to Lagrange street. Sometimes he drew a sanitary detail, charged with ordering people to clean up their property:

Patrolman Powder, who is the health ambassador to the Polish settlement, has learned that hogs and children run loose in that region. He is striking terror into the Poles who want to remain dirty.⁵⁷

In 1884 when riots erupted among the Polish Catholics and two men were killed, Powder was an arresting officer, and he also served the court as an interpreter.⁵⁸ There is no evidence that Moses Powder spoke Italian, but he made a number of arrests among Italian peddlers too, charging at one time that they all claimed to be named Guiseppe Mercures and to have left their license at home. The court threatened to begin photographing Guiseppe Mercures each time he was brought in.⁵⁹

There was some animosity between Italian immigrants and Jews, particularly when they were competing as street vendors. The Blade quoted a Jewish fruit dealer who had a stand at Summit and Jefferson as saying:

Toledo, Minutes of Police and Health Board Meetings, July 2, 1884 to April 27, 1894 (handwritten), 376; Toledo Blade, October 28, 1898, 7; October 28, 1899).

⁵⁷Toledo Blade, April 11, 1885, 5.

⁵⁸Toledo Blade, February 6, 1886, 1.

⁵⁹Toledo Blade, August 25, 1885, 3.

Dese cursed Eetalian, zey break up my beesiness mit deir carts. Zey come here and fill up ze whole city mit bananas and fruit and zey pays nothing but \$10 a year license.⁶⁰

The merchant's desire, at least according to the Blade, was to keep the foreigners out.

The currents of ethnic and religious prejudices swirled around Moses Powder and he was not immune to them himself. In one case he was attacked while making an arrest and the prisoner, a Negro named Bill Pierce, was charged with assault with intent to kill. Powder told the judge that Pierce chewed on his thumb for a minute and a half, bit his lip, and yelled to friends to bring a razor so he could cut Powder's heart out. The defendent charged that Powder bit him first. Called for rebuttal, Moses Powder said:

We are particular about what we eat and are not even allowed to eat pork, let alone tough meat like that fellow.⁶¹

Other people agreed with him. The Blade quoted a "gentleman" as saying, "I'd rather have a rattlesnake bite me than a negro like Bill Pierce. A snake's bite wouldn't be half so poisonous."⁶²

Anti-semitism seems to have been more blatant in the 1880's and 1890's, but it was aimed chiefly at the immigrant Jews or those suspected of a crime. In this sense

⁶⁰Toledo Blade, October 9, 1885, 5.

⁶¹Toledo Blade, January 5, 1887, 3.

⁶²Toledo Blade, December 10, 1886, 1. In the original story of the assault, it was reported that a mob was gathering to help the prisoner and that Powder escaped worse injury only by blowing his police whistle until help came.

the treatment of the Jews was not significantly different from that accorded any other immigrant or minority group. There were stories about a continuing feud between a Russian Jewish tailor named Moses Plotkin and the Polish Jews who were determined to make life miserable for him, and an occasional divorce story, but they were no worse than the diatribes against the Poles, or the Italians, or the Blacks or anyone else who seemed "un-American."⁶³ And the Jews themselves had their prejudices. They also had something most of the other immigrant groups did not have--at least right away--a respectable elite who had moved into positions of leadership in the community. Max Eppstein, who had served on city council in addition to all his other activities, was honored as "An American Jew," and the entire council attended services for him. And while we might deplore that it was necessary to label Eppstein as a "Jew" in the final newspaper headlines about him, it was an identification which he sought and which he would have welcomed.⁶⁴

⁶³Toledo Blade, October 1, 1885, 4. Plotkin was in the papers frequently. One divorce story involved Fannie and Isadore Goldstein; the latter was identified as "a Hebrew peddler, about 40 years of age, with curly hair and the distinctive clear cut features of the children of Israel." His wife was described as "a pretty woman ten years younger, with a winning smile and a flying tongue" (Toledo Blade, January 15, 1886, 3).

⁶⁴Toledo Blade, March 12, 1894, 5. Eppstein was very pleased in 1888 to have been named in the will of his employer, Colonel W.J. Finlay, and said it was a rare honor for a Jew. He received seventy-five shares of stock in the Finlay Brewing Company (American Israelite, May 25, 1888, 9, written May 20; Toledo Blade, May 5, 1888, 3).

By 1895 the Jews had well-established social institutions equal to any of those in the city, but limited certainly to the elite among them. The Progress Club was elegantly fitted out, and was the scene of some rollicking parties.⁶⁵ The Whist Club gave diamond favors.⁶⁶ The M.S. Club, made up of seven women, planned elaborate entertainments, including steamer rides on the lake and full-dress parties where each woman called for some other member's husband in her carriage.⁶⁷ There was a Young Men's Hebrew Association, the long-standing Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society and a Home Ladies' Aid Society, in addition to the lodges.⁶⁸

Jewish charitable institutions were not highly developed in 1895. The women's help was given on a non-sectarian basis, although it was necessarily limited in its scope. In 1893 and 1894 Rabbi Schreiber participated, along with thirty-four other clergymen, in an organization known as Associated Charities. Its purpose was to relieve suffering resulting from the economic depression of those years.

⁶⁵The building at Erie and Monroe which the Progress Club was leasing in 1895 had parlors, a dancing hall, billiard rooms and an auditorium that would seat three hundred (Toledo Blade, February 3, 1894, 2).

⁶⁶American Israelite, December 7, 1888, 5, written December 2.

⁶⁷American Israelite, August 1, 1889, 7, written July 28.

⁶⁸Toledo Blade, February 3, 1894, 3.

Applicants for aid were referred first to their own denomination. If the church could not help, the case went back to Associated Charities for assistance. Schreiber's participation in the program was the first such cooperation between Christian and Jew in an institutional way in Toledo.⁶⁹

After fifty years, the Jews in Toledo were living their lives at very many different levels, pursuing takhilis as they felt it. For them, as for the city, the period of greatest growth was still to come. Toledo would never support a large Jewish community, but it would always sustain a comfortable one--independent, self-supporting, with education and income levels which at the present time exceed the medians in the National Jewish Population study of 1971.⁷⁰ The first fifty years of Jewish life in Toledo provided a foundation for solid growth.

⁶⁹Toledo Bee, December 20, 1893; Clark Waggoner Scrapbook, No. 13, Local History Room, Toledo and Lucas County Public Library.

⁷⁰These statements are based on a demographic profile of Toledo's Jewish community which was completed in the fall of 1973. Education figures were published in the Toledo Jewish News, March, 1974, 5; income figures appeared in the same paper, June, 1974, 7. More than 45 per cent of the Toledo Jews have an income in excess of \$20,000, as compared to the United States Jewish population figure of 32.4 per cent and the United States total population figure of 24.5 per cent.

APPENDIX AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

Appendix A: JEWS IN SCOTT'S TOLEDO CITY DIRECTORY
1870-71.

- Arago, Solomon, rabbi. House north side of Washington, near Huron.
- Black, Alexander, Black and Hofman, manufacturers of hoop skirts, 105 Summit. House, 41 Illinois.
- Black, Herman, salesman, 105 Summit. House, 184 Adams.
- Cohen, Alies S., clerk, Lasalle and Epstein. Boards, 278 Huron.
- Dallet, Jacob, manufacturer and dealer in cigars at 108 Adams street. Residence, same.
- Dallet, Simon, firm Sternfeld and Dallet. House, 59 Illinois.
- Davis, Charles, clerk, B. and L. Gitskey. Boards, 90 Superior.
- Feiss, Adolph, firm Loewenthal and Feiss, dealers in cigars, tobacco, and smoking articles, 93 Summit street. Boards, 39 Monroe.
- Franc, Leopold, L. Franc and Company. House, 4 Freeman's Block, 451 Erie.
- Frank, Isadore, laborer. Residence Curtis and Brainerd.
- Freedman, Max, firm Pollack and Freedman, saloon and confectionary, 265½ Summit. Residence, Gitskey's Block.
- Friedlander, Alex, clerk, Eaton and Backus. House, 130 Walnut.
- Friedlander, Isaac, clerk, 53 Monroe. Boards, 152 Cherry.
- Friedman, Morris, cigar manufacturer, 53 State. Residence, same.
- Galeerd, Lahman, cigarmaker, Clark Scripture. House, 50 John.
- Gitskey, Abraham, clerk, 163 Summit. Boards, 387 Erie.

- Gitskey, Benjamin, firm B. and L. Gitskey, 29 and 43 Summit.
House, 76 Madison.
- Gitskey, Jonah M. Residence, 106 Superior, upstairs.
- Gitskey, Joseph Simon, office, 5 Gitskey's Block, west
corner Monroe at St. Clair. Boards, 387 Erie.
- Gitskey, Lewis, firm B. and L. Gitskey, 29 and 43 Summit.
House, 76 Ontario.
- Gitskey, Moses, firm, 89, 163 Summit. House, 387 Erie.
- Gitskey, Reuben, clerk B. and L. Gitskey. House, 76
Ontario.
- Goldberg, Abram, tin peddler. House, 30 State.
- Goldsmith, Gustave, firm G. Goldsmith and Brother, 27 Summit.
House, 67 Michigan.
- Goldsmith, Nathaniel, clerk, G. Goldsmith and Brother.
- Goldsmith, Simon, firm, G. Goldsmith and Brother. Residence,
27 Summit.
- Graff, Abraham, firm, Thorner and Graff. House, 177 Madison.
- Heyn, Julius, firm L. Franc and Company. Boards, 417 Huron.
- Hirsch, Simon, clerk 25 Summit (Gitskey's). Boards, 66
Michigan.
- Hofman, Samuel, firm, Black and Hofman, 105 Summit. House,
70 Michigan.
- Holt, Charles, glazier. House, 52 John.
- Isenthal, Max, watchmaker, William Nichols. House, 444 Erie.
- Koch, Joseph, clerk, J.W. Mulinix, dry goods, 101 Summit.
- Kohn, Simon, ice dealer. House, 220 Washington.
- Kraus, August, helper L.S. and M.S.R.
- Kraus, Justus, clerk T.H. Hough Co., house furnishings.
Boards, 72 Jefferson.
- Kraus, Lahman, Kraus and Daiber, clothing. House, 72 Jeffer-
son.
- Kraus, William, City Bank, Kraus and Smith, 148 Summit.
House, 71 Washington.

