

THE JEWISH CONFEDERATES

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In March 1865, Samuel Yates Levy, a captain in the Confederate army and a prisoner of war at Johnson's Island, wrote his father, J. C. Levy of Savannah, "I long to breathe the free air of Dixie." Like the Levy family, Southern Jews were an integral part of the Confederate States of America and had been breathing the free air of Dixie for 200 years.

When the Civil War began, there were sizable Jewish communities in all the major Southern cities. Louisiana boasted more than five congregations. New Orleans had the seventh-largest Jewish population in the United States (Boston was sixth, and Chicago eighth). In Charleston, home to three congregations (one Reform, one traditional, and one composed of Orthodox Polish immigrants), "Israelites occupy the most distinguished places," according to one Jewish traveler. The Jews of Savannah had organized K.K. Mikve Israel in 1735, the third congregation in America following New York and Newport, Rhode Island. There were Jewish communities in Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia; in Atlanta, Macon, and Columbus, Georgia; in Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee; in Galveston and Houston, Texas; and Jews living in dozens of small towns throughout the South.¹

Louisiana was emblematic of the acculturation and assimilation of Jews in the antebellum South. Judah P. Benjamin served as one of the state's U.S. senators. Lieutenant Governor Henry M. Hyams was Benjamin's cousin, having moved to Louisiana with Benjamin from Charleston in 1828. Edwin Warren Moise, also from South Carolina, served as Speaker of the Louisiana House of Representatives and was about to become a Confederate judge. According to the youthful Salomon de Rothschild, of the great French banking family, "All these men have a Jewish heart and take an interest in me."²

Estimates of the Jewish population are wholly unreliable, but in 1860 Louisiana was home to at least 8,000 Jews, and likely many more. The total

number of Jews in the eleven states of the Confederacy was in the range of 20,000 to 25,000, which means that Louisiana was home to 25 percent to 40 percent of Southern Jewry. New Orleans in 1860 was the South's largest city by far. Its population of 168,675 dwarfed Charleston's (40,522), Richmond's (37,910), Mobile's (29,258), and Savannah's (22,292). Like the growing cities of the North and West, New Orleans beckoned to immigrants, and they came.³

Southern Jews accepted Southern customs and institutions, including slavery and the code of honor. Oscar Straus put it best when he wrote in his memoirs, "As a boy brought up in the South I never questioned the rights or wrongs of slavery. Its existence I regarded as a matter of course, as most other customs or institutions." Mark I. Greenberg points out that Jews adopted the Southern way of life, including the code of honor, dueling, slavery, and Southern notions about race and states' rights. In 1862 Bernhard Felsenthal, a Northern abolitionist rabbi, wrote that "Israelites residing in New Orleans are man by man . . . ardently in favor of secession," and that Jewish German immigrants favored slavery precisely because many non-Jewish German immigrants opposed it. "No Jewish political figure of the Old South ever expressed reservations about the justice of slavery or the rightness of the Southern position," Rabbi Bertram Korn concluded.⁴

Nor is there any evidence that Jews supported slavery as a result of intimidation or fear of reprisals. The Talmud taught the Jews that "the law of the land is the law." According to many rabbis, North and South, the Hebrew Bible allowed for slavery. As we have seen, Rabbi Morris J. Raphall of New York criticized abolitionists and defended slavery as sanctioned by the Bible. Solomon Cohen wrote his aunt, Rebecca Gratz of Philadelphia, that "God gave laws to his chosen people for the government of their slaves, and did not order them to abolish slavery."⁵

Because most Jews in the South in 1861 were struggling or poor immigrants from the German states or eastern Europe, few of them owned slaves. Jewish Southerners were peddlers, store clerks, innkeepers, cigar makers, teachers, bartenders, petty merchants, tradesmen, and tailors. A few Jews owned slaves. The Jews of the South lived in a slaveholding society, and they accepted the institution as part of everyday life. Living in cities and towns, those Jews who owned slaves utilized them as domestic servants, as workers in their trades, or they hired them out. "Acceptance of slavery was," Leonard Dinnerstein wrote, "an aspect of southern life common to nearly all its white inhabitants."

Indeed, it was common to its free black inhabitants, who owned more slaves by far than Southern Jews. The free blacks of Charleston, for example, owned three times the number of slaves owned by Charleston Jewry.⁶

In 1840, three-fourths of all heads of families in Charleston owned at least one slave, and the incidence of slaveholding among Jews likely paralleled that of their neighbors. In Richmond, few Jewish auctioneers sold slaves, and there was one Jewish slave dealer, Abraham Smith. Richmond's rabbis supported slavery. George Jacobs of Richmond hired a slave to work in his home, although he owned no slaves. Reverend Max Michelbacher prayed during the Civil War that God would protect his congregation from slave revolt and that the Union's "wicked" efforts to "beguile [the slaves] from the path of duty that they may waylay their masters, to assassinate and slay the men, women, and children . . . be frustrated."⁷

Because Jews accepted Southern customs and mores, Southerners accepted Jews. In general Southerners were tolerant of all religions. The Fundamental Constitution of Carolina written by John Locke in 1699 granted freedom of religion to "Ye Heathens, Jues [*sic*] and other Disenters." Jefferson's celebrated Act of Religious Freedom asserted that "no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever." Southern aristocrats, influenced by the Anglican, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, and liberal Protestant traditions, had no concern about Jews in their midst. They found their Jewish neighbors to be law-abiding, educated, and cosmopolitan, characteristics they appreciated. Their quality of life was enhanced by Jewish peddlers, teachers, musicians, lawyers, doctors, druggists, merchants, and men of learning. The South attracted few immigrants, and white minorities were therefore readily accepted. Finally, Southerners believed fervently in the God of the Old Testament and respected their Jewish neighbors' knowledge of and historic connection to the Bible. Oscar Straus recalled how his father, who was well versed in biblical literature, translated passages from the Hebrew Bible for the information of local ministers over dinner in their home.⁸

Jews, of course, were white, and Southerners' racist attitudes did not extend to them. In 1859, the traveling journalist I. J. Benjamin explained Jewish acceptance in the South by noting that the white inhabitants "felt themselves united with, and closer to, other whites. . . . Since the Israelite there did not do the humbler kinds of work which the Negro did, he was quickly

received among the upper classes and easily rose to high political rank. For this reason, until now, it was only the South which sent Jews to the Senate. Benjamin came from Louisiana; [David Levy] Yulee from Florida.” (Yulee was born Jewish, married a Gentile, converted to Christianity, and disassociated himself from his Jewish roots.)⁹

This is not to say that there was no anti-Semitism in the Old South, because there was. Anti-Semitism was a fact of life in the nineteenth century. Emma Holmes of Charleston wrote in her diary that she disliked “Sumter [South Carolina] very much from the prevalence of sand and Jews, my great abhorrences.” By 1862, she blamed all of her ills on the Jews. Jews came into conflict with the majority Christian society on issues such as conducting retail business on Sunday. And, of course, Southerners often found Jewish customs strange. Maria Bryan Connell of Hancock County, Georgia, had a Jewish houseguest. “I did not at all comprehend the trouble occasioned by their notions of unclean and forbidden food until I had a daughter of Abraham under the roof. She will not eat one mouthful of the finest fresh pork or the most delicate ham,” she wrote. It was not, Maria concluded, “an unimportant consideration with her. Pray let this be entre nous, for I feel as if I am in some respect violating the duties of hospitality in speaking of it.”¹⁰

The Northern states were not as hospitable as the South to Jews prior to the Civil War. The first known Jew in Boston was “warned out” in the 1640s. Unlike colonial Charleston, where Jews flourished, Jews were not allowed to live in early colonial Boston. John Quincy Adams referred to David Yulee as the “squeaking Jew delegate from Florida,” and Representative Albert G. Marchand of Pennsylvania as a “squat little Jew-faced rotundity.” When the South seceded, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, a Brahmin publication, blamed the decision on Southern Jews. Calling Benjamin “the disunion leader in the U.S. Senate,” and Yulee (“whose name has been changed from the more appropriate one of Levy or Levi”) an ultra-fire-eater, the newspaper claimed that “this peculiar race, . . . having no country of their own,” desired “that other nations shall be in the same unhappy condition.” By 1864, the *Times* castigated the Democratic Party because its chairman, August Belmont, was “the agent of foreign jew bankers.”¹¹

It is difficult to determine the opinion of Jewish Southerners about secession. Whereas Edwin DeLeon was pro-secession, his brother Camden DeLeon, an officer in the army, was clearly uncomfortable with disloyalty

to his government. Many were concerned about Lincoln's election and the elevation of an avowed opponent of slavery to the presidency. In a parade to celebrate secession, Simon Baruch, a Prussian immigrant and a medical student, carried a lantern bearing the words, "There is a point beyond which endurance ceases to be a virtue." Solomon Cohen wrote from Savannah that with Lincoln's election, "our enemies have triumphed," and he was worried about control of the federal government by "those who hate us and our institutions."¹²

