

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC HISTORY
OF THE EARLY JEWISH SETTLERS
IN NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
FROM THE 1840'S TO THE 1880'S

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TO:

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My Teacher

and

My Friend

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DIGEST OF THE CONTENTS OF THE THESIS

The goal of this thesis is to document and analyze the economic history of the early Jewish settlers in Nashville, Tennessee from the 1840's through the 1880's. Approximately two hundred people were chosen to be included in the study. Research was conducted to gather information on each person to document how they made their living and how they fitted into the overall scheme of the economy of Nashville during this period.

A secondary goal of this thesis is to document and analyze the activity in the Jewish community of Nashville of the approximately two hundred subjects.

In order to understand how the Jews of Nashville contributed to and benefited from the economy of Nashville, an entire chapter is devoted to an analysis of that economy during this period.

Several important conclusions are drawn from this analysis. First, it is evident that there was a very high level of participation in the growth and development of the Jewish community of Nashville by these early Jewish

settlers. Second, there was a very high concentration of occupation in the apparel trades. Most of them earned their livings as sellers or manufacturers of clothing, dry goods and related areas. The second highest concentration of occupations of these Jews was in the grocery and agricultural products industry. There was a natural progression from peddler to small shop retailer to larger store merchant to wholesaler to manufacturer. Over 90% of the Jews of Nashville were involved in high or medium level occupations.

The Jewish community of Nashville during this period was a close knit group which comprised an economic subgroup. Most of them were immigrants from Germany or children of German immigrants, with a secondary concentration of Polish immigrants. They had their differences over religious ritual and minhag which led to several "split off" congregations, but generally they cooperated on building the strong and vibrant Jewish community which continues to thrive today.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND GOAL:

TO ANALYZE THE ECONOMIC HISTORY
OF 200 OF THE EARLIEST JEWISH SETTLERS
IN NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
FROM THE 1840'S TO THE 1880'S

The goal of this thesis is to document and analyze the economic history of the early Jewish settlers in Nashville, Tennessee from the 1840's through the 1880's. The methodology will be historical-critical. Approximately two hundred people have been chosen to be included in the study. Research was conducted to gather information on each person to document how they made their living and how they fitted into the overall scheme of the economy of Nashville during this period.

Primary sources were used to collect this data, including business directories, city directories, newspapers from the period, Jewish organizational records and minutes, congregational records and minutes, burial records, birth records, marriage records, personal letters, business records and various other documents and records which have been preserved from the period. This thesis also used secondary sources such as other historians' books, articles and dissertations on the period, as well as personal interviews with descendants of the subjects.

A secondary goal of this thesis is to document and analyze the activity in the Jewish community of Nashville of the approximately two hundred subjects. It is evident that there was a high level of participation in the growth

and development of the Jewish community by most of the early Jewish settlers in Nashville.

The basic format of the paper is as follows:

Chapter I: Introduction, goal and overview of the thesis, including background on the immigration of Jews to Nashville and the origins and development of the Jewish community of Nashville through the 1880's.

Chapter II: Historical overview of the general economy of Nashville from the 1840's to the 1880's.

Chapter III: Documentation of the approximately two hundred (200) names of some of the earliest Jewish settlers to Nashville, Tennessee and what they did for a living.

Chapter IV: Analysis of the business and professions of the two hundred people.

Chapter V: Conclusions: generalizations and summary analysis of the economic activities of the two hundred people.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

ON THE IMMIGRATION OF JEWS TO NASHVILLE

Most of the Jews who immigrated to Nashville in the 1840's -1880's came from Germany and Central Europe. In spite of the fact that the Enlightenment was beginning in Germany in the early 19th century, most Jews continued to live in poor conditions there. Oppression continued to weigh upon them as most of them lived in specially assigned areas (note 1). Most Jews were poor and when they found better conditions through the expanding economy, they were hit with very heavy taxation, even a "leibzoll," or personal tax was imposed on Jews every time they left their residence for commercial purposes (note 2). Therefore, not only were these conditions financially restricting, they were also degrading. It was humiliating for Jews to live in these conditions. Unfortunately, there was little they could do about their situation until the early to mid-nineteenth century. Before that, many of them migrated eastward to Poland, but life proved to be no better there. A few Jews were able to go to Holland and England, but by and large, there had never been a place for German Jews to go where they could truly better themselves. In the early 19th century, word came forth to the Jews of Germany and Central Europe that a new nation had been born on the foundation of equal civil rights for all. To many of them, the United States became the promised land across the "Sea

of Reeds." By the middle 1800's, a trickle of Germany's Jews had begun to flow toward America's shores.

The Jews of Germany enjoyed a brief respite from their oppressed conditions during the Napoleonic years of 1800-1815. Riding in the wake of the French Revolution's libertarian and egalitarian fervor, Napoleon brought new freedoms to the Jews of Germany. However, the equality of the Jews was not complete and they were still subjects of age-old discrimination. But conditions were better than before Napoleon.

After Napoleon's fall, a reactionary current swept Germany. The Jews were considered less than citizens of a historic Christian state of Germany, Prussia, Poland and Austria. They were targeted as scapegoats by politicians who saw Jews as the financiers of the French invasion and occupation of Germany (note 3). As a reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment, a Romanticism period emerged, which included intense nationalism in the place of the ideals of universal justice and equal rights for all, especially for the Jews. "Teutomania" swept the land (note 4), and was marked by antisemitic ideas and slogans which became widespread in the press and in German universities. This campaign of defamation led to physical attacks on Jews in several German cities (note 5). Bavaria and Baden were the main centers of the rioting. On August 2, 1819, German

students at Wurzburg University attacked Jews in the "Hep! Hep!" disturbances. "Hep" was believed to mean "Hierosolyma est Perdita" or "Jerusalem is lost" (note 6). This was the student rioters' marching cry. In 1822, Jews were disqualified from academic teaching posts in universities (note 7).

Rather than crawl back into their ghettos, the Jews felt overwhelming frustration. After sixty years of gaining freedom in small, hard-fought increments, as true freedom was almost in sight, they now felt they had tumbled deeply into despair. They had taken a taste of enlightenment and they had partaken of a new way of living, and they could never fully return to the old ways. The ghetto was forever gone from their consciousness. They knew that they must continue their fight for a better life in Germany or else find a way to get out.

There is evidence of a growing desire to emigrate from Germany and Central Europe after 1819. Members of the "Verein fur Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden," Eduard Gans, Leopold Zunz and M. Moser, wrote a letter to Mordecai M. Noah of New York in 1822, which told of the intellectual and moral distress of European Jews who were longing "to escape endless slavery and oppression" (note 8). These people, who were indisputably among the leaders of the Jewish intellectual inheritors of the best hopes of

the Enlightenment, had concluded that the future of Central European Jews was mass emigration.

Emigration began to increase in the 1830's, especially from southern and southwestern Germany. It was prompted by "rising prices, the European revolutions, a more definite and more favorable view of America and perhaps a cholera epidemic" (note 9). The fact that there was an economic depression in those regions was another contributing factor to the increased emigration in the 1830's. In fact scholars agree that the emigration of this period was due primarily to the depression in the economy and this was a more important factor than the political persecution. The economy in the north of Germany was improving and the lower middle class and poor Jews there were able to tolerate their conditions in spite of the religious discrimination. In fact, the bulk of the Jewish population in the north were satisfied with their chance to pursue commercial and semi-professional careers (note 10).

Jews had been the object of so much political, social and economic discrimination since the Middle Ages in Central Europe, that they were almost accustomed to it and they were capable of handling the disappointments of these years. However, this time something was different. This time there was a real alternative known as emigration to the United States. There had been more than fifty books

written between 1815-1850 by Germans who had traveled in America, reporting favorably on their experiences there, so this alternative was well known to German Jews. Suddenly, there was hope to escape persecution.

However, it was not until the watershed year of 1848 that the emigration movement began in earnest. Revolutionary fever was sweeping Europe. In Germany, there were revolts motivated by a desire for constitutional reform. They were demanding civil rights, and in many places victories were won, especially in Baden, Wurttemberg and Hanover. Most of the German states were forced to make reforms. This gave rise to political stirrings of unprecedented vitality in all German towns. There was a feeling of "people's sovereignty" throughout Germany (note 11).

Naturally, the Jews were swept up in this wave of optimism as well. They jumped into the revolutionary movement and were very much a part of the riots in several cities, especially Berlin in March, 1848. Some Jews were involved in the assemblies which met to draw up new constitutions, including the Prussian National Assembly in May, 1848. These new constitutions "fulfilled the fondest hopes of their Jewish supporters: complete equality before the law" (note 12). Jews would finally be recognized as Germans, not as a separate race. It was an exciting time

for Jews in Germany as full emancipation seemed at long last to be at hand.