- Landman, Isaac, Stettiner and Company, 40 Monroe. Boards,
39 Monroe.
- Landman, Jacob, Stettiner and Company, 40 Monroe. House,
Summit, southwest corner Elm.
- Landman, Rudolf, clerk, H. Stettiner. House, west corner
of Summit and Elm.
- Lasalle, Jacob, firm, Lasalle and Epstein, dealers in dry
goods, notions, etc., 51 Summit. House, 129 Madison.
- Loeb, Isaac, clothing, 25 Summit. House, 66 Michigan.
- Loeb, Max, clerk, 25 Summit. Boards, 66 Michigan.
- Loewenthal, Morris S., firm, Loewenthal and Feiss, 93 Summit.
Residence, 26 Campbell Block.
- Marx, Emma, teacher, boards, 257 Monroe.
- Marx, Guido, firm R. Brand and Company. Residence, 142
Huron.
- Marx, Joseph, firm, Ladies' Bazaar, 57 Monroe. Residence,
same.
- Oesterman, Nathan D., New and Second Hand Clothing, 104
Cherry. Residence, 17 Woodruff.
- Powder, Moses, peddler. Residence, 17 Woodruff, upstairs.
- Reis, Isadore, peddler. House, 20 State.
- Reis, Jacob, carpenter. House, west side of Erie, fourth
door south of Logan.
- Reis, Nathan L., Confectionary and Ladies' Ice Cream Saloon
and Restaurant, Cafe de l'Europe, 22 Summit, residence,
same.
- Roemer, Joseph, Roemer and Stern, wholesale clothing, 26 and
28 Summit. House, 113 Cherry.
- Rosenbach, Marcus, Van Noorden and Company, 190 Summit.
Boards, 321 Huron.
- Rosenbaum, Herman, traveling agent, C. Entemann. Boards,
154 Cherry.
- Rosenbush, Frank, Dealer in cigars, smoking articles, etc.,
39 Summit. Residence 317 Summit, upstairs.

Roth, Jacob. House, 159 Cherry.

Sherman, Samuel, tinsmith. Boarding house, 153 St. Clair,

Sherman, Samuel W., jeweler, 255 Summit. Boards, 153 St. Clair.

Simon, Joseph, clerk, 89 Summit, Boards, 387 Erie.

Solomon, Henry, second hand clothing, 69 Monroe.

Solomon, Samuel, china peddler. Boards, 69 Monroe.

Stern, Henry, Roemer and Stern. House, 472 Superior.

Stern, Joseph, clerk, Roemer and Stern. Boards, 120 Madison.

Stern, William, firm Roemer and Stern, Boards, 472 Superior.

Sternfeld, Nathan, firm, Sternfeld and Dallet, 37 Monroe.
Boards, 59 Illinois.

Stettiner, Henry, H. Stettiner and Company, 90 Monroe.
House, 236 Huron.

Stettiner, Samuel, Stettiner and Company, Importers and
Wholesale Dealers in Wines and Liquors, 40 Monroe.
Boards, west corner Summit and Elm.

Thorner, Henry, Thorner and Graff. House, 185 Huron.

Thorner, Joseph, firm George Meissner and Company. House,
55 Jefferson.

Tyroler, Adolph, cigarmaker. House, rear 364 Michigan.

Van Noorden, Samuel, firm Van Noorden and Company, 190
Summit. Boards, 321 Huron.

Van Noorden, Solomon, clothing, new and second hand, Van
Noorden and Company, 190 Summit. House, 321 Huron.

Wiener, Frank J., wagonmaker. House, 17 John.

Appendix B: CONGREGATIONAL LISTINGS, 1871-1895.

The following listings appeared in the Toledo City Directories. Directory and page number are shown in parentheses.

1871-1872

Jewish Synagogue
(Beny Israel)

Services in Yeager Block, every Saturday
a.m. from 8 to 10 o'clock
(Scott's, 51)

1872-73

Jewish Synagogue
B'nai Israel

Church, Lynn Street
Services every Saturday from 8 to 10 o'clock a.m.
(Scott's, 72)

1873-74

Jewish Synagogue
(B'nai Israel)

Church, Lynn Street
Services every Saturday from 8 to 10 o'clock a.m.
Rabbi--Abraham Goldberg
(Scott's, 83)

1874-75

Jewish Synagogue
(B'nai Israel)

Church, Lynn Street
Services every Saturday from 8 to 10 o'clock a.m.
Rabbi--Abraham Goldberg
(Scott's, 56)

1875-76

Jewish Synagogue
(B'nai Israel)

Church, Lynn Street
Services every Saturday from 8 to 10 a.m.
Rabbi--Abraham Goldberg
(Scott's, 59)

1875-76. Continued

"SCHOMER AMONIM"
 HEBREW REFORMED CONGREGATION

President--E.M. Sterne
 Vice President--G. Goldsmith
 Secretary--Max M. Eppstein
 Treasurer--M. Gitskey
 Trustees--Jacob Lasalle, H. Sterne, S. Kohn
 (Scott's, 59)

1876-77

JEWISH
 (B'nai Israel)

Church, Lynn Street
 Services Every Saturday from 8 to 10 a.m.
 Rabbi--Abraham Goldberg

"SCHONER AMONIM"
 Hebrew Reformed Congregation

President	E.M. Stern
Vice President	G. Goldsmith
Secretary	Max Eppstein
Treasurer	J. Roemer
Trustees	Jacob Lasalle, S. Kohn, H. Stern, and J. Roemer (Scott's, 56)

1877-78

JEWISH

B'nai Israel

Lynn, between Summit and Water
 Organized 1869
 Services every Saturday from 8 to 10 a.m.

Rabbi,--A. Goldberg
 President,--N.D. Oesterman
 Vice President,--A. Shugarman
 Secretary,--A. Tyroler
 Treasurer,--S. Van Noorden, Jr.

Shomer Amonim

Hebrew Reformed Congregation
 West Side Superior near Adams

Rabbi,	Rev. Dr. Benjamin Eger
President,	E.M. Stern
Vice President,	Isaac Landman
Secretary,	Jacob Herff
Treasurer,	Joseph Roemer
Trustees,	Jacob Lasalle, William Stern, Max Isenthal, Joseph Roemer (Polk's, 57)

1878-79

JEWISH

B'nai Israel

State, between Cherry and Allen
Organized, 1869

Rabbi, Abraham Cohen
President, N.D. Oesterman
Vice President, Abraham Goldberg
Secretary, S. Van Noorden, Jr.
Treasurer, S. Van Noorden

Services every Saturday from 8 to 10 a.m.

Shomer Emunim

Reformed Hebrew Congregation
West Side Superior near Adams

Rabbi, Rev. Dr. Benjamin Eger
President, E.M. Stern
Vice President, Isaac Landman
Secretary, Gustav Goldsmith
Treasurer, Joseph Roemer
Trustees, Jacob Lasalle, William Stern, Max Isenthal,
Joseph Roemer.

Services Friday evening 7:30 p.m.

Saturday morning 9:30 a.m. All Jewish festivals.
(Polk's, 54, 55)

1879-80

JEWISH

B'nai Jacob

S.W. cor. John and Union

Rabbi, Rev. Louis Radion
President, Levi Pearlstein
Vice President, Joseph Minsky
Secretary, Adolph Coplan
Treasurer, Philip Cohen
Trustees, Jacob Epstein, I. Levi and David Marx.
(Polk's, 58)

1880-81

JEWISH

B'nai Jacob

S.W. cor. John and Union streets

Rabbi, Louis Radin
President, Robert B. Perlstein
Vice President, David Max
Secretary, Morris Powder
Treasurer, Philip Cohn

Services Friday 7:30 p.m., Saturday 8 a.m. to 10 a.m.

1880-81. Continued

Synagogue
 South west cor Superior and Adams streets.
 (Polk's, 47)

1881-82

JEWISH
 B'nai Jacob
 Cor. John and Union streets, East Toledo
 Rabbi, Rev. Louis Radin
 President, Philip Cohen
 Vice President, L. Epstein
 Secretary, P.H. Cohen
 Treasurer, R.B. Perlstein
 Services Fridays 7:30 p.m.; Saturdays 8 a.m. to 10 a.m.
 (Polk's, 58)

1882-83

JEWISH
 B'nai Jacob
 Corner John and Union streets
 Rabbi, Reverend Julius Cohen
 President, Joseph Munskey
 Vice President, L. Epstein
 Secretary, P.H. Cohen
 Treasurer, M. Levey
 Services Fridays 7:30 p.m.; Saturdays 8 a.m. to 10 a.m.
 (Polk's, 63)

1883-84

JEWISH
 B'nai Jacob
 Corner John and Union streets
 Rabbi, Reverend Judah H. Cohn
 President, J. Epstein
 Vice President, B. Davis
 Secretary, J. Smith
 Treasurer, I. Eppstein
 Services Fridays 7:30 p.m., Saturdays 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.
 (Polk's, 56)

1884-85

JEWISH
 B'nai Jacob
 Corner John and Union streets
 President, Morris Freedman
 Vice President, David Marx
 Recording Secretary, Isadore Reiss
 Treasurer, Israel Cohen

1884-85. Continued

Trustees, Israel Barwisski, S. Baker, Jacob Levi
 Services, Friday 7:30 p.m.; Saturday, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.
 (Polk's, 56)

1885-86

JEWISH
 B'nai Jacob

Corner John and Union streets

Rabbi, Rev. Judah H. Cohen
 President, Joseph Minzki
 Secretary, Alex Jordon
 Treasurer, Solomon Steinbeck

Friday services 7:30 p.m.
 Sunday services 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.

(Polk's, 57)

1886-87

JEWISH
 B'nai Jacob

Corner of John and Union streets

Rabbi, Rev. Joseph Goldberg
 President, Joseph Minzki
 Secretary, Alex Jordon
 Treasurer, Solomon Steinbeck

Friday services, 7:30 p.m.
 Sunday services, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.

(Polk's, 74)

1887-88

JEWISH
 B'nai Israel

Clarke's Hall, 64 Cherry street

Rabbi, Rev. Abram Goldberg

Friday services, 7:30 p.m.
 Saturday services, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.

B'nai Jacob

Corner John and Union streets

Rabbi, Joseph Goldberg

Friday services, 7:30 p.m.
 Sunday services, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.

(Polk's, 75)

1888-89JEWISH
B'nai Israel

310 Cherry

Rabbi, Joseph L. Goldberg

Friday services, 7:30 p.m.

Sunday services, 8 a.m. and 5 p.m.