The irony of Jewish slave owners was not lost on Northern critics of slavery. Benjamin Wade, an antislavery senator from Ohio, called Judah Benjamin, who was a slave owner, an "Israelite with Egyptian principles."¹³

When in April 1861 the *Jewish Messenger* of New York City called upon American Jewry to "rally as one man for the *Union* and the *Constitution*," the Jews of Shreveport responded with a resolution denouncing the newspaper and its editor. "We, the Hebrew congregation of Shreveport," the resolution began, "scorn and repel your advice. . . . We solemnly pledge ourselves to stand by, protect, and honor the flag, with its stars and stripes, the Union and Constitution of the Southern Confederacy, with our lives, liberty, and all that is dear to us." Max Baer, the president of the congregation, asked that newspapers friendly to the Southern cause publish their resolution.¹⁴

Jewish Southerners perceived New Englanders as abolitionists who were frequently anti-Semitic. Theodore Parker, a leading abolitionist minister, believed Jews' intellects were "sadly pinched in those narrow foreheads," that Jews were "lecherous" and "did sometimes kill a Christian baby at the Passover." William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the *Liberator*, once described Judge Mordecai Manuel Noah of New York as "the miscreant Jew," a "Shylock," "the enemy of Christ and liberty," and a descendant "of the monsters who nailed Jesus to the cross." Similar sentiments came from Edmond Quincy, Lydia Maria Child, William Ellery Channing, and Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, all leading abolitionists. Child thought Judaism rife with superstition, claiming that Jews "have humbugged the world." John Quincy Adams opposed slavery and derided Jews.¹⁵

It is little wonder, then, that there was no great love lost between Southern Jews, who were accustomed to being treated as equals, and New Englanders. Southern Jews had even more reason to dislike the officious New Englanders than did other Southerners, and this undoubtedly influenced their

view of secession. Isaac Harby, the Charleston journalist and pioneer of the Reform movement, was typical in his denunciation of “the abolitionist society and its secret branches.” It came as no surprise to South Carolina Jewry to see reprinted in their local newspaper in March 1861 the following from the *Boston Journal*: “The Jew, [Benjamin] Mordecai, at Charleston, who gave ten thousand dollars to the South Carolina Government, had just settled with his Northern creditors by paying fifty cents on the dollar. The ten thousand was thus a Northern donation to secession.” The *Charleston Daily Courier* called the story “a willful, unmitigated and deliberate falsehood.”¹⁶

Thus the question of *why* Southern Jews would fight for the Confederacy is no question at all. Why would they *not* fight for their homeland, which had welcomed and accepted them as equals? “We of the South,” Solomon Cohen wrote Rebecca Gratz, “feel that prudence and self-defense demand that we should protect ourselves.” Jewish Confederates fought for liberty and freedom, including the right to own slaves. They fought to preserve the Southern racial caste system. They fought invaders of their hearth and home. Private Simon Mayer of Natchez wrote his family, “I sympathize with the poor victims of abolition despotism.”¹⁷

Jewish Johnny Rebs were also motivated by a sense of duty and honor, powerful emotions in Victorian America. “Victorians,” James McPherson wrote, “understood duty to be a binding moral obligation involving reciprocity: one had a duty to defend the flag under whose protection one had lived.” A fallen Jewish Confederate, Corporal Isaac Valentine, mortally wounded in the same battle as his comrade Poznanski, said on his deathbed that he had done his duty and died for his country.¹⁸

Letters, memoirs, and obituaries all reflect Jewish soldiers’ chief reasons for fighting: to do their duty, to protect their homeland, to protect Southern rights and liberty, and, once the war began, to show their loyalty to their comrades in arms. Philip Rosenheim of Richmond had just returned home from marching to the Chickahominy and had “fallen into sweet slumber” when his sister Rebecca awoke him. The bells had tolled, informing his militia company to gather. “I was very weak and had a severe headache,” he wrote his family, “but still I dressed myself [and] buckled on my accouterments, thinking I would not shrink from my duty and would follow the company wherever it goes, as our Flag says, when duty calls tis ours to obey.” “We were thoroughly imbued with the idea,” Moses Ezekiel of Richmond wrote in his

memoirs, “that we were not fighting for the perpetuation of slavery, but for the principle of State’s rights and free trade, and in the defense of our homes, which were being ruthlessly invaded.”¹⁹

Isaac Hirsch of Fredericksburg, a soldier in the 30th Virginia, visited the battlefield at Second Manassas, where Stonewall Jackson defeated General Pope’s army. “It is bad,” he wrote in his diary, “that the dead Yankees could not be buried as I don’t like to see any human being lay on the top of the earth and rot, but it is a fit emblem for the invader of our soil for his bones to bleach on the soil he invades, especially of a people that wish to be left alone and settle down to their own peaceful pursuits.”²⁰

It speaks volumes about the South that many a Jewish youth left the German fatherland to avoid military service only to *voluntarily* enlist in the Confederate army soon after arriving in Dixie. Jewish men, like other Southern men, were encouraged to fight by their mothers and sisters. At the start of the war, Catherine Ezekiel, Moses’ mother, said “she would not own a son who would not fight for his home and country.” Mary Chestnut wrote of her friend “Mem” Cohen’s dedication to the cause. “Our soldiers, thank God, are men after our own heart, cries Miriam of the house of Aaron,” Mary wrote in her diary in May 1862. Phoebe Pember recalled that the “women of the South had been openly and violently rebellious from the moment they thought their states’ rights touched. . . . They were the first to rebel—the last to succumb.”²¹

The social pressure to enlist was also a strong factor in many a young Confederate’s decision to join the army. According to Gary W. Gallagher, 75 to 85 percent of the Confederacy’s available draft-age white population served in the military. And a young Southern male had a difficult time in 1862 and 1863 explaining why he was not in uniform. Simon Baruch, a Prussian from Schwersenz (and Bernard Baruch’s father), immigrated to Camden, South Carolina, as did his younger brother Herman. When Simon enlisted, he admonished Herman to stay out of the war. But Herman joined the cavalry because, as he told Simon, “I could no longer stand it. I could no longer look into the faces of the ladies.”²²

There was also the adventure of war and the bounty paid in advance. Young men who worked at jobs they disliked saw a chance to escape. Lewis Leon was such a clerk. An unmarried immigrant who spoke German as well as English, he enlisted for six months at the age of nineteen in the Charlotte

Grays, Company C, 1st North Carolina. (In six months, most Southerners believed, the war would be over.) He was issued a fine uniform. “We were all boys between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one,” Leon noted. “Our trip was full of joy and pleasure, for at every station where our train stopped the ladies showered us with flowers and Godspeed.”²³

Jewish Confederates, like other immigrants and African Americans, had a special burden during the war. They had to prove that Jews would fight. One of the staples of nineteenth-century anti-Semitism was that the Jews were disloyal, unpatriotic, and cowardly. The “Wandering Jew” was a staple of anti-Semitism. Jews had lived in ghettos in Europe, had refused to assimilate with their neighbors, and had fled Europe to avoid military service. Many a Southern Jewish boy set out to disprove these calumnies.²⁴

Other Jews fought to make a place in Southern society for Jews who would come after them. Philip Whitlock wrote in his memoir that “especially when I was of the Jewish Faith I thought that if I am negligent in my duty as a citizen of this country, it would unfavorably reflect on the whole Jewish race and religion.” Charles Wessolowsky said after the war that “sometimes he felt like a Jewish missionary among the Gentiles to show the way for other Jews to follow.” Early twentieth-century Jewish historians were anxious to defend the courage and bravery of the generation that preceded them. “There existed no occasion to threaten the young or, for that matter, the middle-aged, with the ‘white feather,’” Ezekiel and Lichtenstein wrote. “None held back or hesitated.”²⁵

Finally, Jewish tradition also played a part. From the book of Esther and from Jeremiah (“Seek the welfare of the city to which I have exiled you” [Jer. 29:7]) to rabbinic law, Judaism taught respect and obedience to the established government. Jews had traditionally aligned themselves with monarchs and conservative regimes for self-protection from the masses. The traditional Jewish prayer for the government, dating to the sixteenth century, called upon God to bless the king, inspire him with benevolence “toward us and all Israel our brethren.” In short, because the new Confederacy was now their lawful government, Jewish tradition demanded loyalty to it.²⁶

Thus, Jewish Johnny Rebs went off to war for a variety of reasons: patriotism and love of country; to defend their homeland, their yearning for a fatherland they could believe in; Jewish tradition as they understood it; to demonstrate to the North that their rights could not be assailed; hatred for Yankees; social pressure; being caught up in the frenzy of secession and war;

to escape from home and see the world; for adventure and pay; and to prove that Jews would fight. "The Jews of the Confederacy had good reason to be loyal to their section," Rabbi Korn concluded. "Nowhere else in America—certainly not in the ante-bellum North—had Jews been accorded such an opportunity to be complete equals as in the old South."²⁷

From the top of the social scale to the bottom, Southern Jews supported the Confederate cause. Former senator Judah P. Benjamin, one of the South's most brilliant lawyers (President Millard Fillmore nominated him to the Supreme Court, but Benjamin declined the honor) became attorney general of the new Confederate States of America. "A Hebrew of Hebrews, for the map of the Holy City was traced all over his small, refined face," Thomas Cooper DeLeon later recalled, "the attorney-general was of the highest type of his race."²⁸

There was little legal work for the new attorney general, and Benjamin rapidly became a close confidant of and political adviser to President Jefferson Davis. A wit, a gourmand, and a raconteur, Benjamin became a popular member of Richmond society. When the secretary of war resigned, Davis asked Benjamin to serve as the new secretary.