Unfortunately, the old conservative powers were able to react successfully and they put down much of the revolutionary movement. Many of the new constitutions were rescinded and the revolutions were a failure. The reaction led to a new round of repression and bitter frustration and disappointment by the Jews. Emancipation was lost. In fact the authorities sought revenge against those who participated in the uprisings, especially the Jews. This reaction became the most important catalyst to date for the increased emigration from Germany and surrounding areas. It was then that Leopold Kompert, the famous Czech-Jewish novelist proclaimed, "On to America" (note 13). This became the watchword for thousands of German Jews. Leading the way, as the trickle of emigration became a steady stream, were about 3,000 to 4,000 political emigrants known as the "Forty-eighters," who fled Germany as a result of their leadership of and participation in the Revolution of 1848 (note 14). Among these were about thirty Jews. This was considered an elite group which influenced the intellectual tone of the new German immigrants to the United States (note 15). The trickle which became a stream grew in strength until by 1880 some 200,000 Jews had emigrated from Germany to the United States (note 16). Others say there were only 100,000.

Although the earlier emigrants had largely come from the south of Germany, primarily for economic reasons, the Jews of the north were now inclined to leave as well. The economy of the north was not bad, but Jews were restricted from pursuing more and more occupations. There were increased restrictions placed on the Jews during these years which motivated them to emigrate. Often cited as one of the major factors for the emigration was the legislative restrictions limiting Jewish marriages. However, "their main motive was economic self-improvement" (note 17). While they knew they could escape repression by fleeing to America, land of equal civil rights for all, they were chiefly interested in being able to make a decent living in order to support themselves and their families. Thus, it was typically the poor and ill-educated young Jewish male who was the first to emigrate. Later, in the 1850's, the more "modernized" German Jews began to go to America (note 18). Even some wealthy Jews emigrated seeking additional investments in the New World. However, very few intellectuals emigrated. While they were frustrated, they felt that American-Jewish culture was "weak and immature" compared to that of Germany (note 19) and was not much of an appeal for the intellectual class of German Jews.

In order to facilitate the "Exodus" movement, several emigration societies were formed. They obtained data on overseas migration and settlement, compiled lists of

prospective emigrants, and obtained financial assistance for the poor among them. The Viennese Emigration Association was formed in May, 1848, as the first such organization (note 20). This association selected the people who would be the first to emigrate, with preference given to those with high moral qualifications, and marketable skills. If they could make money, they could send back funds for further emigration (note 21). Every effort was made to provide relatively safe passage for the Jews going to the United States. They even arranged to have "kosher" food served on the boats. They also carried a "sefer Torah," a "shochet," a "mohel" and a religious teacher in order to organize their community in the United States (note 22). All of these actions made it easier for once reluctant German Jews to take the plunge and leave. Once the emigration began in earnest, it fed on itself.

In conclusion, it must be stated that there were many factors which led to this emigration of Jews from Germany in the 19th century. At its root was the deep seated antisemitism which had been plaguing Jews in Central Europe for over a thousand years. Jews had never been given equal rights, or an equal opportunity to make a living, or to live a full life. So, it must be concluded that the overriding reason for the emigration was religious.

It has always been difficult and extremely frightening for Jews to pick up and leave their familiar surroundings,

no matter how onerous. Midrash tells of the children of Israel standing at the shores of the Sea of Reeds. Pharaoh's army is storming down upon them from the rear, the sea is raging in front of them. It seemed as though there were no escape. Finally, one poor, humble but brave soul took the first step into the water. Only then did the sea part and allow the Israelites to cross over on dry land.

The first brave German Jews who took the first step toward freedom, who were the first to emigrate to the new world, caused the sea to split. They took this brave step and made it easier for their fellow Jews to do the same. The trickle became a stream, and they came to a land of freedom, which was believed to be, by those people, the Promised Land. And they built the foundation for what was to become the largest and strongest Jewish community the world has ever known.

Those who arrived in America (most of them arrived at the Port of New York), were young men with little capital. Therefore, their immediate need was to make enough money to support themselves. New York was already crowded and it was very difficult for these new immigrants to make a living there. Therefore, many of them moved westward from New York, generally by way of the Erie Canal and down the river system to Cincinnati, which at the time was the

largest city west of the east coast. Cincinnati was the major economic market center of the west during this period, and many Jews started their business careers there. It was the gateway of the South and the West. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV, most of them started out as peddlers, traveling the back roads of the south and midwest selling their wares. A number of them migrated to one of the most prosperous cities in the south in the 1840's, to Nashville, Tennessee.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

ON THE BEGINNINGS OF NASHVILLE'S JEWISH COMMUNITY

Situated on the banks of the Cumberland River amidst the gently rolling hills of middle Tennessee, Nashville once was in the heart of rich hunting grounds of the Watauga, Cherokee and other tribes of Native Americans. In 1779, a band of Scotch-Irish pioneers from eastern Tennessee crossed over the frozen Cumberland River on foot one cold December morning and founded what would soon become one of the most thriving cities west of the Alleghenies.

The first known Jewish settler in Nashville was Benjamin Myers who came there in the early 1790's. He and his wife, Hannah Hays gave birth to Sarah Myers on December 2, 1795, making her the first Jewish baby born on Nashville soil. Benjamin Myers was the son of Myer Benjamin of Newport, R.I. Hannah Hays was the daughter of David Hays and Esther Etting both of prominent families in pre-Revolutionary America. It is not known what Myers was doing in Nashville, or why he left, but chances are he was a trader selling his wares to the frontier families of the day just as so many of his fellow Jews would one day do, those who would follow him (note 23).

Nashville's Jewish community actually began in the 1840's when Isaac Garritson would invite the small number of Jews in Nashville to join in a minyan at his home to pray together. It was around the year of 1848 when this group, including Henry Harris (Garritson's son-in-law), A. E. Frankland, Judah Franklin, Louis Hanf, Henry Jessel, S. Marks, Dr. Jacob Mitchell, Sinai Nathan, Julius Ochs, Michael Powers, Abraham Schwab and E. Wolfe, began to meet on a regular basis (note 24). Just a few years later, they formally set aside sacred ground to bury their dead. In July, 1851, they formed the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Association to purchase a little over three acres of ground on Buena Vista Pike. They called themselves "Mogen David" (probably named for Davidson County) and thus was born the first official Jewish organization in Nashville. The trustees for this association were Isaac Garritson, Jacob Mitchell and Michael Powers (note 25).

The group then wanted to form a congregation so its leader Isaac Garritson turned to the leader of the American Jewish community, Rabbi Isaac Leeser for help. In August, 1852, he wrote Leeser a letter asking for advice on the mechanics of formally establishing a congregation. His letter is the earliest known description of the Jewish community of Nashville. In it he told Leeser that they had "five families and eight young men" who possessed burial ground, but they desired not to be behind other cities, so

they were "forming a congregational union to meet for prayer on the approaching high holidays" (note 26). They also requested help in obtaining a "sefer Torah and siddurim."

In 1853, L. Hillman, secretary of the congregation wrote The Occident saying that they had "about 30 Israelites residing at Nashville who have united as a beneficial society under the name 'Mogen David.' We have purchased a burial ground and it is contemplated to transform [the Association] into a regular congregation." He said they were temporarily using Isaac Garritson's house for services and that the Rev. Alexander Iser had been appointed "Hazan, Shochet and Teacher of Hebrew." He said that Iser did an excellent job for the high holidays and the second day of Passover, and that they "hope to soon build a permanent synagogue." They held elections on May 1, 1853 and the following officers were chosen: Henry Harris, president; E. Wolf, vice-president; L. Hillman, secretary; Marx Elsbach, treasurer; E. Franklin, H. Lande, Louis Sohn, trustees (note 27).

In 1853, they officially formed the congregation and transferred the deed to the cemetery property from the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Association to the Mogen David congregation (note 28). The trustees for the new congregation were H. Harris, M. Sulzbacher, I. Garritson,

H. Jessel, M. Elsbach, Louis Hanf, E. Wolf, E. Franklin and M. Rice. A. Lande was also known to be a part of this original congregation. Louis Powers, David Elsbach, M. Cohn, S. Marks, Sinai Nathan, M. Oppenheimer and A. B. Oppenheimer were on the scene in Nashville at the time and were also more than likely involved in the congregation.