B'nai Jacob

1902 Union street

Rabbi, Rev. Joseph Lavin

Friday services, 7:30 p.m.

Saturday services, 8 a.m. and 5 p.m.

(Polk's, 67)

1889-90JEWISH
B'nai Israel

1902 Union street

Rabbi, Rev. Joseph Lavin

Friday services, 7:30 p.m.

Saturday services, 8 a.m. and 5 p.m.

Shomer Emonim

Reformed Hebrew

Tenth street between Monroe and Washington

Services every Friday evening and Saturday morning

Sabbath school every Saturday and Sunday

(Polk's, 68)

1890-91JEWISH
Congregation B'nai Israel (Orthodox)
1902 Union street

Rabbi, Abraham Cohen

Assistant Rabbi, Joseph Levin

Friday services 7:30 p.m.. Saturday services 8 a.m.
and 5 p.m.

Tenth Street Temple

Reformed Hebrew

Tenth street between Monroe and Washington

Rabbi, E.B.M. Browne

Services every Friday evening and Saturday morning

Sabbath school every Saturday and Sunday

(Polk's, 70)

1891

JEWISH

B'nai Israel Synagogue
1902 Union street

Rabbi, Rev. Alfred Arndt
Services daily 6 to 7 a.m.
Sunday 7 to 9:30 a.m.

Tenth street Temple
Reformed Hebrew
Tenth street between Monroe and Washington
Services every Friday evening and Saturday morning
Sabbath school every Sunday.

(Polk's, 69)

1892

JEWISH

B'nai Israel Synagogue
1902 Union street

Rabbi, Rev. Joseph Levin
Assistant Rabbi, Rev. Alfred Arndt

Services daily 6 to 7 a.m.; Saturday 6 to 7 a.m. and
6 to 7 p.m.

Sareu Zedek (Congregational)

Southeast corner Canon and Woodruff avenues

Rabbi, Rev. H. Benowitz

Services daily 6 to 9 a.m. and 5 to 7 p.m.

(Polk's, 88)

1893

JEWISH

B'nai Israel Synagogue
1902 Union street

Rabbi, Rev. Joseph Levin, Asst. Rabbi, Rev. Alfred
Arndt, Services daily 6 to 7 p.m., Saturday 6 to 7
a.m. and 6 to 7 p.m.

Sarei Zedek (Congregational), Se corner Canton and
Woodruff avenue. Rabbi Emanuel Schreiber, Services
daily 6 to 9 a.m. and 5 to 7 p.m.

Tenth street Temple, Reformed Hebrew, Tenth street
between Monroe and Washington. Rabbi, Rev. E.
Schreiber. Services every Friday evening and Satur-
day morning. Sabbath school every Sunday.

(Polk's, 62)

1894

Listings are the same as 1893 (Polk's, 47)

1895

Listing are the same as 1893 (Polk's, 36)

Appendix C: THREE ARTICLES REPRINTED FROM THE TOLEDO
BLADE, 1875-76.

LEL SHIMMOORIM¹

The Feast of the Passover Celebration of the Deliverance of
the Jews from the Hands of the Egyptians

On Monday evening next occurs the greatest of the
three annual feasts instituted by Moses, and still cele-
brated in every land beneath the sun where the Jews yet re-
main faithful to the religion of their fathers. It is the
14th day of the month of Nishau or Ahib; and then is com-
memorated the anniversary of the exodus from Egypt. The
eleventh chapter of Exodus tells of the origin of the
feast and prescribes the manner of celebrating it.

A male lamb, of the first year, and without blemish,
was to be selected from the flock; it was to be roasted in
the night and eaten with bitter herbs and unleavened bread.
Those who partook of the beast were to be clad as if for a
journey: "With your loins girded, your shoes on your feet,
and ye shall eat in haste; it is the Lord's passover."

Everyone was commanded to eat unleavened bread for
seven days longer on the penalty of being cut off from the
people.

¹Appeared April 17, 1875.

In this city there will be no public celebration of the day by the Jews, since they have no synagogue, but the feast will be observed with due solemnity in every Israelite family, as well as the feast of the Unleavened Bread, which lasts through the week.

The period is also of much interest to Christians, aside from its historic aspect. The celebration of Easter--which is the Christianized modification of the observance--takes away from its importance somewhat, however. The Passover is regarded by Christian theologians as a sacrifice and a sacrament, and the prototype of the sacrifice of Christ. The death of Christ at the exact time of the Passover sustains this view. As the Paschal lamb typified the deliverance of the Jews from the bondage of Egypt, so the sacrifice of Jesus typified the deliverance of the world from the bondage of sin, and there are a wonderful variety of striking coincidences which occur to every student of the Bible.

The feast, as celebrated now-a-days by the Jews, differs somewhat from that of the earlier times of Israelitish history. Four cups of wine--called the "four cups of salvation"--have been added to the feast, and as these are raised, the whole family sing songs of freedom, and chant the praise of the Most High. In the dark times of Jewish persecution in Europe the head of the family sat down to the feast clothed in a long white gown, as a symbol of persecution and death. It cost something in those days to celebrate the Passover, since the ignorant populace imagined the Jews, on

such occasions, performed all manner of horrid and revolting rites, and banqueted on Christian blood. In numberless instances have brutal, murderous mobs burst into the Jewish quarters, slaying all they could find--men, women, and children alike being subjected to the most cruel indignities before their murderers would grant them the happy release of death.

The Jews find in the feast a political significance also. The American Israelite says of it:

"It commemorates the first declaration of independence in history, the first grand move for liberty, and teaches the lesson that God is just, man should be free, and nations independent. It opens that cycle of history with Moses at one end and George Washington at the other, which will close with the universal republic, the union of all members of the human family, the end of war and oppression, and the universal government of justice. 'One law and one statute shall be for you and the stranger who sojourns among you.' The great principle of the equality of all men before the law was first pronounced by Moses and carried into practice by the exode, when with Israel, also many Arabs left Egypt to enjoy liberty, independence, and equal rights with the Hebrew. Therefore the Israelite, however persecuted and outraged on the Feast of Pasover, felt and proclaimed, century after century, I am a free man, all men are free, and considered himself a king and a prince surrounded by his court. This religious principle went with him in maintain-

ing himself a free man in his consciousness when all men were either slaves or taskmasters."

AS IT WAS IN ISRAEL¹

The Thalheimer-Stern Wedding Last Evening--First Event of the Kind in Toledo--Description of the Ceremonies

It is now approaching a half century since the first stone in the foundation of the Future Great City was laid upon the banks of the Maumee, and among all the incidents that have thronged upon the dwellers of this municipality, there has never been numbered among them, until last evening, such an event as a wedding between members of the race of Israel. This is a singular phenomenon, for this city contains a large proportion of that race among its citizens, and they are active, thrifty, well-to-do citizens, of good repute in all relations of life. It is not because the Israelites are an anti-matrimonial race; they are pre-eminently a domestic people, and practice marriage more generally than any other in the world.

It has simply happened here that the Israelites were either married when they came hither, or had formed attachments elsewhere, which led them to seek their brides in other cities. The announcement, therefore, of a Hebrew wedding to be celebrated in the city was a matter of such importance as to excite the liveliest interest in all the members of the race in the city and vicinity as well as among the Gentiles who are anxious to know how this peculiar people conduct a ceremony which is identified with the most potent sentiments

¹ Appeared January 6, 1876.

of the human heart. The affair came off last evening at the little Temple of the Reformed Jewish congregation on Superior street near Adams. The parties most nearly connected with it were Miss Jenny Stern, the charming young daughter of Emanuel Stern, a wealthy citizen of Toledo, and a silent partner in the firm of Roemer and Stern Bros., and the groom, Mr. Gates Thalheimer, a young man belonging to a firm of wholesale grocers in Syracuse, New York.

The temple was decorated for the occasion by wreaths and festoons of evergreens ornamenting the walls, the chandeliers, and the chancel recess. The altar was draped in white cloth, trimmed with silver lace, the cloth having a crown and two Hebrew letters embroidered in silver upon it. On the left side of the dais, upon which the altar stood, was a small table, bearing a couple of lighted candles, two goblets, a bible and some other articles. The Rabbi, Dr. Eger, was seated upon the platform. He wore a robe of black, a square cap of the same color upon his head, and a white scarf around his neck.

A carpet was spread from the entrance of the temple over the sidewalk, for the convenience of the ladies as they arrived in carriages. The seats in the temple had been carefully allotted, so that each guest upon arrival was shown to that which had been set apart for him or her, and when all the pews were filled, white tape lines were drawn along the entrance to close them. Messrs. Max M. Eppstein and Jacob Landman officiated as ushers, and did their duty very courte-

ously and efficiently. The Synagogue was crowded to its utmost limit.

The ceremony was set down for 5 o'clock, but it was fully half an hour later when the bridal party entered, the organ playing a march as they came in. The bride, leaning on the arm of her father, and followed by Mr. Thalheimer--the father of the groom--and Miss Stern, Mr. John Jacobs, Blanch Lauferty, Mr. L.M. Cohen, and Miss Louisa Lauferty, walked down the right aisle, while the bridegroom and the mother of the bride, followed by Mr. Sol. Wilder and Miss Rosetta Landman, Mr. David Lauferty and Miss Dora Stern proceeded down the left aisle.

The bride was dressed in a rich cream-colored silk, with a train, and trimmed with tulle. She wore a wreath of buds and flowers on her head, a knot of the same on her breast, and her ear pendants were also buds.

Arriving in front of the altar, the bride and groom took a position together on the right of the dais, the father and mother of the bride standing on the left. The bridesmaids and groomsmen arranged themselves in a line in front.

The Rabbi stepped forward to meet them, speaking some words in Hebrew which he translated:

"Blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord; we who come from the house of the Lord salute you."

The choir then sang:

"All hail to those, who approach, in God thus trusting; we bless you from this sacred spot; we bless you in the name

of God; we bless you all!"

The Rabbi delivered a lengthy and quite eloquent discourse in English upon the marriage relation, and spoke particularly of this being the first time that this temple had been used for this purpose. At the conclusion of the address the Rabbi then took one of the goblets of wine, and delivered the marriage benediction in Hebrew. He then handed the goblet to the groom, who drank from it, and to the bride who did likewise.