Unfortunately, Benjamin had no military background. He did bring to the War Department his well-known capacity for hard work and organization, but his tenure was marked by notable failures in the field, for which he received (and accepted) the blame. After the disastrous fall of Roanoke Island, Virginia, in early 1862, Davis promoted Benjamin to secretary of state in "the very teeth of criticism."

Benjamin's Jewish heritage (he did not practice the Jewish religion) was a lightning rod for critics of the Davis administration. One crackpot congressman, Henry S. Foote of Tennessee, a rabid anti-Semite, referred to Benjamin as "Judas Iscariot Benjamin" and the "Jewish puppeteer" behind the "Davis tyranny." John M. Daniel of the *Richmond Examiner* reacted to Benjamin's appointment as secretary of state by remarking that "the representation of the Synagogue is not diminished; it remains full." These, however, were minority opinions.²⁹

Benjamin continued to serve Davis as secretary of state. He was to the civilian government what Robert E. Lee was to the military: a loyal, stalwart, indefatigable, and uncomplaining patriot. He was the most well-known Confederate official next to the president and vice president and third in order of

succession. Varina Howell Davis called him her husband's "right arm." Historians have called him "the President's most intimate friend and counselor." Eli Evans, his biographer, described Benjamin as Davis's alter ego.³⁰

As the war dragged on, the Confederacy's options dwindled. On February 12, 1864, the Confederate Congress voted in secret session to create "bodies for the capture and destruction of the enemies' property." The Bureau of Special and Secret Service came into existence, and funding for these operations went to the State Department. Benjamin, as secretary of state, was the likely head of the bureau and chief of Confederate covert activities. Shortly thereafter, important agents of the Confederacy arrived in Montreal. "A few months later," Roy Z. Chamlee Jr. writes in *Lincoln's Assassins*, "John Wilkes Booth opened a bank account in the same Montreal bank used by the Rebels."³¹

Benjamin had now taken on the most dangerous assignment Davis had given him and his last assignment for the Confederacy—that of spymaster. He established spy rings and sent political propagandists to the North and to Canada. He enlisted the seductive Belle Boyd, the "Cleopatra of Secession," in the cause. He sent agents to Ireland to stem the tide of Irish volunteers entering the Union army. He planned the burning of Federal medical stores in Louisville and the burning of bridges in strategic locations across the occupied South. He also oversaw the suppression of treason against the Confederacy. Special commissioners who investigated and arrested those disloyal to the government reported to Benjamin. For example, Colonel Henry J. Leovy, a close friend of Benjamin's from New Orleans, served as a military commissioner in southwest Virginia. His job was ferreting out traitors.³²

Benjamin, like many other Confederate leaders, believed the Northern public would not support Lincoln indefinitely. Serious efforts were made to exploit the difference between the eastern and western states, to increase public disaffection in the North for the war, and to raid prisoner of war camps. Provocateurs attempted to capture Federal property in the far north. Confederate agents tried to disrupt the monetary system by urging people to convert paper money to gold. There was even an attempt—probably unknown to Benjamin but involving his agents—to set New York City on fire. Benjamin oversaw the most ambitious mission, a \$1 million Canadian covert operation headed by Jacob Thompson. When the war ended, Benjamin fled Richmond with Davis and the Confederate cabinet.³³

Benjamin's commitment to the Confederate cause was matched by that of the common Jewish soldier in the field. There were about 2,000 Jewish Confederate servicemen. The typical Jewish soldier, like the typical Johnny Reb, served in the infantry. Simon Wolf, a prominent Jewish lawyer, published a book in 1895 containing a list of Jews who had served in the Union and Confederate armies. His list reflects the preponderance of service in the infantry. Of the nearly 1,300 men listed, 967 served in the infantry, 116 in the cavalry, 129 in the artillery, and 11 in the navy or marines. Rabbi Barnett Elzas's more precise list of Jewish South Carolinians shows 117 in the infantry of a total of 167 men. The list in Ezekiel and Lichtenstein's *History of the Jews of Richmond* is consistent, showing approximately 70 of the 100 infantry, as is Eric Brock's Shreveport list.³⁴

There were Jewish Johnny Rebs in every aspect of the war. They served as privates in infantry units all over the South and in every major campaign. They were cooks, sharpshooters, orderlies, teamsters, and foragers. They dug trenches, cut trees, guarded prisoners, and served on picket duty. Most of the historical data about Jewish Confederate soldiers is contained in the letters, diaries, reminiscences, and biographies of well-known, powerful, and therefore much older men, such as Judah Benjamin or Raphael Moses, a prominent commissary officer. There is little such documentation for the average soldier.³⁵

Yet the average Confederate soldier was in his twenties, and this was undoubtedly true about Jewish Johnny Rebs. We know little about most of these young men except their names and units, but there is information about enough men in the ranks to make some generalizations. The majority enlisted in companies in their hometowns with men whom they knew, often fellow Jews. They preferred serving in units with their friends and relatives. There were seven Rosenbalms in Company H of the 37th Virginia. Philip Rosenheim of the Richmond militia was proud of his service and his friends: "Charley Marx and David Mittledorfer, Julius Straus, Moses Hutzler, Sam and Herman Hirsh, Simon Sycles, Gus Thalheimer, Abr. Goldback, and a good many other Yuhudim all belonged to the same company, which I did."

But unlike Irish and German immigrants, who formed ethnic companies, Jews did not form distinctively Jewish companies because they fervently desired to be seen as citizens of their state and nation, not as a separate nationality. They had no desire to stand out as a group as they had been

forced to do in Europe. Unlike for the Irish, who also wanted to be seen as equal citizens, true equality to the Jews meant belonging to the general population. Judaism was a religion, not a nationality, and Jews did not want to seem as a separate nationality. Their mission, therefore, was the exact opposite of other ethnic groups, such as the Irish, who took pride in their ethnic organizations. There were no Catholic or Lutheran units in the Confederate army; therefore, there would be no Jewish units. In addition, as a practical matter, there were few wealthy Jewish men with the military background and political influence needed to organize a company of troops. The majority of Jewish Confederates were recent young immigrants. They were followers, comrades-in-arms, not leaders.³⁶

The majority of Jewish Confederates served as privates or corporals in the infantry, but there were Jews in all branches of the service and in all departments. In Wolf's listing for Alabama, for example, 105 served in the infantry and 21 in the cavalry. His Arkansas list shows almost as many cavalry as infantry. Leopold Levy and his brother Sampson served in Company G, 1st Virginia cavalry, commanded by Colonel J. E. B. Stuart. Texas had 73 Jewish infantry men and 21 cavalrymen. As the Jews went west, they rode horseback more often and tended to live in small towns.³⁷

Jews also served in artillery units such as the Washington Artillery of New Orleans. Wolf's list for Texas shows five artillerymen; five for Alabama; and eight for Arkansas. Edwin Kursheedt and Eugene Henry Levy served in the artillery. Marx Cohen and Gustavus A. Cohen served in James F. Hart's company (Washington Artillery, South Carolina), initially a part of Hampton's Legion, as did five other South Carolina Cohens. Perry Moses of Sumter served in a number of units, including Culpepper's Battery. In 1863, he was in charge of a twelve-pound Napoleon. "I fought a battery of four guns for over an hour," he wrote his mother, Octavia Harby Moses, in 1863, "giving them gun for gun."³⁸

Some Jewish Johnny Rebs served in the local militia or home guards, which were organized for local self-defense. At the beginning of the war, many men who did not want to leave home or serve in the regular army joined the militia. As the war progressed and conscription was instituted, the home guards consisted of those too young, too old, or too infirm to serve, as well as those exempt by virtue of their occupations or political office. Philip Rosenheim of Richmond was a youngster who served in the local militia in the summer or

1863, when Richmond was under attack. Philip and others responded. "I, as well as all the Boys rallied to the call and we stood firmly at our Flag ready to meet the foe," he wrote his sister and brother-in-law, Amelia and Isaac Meinnart.³⁹

Jewish soldiers came from varied backgrounds. Some were recent immigrants, and some were from old families. Shreveport, Louisiana, in 1860 is a striking portrait of the Southern Jewish immigrant's contribution to Confederate military service. Eric J. Brock has estimated that 300 Jews lived in Shreveport in 1860 and that 78 served in the Confederate armed forces. Almost all of them were recent immigrants who arrived in Louisiana in the 1850s. Most, like Marx Baer, were born in one of the German states or Alsace-Lorraine. Some were from Poland: Jack Citron, Company I, 3rd Louisiana, from Koval; and Jacob Gall, Company D, 19th Louisiana, from Meschisko. Some were from France: Marx Israel of Company 5, 3rd Regiment, European Brigade, was from Onepie, near Metz.⁴⁰

Leading Jewish Richmonders had been members of the Richmond Light Infantry Blues for generations. The unit participated in quelling the Gabriel slave revolt in 1800 and was called into service in 1807, when the British man-of-war *Leopard* attacked the *Chesapeake* off Norfolk. Thus, when the Richmond Blues left the city for the war on April 24, 1861, fifteen of its ninety-nine members were Jewish, including Ezekiel J. ("Zeke") Levy, its fourth sergeant.