On March 2, 1854, Mogen David received its official charter from the Tennessee General Assembly. Listed in the Act were the following charter members: Isaac Garritson, Henry Harris, M. Sulzbacher, Lewis Hanf, [Marx] Elsbach, A. B. Oppenheimer, E. Wolf, A. Lande, L. Sohn, S. Nathan, H. Jessel "and other Israelites of said county...form 'Kaal a Kodish mogen David.'" They established their organization of officers in the charter as: "Parnas (president), Gabah Sedoakah (Vice-President, or president of charity), Gabah Beth Chayim (president of the burial grounds), treasurer, secretary, and four trustees." And they declared "mode of worship shall be the Polish minhag" (note 29).

In 1857, the congregation wrote Isaac Leeser that "the High holidays had passed very pleasantly here" and that "the people had rented a room for a term of five years and fitted it up in a handsome style for a synagogue." They also said, "on September 23, 1857, at the congregational meeting they elected Rev. Emanuel Marenson to read prayer and preach sermons and to act as hazan, shochet and Hebrew teacher for the ensuing year" (note 30).

As Nashville's Jewish community grew, people were immigrating from different regions of Europe, and naturally observed varying minhagim. Mogen David's liturgy and ritual followed the Polish minhag. Not long after it was established, people who preferred the Ashkenazic minhag began to object to Mogen David's minhag. This soon became a major source of disharmony, and on October 9, 1859, they formed a new congregation called "Ohava Emet," "Lovers of Truth" (note 31).

The new congregation first met at the store of Louis Powers, who was elected its first president. Alexander Iser, former spiritual leader of Mogen David became chairman of the new group of eighteen people who pledged to become members. The minutes of the first meeting state that "the chairman addressed the meeting, his statements expressed were full of true religion, brotherly love and charity."

They rented a room, bought a Shofar and got a charter from the State of Tennessee on March 12, 1860 (note 32). They were serious about their new venture and they demanded all members to come to the divine services. If a member missed a service he would be fined fifty cents; and for officers, the fine was \$2.00. This was a substantial figure at a time when few working people made \$2.00 in a day. They hired a shochet, hazzan, mohel and Hebrew teacher.

Just as their ancestors who wandered in the wilderness, Ohava Emet moved from Powers' store in 1859 to M. Morganstern's store on Union Street in 1863, to Mr. Fry's store on Market Street in 1864. The members were not happy with all this moving so in March, 1864, a committee was formed to consider building a permanent synagogue. This building never took place as they had so few members and resources. This is one of the major factors which led them to eventually re-unite with Mogen David.

Ohava Emet did purchase a substantial burial ground in 1861, however they sold half of it to the new Reform congregation, Bnai Jeshurun for \$600 in October, 1864. A number of people were buried there due to the war and diseases plaguing Nashville in 1864-65, including Alexander Iser's daughter on March 7, 1865.

Some of the members of Ohava Emet were: A. Iser, L. Powers, S. Powers, L. Levick, D. Bloomenthal, Samuel Cohen, S. Livingston, Joseph Cohn, Sam Cohen, Jr., A. Klein, H. Anger, H. Goldber, H. Spitz, C. Mehrenstein, J. Davison, L. Mehrenstein, M. Goldstein, Henry Cohen, Phillip Flashman, L. Coleman, M. Shyer, A. Schwab, S. Sickles, L. Bernheim, J. Flatau, M. Samuels, B. Adler, L. Hirschberg, A. Ehrlich and Isaac Cohen.

There were approximately eighty people who joined Ohava Emet but about fifty quit over the years, so that the total membership at any one time never grew very large. There seemed to be a lot of internal strife among the members. The minutes are filled with incidents of members being fined or reprimanded for various infractions. Myer Lipschar was cited for having "insulted the Scheifer [sic] Torah at the time of the Divine service." He was given a warning, so he resigned. In 1865, a Mr. Lasker was forced to forfeit his place through "negligence and dispunctuality." A number of people were fined for missing services. Probably the most divisive issue was whether to join with Mogen David. There was much discussion and several meetings with committees of Mogen David to plan the merger. On October 9, 1866, Ohava Emet's members voted to accept some of the merger conditions. However, in January, 1867 it appeared that they decided against the merger for they hired a shochet for another six months! (note 33).

In July, 1867, Ohava Emet and Mogen David finally merged and the charter for the new successor congregation, K. K. Ohavai Sholom, was issued on February 21, 1868 (note 34).

The name of this congregation was "Ohavai Sholom" from 1868 to 1955. When they moved from Vine Street to Harding Road in 1955, the name was inexplicably changed to "Ohabai

Sholom" with a "dagaish" added to the "bet." This is incorrect Hebrew grammatically, but the sign was painted and the stationery was printed, and so it shall be called for the foreseeable future.

Perhaps the most significant step in the development of the Jewish community of Nashville took place in 1864 when a man named Morris Fishel moved there. He was a successful wholesaler in Cincinnati and he went to Nashville to open a branch of his operation. He had been a member of the Reform congregation Bnai Jeshurun in Cincinnati and was acquainted with its rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, the great organizer of Reform institutions. Fishel organized a group who were interested in starting a Reform congregation in Nashville and in 1864, they opened the first Reform congregation there and named it after the one in Cincinnati, Bnai Jeshurun.

So there they were in 1865 with no more than 150 male Jewish heads of household and they had three congregations. It is reminiscent of the story of the Jew who was stranded on a desert island who built two synagogues. When he was rescued, he was asked, "Why did you build two synagogues?" He answered brusquely, "That place? Why, I wouldn't be caught dead in that place!"

Bnai Jeshurun rented some rooms over a store on North College Street in time for the high holidays of 1864. They purchased one half of Ohava Emet's burial ground that year for \$600. When Ohava Emet and Mogen David merged, Bnai Jeshurun's members were also invited to join them, but these early reformers did not want to go back to the orthodox ways of the newly merged congregation Ohavai Sholom. Some of the presidents of Bnai Jeshurun were Morris Fishel (1864-66), Simon Weil (1866-67, and again from 1868-69), Simon Sickles (1867-68), M. Feldman (1869-73), Louis Bernheim (1873-75). 1876 was the last year of Bnai Jeshurun's existence, as Ohavai Sholom had adapted many of the reforms Bnai Jeshurun had introduced to Nashville. One of the most important reforms Bnai Jeshurun introduced was the service of confirmation in 1869. There were six confirmands in the original class: Samuel Weil, Emma Feldman, Isabella and Hannah Spitz, and Hatti and Hetti Shyer (note 35).

Upon the dissolution of Bnai Jeshurun in 1876, most of its members joined and became active members of Ohavai Sholom.

Ohavai Sholom rented space in Douglas Hall and spent a significant amount of money to fix it up. Soon they purchased a large piece of property on Vine Street for \$6,200 and set about building a Temple.

On August 18, 1874, the cornerstone was laid to build the first permanent Jewish synagogue in Nashville. Two Nashville journals, The Republican Banner and The Union and American, as well as The American Israelite (Vol. XXIII, No. 1041, August 28, 1874) published extensive reports of the affair which was attended by Isaac Mayer Wise and ex-President Andrew Johnson, as well as Tennessee Governor John C. Brown and many state and city officials. All the Jewish businesses were closed and nearly 1000 people lined the streets to witness the procession. Rev. Dr. Isidore Kalisch, the rabbi of Ohavai Sholom, Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, Andrew Johnson and Governor Brown went in the lead carriage as the parade went from the site of the old synagogue on Market Street to the square to Union Street to Cherry to Church and eventually to Vine Street to the new site.

Kalisch gave a long speech after which I. M. Wise gave a sermon in which he said, "most nations have had their golden days in the past. The golden days of Israel are in the future, in the progress of the human race. All science is progressive, nothing stands still. Therefore, Israel proclaims that there is no end to truth."

In 1876, the new Vine Street Temple building was opened. Around 1000 people assembled for the historic and sacred occasion of its dedication service on May 26, 1876.

At ten minutes of five o'clock, the outside doors of the Temple were closed and promptly at 5:00 P. M. the procession, consisting of young girls, dressed in white, each carrying a bouquet, marched in and stood in front of the altar. The officers of the congregation who ascended to the altar were Jacob Bloomstein, president; David Weil, vice-president; M. Feldman, secretary; trustees Max Sax, M. Shyer, L. Bernheim and Jacob Ellis; H. Cronstine, warden. The rabbi was Alexander Rosenspitz.

Congregation Ohavai Sholom was gradually moving toward accepting the reforms of the Reform Jewish movement. In 1877 the congregation by vote of its membership, decided to abandon the traditional siddur and substituted for it the liberal prayerbook Minhag America, published by Isaac Mayer Wise.

K. K. Ohavai Sholom went on to become a charter member of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and they were one of the first to adopt the new Union Prayer Book in 1892. They have been in the leadership of the American Reform movement since almost the beginning.