The Rabbi asked each if they were willing to enter in the holy bonds of matrimony. Receiving an affirmative answer from each, he directed them to clasp their hands as an outward sign of their inward resolve. Each then repeated the following words:

The groom repeated over after the Rabbi, "I, Gates Thalheimer, take thee, Jennie Sterns, in the presence of God, and in the presence of those here assembled, to be my lawful wedded wife, and I promise to be unto thee a good and faithful husband. Thou shalt henceforth be called by my name, and I will love, honor and cherish thee in good and evil days, in health and in sickness, and I will maintain thee according to the means which it shall please God to bless me. Thy joy shall be my joy, thy sorrow shall be my sorrow, and thereunto I plight my troth."

The bride said, "I Jenny Stern, take thee, Gates Thalheimer, in the presence of God, and in the presence of these witnesses here assembled, to be my lawful wedded hus-

band, and I promise to be unto thee a true and faithful wife. I will be called by thy name, and I will love, obey and cherish thee in good and in evil days, in health and in sickness, in prosperity and in adversity thy joy shall be my joy, thy sorrow shall be my sorrow, and thereunto I plight thee my troth."

The bridegroom placed a ring upon the bride's forefinger, saying as he did so, in Hebrew, after the Rabbi: "Herewith art thou sanctified unto me by this ring, according to the law of Moses and of Israel."

The Rabbi handed them another goblet of wine from which they both drank. The two goblets represented the sweet and bitter of life.

The Rabbi then said: "By virtue of my office I declare the matrimonial bonds to be concluded between Gates Thalheimer and Jenny Stern, who shall henceforth be called Mrs. Thalheimer, according to the rites and ceremonies customary in Israel, and according to the laws of the country and of this State of Ohio, and of the United States of America."

He pronounced a lengthy benediction in Hebrew and the ceremony was ended by the Vice President of the Congregation --Mr. Goldsmith--presenting the bride with a Bible.

The bridal party and the entire concourse in the church repaired to German Hall, where a splendid supper was spread garnished with a variety of wine. After supper telegrams conveying congratulations from friends in various

parts of the country, were read.

Toasts were read and responded to by Dr. Eger, General Sherwood, and Mr. Jacob Landman. The latter gentleman made a very facetious speech, badgering the young bachelors of Toledo about allowing young men from abroad to come here and take away their charmers.

The tables were cleared away and a ball organized, at which ~~the~~ young folks enjoyed themselves heartily for some hours.

The bride and groom returned to the house of the father of the former on Ontario street and left to-day for Fort Wayne, whither they were accompanied by a number of young friends, who go to attend the dedication of a new temple there.

The following is a partial list of the elegant and costly bridal presents:

Set of fine furniture from the bride's father.

Piano--William Stern, uncle of the bride.

Glassware and china--Henry Stern, uncle of the bride.

Music stand--Miss Stein.

Spoons--Mr. and Mrs. Herman

China and Chamber set--Mr. and Mrs. Lichtenauer.

Fruit stand--J. Roemer.

Lamp--L. Franc.

Bronze figure--Mr. and Mrs. L. Kraus

Spoons--Mr. and Mrs. Eppstein.

Solid silver tea set--employees of the groom, Syracuse.

Fish spoons--Joseph Wiesman
 Nut set--L.M. Cohn
 Fruit dish--Mr. J. Lauferty, Fort Wayne.
 Butter dish--Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Landman.
 Pickle stand--Mr. and Mrs. J. Lasalle.
 Flower holder--J. Kraus.
 Lace tidies--Mr. and Mrs. A. Graff.
 Fancy work--Misses Hine.
 Musical album--Mr. and Mrs. Roth.
 Silver match-safe--Mr. and Mrs. Goldsmith.
 Card basket--Miss Goldsmith.
 Flower stand--C.W. Roemer.
 Bouquet holders--Mr. and Mrs. Weinberger.
 Bouquet holders--Mr. and Mrs. J. Rosenthal.
 Toilet set--Mr. Manheimer.
 Pickle castor--Sam Stettiner.
 Nut-Sets--Mr. and Mrs. Stetheimer.
 Gravy spoon--Mr. and Mrs. A. Feiss.
 Silver Molasses Pitcher--A.S. Cohn.
 Gravy-Set--B. Schwartz.
 Fish Spoon--Mrs. Henry Heiner.
 Fish Knife--Herve Bros.
 Camp Chairs--M.J. Lauferty.
 Castor--Mr. and Mrs. Kahn.
 China Set--M. Fieldburg.
 Butter dish--Mr. and Mrs. Loeb.
 Sardine Box--M. Gitzky.

Fancy Work--Mrs. Black.

" " --Lulu Lauferty.

" " --Zett Ladman

Chromo--J.J. Judd.

Basket--Blanch Laufelt.

Napkins--Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Steifel.

Fancy Work--Dora Stern.

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING¹

Dr. B. Eger, a Hebrew Rabbi
in a Unitarian Pulpit

A Sermon Preached in the Unitarian
Church, Toledo, on Sabbath Even-
ing, January 30, 1876.

A large Congregation was gathered at the Unitarian Church last night to listen to the distinguished speaker. Rev. Charles Cravens opened the service by the reading of an appropriate hymn, after which the Rabbi made the following

PRAYER

Eternal Fountain of Light, Source of all knowledge and wisdom. By the power of our mental capacities it is that we aim to rise up unto Thee, our Superior Governor and Leader. With our feet on earth, our better part, our soul rises up to Heaven. What is it we may ask for best? Our life on earth is but transcient, and even if amassed, we must leave all behind us. We ask for knowledge and understanding, for an enlarged mind, that we may be able to comprehend and understand for what purpose our existence on earth has been vouchsafed unto us. O, teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts to wisdom. There lies the great book of nature opened before us, engraven by the divine finger, it speaks to us by smiles and tears, by sunshine and rain, by storm and calm, by passion and amiability. Each tree and each shrub teaches us a lesson, they teach us that there is a resur-

¹Reprinted from the Toledo Blade, January 31, 1876.

rection, and if there is a resurrection, there is surely a ruling God. Though man is but shortsighted, though our wisdom, our knowledge, and our understanding is but limited and are not able to grasp the great ruling spirit that gives us life and substance. Thee, O Spirit Divine, Thee whom we call God, who hast all so wisely ordained, so harmoniously formed, who hast allotted both to the planet and to the sand corm their respective places in the wide universe. Unto Thee invisible power, unto Thee invisible God, we direct our supplications because we feel our weakness, and as by raising our thoughts, by our endeavors to let our pure imaginations draw near toward the image primitive spirit, we gain courage, we feel refreshed and thus fortified by the process which we call prayers and devotions; we feel relieved, we feel more easy, and say we are edified. Almighty and Omniscient, thus our spirit rises on the pinions of devotion; oh, may we be strong enough to improve our knowledge in the right direction, that our life be a useful one, that, be it short or long, it may procure satisfaction, that inner satisfaction which we call happiness; may our actions be always performed in such a manner that they will be pleasant, satisfactory and beneficial to our fellow-men. O, that the illumining lights of knowledge and reason may thus influence the human race and expand its sheltering wings over suffering humanity, to be a refuge to those whom they cover, that none need be afraid of the night, darkness and superstition, nor of the destructive heat of persecution, nor of the plague of the consuming fire

of fanaticism.

It is Thou, great and immense fountain, head of all life and production, who endowest man with knowledge, and teachest mortals understanding and discernment, grant it unto all Thy human children that each may draw nearer to each other in benevolence, in good will and fraternity, when vice will vanish and virtue triumph, when all will proclaim Thee Ruler of the Universe, Jehovah, the one God eternal truth. Amen!

MY DEAR BRETHERN AND SISTERS--The text chosen to serve us as a starting point for our present instructive lesson is to be found in the iii. chap. of the Prophet Malachi, and thereof the sixth verse, which runs thus:

"For I am the Eternal, I change not."

Before entering upon the exposition of these words, I think it will not be out of place to offer a few remarks concerning my very appearance here. This is a place of worship of professing Christians, and before them stands a Jewish Rabbi to instruct them about Divinity. Although it must be admitted that the Jews were the first who believed in a true God, and propounded that doctrine; and the teachings of their prophets will serve all persons who believe in a living God as a basis of their religious doctrine; yet half a century ago such an occurrence would have been thought to be impossible, impossible for a Christian congregation to invite a Jewish Divine to preach in their church, because people had not advanced thus far in their liberal ideas, and even had

such an invitation been tendered, it is doubtful whether it would have been accepted; not that Jewish Rabbis at that period considered it to be sinful or unbecoming to address a congregation of Christians. Certainly not. The Rabbis know their scriptures but too well; they also, half a century ago, knew that the Prophet Malachi plainly stated that there is a common brotherhood among men, when words are able to be the expositors of the mind. Malachi teaches: "Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us?"

But let me tell you why Rabbis would have hesitated. Because they feared, had they appeared in public and rendered a rational explanation of Scripture passages, they might have been attacked and persecuted by a fanatic mob.

Circumstances, however, have changed since. People now-a-days will not be governed or tyrannized over any more by bigots; there is something more supreme that holds sway at present over the minds and the consciences of men; it is the spirit of the times; it is progress; it is the awakening of knowledge, enlightenment; they teach us to turn our backs to persecution, and embrace in its stead brotherly love. When men began to build up a tower with its top to reach into Heaven, to make a name for themselves, then God confounded their language that they did not understand one another. Thus, it seems, that men raised a tower, not for the honor of God but to make a name for themselves, that their own fame might reach as high as Heaven; making war, as it were, against the Deity, but the structures of men will not be

able to stand, yes, they cannot be erected at all, when man wants to build up against fixed and immutable laws, when the very foundation is but sand. Man may build, but God pulls down; as the Psalmist says: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."

Thus it is with the several religious systems. They resemble "the building of the tower of Babel." As it stands to reason that there is a certain ruling power in the universe, and though we cannot fathom it, that power must be a unit, and be universal, and rule that universe by certain natural and immutable laws. Then came men and set up their own systems; they created angels and devils, heaven, and hell and purgatory, and a host of other theatrical paraphernalia; yes, they erected idols in some shape or another, and said:

"These be thy Gods, Oh, Israel! which brought thee out of the land of Egypt."

They ranted the air with such and similar expressions, telling the people--you are short-sighted, you are blind; you are surrounded by Egyptian darkness; you must believe as we tell you, though you may have brain enough to know, that our doctrine teaches an impossibility; yet if you believe our doctrine, then you will be saved; that is, you will be happy forever.