The Blues served as Company A, 46th Virginia, in West Virginia and saw combat at Roanoke Island in February 1862. "Soon a ball [bullet] came from the Yankees," the company's record states, and "one of our boys, Mr. L. Wasserman, replied." Henry Adler was mortally wounded. Isaacs, Lyon, Levi Wasserman, and Joseph Levy were captured. They were exchanged in August. Adler, after suffering a great deal from his wounds, died at the naval hospital in Portsmouth and was buried by the Blues, who turned out en masse to honor their first private killed in the war. The Blues served throughout the war in Virginia and North Carolina, in the defense of Charleston, and later in the defense of Richmond and Petersburg. They fought to the end at Appomattox. In June 1864, the Blue's captain killed and first lieutenant wounded, Lieutenant Ezekiel J. Levy became commanding officer.⁴¹

There were dozens of Jewish officers in the Confederate service, including the quartermaster general of the Confederate army, Colonel Abraham Charles Myers, the great-grandson of the first rabbi of K.K. Beth Elohim in

Charleston. After graduating from West Point, Myers became a career army officer and served in the Mexican War. Fort Myers, Florida, then literally a fort, was named in his honor by his father-in-law, General David Emanuel Twiggs.

In 1861 Myers set up his offices on the southwest corner of Ninth and Main streets, near Capitol Square in Richmond. The Quarter-Master Department included quartermasters in each state, paymasters and quartermasters in the field, manufacturing plants, special units such as the Tax-in-Kind Office, purchasing agents abroad, and depot and post quartermasters. Colonel Myers reported to the secretary of war.⁴²

Public concern, then anger, then outrage at the Commissary Department and Quartermaster Department would be a constant theme in the Confederacy as the war went on. It was understandable, if unjustified, that the officers in charge of food, clothing, and supplies would be blamed for the ills of the army. The head commissary was the Confederate Congress's main scapegoat. His nomination to full colonel and confirmation as commissary general provoked heated debate. Myers's nomination to full colonel and confirmation as quartermaster general was immediately approved. T. C. DeLeon believed that Myers's "bureau was managed with an efficiency and vigor that could scarcely have been looked for in so new an organization." Early in the war, Myers enjoyed a good reputation as a competent and honest department head.

But it soon became clear that the war would not be short, and even clearer that supplying an army of up to 400,000 men would prove to be a formidable task. Prices rose as the blockade tightened and Northern sources of supply dwindled. States' rights played a part in the Confederacy's problems. North Carolina, for example, supplied its own troops in return for an agreement that the quartermaster would not purchase clothing from its factories. The Southern economy could not keep pace with the army's huge appetite for supplies.

The Union victories of 1862 were a disaster for the Confederacy and especially for the quartermaster general. The loss of key border states, New Orleans and other coastal areas, and the Mississippi Valley constricted the area from which supplies, manufactured goods, and raw materials could be obtained. Blockade-running was severely curtailed, interfering with the importation of European goods. By August 1862, Lee complained that his army lacked "much of the materials of war, . . . [was] feeble in transportation, the animals being much reduced, and the men . . . poorly provided with clothes, and in thousands of instances . . . destitute of shoes."

As the war dragged on, the Quartermaster Department came in for severe criticism. The *Savannah Daily News* noted the suspicion in the public mind “that peculation and plunder, and misuse of authority for private purpose, have often been put before public duty and public service.” The *Richmond Enquirer* complained that “quartermasters sometimes get rich. . . . Unfaithful, incompetent, or dishonest quartermasters or commissaries could plunge the country into ruin.” Despite the criticism, the leading historian of Confederate supply, Richard Goff, concluded that the Quartermaster Department under Myers “appears to have been as well organized and as efficient as circumstances would allow.”⁴³

Myers’s friends in Congress sought to promote him to brigadier general, and in March 1863 the Congress passed a law providing that the rank and pay of the quartermaster general “shall be those of Brigadier General in the provisional army.” Seventy-six members of Congress sent the president a letter recommending that Colonel Myers be promoted to general. Ironically, the law was used by Jefferson Davis to dismiss Myers from office altogether. On August 7, 1863, Jefferson Davis replaced Abraham Myers with his old friend Alexander R. Lawton.

The only reason Davis gave was that it was in the interest of efficiency. There does seem to be some basis for the charge. Some said that Myers and Davis had feuded in the old army years earlier. But the true reason, according to Richmond gossip, was that Marian Myers, who considered herself the social superior of Mrs. Davis, had called the president’s wife “an old squaw,” Mrs. Davis being of a somewhat dark complexion. Assistant Secretary of War A. T. Bledsoe passed along the insult in early 1862. The remark was repeated and became well known. “The Congress of 1863,” Mary Chestnut wrote, “gave up its time to fighting the battle of Colonel Myers–Mrs. Myers.”⁴⁴

There is no evidence that anti-Semitism played any role in Myers’s firing, despite the glee expressed by John Beauchamp Jones, a clerk in the War Department whose memoir, *A Rebel War Clerk’s Diary*, was published in 1866. Jones called Myers the “Jew Quarter-Master General” and claimed he replied “let them suffer” when told of soldiers’ pleas for blankets. But Sallie Putman, who had no love for the Jews, thought Myers was mistreated; most important, Jefferson Davis not only had no prejudice against Jews but, to the contrary, maintained warm relationships with many Southern Jews.⁴⁵

Adolph Proskauer of Mobile was among the few Jewish immigrants who became a high-ranked Confederate officer. Proskauer had been educated at the gymnasium in Breslau until he came to America. In May 1861, he enlisted in Captain Augustus Stikes's company, the Independent Rifles, for twelve months. He was appointed first corporal. The company went to Richmond and became Company C, 12th Alabama Infantry. The 12th Alabama was a cosmopolitan regiment that included a large portion of Germans, French, Irish, and Spanish sailors and dockworkers from Mobile, and mountain boys from north Alabama. They were noted as foragers, recalled one of its officers, Captain Robert Emory Park, "and the vast majority of them suffered very little from hunger" despite limited rations.⁴⁶

By December, Proskauer had been promoted to sergeant. In April 1862 he was commissioned as a first lieutenant. He served in that rank for only twenty-six days before being promoted to captain in May, replacing Stikes, who became a major of the regiment. As captain, Proskauer was remembered as handsome and the "best dressed man in the regiment."

Proskauer participated in many of the fiercest battles of the war. As lieutenant of Company C, he fought in the siege of Yorktown (April–May 1862). He helped lead the 12th Alabama at the Battle of Seven Pines, where the regiment made a "gallant charge . . . into the very jaws of death."

Proskauer and his regiment marched north in Lee's Maryland campaign as part of Rodes's brigade. Proskauer was in combat at the Battle of South Mountain and Sharpsburg (Antietam), where he was wounded. On September 17, 1862, the single bloodiest day in the Civil War, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia faced George B. McClellan's Army of the Potomac. There were 4,710 men killed and 18,440 wounded. Proskauer was among the wounded, having been shot in the abdomen during intense fighting along the Sunken Road, later called the "Bloody Lane." He recuperated from September until January 1863 and returned to his company at Orange Court House, Virginia.

While the 12th was encamped near Fredericksburg in 1863, Proskauer, now the senior captain in the regiment, formally applied to become major. Proskauer was a popular officer with his men. He was at the Battle of Chancellorsville in May 1863 when the 12th fought as a part of Stonewall Jackson's famous flanking attack on Major General Hooker's Union army. On the morning of May 3, Proskauer led the regiment as Colonel Pickens assumed command of a portion of the brigade after the commander was wounded.

Proskauer was wounded in the battle. He was promoted to major by Colonel Pickens while he was in the hospital, with the promotion confirmed by the Confederate Congress in early 1864.