Of course, almost immediately upon the acceptance of the reforms by Ohavai Sholom, disgruntled members clamored for yet another congregation. In 1870, there briefly emerged a congregation "Shaharis" (a morning minyan) which

split from Ohavai Sholom. Julius Cirkle was its president and they bought some burial ground adjacent to Ohavai Sholom's cemetery. However, in 1871, they deeded the property back to Cirkle as Shaharis had ceased to exist.

The next group to emerge was the "Ungarischer Untersteitzung" or the "Hungarian Benevolent Society" of Nashville in 1871. Its purpose was to be "for the benefit of people of Hungarian nativity in Tennessee, to care for the sick, support and provide maintenance and protection of orphan, widow, afflicted and destitute." It was a mutual aid society. Some of its founders were H. Goodman, Morris Loveman, B. Schwartz, H. Lefkovitz, E. Rosenheim, J. Loveman, E. Glick, A. Glick, W. Graf, D. M. Loveman, Charles Rosenheim, H. Weiss and N. Fleshman (note 36). They formed a congregation, held high holiday services in 1871 and became the predecessor of another congregation which would emerge a few years later, "Sherith Israel."

An unusual period of "sholom bayit" seemed to reign in Nashville for several years. It was not until Ohavai Sholom formally adapted Wise's new Minhag America siddur and other reforms in 1877 that another schism occurred. Other reforms being instituted by Ohavai Sholom were the use of the vernacular in services, abbreviated services, equality of men and women's seating in pews together, and the use of an organ. These reforms became too radical for

some, so in 1875 a petition for a charter for a congregation "Shiris Israel" was placed before the court, but it was denied.

The next year another group, "Adath Israel" requested a charter, and on July 20, 1876 it was issued by the state. This was probably named for the Cincinnati congregation Adath Israel which was also a more traditional congregation than Wise's Reform Bnai Jeshurun. Most of the leaders of Nashville's Adath Israel had been active at Ohavai Sholom but could not tolerate the changes, such as I. B. Cohen, Isaac Brown, P. Blumenthal, Henry Zibart, A. Levine, S. Abrahams, Elias Marks, M. Rosenheim, Michael Schwartz (who had been an officer at Ohavai Sholom), and E. Franklin. Adath Israel eventually built a large synagogue on Gay Street and grew into a large and stable congregation. it became a member of the Conservative Movement later and it continues to serve the community as the West End Synagogue today.

Nashville's third major congregation, Sherith Israel, which received its charter in 1905, grew from the roots planted by the Hungarian Benevolent Society, which began in 1871. Sherith Israel still exists today as Nashville's orthodox congregation.

While it seems that Nashville's Jews were a contentious lot, there was a great spirit of cooperation among them in most cases. There were many people who belonged to more than one congregation in order to show their support. For example, although E. Franklin was one of the founders of Adath Israel, he still purchased pews at the new Vine Street Temple building in 1875. Rabbi Herman Saltzman was the long-time spiritual leader of Sherith Israel and its predecessor group. But in 1876, he participated in the dedication of the Vine Street Temple. Rabbi Isidore Lewinthal, the rabbi of Ohavai Sholom for many years, prayed at the orthodox shul on the second day of the holidays and was present at major dedications and services at Adath Israel and Sherith Israel.

The spirit of cooperation manifested itself best in the way Jews worked together on the many service and benevolent organizations, fraternal orders and social clubs which sprang up during this period. The first and perhaps most important of these was Bnai Brith. The Independent Order of Bnai Brith began in 1843 in New York, and the local chapter began in 1863. It was primarily a fraternal, mutual aid society, but it also performed philanthropic activities as well. It served to unite the various dissenting factions of Jews in Nashville. One of its outstanding projects was to help out in the establishment of a children's orphanage home in Cleveland. Its founders

included Simon Weil, its first president; J. M. Druker, vice-president; A. Landsberger, secretary; M. Margburg, treasurer; and other charter incorporators D. Aaron, J. Loeb, A. Lande and Emanuel Wolf. Both Weil and Wolf were life-long leaders of this organization. Also Myer Joseph was president for eight terms.

Other fraternal orders were Independent Order of Brith Abraham, which began in 1868; Keshet Shel Barzel (chain of iron) 1875; and Free Sons of Israel in 1876.

Formal, organized philanthropy began in August, 1859 in Nashville with the advent of the Young Mens' Hebrew Benevolent Society (chartered March 5, 1860) (note 37). The incorporators of this group were David Aaron, J. Emanuel, Phillip Flashman, S. Lieberman, Benjamin Lyons, S. Margolius and L. Solomon. The purpose of this organization was to provide funds to newly arrived and destitute Jewish immigrants, primarily to get them started in business. The funds were also used for health care, food assistance, burial and even Hebrew lessons, all necessities of life at that time as it was also probably a mutual aid society.

The women founded their own philanthropic and service organization in February, 1870, the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society, whose incorporators were Ida Bernheim, M. Cronstein, Sarah Felderman, C. Karger, Bertha Lusky,

Bertha Schwarz, Sophia Shyer, and Dorah Sulzbacher (note 38). Their charter stated that they were formed for "the purpose of relieving the needy and distressed, attending upon the sick and for such worthy and charitable purposes as the constitution may provide."

In 1879 these two groups combined to form the Jewish Relief Society, also known as the Nashville Hebrew Relief Society, receiving a charter in 1891.

During the 1870's another women's group formed at congregation Ohavai Sholom, The Ladies Working Society (in no way a socialist workers society!), which was chartered in June, 1880. This group became the Temple Ladies Auxiliary in 1891, the predecessor of the Temple Sisterhood, formed in 1914.

While most of the above groups had serious aims and objectives closely associated with the Jewish values of "tzedakah" and "tikkun olam," there was also a lighter side to life in the Jewish community, that of the social clubs.

On December 8, 1862, the Eureka Club was established as a dramatic, literary and social club. This club was composed of Jews and non-Jews. They met at a hall at 23 Cedar Street every Wednesday. In 1866, their president was Charles Nelson (a German - not Jewish); E. Northman, vice-

president; A. Landsberg, treasurer; A. L. Grabfelder, secretary (note 39).

In 1865, the "Turn Verein" was organized by L. Ehrenberg, Gustavus Schiff and Joseph Wolf for the purpose of improving mind and body (note 40).

Another social club was the Thalia Associates. In 1866, they and the Eureka Club merged to form the Concordia Society. Its president in 1866 was Michael Heidelbach; vice-president, Y. Leeman; secretary, M. Sax; treasurer, A. Landsberg; librarian, J. Wassman; English stage manager, E. Elias; German stage manager, J. Elsasser. Plays were performed in German and English so all could understand. They leased a hall at the corner of Cedar and Cherry Streets and spent over \$2,000 to fix it up (note 41).