History has proved sufficiently that the rack, the stake, the sword, and tortures innumerable had to lend a helping hand to set up such idolatrous doctrines, and indeed,

blew out for a time the light of humanity. But time, the thread whereof eternity is woven, will work wonders; and the spirit of the times--the real Messiah--the eternal divine breath; the spirit of wisdom and understanding; the spirit of counsel and perseverance will pervade all; that is the time when the spirit of knowledge and reason will form the fear of God in man. That spirit has already laid hold upon the present generation, and the wheel of progress and enlightenment rolls on with irresistible velocity; no arm is mighty enough to grasp a spoke of that wheel, and neither infallibility, nor revivals, nor camp meetings, nor the whinings and wailings of crusading women will stop it. The schools must be the churches, and all churches that do not become schools will sooner or later, lose their influence upon the people. A great portion of those who still flock to places of worship (perhaps one-half of their number) do not believe in the doctrines that are upheld by the rest of the churches. The result under these circumstances, will be inevitable, and as extremes always bend to extremes, people will not believe anything at all, and they become atheists.

There we have the Babel of those who intend to build up human doctrines against the eternal governing power of the universal spirit that rules, rules by unchangeable eternal laws, who will unravel the great jumble, will unravel it by the most natural and simple means, by the strength of an expanded human mind. And that human mind in men must be a divine gift, since it is admitted on all sides, that the human

mind can reach up to the stars, can fathom the depths of the earth, can penetrate thus far, whereunto the body can never attempt to advance. There will be no Babel, the prediction of Zephaniah will come to pass:

"For then will I turn to the people a pure language that they may call upon the name of the Eternal, to serve him with one consent."

The time must come when all narrow-mindedness must give way, when upon the debris of that Babel will arise the amelioration of mankind, and when the wide globe will thus far resemble a paradise, as bigotry and fanaticism and tyranny must vanish, when the great jubilee of all jubilees will be reached, when it will be known that there is but one Architect, and we, all men, without distinction, are builders to assist in the great work, a great educational work; and the accomplishment thereof is reached when general knowledge will be able to comprehend that there is but one God and one humanity.

You, my friends, the congregation, who have honored me by an invitation, through your pastor, to address you on this occasion, you, and the entire sect you represent, have adopted the path that will surely bring about the unification of mankind and the acknowledgment of a unique supreme power, a power that is superior to matter, you are that sect of Christians, who nearest approached the ideas which ever animated God's ancient people; you rejected the idea of a trinity or a duality. Moreover, you agree with us in the doc-

trine of sin and atonement; and last, not least, you agree with us that redemption is implanted in our own consciences, and our mind is able to grasp it, but a belief in the dicta of a church can not redeem the human race.

The Great Rabbi, Jesus of Nazareth, never propounded the doctrines now upheld by the Christian Church, which, as is sufficiently known, are more the ordinances of the Councils; and Christianity altogether is more Paulism, for Paul teaches just the reverse of what Jesus propounded. Everyone versed in the New Testament knows such to be the truth.

My task, however, is not to convert Christians.

Christianity has also a certain mission to fulfill among mankind. Perhaps the inscrutable plans of Providence required the doctrines of Christianity to step between Judaism and Heathenism, and when that mission is accomplished, then Christianity has fulfilled the behests of Providence. The Christian sects of Unitarians and Universalists are in themselves a proof of that assertion; and the doctrine of trinity and the dogmas adherent to it, will not be able to prevail if Providence has otherwise willed it. Christianity has worked, no doubt, great good in this world, but it also is answerable for great wrongs. Let us hope, however, that it is and will remain of the past, never more to occur in the future. All honor to Christianity for the good it has accomplished. Let us forget and forgive the wrong it has wrought, and may it learn to practice henceforth the cardinal virtue of tolerance toward every child of the universal God.

There exists, however, a certain class of people who ridicule religion altogether, who, in plain language tell us, "there is no God." It is not the Jewish religion that caused people to become skeptics, it was the very doctrine of trinity, first and foremost that did it, it was the doctrine of the fall of man, it was also the doctrine of the vicarious atonements. Yea, and in modern times the promulgation of human infallibility on the one hand and bigoted puritanism on the other hand which put fuel to the unholy flame of atheism. Judaism, it must be confessed, was surrounded by many ceremonies, which merely served as an outward appliance to awaken the mind of man; pure Judaism will stand, if even all ceremonies have vanished. Have not modern Jews dispensed with many cumbersome ceremonies. Judaism even goes farther, and says when the whole human race will have advanced thus far and will acknowledge one universal spiritual God in unity, one invisible and indivisible and irresistible eternal force, then all ceremonies will be abrogated and the sublime moral code will rule all men. Pure Judaism is free from all mysteries, is free, open to every rational mind, it is self-evident, it is liberal and progressive, it is a religion of salvation and not one of damnation, it is humane, tolerant, and universal. It is a rock and will stand firm against modern science, criticism and philosophy, because its dogmas are in harmony with progress and development.

Therefore, the religion of the future must be based

upon, and must be in full harmony with universal liberty, equality, justice, and charity.

Having thus prepared a solid basis upon which a religion of truth must take its stand, and having not the slightest doubt that every "rational" listener, will thus far coincide with me, I will endeavor to advance some proof that there is a God indeed, and that our fellow men who deny God, well meaning as they perhaps may be, still that they are mistaken. They will admit that they cannot prove that there is no God. What they advance are merely surmises; let us endeavor to meet them, for there is more rational proof of the existence of a God than for the denial of Him.

"For I am the Eternal; I change not." Malachi was the last of the Prophets, and his words close the books of the old canon. A sufficient proof that he instructed in the same spirit and manner as Moses did, although he lived just about a thousand years after him, are the very words uttered by him when but two more sentences that escaped his lips terminated all prophetic predictions of the Israelites. He said: "Remember ye the law of Moses, my servant, which I commanded unto him for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments."

Then from the first to the last of the prophets, during an interval of a thousand years, runs the doctrine: "For

I am the Eternal; I change not." And now, after an interval of more than two thousand years since the mouth of prophecy had been silent all together, the descendants of that people to whom the prophecy was addressed, still believe in and adhere to an unchangeable eternity.

One of the principal arguments adduced by those who deny the existence of God is that matter always existed, and that life and force emanate from matter and that matter will exist forever.

Such is but merely a gratuitous assumption. It cannot be proved that it was indeed so, since it must be admitted that man is a later product than the several species of living creatures, and hence, if man was no witness of the formation of matter, but sets up such a doctrine now, the doctrine that there is an immutable God deserves as much credence as the atheistical doctrine of an all sufficient materialism.

Now science asserts that this earth was one mass of mist before it turned into a concrete substance.

If that be so, it is rather a proof in favor of those who maintain the existence of a God, for if such a colossal body of vapor can thus harden as to become that gigantic terrestrial abode for millions of human beings and innumerable other living creatures, and able to supply the wants of all of them, reason must admit, every thinking mind must chime in with it, that it cannot be chance that called forth that tremendous monument, this globe, and that the hidden

power we are as yet unable to fathom, develops everything according to fixed and unalterable laws. If that unsearchable power was potent to form this earth and the fulness thereof from a body of mist, and cause it to revolve during a certain and fixed space of time around its own axis, and also during a large, certain, and fixed space of time around the sun, then that power must have been equally potent to produce that body of mist from a former substance, and that again from a more primitive substance, and thus we may say at once, who is able to define what primary matter was, and if there was some explanation to that effect, then again it may be asked to give us a definition of the original primitive atom. What is atomic philosophy able to prove? When we ask for proof we generally receive the reply, science is still in its childhood. Well, science must be a very forward child to deny a God, or what is the same, to say that matter is superior to force, that force is subject to matter.

Let me quote here the words of the great German poet Schiller, who was and is acknowledged to have been a very liberal minded man. In his excellent dramatical work "Don Carlos," the Marquis de Poma, a character, it is generally asserted, wherein Schiller has portrayed his own character, is made to say to the king, Philip II of Spain, the following sentence: (It is rendered into English as literally as possible, but it must remain far behind the grandeur of the original, still it is strong enough to serve as a quotation.) The Marquis says:

"Look around in His (God's) magnificent nature. It is founded on freedom--and how rich it is through freedom! He, the Great Creator, throws into a dew drop the worm, and even suffers discretion to take delight in the lifeless space of putrefaction--your creation, how narrow and poor! The rustling of a leaf terrifies you, who is known as a Lord in Christendom--you have to tremble in sight of every virtue. He, disinclined to interrupt the inspiring phenomenon of freedom--rather suffers the terrible host of mischief to rage in his universe. Him, the performer, no one is able to perceive, modestly has He enveloped himself in eternal laws. They are that which the free-thinker may behold, but not Him. Wherefore, O God, he exclaims, the world is all sufficient in itself. And no Christian devotion has ever given vent to a more sincere devotion of Him than this free-thinker in his blasphemy."

"Wherefore, O God?" says also the atheist of the present generation, "the world is all sufficient in itself." Matter is eternal and matter rules force. The Deist, however, says the reverse. Force rules matter and force is eternal; matter is concrete but force is abstract; matter is bodily but force is spiritual, and it is a spiritual force which is eternal; it is that force philosophers cannot grasp; it is that force which has no beginning, and it is that force again which has no end, which will endure forever. It is that force which is the primitive cause of all existence; that force governs the whole universe, in unchangeable; that

force is that which we call God, and that God is enveloped in eternal laws. Matter is changeable, and though matter cannot be annihilated, yet it changes its form.

As force is formless, it cannot change its form, and as force emanates from the primitive, eternal force, and this eternal force is the ruling and supporting power of the universe, this force is the supremest; it is the invisible governor of the universe; it is God; it is the invisible, supreme.

"For I am the Eternal; I change not," the atheist says. "Discipline governs the world." That is true. The discipline of eternal laws governs nature. And the discipline of the laws established among human society, governs the human race, and the civilized nations are governed by laws that are founded upon the decalogue.

An atheistic question is also, "Whereunto has God retired since he created the universe?" If there were not a supreme power to uphold the universe by eternal laws, there could be no universe, but as there is a universe, there must be an omnipotent power that upholds the immense structure, and the very fact that eternal laws do uphold it, and as far as our limited comprehension goes, did uphold it for at least thousands of years, is as grand an idea, as the creation itself.

Atheists deny the existence of a spirituality; they deny it, but it is their mere assertion, they have no proofs to substantiate it. Deists regard the dream as a hint of

a spiritual life. When we are asleep our senses are entirely at rest, none are active; our physical eye sees not, our physical ear hears not, even if somebody appeared before the one or intimated to the other. Yet the dream causes us to behold objects, which are not there, and to hear sounds that are not uttered, and how vivid, how real and active this spiritual perception, we find confirmed by the prostration we experience when awakening from lively dreams.