Major Proskauer caught up with his command on the road and was fit for duty at the Battle of Gettysburg on July 1, 1863. A part of Rodes's division, the 12th suffered heavy casualties at Oak Ridge, northeast of Gettysburg. Years later, Captain Park wrote Mrs. Proskauer: "I can see him now, in mental view, as he nobly carried himself at Gettysburg, standing coolly and calmly, with cigar in his mouth, at the head of the Twelfth Alabama, amid a perfect rain of bullets, shot and shell. He was the personification of intrepid gallantry, of imperturbable courage."

On July 4, 1863, Lee retreated from Pennsylvania. Major Proskauer and the 12th Alabama, "suffering, wet and anxious," on a dark, dreary, rainy night retreated south. They camped near Orange Courthouse during the remainder of the summer of 1863. Fighting continued in Virginia, and in October Major Proskauer led a force of half the regiment on a mission to destroy railroad tracks near Warrenton Junction. In late December, Proskauer led the regiment to Paine's Mill to help saw planks for the Orange Road. The regiment saw action again on May 8 at Spotsylvania Court House, where Major Proskauer received his third wound of the war. The war was over for Adolph Proskauer.

Jewish Confederates were able to turn to their faith to sustain them during the war. Southern rabbis supported the Confederate war effort. Rabbi Max Michelbacher of Richmond's Beth Ahabah Synagogue led the Confederate capital's Jewish community in assisting Jewish boys in the army. He ministered to their needs, requested furloughs on their behalf for Jewish holidays, and even published a "prayer of the C[onfederate] S[tates] Soldiers." Beginning with the Shema, it called upon the God of Israel to "be with me in the hot season of the contending strife; protect and bless me with health and courage to bear cheerfully the hardships of war. . . . Be unto the Army of this Confederacy, as thou wert of old, unto us, thy chosen people!"⁴⁷

Rabbi James K. Gutheim of New Orleans also supported the Confederacy. The spiritual leader of Dispersed of Judah congregation, home to the more assimilated Jews of New Orleans, Gutheim refused to swear allegiance to the Union when the Crescent City was occupied by the Federal army. He left the city, with many of his congregation, for Montgomery, where he prayed from

the pulpit, "Regard, O Father, in Thine abundant favor and benevolence, our beloved country, the Confederate States of America. May our young Republic increase in strength. . . . Behold, O God, and judge between us and our enemies, who have forced upon us this unholy and unnatural war."⁴⁸

The revolution wrought by the Civil War—the freeing of the slaves, the collapse of the ancient regime, the death, destruction, and impoverishment of Southern cities—was devastating to Southern Jewry. Those most committed to the cause lost the most. Judah P. Benjamin left the country for Europe. Union officials tried to implicate him in Lincoln's assassination. Abraham C. Myers lost his career. Many families lost fathers, brothers, and sons. Businesses suffered. Many were destroyed. Those few Jews who had owned slaves lost them. Reconstruction was as bitter for the Jewish community as it was for the rest of the white South. "As Israelites," Henry Hyams, the former lieutenant governor of Louisiana, wrote a family member in April 1868, "we are passing through another captivity which relives and reenacts all the troubles so pathetically poured forth by the inspired Jeremiah." Emma Mordecai of Richmond could not abide the occupying army. "Richmond is a strange place," she confided to her diary. "Everything looks unnatural and desecrated."⁴⁹

Like other Southerners, Jewish Southerners licked their wounds, rebuilt their lives, and memorialized their honored dead. The Jewish women of Richmond, for example, formed the Hebrew Ladies Memorial Association for the Confederate Dead. A circular was sent out "To the Israelites of the South" seeking funds to create a cemetery and to erect a monument to the Jewish Confederate dead. Time was of the essence, the circular said. "While the world yet rings with the narrative of a brave people's struggle for independence," it began, and while the story of their noble sacrifices for liberty was fresh, the graves themselves were neglected. This was not a situation that Southern Jewry should allow. Southern Jews should remember "the myriads of heroes who spilled their noble blood" in defense of the "glorious cause." The circular was also designed to appeal to Southern Jewish readers' fear of anti-Semitism. "In time to come," it concluded, "when the malicious tongue of slander, ever so ready to assail Israel, shall be raised against us, then, with a feeling of mournful pride, will we point to this monument and say: 'There is our reply.'"⁵⁰

While the focus of this chapter is the understudied experience of Southern Jews in the Civil War era, it is important to note that during the war the majority of Jewish Americans lived in states in the North, the Midwest, and

the West loyal to the Union. In 1860, there were approximately 150,000 Jews in the United States, all but 25,000 of them living in states that remained in the Union. The centers of Jewish life were in the large Northern cities—New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, and Boston. These Jewish Americans, like their Southern coreligionists, supported their section. Thus, 6,000 to 7,000 Jewish men served in the Union army, some rising to the rank of general. Several enlisted men received the Medal of Honor. Because little has been written specifically about the Northern or Union Jewish experience during the Civil War, it is important to provide for the reader a brief overview of that experience as well as the Confederate experience.⁵¹

Jews in the North could be found on both sides of the political divide, some Democrats, some Republicans. Prominent Jewish leaders supported President Lincoln and the Republican Party. According to Howard M. Sachar, Jews, “like their middle-class neighbors, and their fellow German immigrants...welcomed the new Republican party, the party of free men and free soil, of vigorous business enterprises.” Many German-language Republican clubs were founded by Jewish immigrants. Moses Dropsie helped found the Republican Party in Philadelphia, and Abram J. Dittenhöffer was a presidential elector from New York in 1860. When war came, Jews in the North, the Midwest, and the West rallied to the cause of the Union.

Northern Jews could be found at all points along the spectrum in the debate over slavery. Some, like Michael J. Heilprin, a Polish Jewish intellectual, Rabbi David Einhorn of Baltimore, Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal of Chicago, and Isidor Busch of St. Louis (a member of the Missouri legislature), were fervent abolitionists. Einhorn believed it was blasphemy for proponents of slavery to identify God and the Bible with slavery. August Bondi fought with John Brown in Bloody Kansas in 1855 and 1856 and later served in the Union army.⁵²

Others, like Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise of Cincinnati and Rabbi Morris J. Raphall of New York City, were vigorous opponents of the abolitionists. Indeed, Rabbi Raphall delivered a controversial sermon entitled “The Bible View of Slavery” in which he said: “How dare you . . . denounce slave holding as a sin? When you remember that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job—the men with whom the Almighty conversed . . . all these men were slaveholders.” It is worth noting, however, that when war broke out, the rabbi’s son became an officer in the Union army and lost an arm at Gettysburg. Michael Heilprin replied to Raphall in the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1861, disagreeing with his

views and also citing biblical verses. "Must the stigma of Egyptian principles be fastened on the people of Israel," he wrote, "by Israelitish lips themselves." Jewish Americans in the North, the Midwest, and the West, like Southern Jewry, reflected the views of the society in which they lived.⁵³

Northern, midwestern, and western Jews, like most Civil War soldiers, joined companies and regiments with their friends, relatives, and neighbors. In New York, many young Jewish men joined the New York 68th Volunteer Infantry, which had three Jewish sergeants, three Jewish lieutenants (Adolph Birnbaum, Adolph J. Joseph, and Louis Spitzer), and two Jewish captains (Abram Cohen and Louis Simon). Half of the men of the 11th New York were Jews. There were Jewish soldiers in the infantry, cavalry, and artillery.⁵⁴

Many Jews served in the Ohio 37th under Captain Herman Rosenbaum and Lieutenant Moritz Fleischman. Jewish officers served in the Ohio 35th, 88th, 108th, and many other units. Marcus Spiegel of Akron served as colonel of the 120th Ohio Infantry. Spiegel immigrated to the United States from Abenheim near Worms in the spring of 1849. He moved to Chicago in 1850 and took up peddling. He met and married a young Quaker girl from Ohio who converted to Judaism. Soon he moved to Ohio, where he was active in the Democratic Party and a supporter of Stephen A. Douglas. When war came, he enlisted, and by December 1861 he was the captain of Company C of the 67th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. He was killed in action on May 4, 1864, in a surprise attack on his regiment near Alexandria, Louisiana.⁵⁵

The story of Louis A. Gratz, while hardly typical, illustrates the opportunities for young Jewish immigrants to serve in the Union army. Gratz arrived in New York from Posen in the German states in 1861 speaking no English and began his new life as a peddler. He enlisted in the army shortly thereafter. He wrote his uncle that when the war began, "all the young folks flocked to the colors," and carried away "by the general enthusiasm, I became a soldier. I studied English with great zeal until I could talk fairly fluently." In less than two years, Gratz had become a major, the commanding officer of the 6th Kentucky Cavalry. His heroism at Chickamauga in September 1863 brought him further promotion.⁵⁶