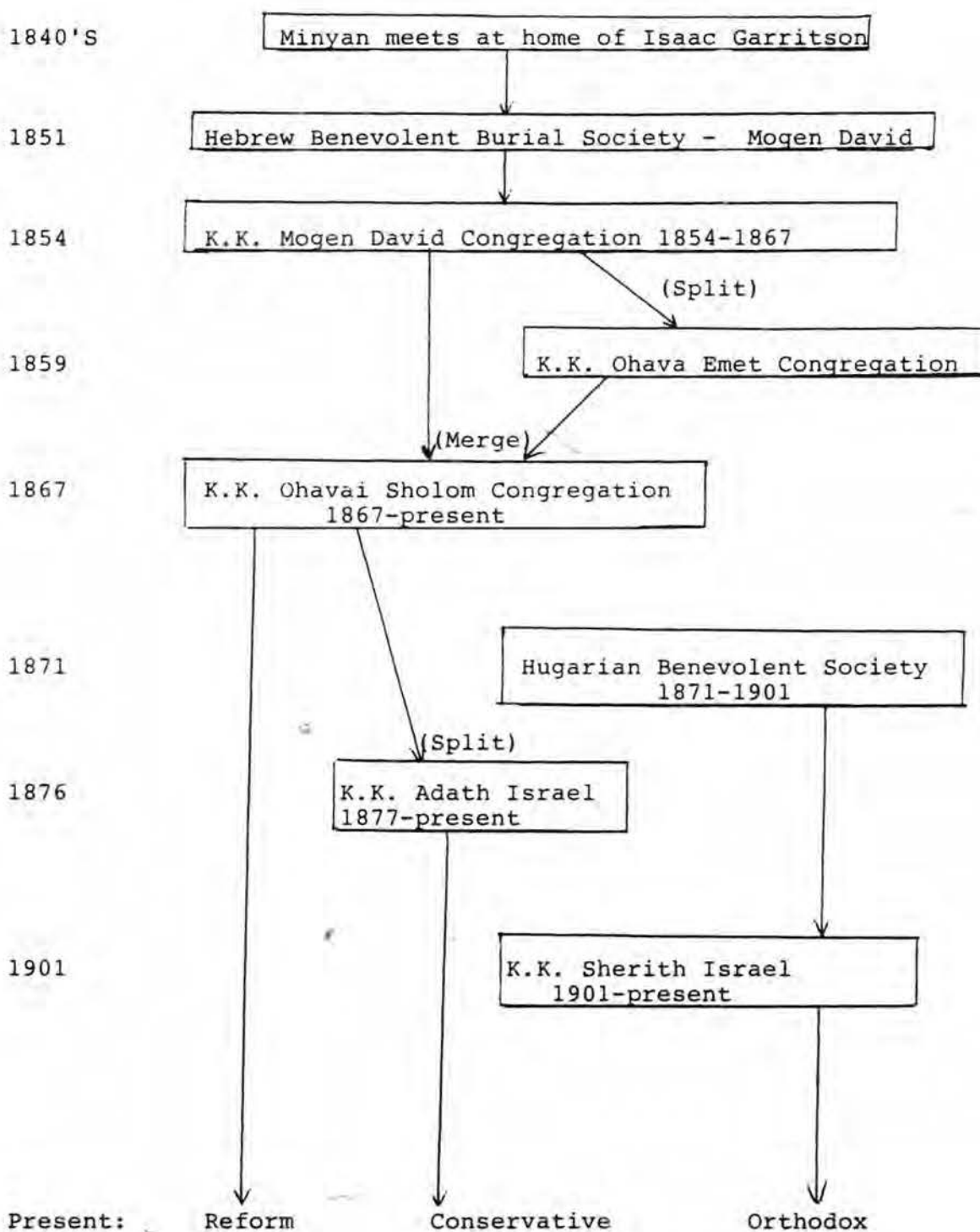
On December 6, 1869, the Harmonia Society was organized as another social club. That first year, Morris Fishel was president; S. Bernheim, vice-president; L. Kahn, secretary; and H. Spitz, treasurer (note 42). Both Harmonia and Concordia were names of Jewish social clubs in many cities around the country.

On October 15, 1882, the Standard Club held its first meeting at the upscale Delmonico. Concordia folded and many of its members became charter members of this new club, which had plans to become a club for only the most

successful of Nashville's Jewry. Composed primarily of second generation citizens, these Jews were more Americanized than their immigrant parents, and they wanted to share in the genteel lifestyle of Nashville's aristocracy. They elected as officers: L. J. Loventhal, president; Mike Lebeck, vice-president; Ben Lindauer, secretary; J. Fishel, treasurer; W. F. Sulzbacher, A. Crone and L. Shyer, executive committee. Among its other charter members were Ben Herman, Abram Winter, Sig Lowenstein, Samuel Hirsch, L. Rosenheim and Max Sax. The Standard Club eventually moved to a site on Woodmont Blvd large enough to accommodate a nine-hole golf course and changed its name to the Woodmont Country Club (note 43).

In conclusion, the structure of the Jewish community was built in these days from the 1840's - 1880's. They established congregations which dealt with the religious and spiritual aspects of the community. They also built religious schools to educate the next generation in Hebrew and the Jewish tradition. Outside the congregations, they established fraternal and benevolent societies and service organizations for the performance of tzedakah, philanthropy and social-action projects. They also formed social, drama and literary clubs to add breadth to their cultural lives. The roots planted by these first and second generation Jews of Nashville grew into the strong and vibrant community which was to follow.

CHART: THE DEVELOPMENT OF NASHVILLE'S CONGREGATIONS



PLAN OF STREETS AND NUMBERING BUILDINGS

The names of the streets which were used in the 1840's - 1880's, the period of this thesis, were different from the names used today.

Spring Street (Church Street) was the center from north to south. (Today, Broad Street is the divider for north and south). Every street crossing Spring Street begins with number 1 north and number 1 south. The streets running east and west begin with number 1 at the river and count out to the end. The even numbers are on the right, and the odd numbers are on the left.

The streets that cross Spring (Church) Street running north and south beginning at the river are Front (1st Avenue), Market (2nd Avenue), College (3rd Avenue), Cherry (4th Avenue), Summer (5th Avenue), High (6th Avenue also known as Capitol Blvd.), Vine (7th Avenue), Spruce (8th Avenue), and McLemore (9th Avenue).

Those running east and west, and parallel to Spring (Church) are: north of Spring are Union Street (same as today), Deaderick (same), Cedar (Charlotte Avenue), and Gay Street (same). South of Spring (Church) and parallel are Broad (same) and Demonbreun (same).

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW
OF THE ECONOMY
OF NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
FROM THE 1840'S TO THE 1880'S

GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE ECONOMY OF NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

1840's - 1880's

Lardner Clark, in 1786, only two years after Nashville had been chartered by the North Carolina Legislature, brought in the first merchandise on ten pack horses and became Nashville's first merchant, selling calicoes, unbleached linens and coarse woolen goods. It was not until twenty years later that the first big supply boat arrived in Nashville from New Orleans making a five month trip and bringing coffee, groceries and sugar. At that time, there were less than ten stores and three taverns on the city square. After the "fine stone bridge" was built across the Cumberland River in 1822, wholesale dealers and traders began coming more frequently to Nashville (note 1). By 1834, a visitor to the city recalled that "there are numerous extensive warehouses and evidence of brisk commerce." (note 2). Around the time the first official Jewish minyan met at the home of Isaac Garritson in 1848, Tennessee received its first telegraphic dispatch. The economy of Nashville was poised for advancement.

Transportation has always been one of the most important factors in the growth and prosperity of any particular city, and Nashville was no exception. Goods were hauled to Nashville in wagons from Baltimore in 1790 to

1810, as it was on a key national highway from Baltimore to the west. In 1810, the first keel boats were brought into use as a means of transporting goods.

The first steamboat, called the "Andrew Jackson" arrived at Nashville in 1819 and revolutionized commercial freight traffic. It was faster and larger than any previous mode of transportation, thus making it cheaper and quicker to ship goods. River traffic was essential in the building of Nashville's economy at this time and linked it with Louisville, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans and other major river cities. Then on Christmas day, 1850, the first steam railway engine reached Nashville and changed the face of her economy forever (note 3).

The decade of 1850-1860 saw 1,253 miles of rail built in Tennessee. Lines were laid to Chattanooga, Louisville and Memphis, linking Nashville with all the major commercial centers in the nation. The Nashville and Chattanooga Railway Co., the Nashville and Northern Line, N. C. & St. L. Railway Company, Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co., and the Tennessee Central were just some of the major lines of the day. Rail freight was faster and cheaper still than the steam boat, facilitating the distribution of goods to and from Nashville, and causing its economy to flourish even more (note 4).

The advance in railroads brought a great revolution in trade by bringing the interior markets of America into direct contact with the large manufacturing markets of the world. Through these extraordinary changes Nashville, in addition to the old-time outlet by way of New Orleans, opened up its cotton trade to the outlets via Mobile, Pensacola, Savannah, Port Royal, Charleston, Norfolk, New York and Boston, through all of which shipments were made to European markets.

So, by 1860, Nashville was the leading metropolis between New Orleans and Cincinnati, and one of the most thriving cities west of the Alleghenies.

Commercial activity within the city was focused on the public square and Market Street in 1860, especially for the wholesale trade. At this time, the new courthouse was under construction and this new center of activity attracted other businesses. Just before the Civil War, there were twenty wholesale groceries, four exclusively wholesale boot and shoe houses and nine others dealing in wholesale and retail trade. There were two large wholesale drug houses calling attention to the fact that Nashville was for many years the southern center for this business. There were also three variety goods jobbers, and three wholesale liquor and wine distribution centers (note 5).

One of the hallmarks of Nashville's economy has always been its diversification. It has never depended too heavily on any one particular industry, thus making it somewhat recession resistant. Nashville weathered many storms during the 1840's-1880's, including the Civil War, reconstruction, depressions and recessions, and yet it grew steadily.

In order to understand the growth and development of Nashville's economy from the 1840's-1880's, it is helpful to analyze some of its major components.

Nashville grew in this period primarily by its strength as a central distribution point for groceries, dry goods, boots and shoes, liquor, agricultural implements, hardware, drugs, and a wide range of other goods. Central to most of this wholesale activity was Nashville's key role as a processor and distributor of agricultural goods, especially grain, groceries, produce and meat. Throughout this period, the wholesale grocery trade was one of the leading sectors of the economy.