We could go a step further and assert that dreams have often pointed to actual occurrences, that had taken place, and thus vivid was the dream, though the action was very distant, that it led to the discovery of murderers, and the perpetrators of other crimes. Even our forebodings are a proof of a spiritual force we are unable to control.

Our own mind, the supremest gift man is endowed with: reason, points to the existence of God. Whilst all other living creatures are apportioned with an instinct, which they are made to follow, and are unable to deviate therefrom; birds have always to build their nests in the same style, the beavers their dams, the bees their hives, and so on; man is gifted with a free will; man has invented numerous improvements in the construction of his dwellings, and it is the expanded mind of man that has greatly contributed to improve nature. Man has redeemed swamps and morasses, has fertilized wilds and deserts; man is able to combat against the elements, brings about improvements; his mind is able to overcome the obstacles of rocks and mountains; yea, man is

even able to arrest the thunder bolt and speak by the sparks of lightning. If reason in man is able to accomplish all this, reason was imparted to man to become the instrument of primary power, and thus cause, by the instrumentality of man, that art may assist nature to bring about progress and development. If we attentively behold nature, we behold life, and where is there not life to be met with? And, if really it is thus, a deity, an enlivening force has breathed into it the breath of life; eternal laws have fixed it thus, and eternal laws are an everlasting and immutable eternity, and an immutable eternity transformed into a biblical phrase is expressed by the text, "For I am the Eternal, I change not."

Atheism is desirous to know whether God is in the universe or the universe is in God--or, as the universe consists of matter, whether God is outside the universe and thus rules it? Who is able to define what the universe really is, or where the universe has its limits! Have the wisest of the wise ever been able to tell the boundaries thereof? Must not the most exalted scholar confess to the immensity of the universe? How then dare the atheist boldly step forward to ask such a question? There is a hidden force that upholds that universe. That force must at least be as immense as the endless universe, and the minds of atheists are unable to cope with or to grasp that omnipotent and everlasting force.

Which is the greatest, the sublimest object for the spirit that thinks, feels and lives within us? Is it the

heavens with its glittering stars? Is it the earth with its buds, blossoms and fruit? Is it the spirit itself with its superior flight, its never ceasing anxiety? No, it is the invisible, unique force, generally called God. When the soul soars aloft upon the pinions of devotion from one elliptic to another, then it descends again weary, its vision obscured, lost in devotion, imagining as if to tarry before the throne of God, whom no eye ever saw, no spirit ever penetrated. There are but two things we may make our chief thought. God, and the world. Although both these conceptions seem to be intimately related and cannot be imagined without that relation, still they are quite different and opposed to each other. The world is the object visible, the Deity invisible. The world is the universe--an entirety, consisting of numberless parts. Language is unable to describe it; the mind is paralyzed to count it.

The Deity is still a more unmeasurable entirety, comprising all, but still one and unique, indivisible, eternal, unchangeable throughout--always one, the same one. The world means space; it fills all space. God fills no space but still is wheresoever there is space; He is the space of the world, but the world is not His space. As the prophet Isaiah expresses it: "The heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool; where is the house ye will build unto me, and where is the place of my rest?" Moreover, the world is an abundance of forms, shapes, appearances; the Deity is formless, shapeless, invisible.

The world is a child of time, changeable; the Deity is the eternal being, without beginning, without end, unchangeable. The world is dependent--one part depends upon the other, but all depends upon the Deity. God is independent, self existent, being the interminable cause of all life and existence, the cause of all production and the support of the universe. Know where to reach for Him, where to find Him. God, the unchangeable eternity, is superior, above the world. Everthing points to Him, the entire nature --the world proclaims Him; the blade of grass and the colossal sun; wherever you direct your eye, whether above or below, everything proves there is a power divine, unchangeable and impenetrable.

There are forces in nature. We know what they are, yet we cannot penetrate nor explain them. We know that the earth possesses the power of attraction, that every subject gravitates toward its center. We cannot see this attractive power, and even if we were able to dive into the depth, to reach the very center, even then we would be unable to perceive that power. Does it not now speak to reason that this attractive power that rules all the celestial bodies must have been imparted unto them by a more supreme power, for this attractive power it is that keeps them at the proper distance from each other, else they would not remain in their respective spheres. Must then, this unfathomable central power, wherein the whole universe is centered, not be the very supreme force wherefrom human reason is unable to lift

the veil but must still confess that no moral, no changeable creature is able to approach immutable eternity, and immutable eternity is the ruling force of the world.

These are considerations which can fairly be thrown in the scale to outweigh the atheistic onslaught against the Deity.

Deism is able to stand against Atheism. Pure Deism, not Theism, for the moment we speak of a God in connection with revelation, then it will depend what construction will be put upon revelation. Reasonable revelation may even go hand in hand with Deism; a reasonable revelation must be one supported by the rules of nature, and not one that does not harmonize with nature, for we must submit to the immutable laws of nature.

Religion of reason is sure to govern the world. A human being cannot be a God. A man ever so wise, ever so good, ever so liberal must not be deified.

A man may be honored and respected, whilst he is yet alive; you may cherish his memory, when he is no more.

It was a great mistake to make of Jesus of Nazareth a God, he would surely have been acknowledged by the whole world as a great man, a martyr to liberty and reform, had he not been dragged down to pass as a God. He will surely rise, when he will no more be deified. It has been attempted to prove his divinity by the Old Testament, it is a very easy matter to show that the several scriptural references are wrongly translated and interpreted. It is but by coercive

means that the trinity can be upheld yet, although slowly but surely the belief in a man crucified to be a God, is fast losing ground, and so much is sure, orthodox Christianity is doomed, dogmatical, but not ethical Christianity.

The Unitarians, who see in Jesus but their teacher, have become the pioneers to prepare the way, to be a link in the great chain of circumstances to assist and bring about the knowledge of an independent Deismus.

Trinity, by its teachings, has created a changeable deity. God, to suit the purpose, had in spirit (as expressed by the Holy Ghost) come down to one of the daughters of man to be her child and be a human being, subject to all incidents men are heir to, to the age of 33 years, and be entirely a God again after that time. Thus God must have subjected himself to be changeable. But God, a perfect eternity is immutable. "For I am Eternal; I change not." What is changeable once will change at other times, and who can have the least dependence in a changeable being? Atheists, who set up materialism as the sublimest thing, and claim for it an eternity, but admit at the same time that change is the very essence of matter, stand upon the same footing as those who believe in a trinity. There can not be an eternity without immutability. Deism, however, is able to say: "For I am Eternal; I change not."

Deism must be the mighty tie that will cement the whole human race into one unit, as one unite force rules us

all. When the supremest law, the great moral code will govern us all; the immutable and eternal laws, that have ruled, still rule and ever will rule the whole universe.

May a calm and impassionate knowledge thus be the true spiritual Redeemer of all mankind. Amen.

Appendix D: BURIALS IN LOT 300, THE EARLY BURIAL
PLOT AT EAGLE POINT CEMETERY.¹

Jacob Levi	Mannette Loeb
Justin Altschul	E. Libbie Goldberg
Lillie Hoffman	J.G.
Rebecca S. Altschul	Solomon Rosenblush
Clayton Schreiber	Abraham VanLewmen
Ada Zanville	Benard Heller
Levi Reichman	Nettie Sohn
Libbie Reuben	Louisa Topper
Pauline Eppstein	Edwin Altschul
Caroline Mendelsohn	Baby Friedman
Joseph Topper	Baby Berlin
Hannah Zimmerman	Minnie Brenner
Tiny Shapird	Ida Isaacson
Abraham Friedman	Francis Reuben
Otto Tyroler	Jacob Frank
Hannah Cuttner	Flora Eppstein
I.A. Silverman	Levi Pearlstein
Sali Tannenbaum	Anna Starsky
Isadore Berkowitz	Yetta Less

¹The cemetery records are now maintained by Marshall Isenberg. This list does not represent all the early burials. Some families, like the Gitskeys, had their own plots.

Amelia Freidman	Rachel Brockel
Rachel Jacobson	A. Riess
Fradal Gershman	Fannie Steinberg
Joseph Wolf	Isaac Levi
Abraham Hirshfield	Louis Powder
Lena Rosenzweig	Sarah Sakolsky
Charles Holt	Hattie Friedman
Frank Wiener	Helen Friedman
Showel Powder	Arthur Roth
Isaac Fenberg	Isaac Sandler
Simon Fieyer	L.L. Isenberg
Lucille Himelhoch	Anna Hirshfield
Abraham Blankenstein	Louis Holt
Charles Altschul	Sarah Wiener
Baby Rosenfield	Yetta Powder
Minnie Damraur	Bennie Levine
Frieda Brenner	Clara Zuch

Appendix E: MEMBERS OF CONGREGATION SHOMER EMUNIM
AT THE TIME OF ITS REORGANIZATION IN
JUNE, 1885¹

G. Bloch	Jos. Roth	S.W. Sherman
Leopold Franc	Vincent Horwitz	L. Haas
J. Lasalle	Henry Stern	J. Haas
Max M. Eppstein	S. Dallet	R. Landman
N.L. Rice	Louis Hexter	
E. Herskowitz	M. Billstein	
Dr. J. Hubert	L. Gitskey	
E.J. Cohn	Henry Stettiner	
J.A. Hamly	J.R. Hesslein	
M. Goldman	Isaac Landman	
S.H. Frank	H. Winberger	
E. Goldman	Fred Feiss	
Julius Mack	William Stern	
Adolph Feiss	A.S. Cohn	
H. Thorner	J. Herskowitz	
S. Wolff	Mrs. J. Kraus	
H.D. Cohn	<u>Young men who donated</u>	
M. Mendelsohn	N. Kaufmann	
J. Friedman	G. Kohn	
J. Simon	E. Kaufman	

¹American Israelite, June 19, 1885, 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

There are three works which have helped to form the conceptual framework for this study and which should be mentioned first. They are Proceedings of the Conference on the Writing of Regional History with Special Emphasis on Religious and Ethnic Groups, Cleveland, December 1, 1955 (Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1956); Lloyd P. Gartner, "A History of North American Jewish Communities: A Field for the Jewish Historian," Jewish Journal of Sociology, July, 1965; and Rabbi Jacob Rader Marcus's practical little handbook How to Write the History of an American Jewish Community (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1964).