Numerous Jewish officers served in the Union army, including Brigadier General Edward S. Salomon, who enlisted as a lieutenant in the 24th Illinois and rose to the rank of colonel of the 82nd Illinois, which had more than a hundred Jewish soldiers. Company C of the 82nd was officially known as the "Israelite Company" and consisted of German Jewish immigrants living

in Chicago. It was a part of the 82nd Illinois Infantry, a regiment made up chiefly of German Americans. Colonel Salomon, who saw action at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, successfully commanded the regiment in the thick of the fight at Cemetery Ridge and in the Atlanta Campaign.⁵⁷ Frederick Kneffler of Indianapolis rose to the rank of major general and commanded the 79th Indiana. He was the highest-ranking Jewish officer in the Union army. There were seven other Jewish generals. Leopold Karpeles was awarded the Medal of Honor for his conspicuous bravery as color sergeant of the 57th Massachusetts during the Battle of the Wilderness, where he saved part of the army by rallying troops around his colors.⁵⁸

When Congress enacted the Volunteer Bill to raise an army in July 1861, the law required chaplains to be ordained ministers of “some Christian denomination.” Many Pennsylvania Jews had enlisted in Cameron’s Dragoons, the 65th Regiment of the 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry. Its commanding officer was Max Friedman, a German Jew. When the men of the regiment elected a rabbi as chaplain, his commission was refused. Jewish organizations protested, and Congress amended the law in September 1862 to allow chaplains to adhere to some “religious denomination,” thereby allowing Jews to serve.⁵⁹

The most anti-Semitic incident of the Civil War occurred not in the South but in the army of General Ulysses S. Grant. In December 1862, Memphis, Tennessee, became a flash point of controversy because, while it was occupied by the Union army, the city became a notorious center of illegal trading, especially in cotton. On December 11, 1862, Grant issued his infamous Order Number 11 expelling all Jews from the military district because “the Jews, as a class,” were “violating every regulation of the trade established by the Treasury Department.” Jewish families were forced out of some towns. Grant’s superiors backed his order, but Jewish leaders protested directly to President Lincoln, who immediately countermanded the order and denounced discrimination against Jews as a class.⁶⁰ The incident, while unfortunate, was not typical of either the Lincoln administration or Grant’s command.

NOTES

1. “Kahal Kadosh” (Holy Congregation), traditionally the first two words of all early Sephardic congregations, is usually abbreviated “K.K.,” as in the previous sentence with K.K. Mikve Israel. Yates Levy to J. C. Levy, March 16, 1865, Phillips-Myers Papers no. 596, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina,

Chapel Hill; Robert N. Rosen, *The Jewish Confederates* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 9–31; Eli Faber, *A Time for Planting: The First Migration, 1654–1820* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). Some of the better works on local Jewish history are as follows: Mark I. Greenberg, “Becoming Southern: The Jews of Savannah, Georgia, 1830–1870,” *American Jewish History* 86, no. 1 (March 1998): 1997; Myron Berman, *Richmond’s Jewry, 1769–1976: Shabbat in Shockoe* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979); Steven Hertzberg, *Strangers within the Gate City: The Jews of Atlanta, 1845–1915* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1978); Ruthe Winegarten and Cathy Schechter, *Deep in the Heart: The Lives and Legends of Texas Jews* (Austin: Eakin Press and Texas Jewish Historical Society, 1990); James W. Hagy, *This Happy Land: The Jews of Colonial and Antebellum Charleston* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993); Belinda Gergel and Richard Gergel, *In Pursuit of the Tree of Life: A History of the Early Jews of Columbia, South Carolina, and the Tree of Life Congregation* (Columbia, SC: Tree of Life Congregation, 1996); Bertram Wallace Korn, *The Jews of Mobile, Alabama, 1763–1841* (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 1970); Bertram Wallace Korn, *The Early Jews of New Orleans* (Waltham, MA: American Jewish Historical Society, 1969); Selma S. Lewis, *A Biblical People in the Bible Belt: The Jewish Community of Memphis, Tennessee, 1840s–1960s* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998); Janice O. Rothschild, *As but a Day: The First Hundred Years, 1867–1967* (Atlanta, GA: Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, The Temple, 1967); Melvin I. Urofsky, *Commonwealth and Community: The Jewish Experience in Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society and Jewish Community Federation of Richmond, 1997); Rabbi Newton J. Friedman, “A History of Temple Beth Israel of Macon, Georgia” (Ph.D. diss., Burton College and Seminary, 1955).

2. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 23–25; Jacob Rader Marcus, ed., *Memoirs of American Jews*, vol. 3 (New York: Ktav, 1974), 104.

3. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 25; Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820–1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), appendix; Elliott Ashkenazi, *The Business of Jews in Louisiana 1840–1875* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988), 9–11.

4. Greenberg, “Becoming Southern,” 57–58; Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 37; Bertram W. Korn, *Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South, 1789–1865* (Elkins Park, PA: Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel, 1961), 123.

5. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 37. Numerous rabbis and Jewish leaders in the North answered Rabbi Raphall’s defense of slavery. The majority of Jews in the North opposed slavery, and there were a number of Northern Jewish abolitionists.

6. *Ibid.*, 382–83; Bertram Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1951), 15–31, and Korn, *Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South*, published also as a chapter entitled “Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South, 1789–1865,” in *Jews in the South*, ed. Leonard Dinnerstein and Mary Dale Palsson (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), 89–134; Hagy,

This Happy Land, 93; Avraham Barkai, *Branching Out: German-Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1820–1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1994), 109–11.

7. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 16; Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, 20; Korn, *Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South*, 111–13; Korn, *American Jewry*, 29.

8. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 15, 31–33; Howard M. Sachar, *A History of the Jews in America* (New York: Knopf, 1992), 26–27; Oscar S. Straus, *Under Four Administrations* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922), 10.

9. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 31; I. J. Benjamin, *Three Years in America, 1859–1862*, vol. 1, ed. Oscar Handlin, translation from German by Charles Reznikoff (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1956), 76.

10. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 34; John F. Marszalek, ed., *The Diary of Miss Emma Holmes, 1861–1866* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 162, 209, 306; Carol Bleser, ed., *Tokens of Affection: The Letters of a Planter's Daughter in the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 343.

11. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 35. See, generally, Jacob Rader Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1951), chap. 5 (“it is . . . a matter of record that the New Englanders, with rare exception, had no use for Jews. The original Puritans were interested in Hebrew and in ancient Hebrews . . . but not in their descendants as long as they remained Jews”).

12. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 35; Gergel and Gergel, *Tree of Life*, 33–35; *Confederate Veteran*, 23 (August 1915): 343. This is in a letter from Simon Baruch to the *Confederate Veteran*. Samuel Proctor and Louis Schmier, eds., with Malcolm Stern, *Jews of the South: Selected Essays from the Southern Jewish Historical Society* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 37; Louis Schmier, “Georgia History in Pictures. This ‘New Canaan’: The Jewish Experience in Georgia,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 73, no. 4, pt. 2 (Winter 1989), 820; Greenberg, “Becoming Southern”; Lewis, *A Biblical People*, 34.

13. Eli N. Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin: The Jewish Confederate* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 96–97.

14. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 38; Morris U. Schappes, ed., *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654–1875*, rev. ed. (New York: Citadel Press, 1952), 436–41.

15. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 38. Korn, *American Jewry*, 250n, 48; Frederic Jaher, *A Scapegoat in the Wilderness: The Origins and Rise of Anti-Semitism in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 138, 200–3, 215; John Weiss, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker* (New York: D. Appleton, 1964): Theodore Parker, “Journal,” March 1843, 1:214, and Parker to Dr. Francis, May 26, 1844, 1:236, “Letter to the Members of the 28th Congregational Society of Boston” (1859), 2:497, and “Some Thoughts on the Charities of Boston” (1858), 1:397, and to Rev. David Wasson, December 12, 1857, 1:395–96. See also Egal Feldman, *Dual Destinies: The Jewish Encounter with Protestant America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 56–59; *Liberator* 15 (May 20, 1842): 1, 19; (May 18, 1849): 77; (September 21, 1849): 751.

Edmond Quincy, "A Jew and a Christian," *Liberator* 18 (August 11, 1848): 126. Quincy, a Boston Brahmin and a cousin of John Quincy Adams, wrote a novel, *Wensley: A Story without a Moral*, published in 1854, in which the villain is a forger and cheat named Aaron Abrahams. The book is laced with every cliché of old-fashioned Boston anti-Semitism: the Jew as a liar, cheat, and coward (see pp. 275–91). See also Jonathon D. Sarna, "The 'Mythical Jew' and the 'Jew Next Door' in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Anti-Semitism in American History*, ed. David A. Gerber (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 57–78; David A. Gerber, "Cutting Out Shylock: Elite Anti-Semitism and the Quest for Moral Order in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Market Place," *Journal of American History* 69 (December 1982): 615–37.

Lydia Maria Child, *Letters from New-York* (New York: Charles Francis; Boston: James Munroe, 1843), 12–13, 26–29, 31, 33–34, 217–18, 225 (Judaism was rife with superstition, vengeance, blindness; its ceremonies "strange . . . spectral and flitting"). See also Patricia G. Holland and Milton Meltzer, eds., *Guide to the Collected Correspondence of Lydia Maria Child, 1817–1880* (New York: Kraus Microform, 1980), s.v. "Jews," especially letters to Louisa Gilman Loring (September 4, 1846) and Ellis Gray Loring (March 5, 1854).