The wholesale dry goods business grew quite rapidly from 1850, when there were only three wholesale dry goods houses to 1860, when there were twelve (note 6). During the economic downturn of 1857, none of these wholesale dry goods firms went out of business. Nashville became a good

place for merchants and peddlers from other cities and towns in most of the southwestern states to buy their goods. The labor and expense of a trip to New York, Philadelphia, Boston or even Cincinnati could be saved by making a buying trip to Nashville where the inventory was available and the prices competitive. Nashville served as a market center or "core city" for many towns in Tennessee, southern Kentucky, northern Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and Arkansas.

Nashville was at that time a port of entry, so the wholesalers could import goods direct from overseas and offer them at basically the same prices as one could obtain them in the major eastern markets. This was especially attractive to those in the hardware trade as many of the most important hardware articles were manufactured overseas then, such as table and pocket cutlery, guns, chains, etc. There was as much permanent capital employed in the wholesale hardware business as in any other business of the city (note 7).

With the growing demand for improved agricultural implements, farm tools and the necessary mechanical tools and fixtures for a rapidly growing country, this trade became even more important. Nashville became a major center for agricultural implements and farm tools. By 1880, there were eleven houses devoted exclusively to the

trade in agricultural implements, sixteen in wholesale hardware, two in horse shoes, and eleven in stoves and tinware. There were five iron dealers, one manufacturer of iron railings, three of building materials, one elevator manufacturer, four steam engine manufacturers, six general machine shops, six foundries, one millwright, one nickel plater, one plow manufacturer, nine plumbers, three sheet iron manufacturers, one wire worker, eleven carriage manufacturers, seven wagon manufacturers and eight gunsmiths (note 8).

The liquor trade became an important industry after the Civil War. There was a large amount of capital invested in the manufacture of whiskey as early as 1872. By 1873, there were 100,000 barrels sold valued at \$5,000,000. There were also in excess of \$2.0 million of liquor imports handled that year. Tennessee became celebrated for its high quality whiskey, especially in Lincoln and Robertson counties and Nashville became the distribution outlet for these. By 1880, Nashville had 4 large distilleries, 17 wholesale wine and liquor dealers and 62 saloons (note 9).

The boot and shoe trade grew dramatically during this period, both in imports as well as manufacturing within the city. In 1880, there were 2 large shoe factories, 56 custom manufacturers, 7 wholesale and 17 retail dealers.

They shipped large numbers of product throughout all of Tennessee, northern Alabama, northern Georgia, northern Mississippi and southern Kentucky (note 10).

Tobacco was becoming an increasingly important factor in Nashville's economy. Acting primarily as a gathering point before shipping goods to Louisville or New Orleans for manufacture, Nashville eventually began to manufacture final products. Most of the tobacco was grown in Smith, Trousdale, Wilson, Macon, Jackson, Sumner, Putnam, DeKalb, Overton, Clay and Fentress counties of Tennessee. In Nashville, there were four brokers, five dealers, four factors and one stemming establishment in 1880. There were seven cigar manufacturers, six wholesale and fifteen retail dealers in cigars who also conducted a large tobacco trade as a branch of their business (note 11).

The meat-packing business was strong in Nashville too. There were three pork-packing establishments in Nashville by 1880 and five large stock-yards which dealt with the nearly 100,000 hogs received there per year. The excellence of Tennessee beef made Nashville an important shipping point for that product too. Most of Nashville's early slaughtering and meat packing took place in North Nashville's "Butchertown," where German butchers organized the industry in small backyard enterprises and used the river to dump their waste. Eventually, the butchers

formed a cooperative stockyards, slaughterhouse and hide-processing plant. There were a few kosher butchers among them. Hog, sheep and cattle, primarily from Tennessee farmers, combined to make Nashville one of the leading stock-markets in the South (note 12).

Manufacturing of many different types was taking place in Nashville during this period. In addition to those mentioned above, there were also cotton gins, rope and bagging plants, grist mills, rolling mills, paper mills, silk manufacturers, planing and lumber mills, sash and door manufacturers, box factories, railroad car manufacturers, furniture factories, cotton seed oil mills, and soap and candle makers. Brick manufacturing was also a large business in Nashville at the time.

One of the most significant areas of the manufacturing sector was the flour mill industry. Nashville had many mills as it was an industrial center in the midst of rich agricultural lands. It was dubbed the "Minneapolis of the South" for part of this period.

Cotton mills contributed to the economy in a big way, especially the Tennessee Manufacturing Company. Established in 1869, it became one of the largest manufacturers in the nation of cotton heavy brown sheeting, and one of Nashville's largest employers. In 1871, they

completed an enormous four-story brick mill in North Nashville. By 1890, the mill had expanded to house over 1,000 looms with 35,000 spindles tended by eight hundred operatives, mostly young white women. The success of this company lured other adventurous capitalists into the industry. In 1881, two more cotton mills were incorporated. A series of other factories cropped up around these large mills to make men's overalls and shirts, women's dresses, cotton bags for the flour millers (such as Werthan), mattresses, and a wide assortment of other cotton goods (note 13).

Nashville became a major publishing center, especially in religious works. There were a number of large publishers including the Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and the Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Publications.

Iron played a major role in the early development of Nashville's economy. Middle Tennessee was rich in iron ore, sitting in the middle of what was known then as "the great western iron belt." (note 14). It was also situated near many coal fields. This combined to make Nashville a large manufacturer of iron and iron products during this period. Most of the early firms were small, used crude methods, and were located in outlying areas near the raw materials. The railroads allowed coal and pig iron to be

brought to foundries near Nashville. The foundries lined up along the N. C. & St. L. tracks west of Capitol Hill. The larger foundries made tinware, hollowware, mantels, grates, house furnishings, and lamp goods. Nashville's largest foundry of the day was Phillips & Buttorff which was best known for its heating and cooking stoves, which were found in homes throughout the South (note 15).

Education became another vital industry in Nashville. Along with the publishing houses, the city's colleges and schools gave Nashville a special role within the south as a transmitter of new ideas and new values. Fisk, Meharry, Vanderbilt and Peabody were the major educational institutions and were all funded by northern philanthropy in order to "reconstruct the mind of the South" (note 16).

Nashville's prosperity, its central location and the advantages of its having a cluster of colleges all combined to make the city a regional educational center. This gave the economy a unique kind of diversity and lent a certain tone of refinement and cultural amenities that caused the city to become well known as the "Athens of the South" (note 17).

The following is a trade-list of the mercantile businesses and the number of firms engaged in those businesses in Nashville in 1880: agricultural implements 11, artificial flowers 1, artificial limbs 1, wholesale

bakers 7, retail bakers 11, wholesale boots and shoes 7, retail boots and shoes 17, bottlers 2, butchers 35, carpets and oil cloths 2, china glass and queensware 3, wholesale cigars and tobacco 6, retail cigars and tobacco 15, wholesale clothing 2, retail clothing 15, coal 24, coke 2, coffee roasters 5, dentists' supplies 1, druggists wholesale 6, retail druggists 38, wholesale dry goods 11, retail dry goods 46, gentlemen's furnishing goods 11, ladies' furnishing goods 1, feed 7, fertilizers 1, flour 3, florists 6, wholesale fruits 4, foreign fruits 2, fruits and confectionery 17, general or mixed stores not groceries 39, grain 9, wholesale groceries 14, retail groceries 289, wholesale hardware 16, harness and saddles 12, horse shoes 2, hides 4, wholesale hats and caps 3, iron 5, iron railing 1, ice 1, junk 2, jewelers 17, leather and findings 4, lime and cement 3, lumber 13, wholesale millinery 2, retail millinery 18, musical instruments 3, wholesale notions 14, oils 4, oysters, game and fish 8, wholesale paints 2, paper 4, pictures and frames 5, produce 29, railroad tickets 3, real estate 15, stationery 17, sand and gravel 2, salt 2, sewing machines 8, steam engines 4, stoves and tinware 11, surgical instruments 1, tea dealers 2, telephones 1, tobacco brokers 4, tobacco dealers 5, tobacco factors 4, tobacco stemmers 1, wholesale toys 1, retail toys 4, trimmings 1, wall paper 5, wholesale wine and liquors 17, wood for fuel 6, woodenware 1, yarn 1 (note 18).