Basic Sources

Manuscripts and other published material

A search of the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati and correspondence with the American Jewish Historical Society in Waltham, Massachusetts, have turned up very little manuscript material which pertains to Toledo in the nineteenth century. There are some isolated papers--genealogies of the Loveman-Black families, of the Fechheimers, and some documents and deeds pertaining to Charles K. Friedman, to the family of Isaac Levison, and to the incorporation of Shomer Emunim. There are a few scattered items pertaining to Rabbi Browne in Toledo, but on the whole Toledoans have

not made much use of the Archives as a depository of local material.

Locally, synagogue records do not exist for the early period. Documents filed at the Temple--largely deeds and other legal papers--begin with the mortgage papers for the Tenth Street Temple in 1888. This lack of congregation records is reflected in the anniversary booklets issued by each congregation: B'nai Israel calls its booklet "a sparse history" and says that "most of such history died with the men who lived it." As for personal family documents, the following have been valuable: Landman papers and clippings in the possession of Mrs. Robert Zimmerman; Jacobson and Levison family genealogies and history in the possession of Howard Jacobson; Eagle Point cemetery records and family memorabilia in the possession of Marshall Isenberg; and the files of clippings and other materials from the families of Howard Koch and Louise Kasle Greenson. Most of the latter material, which is very rich, applies to the twentieth century. This is true also of Leah Ginsburg Epstein's excellent typewritten memoir.

The scrapbook collections of the Toledo-Lucas County Public Library have frequently been helpful, supplying a program for a concert by Sada (Sadie Wertheimer), photographs, maps of the city, and other valuable material. The library is custodian of the scrapbooks compiled by Clark Waggoner, historian and one-time editor of the Commercial, and by Congressman Byron Ritchie. Both collections are

made up largely of newspaper clippings; Waggoner's shows the broader interest, Ritchie's is largely political.

The decennial census is available on microfilm in the Toledo Public Library and has proved a most valuable source, although sometimes it is difficult or impossible to read. The library also has the handwritten minute book of the Toledo Police and Health Board from July 2, 1884 to April 27, 1894.

The Constitution und Nebengetsetze der /Achduth Vesolem⁷, is the title given to the minute book of the Fort Wayne congregation (the name is in Hebrew in the original), a photocopy of which is now in the Fort Wayne public library. It was valuable as an additional verification of Mayer Eppstein's role in that congregation.

And finally, tombstones in the city's three Jewish cemeteries--Eagle Point, Woodlawn, and Beth Shalom--have helped to define elusive family relationships, as well as dates of birth and death and even, sometimes, country of origin. In the very early years Jewish burials were in Forest Cemetery.

Newspapers

In the virtual absence of documents, both institutional and personal, newspapers have proved to be the core of this study. The Toledo Blade for the years 1835 to 1895 was first a weekly, then a tri-weekly, and, beginning in April, 1848, a daily. It has proved both consistent and generally reliable with respect to local news. When politics

becomes a part of the story, the Blade must be treated much more skeptically and relied on less. During certain periods, particularly the middle 1870's, the Toledo Commercial provides a reliable alternative and sometimes a corrective to the Blade. The News, the Bee (and after 1903 the News-Bee), the Times and occasional copies of the Sunday Journal have proved useful when they were available. A Toledo paper which has been largely neglected by historians is the free religious journal, The Index, published in the city from 1870 to 1873. The Index was well-edited and filled the holes in its national columns with local stories. Another special local paper was The Ballot Box which began publication in 1876 as an organ of the Women's Suffrage Association. The German paper Die Express, founded and for a time edited by German Jews, was a valuable source. The Toledo Jewish News, although founded in 1952, has been of occasional help. Its predecessors, the Toledo Israelite and the Toledo Jewish Times have not been collected. Isolated copies turn up from time to time. There is one copy of the Toledo Israelite (a special patriotic issue, September 7, 1918) in the Ohio State Historical Society library in Columbus.

The Anglo-Jewish press, particularly the American Israelite (Cincinnati) has made it possible to recover details of Jewish life in Toledo that might otherwise have been lost. The Israelite published the correspondence of Max Eppstein on a regular basis over a period of almost twenty years. The Jewish Messenger (New York) is a well-

edited paper but one which reflected chiefly the New York area and the nation's largest Jewish centers. Mention of Toledo occurs only very rarely in the Messenger. Also of some value were the Occident (Philadelphia), Die Deborah, German counterpart of the Israelite, and the Reform Advocate (Chicago) which devoted an entire issue to the Jews of Toledo on June 20, 1908. A later issue of the Reform Advocate (no date: probably 1915) tells of the Jews of Sandusky, Ohio, some of whom were members of Toledo congregations.

The Fort Wayne (Indiana) Journal and the Fort Wayne Sentinel were helpful with problems concerning the Eppsteins particularly. Occasional reference was made to the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune. A single issue of William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator contained a letter from a group of Germans in Toledo.

Interviews

Personal interviews are extremely helpful in a study of this type, not so much because they contribute specific details, although they sometimes do that also, but because they reveal attitudes difficult to discover in any other way. The following people have contributed to this study through personal interviews: Rabbi Morton Goldberg, Rabbi Leon Feuer, Rabbi Allen Freehling, Daisy Van Noorden, Isadore Singer, Harold Koch, Howard Jacobson, Marshall Isenberg, William Hirsch, Leah Ginsburg Epstein, Mirah Ziegler Epstein, Jane Zimmerman, Alice Levey, Bertha and Sidney Dryfus, Louise Kasle Greenson, and Lewis Osterman. In addition,

several people were contacted by telephone: Helen Goldman, Bloehma Geleerd, Seymour Rothman, and Harry Lammers. Correspondence with Julia Pink Still of Plainview, Texas, great granddaughter of John and Emma Lipman, has proved valuable.

Other primary materials in print

The most useful published materials for the purposes of this study have been the Toledo City Directories for the years 1858 to 1895. Printed census materials, and particularly the Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, have been consulted.

Published reminiscences have also been an important source of information. Jesup W. Scott's "Recollections" appear in H.S. Knapp, History of the Maumee Valley (Toledo: 1877). Isaac Mayer Wise's memories of his early years in America were collected and edited by David Philipson under the title Reminiscences (Cincinnati: Leo Wise and Company, 1901). Probably the most valuable recollections were those which Guido Marx wove into the section entitled "The German Element" for Clark Waggoner's mammoth History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio (New York and Toledo: Munsell and Company, 1888).

Alexander Black's Aphorisms and Opinions on Current Events for the Past Twenty Years (published privately, 1905) is important for the insight it gives into the political and religious philosophy of one of Toledo's leading Jews. The Papers of the Jewish Women's Conference Held at Chicago, September 4, 5, 6, 7, 1893 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Pub-

lication Society of America, 1894) provide an interesting social document for the women's movement and its representatives in Toledo, one of whom attended the conference.

Printed volumes of the Mayor's Annual Message and Reports of the Police and Fire Department were important in the case of William Kraus and of Guido Marx. The Atlas of the City of Toledo (Philadelphia: G.M. Hopkins, 1891) provided detailed ward maps, but streets were not numbered and it was not possible to pinpoint specific residences.

Early issues of the American Jewish Year Book (Philadelphia: annual from 1900-1901) were a source for names of Toledo Jews which could then be checked against the Directories. Another source of Jewish names was the memorial booklet, After 100 Years: A Sparse History of Temple B'nai Israel (Toledo: 1970), because it reprinted the members of the congregation as of December, 1913. Similarly, A 75-Year History of Congregation B'nai Jacob, although it begins its own history fifteen years too late, provides some Jewish identifications.

Secondary Sources

European background and Jewish immigration

The best all-around study of the European background of American immigration is still Marcus Lee Hanson, The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940). Much important work has been done on the German Jew in America as illustrated by Rudolf Glanz's compre-

hensive annotated bibliography entitled The German Jews in America (Cincinnati and New York: Hebrew Union College Press and KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1969). Glanz's own work in this field is definitive and he has collected much of it in the newly issued Studies in Judaica Americana (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1970). Among the shorter pieces reproduced in this single volume are "German-Jewish Names in America," and "Early Jewish Peddling in America." "Source Material on Jewish Immigration," includes a number of first-hand accounts, and Glanz's study of "Jews in Relation to the Cultural Milieu of the Germans in America Up to the Eighteen-Eighties," is comprehensive and important. Rudof Glanz has also studied Italian Jews in a volume entitled Jew and Italian: Historic Group Relations and the New Immigration, 1881-1924 (New York: Shulsinger Bros., Inc., 1971).

Eric E. Hirshler, Jr. has collected a number of historical essays in a volume entitled Jews from Germany in the United States. Especially important in that collection is "The German Jewish Immigrants to America (A Critical Evaluation)," by Bernard D. Weinryb. See also "Aspects of the Influence of Jews from Germany on American Jewish Spiritual Life of the Nineteenth Century," by Adolf Kober, and Hirshler's own article, also titled "Jews from Germany in the United States." Kober's study "Jewish Emigration from Wurttemberg to the United States of America (1848-1855)," appears in the Publication of the American Jewish Historical

Society, March, 1952 and provides the best statistical data available.

A good background study for German immigration is Marvin Lowenthal, The Jews of Germany (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1936), particularly Chapter 18 entitled "The New 'Hep-Hep.'" As background for the Eastern European immigration the standard work is S.M. Dubnow, History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, 3 vols., (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of American, 1916-20). Samuel Joseph's Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914; reissued by Arno Press in 1969) is also a standard work which provides a statistical basis for local studies. See also Jacob Lestschinsky, "Jewish Migrations, 1840-1946," in Louis Finkelstein, ed., The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion, Vol. II (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949).

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interest were Moses Kligsberg, "Jewish Immigrants in Business: A Sociological Study," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, March, 1967, and Irving Mandel, "The Attitudes of the American Jewish Community Toward East European Immigration from the United States," American Jewish Archives, June, 1950

There are four special studies of the "Forty-Eighters" which proved valuable: a comprehensive volume entitled The Forty-Eighters edited by Adolph Zucker (New York, 1950); Carl Wittke's Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952); Guido Kisch, "The Revolution of 1848 and the Jewish 'On to America' Movement," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, March, 1949; and Bertram W. Korn, "Jewish 48'ers in America," American Jewish Archives, June, 1949.

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which deals with the immigrants from Eastern Europe.