As to Henry Wilson's views, see *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd sess., February 21, 1861, 1091; and 37th Cong., 2nd sess., February 13, 1862, 789; Korn, *American Jewry*, 168; Robert Douthat Meade, *Judah P. Benjamin: Confederate Statesman* (London: Oxford University Press, 1943), 139; Jacob Rader Marcus, *United States Jewry, 1776–1985*, 4 vols. (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1985–93), 3:36.

16. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 121; Sachar, *History*, 73; *History of the Jews of Louisiana, Their Religious, Civic, Charitable and Patriotic Life* (New Orleans: Jewish Historical Publishing Company of Louisiana, 1903), 33; Scherck to J. L. Meyer, Columbus, Georgia, September 9, 1864, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati (hereafter AJA); *Charleston Daily Courier*, March 11, 1861.

17. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 13–14, 49–54; Schmier, "Georgia History in Pictures," 820; Isaac Hermann, *Memoirs of a Veteran Who Served as a Private in the 60s in the War between the States, Personal Incidents, Experiences, and Observations* (Atlanta, GA: Byrd Printing Co., 1911), 192–93; letter, April 17, 1864, Simon Mayer Papers, box 1, Tulane University.

18. James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Young, *Where They Lie*, 39.

19. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 49. Letter dated July 8, 1863, addressed to "Dear Brother Isaac and Sister Amelia" (Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Meinnart) in Richmond from Philip Rosenheim, AJA; Leo E. Turitz and Evelyn Turitz, *Jews in Early Mississippi*, 2nd ed. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), xvii; typewritten autobiography of Sir Moses Ezekiel, 75–76, Beth Ahaba Archive (Richmond, Virginia). See also Joseph Gutman and Stanley F. Chyet, eds., *Moses Jacob Ezekiel: Memoirs from the Baths*

of Diocletian (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1975); *VMI Alumni Review* 49, no. 3 (Spring 1973): 1; Stanley F. Chyet, "Moses Jacob Ezekiel: A Childhood in Richmond," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 62 (1973): 286–94.

20. Berman, *Richmond's Jewry*, 194–95.

21. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 50; autobiography of Moses Ezekiel; Vann C. Woodward and Elisabeth Muhlenfeld, eds., *The Private Mary Chestnut: The Unpublished Civil War Diaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 350; Phoebe Yates Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond*, ed. Bell Irvin Wiley (Jackson, TN: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1959; reprint, Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot, 1991), 24.

22. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 52; Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 28; Bernard M. Baruch, *My Own Story* (New York: Henry Holt, 1957), 5.

23. Lewis Leon, *The Diary of a Tar Heel Confederate Soldier* (Charlotte, NC: Stone Publishing Co., 1913), 1; Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews*, 3:197; Schappes, *Documentary History*, 481, 707–8.

24. Jaher, *Scapegoat*, 3–4, 117–18, 135–36.

25. Philip Whitlock Recollections, 1843–1913, p. 92, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; Herbert Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917* (Richmond, VA: Herbert Ezekiel, 1917), 183, 16, 175.

26. Jonathan D. Sarna, "American Jewish Political Conservatism in Historical Perspective," *American Jewish History* 87 (June/September 1999): 113–22.

27. Bertram W. Korn, introduction to "The Jews of the Confederacy," *American Jewish Archives* 13, no. 1, "Civil War Centennial Southern Issue" (April 1961): 4.

28. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, chap. 2; Thomas Cooper DeLeon, *Belles, Beaux, and Brains of the '60's* (New York, 1909), 91–93.

29. Richard S. Tedlow, "Judah Benjamin," in *"Turn to the South": Essays on Southern Jewry*, ed. Nathan M. Kaganoff and Melvin I. Urofsky (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979), 46; Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin*, 147–49; S. I. Neiman, *Judah Benjamin: Mystery Man of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963), 145–46; Meade, *Judah P. Benjamin*, 235; George C. Rable, *The Confederate Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 130.

30. A. J. Hanna, *Flight into Oblivion* (Richmond, VA: Johnson, 1938), 194; Louis Gruss, "Judah Philip Benjamin," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 19 (October 1936): 1046; Pierce Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin* (Philadelphia: W. G. Jacobs, 1907), 332; Robert Selph Henry, *The Story of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1931), 85, 87; Charles P. Roland, *The Confederacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 83, 111; Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin*, xi–xxi.

31. Roy Z. Chamlee Jr., *Lincoln's Assassins: A Complete Account of Their Capture, Trial, and Punishment* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1990), 401.

32. Meade, *Judah P. Benjamin*, 297–305; Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin*, 193; Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 137. Colonel Henry J. Leovy's activities are briefly described in

William M. Robinson Jr., *Justice in Grey: A History of the Judicial System of the Confederate States of America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), 409–11. His activities as a special commissioner are described in the *Official Records* IV, 4:802–15; and Kenneth W. Noe, “Red String Scare: Civil War Southwest Virginia and the Heroes of America,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 69 (July 1992): 301–22. Noe has Leovy’s name as “Leory” because the *Official Records* made the same mistake. On the flight of the cabinet, see Hanna, *Flight into Oblivion*. See Leovy’s obituary, *Daily Picayune*, October 4, 1902, 10, col. 2; letters from Jefferson Davis to Leovy dated May 26, 1877, and November 10, 1883, Historic New Orleans Collection (Henry J. Leovy Papers, 1859–1900).

33. Meade, *Judah P. Benjamin*, 301–4; William A. Tidwell, *Come Retribution: The Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), chap. 8; William A. Tidwell, *April ’65: Confederate Covert Action in the American Civil War* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1995), 127–29.

34. Simon Wolf, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen* (Philadelphia: Levytype, 1895); Barnett A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1905); list of Shreveport Jewish Confederate soldiers compiled by Eric Brock, Rosen Papers, Jewish Heritage Collection, College of Charleston Library; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *History of the Jews of Richmond*, 176–88. The authors, writing in 1916, believed their list of Jewish Confederate soldiers to be “the best that has ever been printed, and it is safe to assume that no more complete or accurate one will ever be published” (176); Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971), 331.

35. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 162–63.

36. *Ibid.*, 163–65. Another reason there were no Jewish units is that many Jews were afraid to admit they were Jews. As Korn points out, “Hundreds and hundreds of Jewish men and officers in the Union and Confederate armies . . . thought they would avoid trouble by attempting to hide their background.” Rabbi Isaac Leiser observed that some (Union) soldiers “would scarcely confess their Jewish origin . . . there was, on the whole, a hesitancy to confess our religion” (Korn, *American Jewry*, 96–97). Korn contends that Jews of this generation were mostly immigrants who had experienced serious prejudice and discrimination in Europe and “were afraid to call attention to themselves” even by creating a national Jewish organization (Korn, *American Jewry*, 13). An anonymous letter from a Jewish soldier dated February 1862 pointed out, “As a general rule, the Jews do not care to make their religion a matter of notoriety . . . some of our brethren fear that, were they known as Hebrews, it would expose them to the taunts and sneers of . . . their comrades” (Schappes, *Documentary History*, 465–66). “The fact that so few Jewish companies were organized,” Korn observed, did not stem from any lack of patriotism among Jews, but from a reluctance to form Jewish enclaves in the army (121). An exception to this rule appears to be Company C (“The Israelite Company”) of the 82nd Illinois, which

consisted primarily of Jewish men from Chicago (Schappes, *Documentary History*, 469–72).

37. Wolf, *American Jew*, passim; *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy*, 266–67; Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 166.

38. Wolf, *American Jew*, passim; as to the Cohens, see 374; Ashley Halsey Jr., “The Last Duel in the Confederacy,” *Civil War Times Illustrated* 1, no. 7 (November 1962): 7; Elzas, *Jews of South Carolina*, 226; Joseph H. Crute, Sr., *Units of the Confederate Army* (Gaithersburg, MD: Olde Soldier Books, 1987), 271–72; Dorothy Phelps Bultman, “The Story of a Good Life” (November 1963, Sumter, South Carolina), 1, Jewish Heritage Collection, College of Charleston.

39. Ernest B. Furguson, *Ashes of Glory: Richmond at War* (New York: Knopf, 1996), 212. Letter dated July 8, 1863, from Philip Rosenheim to the Meinnarts, Korn file, AJA.

40. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 174–75; Eric Brock, “The Jewish Cemeteries of Shreveport, Louisiana” (Shreveport, LA: privately printed, 1995), Jewish Heritage Collection.

41. John A. Cutchins, *A Famous Command: The Richmond Light Infantry Blues* (Richmond: Garrett and Massies, 1934), passim; Berman, *Richmond's Jewry*, 93–97; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *History of the Jews of Richmond*, 129, 149–152; Darrell L. Collins, *46th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, VA: H. E. Howard, 1992), 151.

42. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 118–125. The best source on Abraham C. Myers is Richard D. Goff, *Confederate Supply* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1969). Walter Burke Jr. has written a useful pamphlet entitled “Quartermaster: A Brief Account of the Life of Colonel Abraham Charles Myers, Quartermaster General C.S.A.,” published in 1976. William C. Davis, *Breckinridge: Statesman, Soldier, Symbol* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974); Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991); and Davis, *A Government of Our Own: The Making of the Confederacy* (New York: Free Press, 1994). Thomas Cooper DeLeon, the irrepressible author of *Belles, Beaux, and Brains of the '60s* and *Four Years in Rebel Capitals: An Inside View of Life in the Southern Confederacy, from Birth to Death* (Mobile: Gossip Printing Co., 1890), knew Myers personally and was well acquainted with his family, as was true of Mary Chestnut, who was also from South Carolina and knew the Jewish community through her close friendship with Miriam DeLeon Cohen. Thus, her diary, *Mary Chestnut's Civil War*, is a good source on Myers.

See also Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of Fort Myers: The History of the Land of the Caloosahatchee and Southwest Florida* (Fort Myers, FL: Southwest Florida Historical Society, 1949); Samuel Bernard Thompson, *Confederate Purchasing Operations Abroad* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935); Clement Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy* (New York: Macmillan, 1954); Ellsworth Eliot Jr., *West Point in the Confederacy* (New York: G. A. Baker, 1941); Robert C. Black III, *The Railroads of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,

1952); John Beauchamp Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital*, 2 vols., ed. Howard Swiggett (New York: Old Hickory Bookshop, 1935).

43. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 132, 142.

44. Eaton, *History of the Southern Confederacy*, 138; Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 537–38; Goff, *Confederate Supply*, 142; Woodward, *Mary Chestnut*, 437n5.

45. Woodward, *Mary Chestnut*, 532; Sallie B. Putnam [A Richmond Lady], *Richmond during the War: Four Years of Personal Observation* (New York, 1867; reprint, Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1983), 275. Jones was a native of Baltimore. *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, condensed edition, edited by Earl Schenck Miers (New York: Sagamore Press, 1958), see 1:186; 2:8; Berman, *Richmond's Jewry*, 187.

46. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 107–10; Joseph Proskauer, *A Segment of My Times* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1950). Adolph Proskauer's daughter Jenny Proskauer wrote an unreliable recollection in 1948, which is at the AJA. The chief source of this material is Robert Emory Park, *Sketch of the Twelfth Alabama Infantry of Battle's Brigade, Rodes Division, Early's Corps, of the Army of Northern Virginia* (Richmond, VA: W. E. Jones, 1906), originally printed in *Southern Historical Society Papers* 33 (1905): 193–296. The details of Proskauer's military career are derived from his compiled service record at the National Archives, as well as the *Official Record*, where his name is misspelled "Proskaner." See ser. 1, vol. 25, pt. 1, 960 (Reports of Col. Samuel B. Pickens, 12th Alabama, May 5, 1863); ser. 1, vol. 36, pt. 1, 1083 (May 9, 1864); 1:27, 563; 1:25, 950–53 (Reports of Col. Edward A. O'Neal, May 12, 1863); 1:29, 891–92 (Reports of Maj. A. Proskaner, January 22, 1864). Also see Young, *Where They Lie*, 76, 78–79; Robert K. Krick, *Lee's Colonels: A Biographical Register of the Field Officers of the Army of Northern Virginia* (Dayton, OH: Morningside House, 1992), 266; Korn, *American Jewry*, 176; obituary of Adolph Proskauer, AJA (the AJA has an extensive file on Proskauer); Park, *Sketch*, 5.

47. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 209–13.

48. *Ibid.*, 249, 256–57.

49. *Ibid.*, 333–37. Letter from Hyams dated April 19, 1868 to "My Dear Caroline," AJA; Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews*, 3:341.

50. Undated clipping, George Jacobs scrapbook, AJA; Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 338–40 (the circular is reproduced on p. 339). See also Korn, *American Jewry*, 110–12.

51. The best history of the Jews in the Civil War remains Bertram Wallace Korn's classic work, *American Jewry and the Civil War* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1951). A paperback edition was published in 1961 that contained a new preface with much new material. The paperback edition was reissued in 2001. It addresses the experience of the Jewish community on the home front, North and South. Like much Jewish history, it focuses on religious and organizational issues (the chaplaincy controversy, for example) and anti-Semitism and, unfortunately, does not address or even discuss the Jewish military experience. There are, as Korn acknowledges, "severe limitations . . . inherent in this approach" (xi). Korn described

in detail the slavery question, how the Jewish leadership, North and South, came to take sides, and the home front. A third of the book is devoted to anti-Semitic incidents and the response to them. There is a chapter on Lincoln and the Jews.

Aside from biographies of leading personalities (such as Stephen Birmingham's *Our Crowd: The Great Jewish Families of New York* [Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1967]; James G. Heller's *Isaac M. Wise: His Life and Work* [New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1965]; Irving Katz's *August Belmont: A Political Biography* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1968]) and local Jewish histories, few books have been published that discuss Jews of the North during the Civil War. Simon Wolf detailed the contribution of Jews to both the Northern and the Southern cause in *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen* (New York: Levy Type Co., 1895). This book is flawed in many ways, but it does contain a great deal of useful information and attempts to list each Jewish soldier in the Civil War. (For a discussion of Wolf's work, see Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 459–60. Given the popularity of Civil War history, this is rather bizarre. It seems that academic historians of the American Jewish experience, clustered in the Northeast and overwhelmed by notions of political correctness, shy away from the history of the Civil War, and indeed the nineteenth century, in favor of more "liberal" and "Jewish" topics, such as immigration; anti-Semitism; the labor movement; left-wing, radical, and socialist causes; feminism; and the Holocaust. But see the relevant chapters in Marcus, *United States Jewry*, vol. 2; Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Sachar, *History*, chap. 3; Barkai, *Branching Out*; Naomi W. Cohen, *Encounter with Emancipation: The German Jews in the United States, 1830–1914* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984); Leonard Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Hasia Diner, *A Time for Gathering* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Diner, *The Jews of the United States, 1654 to 2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); and Martin Litvin, *The Journey: A Biography of August M. Bondi* (Galesburg, IL: Galesburg Historical Society, 1981). For the diary of one Jewish Union officer, see Marcus M. Spiegel, *A Jewish Colonel in the Civil War: Marcus M. Spiegel of Ohio* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

Rabbi Korn's mentor, Jacob Rader Marcus, published, and helped others publish, letters, diaries, and memoirs about the Northern experience. See Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews*, which contains much primary source material on this period. For a pioneering work that discusses all the Jewish men killed in the Civil War, see Mel Young, *Where They Lie, Someone Should Say Kaddish* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991). The opportunities for further research and writing are manifold and exciting. How did the large Jewish communities of New York City, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia react to the war? Who served in the Union armed forces and why? Who were officers, and how did they fare? Especially intriguing are the untold stories of New York and Chicago, where large numbers of Jews enlisted, sometimes making up a majority of companies. See, for example, Schappes, *Docu-*

mentary History, 469–70 (Company C, “The Israelite Company”). The stories of the careers of notable Jewish Union soldiers, both officers and enlisted men, are yet to be told.

52. Sachar, *History*, 73; Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 35–37; Korn, *American Jewry*, 17–23; Jayne A. Sokolow, “Revolution and Reform: The Antebellum Jewish Abolitionist,” *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, no. 1 (1981): 26–41; Barkai, *Branching Out*, chap. 5.

53. Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1957), 18–23; Sachar, *History*, 72–74; Schappes, *Documentary History*, 405–28. For a recent, brilliant study of the biblical foundations of the pro-slavery argument, see Stephen R. Haynes, *Noah’s Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 37.

54. Wolf, *American Jew*, 3, 237–41, 263, 294–95.

55. Jean Powers Soman and Frank L. Byrne, *A Jewish Colonel in the Civil War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 1–19, 335–37; Wolf, *American Jew*, 237–41, 305–44. Spiegel’s brother, Joseph, who also served in the Union army, survived the war and founded the well-known Spiegel Catalogue Company.

56. Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews*, 3:226–35.

57. Schappes, *Documentary History*, 469–71; Sachar, *History*, 74; Wolf, *American Jew*, 2–3, 184–85. See also www.illinoiscivilwar.org (82nd Illinois) and www.geocities.com (82nd and Salomon).

58. Wolf, *American Jew*, 5, 106, 178, 204; Sachar, *History*, 74.

59. Barkai, *Branching Out*, 118–19; Korn, *American Jewry*, 56–97.

60. Sachar, *History*, 78–80; Korn, *American Jewry*, chap. 6; Schappes, *Documentary History*, 472–75; Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 265, 431.