The following is a list of the other businesses and professions which people were pursuing in Nashville in 1880: attorneys-at-law 129, architects 5, auction and commission houses 3, bankers and brokers 7, carpenter and building firms 21, civil engineers 6, claim agents 4, collection agents 2, commission-merchants 24, dentists 24, express companies 3, grain elevator 1, hotels 19, infirmary 1, insurance agents 16, livery stables 28, mercantile agency 1, nurseries 4, notaries public 8, oculists 2, paver of streets 1, plumbers 9, plasterers 2, publishers of newspapers and periodicals 31, printers 15, physicians 114, homeopathic physicians 5, restaurants 13, saloons 62, stock-yards 5 (note 19).

The following extract from the annual report of the Merchants' Exchange for 1889 lists the manufacturers in Nashville for that year: agricultural implements 1, bags 1, candy and cracker bakers 23, barrel and coopers 8, blank books 7, brewers 1, boiler makers 2, boots and shoes 1, baskets 3, brick 4, brooms and brushes 8, builders material 3, carriages and wagons 17, chewing gum 3, cigars 12, clothing 3, car shops 2, cornice copper stoves and tinware 9, cotton 3, distillers 3, elevators 3, engines and machinery 16, electric lights 1, fertilizers 5, flour mills 4, foundries 1, furniture and show cases 7, gun makers 3, harness 16, ice 2, iron 1, leather and tannery 3, lumber and planing mills 9, marble and granite 11, mattresses and

upholstering 12, patent medicines 8, pork packers 1, pottery 2, powder 1, scales 1, shirts 3, snuff 3, soap 3, spokes and handles 1, spice 1, tobacco 2, trunks and valises 2, wire works and screen doors 4, wooden ware 1, woolen mill 1, cotton seed oil mill 1 (note 20).

The leading commercial activities by value of receipts for 1882 were (in \$ millions):

1. Groceries	\$12.8
2. Flour and grain	7.7
3. Cotton	6.0
4. Dry goods	6.0
5. Cigars, tobacco	3.0
6. Drugs	2.0
7. Lumber	2.0
8. Clothing	1.8
9. Provisions	1.5
10. Boots, shoes	1.5

(note 21).

However, having said all of this, it is still obvious that Nashville never progressed and prospered to the extent many of the other interior cities of the nation did. There are a number of theories as to why this was true. One of the predominant beliefs was that the South took many years to recover from the set backs suffered in the Civil War.

The Reconstruction period was very difficult and turbulent for Nashville; the financial and currency situation was unsettled. Investment dollars were slow to enter the risky economy of the South, and it took years for Nashville and other southern cities to catch up to the North.

It was also believed that legislation in Tennessee was unfriendly to business. In March, 1887, the Legislature passed an assessment law which was construed to mean that not only the actual property, real and personal, of incorporated companies would be assessed and taxed in the same manner as the property of persons and companies not incorporated, but that in addition to this the shares of stock of incorporated companies should be taxed at their full value. Thus, they paid more than double the amount of tax that non-incorporated firms paid (note 22).

This was extremely bad timing on the part of the Legislature, as the world of business was entering a period in which the larger firms would survive. Technological advances could be employed by those firms with large enough capitalization to be able to afford them. This favored the corporation which could raise more capital through the issuance of stock. By penalizing the corporation, the Legislature may have ensured that Nashville's economy would not grow to its full potential for another century.

Another reason Nashville's economy was slow in developing was the railroad situation. The two major railroad companies colluded on pricing and thus competitive rates were out of the question on most products. This also made it difficult to attract new business to town. Nashville's transportation system was largely responsible for its emergence as one of the major cities west of the Alleghenies in the opening years of this thesis' period of interest, the 1840's. It is ironic that the strictures on its transportation system were one of the chief causes constraining Nashville's growth to the next tier of cities at the close of this thesis, the 1880's (note 23).

Another theory which some historians dismiss as fanciful is the weather. However, those skeptical historians have doubtless never attempted to experience a summer in Nashville. It is difficult to describe in words the oppressive heat and humidity which characterizes the climate from June to September. Most days in July and August rise above ninety degrees. In the days before air conditioning it was necessary for life to slow to a crawl in Nashville. It is difficult to imagine that the factory workers could compete in efficiency and productivity with their northern neighbors. It is no coincidence that the great cities of the sunbelt, such as Atlanta, Houston, Dallas, Phoenix and Nashville did not emerge as commercial powers until after the advent of the air conditioner.

In summary, the 1840's - 1880's saw Nashville's economy evolve from a small to a large marketplace. The expansion of its transportation system extended the range of its commercial markets. Nashville's wholesalers sought to increase profits by enlarging the territory they served and they tried to cut prices to eliminate competition. The early period saw small businesses, often run by one person and a family member, either brothers and/or children. There were also many partnerships between two or more non-family members. Partnerships were usually necessary in order to bring more capital to the investment. These small family or partner-based firms were suited well enough to most of the demands of an economy organized around local markets and handicraft manufacturing, and this type of family capitalism was to prove remarkably durable in Nashville.

As Nashville grew, especially with the advent of railroad transportation, the economy changed and necessitated larger firms, usually corporations. Only these large enterprises could amass sufficient capital to serve extensive markets, pay for the new technology, and compete in a marketplace that demanded large volume and low prices.

By the 1880's, Nashville was poised for dynamic growth. However, it was faced with a plethora of problems

as enumerated above which could keep it from realizing its potential.

An event took place in 1888 which serves as a logical punctuation mark in the economic development of Nashville. That year a group of prominent business people in the city founded the Commercial Club for the purpose of "promoting more intimate social relations among the businessmen of Nashville, to encourage and promote the commercial and manufacturing interests of the city, to advertise its diversified advantages, to assist in removing impediments to her progress, to foster and encourage a public spirit which will benefit the city, and to teach that whatever promotes the business interests of one class of citizens is for the benefit of all." (note 24). [The only Jew who was involved in the early leadership of the Commercial Club was Ben Lindauer. There were no women.]

The club was led by a group of businessmen who represented retail merchants, salesmen, attorneys and wholesalers in dry goods. They envisioned a broader public role for an energetic commercial association and took up their mission with zeal.

The Commercial Club, which eventually became the Chamber of Commerce, signaled the end of the early period of Nashville's economy. It had grown and evolved from a

small to a large regional market, and, by 1888, to a city capable of playing on the national scene. It had many impediments placed in its path, but by now they realized what the impediments were and how to get around them. The formation of the Commercial Club was to serve as their method of entry to a city on the move, a prosperous leader of the new South.

It was into this emerging economy that several hundred Jews ventured to earn their daily bread. Many Jews became leaders in the economic scene and contributed greatly to Nashville's success. Other Jews merely were able to sustain themselves and their families, but without great distinction. And there were quite a few who came to Nashville, stayed for a while and moved on, unable or unwilling to establish their roots there.

What follows is a sampling of approximately two hundred Jews who came to Nashville in the 1840's-1880's, and an analysis of what they did for a living and how they were involved in the development and growth of the Jewish community.

CHAPTER III

DOCUMENTATION OF THE 200 NAMES
OF SOME OF THE EARLIEST
JEWISH SETTLERS
TO NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
FROM THE 1840'S TO THE 1880'S
AND WHAT THEY DID FOR A LIVING

Aaron

David Aaron. He immigrated from Prussia and was a clerk in the dry goods business at 18 Union Street in 1861 through 1866. By 1867 there was no mention of him again. He lived at 36 South Market (note 1).

Abrahams

Harris Abrahams. He left Poland in the 1850's to settle in the United States. After a stop over in England, he entered through the port of New Orleans and then joined his brother Samuel in Nashville. Harris was a peddler until the early 1860's, when he and Samuel set up shop in the clothing business at 52 North Market Street. In 1885 he was still in the dry goods business with his brother Samuel on Cedar Street (note 2).

Samuel Abrahams. He was the brother of Harris (see above), and his partner in the clothing business at 52 North Market Street (note 3). During much of the 1850's, he was in the grocery business (note 4). He was married on January 5, 1861 to Teresa Sayers (note 5). Both he and his brother, Harris received their citizenship papers in 1864 (note 6), and remained productive citizens in Nashville for

many years. On July 20, 1876, Samuel became one of the eight founders of the new congregation Adath Israel (note 7). These Nashvillians were not happy with the reforms that had been made at Ohavai Sholom, so they began what was to become the Conservative synagogue. By 1867, they had moved their store, "H. & S. Abrahams" to 61 North Market Street, and advertised that they were dealers in clothing, hats, caps, etc. By 1885 they were still in business on Cedar Street (note 8).

Abrams

The name of Abrahams was sometimes spelled Abrams in the various directories and other sources. The above Abrahams family was sometimes referred to as Abrams, such as in the 1865 Nashville Business Directory.