Harry Golden's Forgotten Pioneer (New York: World, 1963) has done much to romanticize the immigrant Jewish peddler. A proper corrective appears in the work of Maxwell Whiteman, both in his review of Golden (American Jewish Historical Quarterly, June, 1964, 428-29) and in his own work, "Notions, Dry Goods, and Clothing: An Introduction to the Study of the Cincinnati Peddler," The Jewish Quarterly Review, LIII, 1963.

In a sense the numerous Jewish community histories are histories of immigrants and some of them have been helpful. The best of all, of course, is Moses Rischin's The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870-1914. Its conceptual framework is greatly superior to anything else that has been done. The following have been of special interest for this study: B.G. Rudolph, From a Minyan to a Community: A History of the Jews of Syracuse (Syracuse University Press, 1970); Frank Rosenthal, The Jews of Des Moines, the First Century (The Des Moines Welfare Federation, 1957); Albert I. Gordon, Jews in Transition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949); and Stuart E. Rosenberg, The Jewish Community in Rochester, 1843-1925 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954).

Jacob Rader Marcus, in his three-volume Memoirs of American Jews (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955) has collected a number of immigrant stories some of which can be related to Toledo or Toledoans.

Toledo history

The history of Toledo is dominated by the four volumes of Randolph C. Downes which make up the Lucas County Historical Series published by the Historical Society of Northwest Ohio: The Conquest (1948); Canal Days (1949); Lake Port (1951); and Industrial Beginnings (1954). Clark Waggoner's History of the City of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio, mentioned earlier in connection with Guido Marx, is a valuable tome which combines the raw materials of history with some of the usual puffery associated with nineteenth century local histories.

Other multi-volume works which have to be treated with caution are John M. Killits, Toledo and Lucas County (Chicago and Toledo: S.J. Clarke, 1923) in three volumes; Harvey Scribner, Memoirs of Lucas County and the City of Toledo (1910) in two volumes; and Nevin O. Winter, A History of Northwest Ohio (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1917) in three volumes.

See also John H. Doyle, A Story of Early Toledo (Bowling Green: C.S. Van Tassel, 1919); H.S. Knapp, History of the Maumee Valley (Toledo: 1877); and the Addresses, Memorials, Sketches of the Maumee Valley Pioneer Association (Toledo: Vrooman and Anderson, 1900). Louis R. Effler's My Memoirs of the Gay 90's (Toledo: Buettner and Breska, 1942) is an erratic book but one which is occasionally useful.

From among the wealth of promotional material which

accumulates in any city, it is possible to distinguish the following as being of special interest: Richard Edwards, Toledo: Historical and Descriptive. The Businesses and Business Men in 1876 (Toledo: Commercial Printing Co., 1876); Manufacturing and Mercantile Resources of Toledo, South Toledo and Perrysburg (1882); J.A. Miller, An Illustrated Review of Toledo, Ohio, 1888 (Toledo: Enterprise Review Publishing Company, 1888); and Toledo, Its Motto: Ambition, Perseverence, and Public Spirit (Toledo: Mercantile Advancement Company, 1897).

Two books in German are important: Chronik des Deutschen Pionier Vereins von Toledo, Ohio (Toledo: Peter Mettler, 1898), and Toledo und fein Deutschthum im 19. Jahrhundert (Cleveland: German American Biographical Company, 1899).

Among the many pertinent journal articles see especially Charles N. Glaab, "Jesup W. Scott and a West of Cities," in Ohio History, Winter, 1964. In the Northwest Ohio Historical Quarterly the following articles were enlightening: Gardner Williams, "Francis Ellingwood Abbott: Free Religionist, the Toledo Episode, 1869-1873," (Summer, 1948); Ronald K. Huth, "Louis Kossuth in Ohio," (Summer, 1968); Morgan Barclay, "Changing Images of Toledo's Polish Community, 1870-1920," (Summer, 1972); and Ted Loewenberg, "The Blade and the Black Man, 1867," (Summer, 1972).

Two fairly recent biographies of well-known Toledoans help to meet the need for scholarly local history. They are

C. Peter Magrath, Morrison R. Waite, The Triumph of Character (New York: Macmillan, 1963) and John M. Harrison, The Man Who Made Nasby: David Ross Locke (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969). Patrick A. Folk, "'Our Frank': The Congressional Career of Frank H. Hurd, 1872-1886" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Toledo, 1968), is a very thorough study. Of less value for the purposes of Jewish history is Marvin Jay Glockner, "Assimilation of the Immigrant in the United States as Characterized by the Poles in Toledo" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Toledo, 1966) because Glockner does not consider the Polish Jews at all.

Ohio and regional material

Jacob Rader Marcus's small pamphlet The Jews of Ohio (Cincinnati: The American Jewish Archives, 1967) serves as an introduction to the subject. Comprehensive Jewish histories are needed both in Cincinnati and Cleveland, although Zane Miller's Boss Cox's Cincinnati (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968) has some important things to say about Jewish mobility in that city. Cincinnati materials are also available in the two biographies of Isaac Mayer Wise, one by his son-in-law Max May entitled Isaac Mayer Wise: The Founder of American Judaism (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916) and James G. Heller, Isaac M. Wise: His Life, Work, and Thought (New York: The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1965). Heller is also the author of a history of Wise's Temple entitled As Yesterday When It Is

Past: A History of the Isaac M. Wise Temple K.K. B'nai Yeshurun, 1842-1942 (Cincinnati, 1942). Ann Deborah Michael has studied "The Origins of the Jewish Community of Cincinnati, 1817-1860," is an unpublished master's thesis (University of Cincinnati, 1970). The Proceedings of the Conference on the Writing of Regional History, mentioned in the introduction to this bibliographic note, contains a section on "Early Cleveland Jewry, 1840-1890: A Case Study." Papers were presented by Joseph Rappaport and Jack J. Herman and commented on by Donald P. Gavin, Judah Rubinstein and Carl Wittke. The subsequent discussion was summarized by Harvey Wish.

There has been some work done in Jewish history in Detroit, principally by Irving I. Katz: The Beth El Story with a History of the Jews in Michigan before 1850 (Detroit: Temple Beth El, 1950) and The Jewish Soldier from Michigan in the Civil War (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1962).

The six volume History of the State of Ohio, edited by Carl Wittke (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society) has been useful, particularly the volumes by Eugene H. Roseboom, The Civil War Era: 1850-1873 (1944), and Philip D. Jordan, Ohio Comes of Age, 1873-1900 (1943). See also Stanley Chyet, "Ohio Valley Jewry During the Civil War," Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, July, 1963; Carl Wittke, "The Germans of Cincinnati," Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical

Society of Ohio, January, 1962; and Robert S. Harper, Ohio Handbook of the Civil War (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1961).

Jewish history

Here the material is so voluminous that it is overwhelming. The following titles have been useful in providing general Jewish background: Nathan Glazer, American Judaism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); Rufus Lears (Israel Goldberg) The Jews in America: A History (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1954); Abram Leon Sachar, A History of the Jews (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965); Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic and Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology (New York: Doubleday, 1955); Ellis Rivkin, The Shaping of Jewish History: A Radical New Interpretation (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971); and Morris U. Schappes, A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875 (New York: Citadel Press, 1950).

Some specialized studies include Harry S. Linfield, The Jews in the United States, 1927 (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1929); Lawrence H. Fuchs, The Political Behavior of American Jews (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1956); Simon Wolf, The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen (Philadelphia: The Levytype Company, 1895); and Samuel Walker McCall, Patriotism of the American Jew (New York: Plymouth Press, 1924).

The American Jewish Year Book contains anniversary essays of considerable value. They include Nathan Glazer's "Social Characteristics of American Jews," and "The Acquisition of Political and Social Rights by the Jews in the United States" by Oscar and Mary Handlin. For a discussion of anti-semitism see John Higham, "Social Discrimination Against the Jews in America, 1830-1930," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, XLVII (1957). Higham also addressed himself to "Anti-Semitism in the Gilded Age," in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, March, 1957. See also James Parkes, Antisemitism (London: Valentine, Mitchell, 1963) which puts the problem in a world-wide setting.

Samuel S. Cohon's discussion of "Reform Judaism in America" which appeared in Jewish Life in America, edited by Theodore Friedman and Robert Gordis (New York: Horizon Press, 1955) was instructive, as was "The Temper of Reconstructionism" by Harold M. Schulweis in the same volume. On Being a Jew, by Toledo Rabbi Leon Feuer (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1947) provided an initial understanding for this undertaking, as did Arthur Hertzberg, "The American Jew and His Religion," in Oscar I. Janowsky, ed., The American Jew: A Reappraisal (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964). Lou H. Silberman, American Impact: Judaism in the United States in the Early Nineteenth Century contained some interesting insights into the career of Isaac Mayer Wise.

Journal articles which were helpful include two by Louis Ruchames: "The Abolitionists and the Jews," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, December, 1952; and "New Light on the Religious Development of Emma Lazarus," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, September, 1952, which discussed the Free Religious Association. See also Bertram W. Korn, "Jewish Welfare During the Spanish American War," Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, June, 1952.

A very recent book of Jewish history and reminiscence is Eli N. Evans, The Provincials: A Personal History of Jews in the South (New York: Atheneum, 1973) which is valuable because of the insight it offers into Jewish life in small communities.

General material

Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York: Macmillan, 1967) provided a general understanding and background. Also helpful was Constance Green, The Rise of Urban America (New York: Harper and Row, 1965). Fred Shannon's Economic History of the People of the United States is useful in understanding financial panic and depression.

John Higham's Strangers in the Land (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955) is the best work available on nativism in America. See also Higham, "Another Look at Nativism," in the Catholic Historical Review, XLIV (1958). A recent journal article which explores the politics of

the 1850's is Michael F. Holt, "The Politics of Impatience: The Origins of Know Nothingism," The Journal of American History, September, 1973. David Ross Locke's satirical Swingin Round the Cirkle (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1867), and Carl Sandburg's Abraham Lincoln (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954) were helpful in questions of war-time and reconstruction politics.

Several economic studies have offered insight into the business problems of immigrant Jews: Thomas Senior Berry, Western Prices Before 1861: A Study of the Cincinnati Market (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943); Lewis Atherton, The Frontier Merchant in Mid-America (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971, an updated version of The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America, published in 1939 and reprinted by Da Capo press in 1969). Atherton's study The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1949) has implications for merchants in all parts of the country. Joel Seidman, The Needle Trades (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942) offers some help in understanding the clothing shops.