H. Abrams. In 1861, there was an H. Abrams listed as being a member of the firm of "Green & Abrams," but there is no data on what type of business this was. In 1865, there was a listing for H. Abrams which said he was in the clothing business at 72 South Market Street. In 1867, H. Abrams was a peddler who lived at 91 South Market, upstairs (note 9).

Morris Abrams. In 1860, he was in the grocery business but by 1866, he was in the dry goods and clothing

business at 80 Broad Street. By 1867, he had moved to a clothing business at 89 Broad Street. Morris Abrahams (probably the same as this Abrams) received his citizenship papers in 1867. He was listed on the 1860 Census, but not in 1870. (note 10).

Adler

Benjamin Adler. He was a resident of Nashville before 1860, and by 1865, he was in the clothing business on Church Street between Vine and Spruce and he lived at 103 Broad Street. In 1870, he was in the dry goods business at 33 Broad Street. He was listed on the Census of 1860 and 1870 and had eight children, one of which was born in Nashville by 1860. He was born in 1825 in Poland and was married to Rachael Lena. Benjamin Adler was a scourer, a tailor, a renovator and a clothier in Cincinnati from 1853-1860. (note 11).

Samuel Adler. From 1867 to 1870, he was a clerk at the dry goods store of his relative B. Adler (see above) at 33 Broad Street. By 1880, he had moved to clerk at a store at 30 Public Square with his relative Meyer Adler, and they helped care for Rachael Adler after Benjamin died (note 12).

Adyson.

Marks Adyson. He was a peddler who was living in Nashville during the 1850's. He was married to Julia and they had a daughter named Anne who was born in 1859. They shared housing with the Morris Lusky's. His name never appears in the city directories, nor was he listed in the 1870 census, so it is believed that he moved out of Nashville in the early 1860's (note 13).

Altman.

Isaac Altman. He was a rabbi in Nashville in 1880, as listed in the city directory of that year. He provided his services to Adath Israel from the time they were founded in 1887 at least until 1893's High Holiday services. He lived at 7 Capitol Avenue (note 14).

Attelsohn.

Marks Attelsohn. He was a peddler during the 1850's and early 1860's. He was listed on the 1860 census as having been born in Russia in 1834, and as having been married to Rebecca who had been born in Poland and was twenty one years old in 1860. They had a four month old baby, Hannah who was born in Nashville in 1859. They never appeared in a business directory nor in any

subsequent census reports, thus they must have moved from Nashville in the 1860's (note 15).

Barker.

Isaac (also listed as J.) Barker - the initial "J" was sometimes used by these immigrants for the names Isaac or Israel). In 1866, he was in the clothing business at 101 North College Street, boarding at 34 North Market Street. He appeared in the 1870 census, and by 1875 was still a peddler living at 140 North College Street (note 16).

Israel Barker. He was a saloon keeper at 144 North College in 1875 which he continued to own and operate through the early 1880's. He became active in the Congregation Ohavai Sholom, having purchased pews in 1875 (note 17).

Moses Barker. He owned a family grocery at 146 North College Street in 1875 (note 18)

Bernheim.

Louis Bernheim. In 1862, he founded the firm of Cline & Bernheim along with Nathan Cline. A native of Wurttemberg, Germany, he started out as a peddler in Cincinnati, and like so many other German Jews of the time,

they became "camp followers" during the Civil War, following the Union Army into the South. Bernheim and Cline gathered scrap that the troops left on the ground after they had broken camp to move on. They collected the scrap and shipped it out of Nashville by rail, until the rail road lines were destroyed during the war. At this point, they shipped their goods via river and overland van. When the Confederate money became worthless, they did business by barter. The business directory of 1866 lists them as owning a "rag warehouse" at 51 South Market Street, and Bernheim lived at 36 South Market. In 1864, they were among the original members of the planning board of the new Fourth National Bank. By 1862, Bernheim had already become an active member of the new Reform congregation, K. K. Bnai Jeshurun, acting as its Warden of the Burial Grounds that year. By 1873, he had become president of Bnai Jeshurun. His wife (the former Ida Liebman of Cincinnati - they married on July 29, 1864) was also involved in the community, as she was a founder of the Ladies Hebrew Working Society in 1870, and became its vice-president in 1879. They joined Ohavai Sholom after the Vine Street Temple was built, and he became vice president of that congregation.

In 1866, they took out an advertisement in the King's Nashville Business Directory which read: "L. Bernheim, Dealer in Cotton and Woolen Rags, Copper, Brass and all

kinds of old metals, beeswax, ginseng and feathers. 51
South Market Street. Cotton Re-baled at Short Notice."

An invoice dated March 4, 1868, says that they were dealers in paper and paper stock and that "the highest price paid in cash for copper, brass, iron, beeswax, feathers, etc." at 70 South Market Street. In 1875, Cline & Bernheim called itself a general store in that year's city directory. By 1875, he had moved his residence to 47 South McLemore Street. In 1955, a descendant, Louis Bernheim Cline stated that this firm was the oldest scrap metal firm in the United States under one family and one firm name in continuous business as of that date. Louis Bernheim died in 1898. After Cline died the following year, the firm passed to two sons of Cline, David and Sol Cline, and to Bernheim's daughter, Tillie Bernheim Cline (wife of Sol).

The history of Cline & Bernheim is significant as it gives important insight into the economy of Nashville at the time. During and after the Civil War, Nashville was situated in the midst of a turbulent economy. People were desperate for materials with which to produce goods, and since there was a shortage of supply due to the disruptions caused by the war, Cline & Bernheim found a niche by providing used goods and scrap to local industry. They sold rags to the produce trade to wrap eggs for storage as

well as for safe transportation. They provided paper mills with cotton rags. They sold cast iron scrap they had collected during the war to a local stove foundry. They took advantage of one of Nashville's most important features, the Cumberland River traffic, to distribute their goods to their customers throughout the region. Their story illustrates well some of the important reasons for Nashville's rise to relative economic prominence during the last decades of the nineteenth century (note 19).

Bernstein.

Moses Bernstein. A native of Poland, he was a saloon clerk in the boarding house of Henry Harris at 11 South College Street in 1860-61. He appears in the city directory for this year only and does not appear in any other source from that point on (note 20).

Phillip Bernstein. He lived from 1833-1897, and married Leah Frank, who lived only a short life (1861-1885). Phillip then married Carrie. He and his brother, Bernhard began a dry goods business at 25 Broad Street around 1870, which was still going in 1875. Bernhard died in 1874, after which his widow Theresa worked in the store with Phillip. In 1880, he had moved his general store next door to 27 Broad Street. In 1885 he was in the dry goods, boots, shoes and clothing business at 73 South Market

Street, and in 1890, he was at 127 North Market Street. Phillip became a leader in the Jewish community and was quite active in Congregation Ohavai Sholom. His son, Clarence (1879-1953) carried on this tradition by leading the congregation as its president in 1925-26 (note 21).

Bissinger.

Benjamin Bissinger. He was in the dry goods business at 92 South Cherry Street in 1865, and by 1870 he had moved his business to 64 Broad Street, where he continued to do business in 1875. By 1880, he had joined the firm of S. Sonnenberg & Co. By 1885 he was back in business with his brother Max, in the junk and furs business of B. Bissinger at 115 Broad Street. In 1890, they were at 318 Broad Street, where he ran a successful hide and fur business until his death in 1901. He became an active member of congregation K. K. Ohavai Sholom and served as an officer, the warden from 1879-1881 (note 22).

Max Bissinger. The younger brother of Benjamin (see above), he had been a resident of Nashville since 1861 when he joined the provisional army of Tennessee. In 1863, he was captured and placed in military prison in Louisville. After the war, he was a clerk in a dry goods store in 1865, and lived at 172 South Summer Street. In 1870, he was listed on the census and was in the dry goods business at

135 South Cherry, where he continued to do business in 1875. By 1880, he had become a partner in the firm of Watson & Bissinger. By 1885, he had joined his brother in a successful hide and fur business, B. Bissinger & Brother. He became a member of the new congregation K.K. Ohavai Sholom and was one of the original purchasers of pews at the new Vine Street Temple in 1875 (note 23).

Bloomstein.

Jacob Bloomstein. Immigrants from Poland during the early 1850's, the Bloomstein family was one of the earliest and most prominent families in Nashville Jewry. Jacob first appears in the city directory of 1859 as the proprietor of a dry goods store at 34 Broad Street, although he was a prominent business man prior to that, as evidenced by his being one of the people involved in planning the location of a new bridge across the Cumberland River in 1856. By the time the 1860 census was taken, he had already accumulated real estate valued at \$4,000 and personal property in the amount of \$2,000, which made him, at the age of 32, one of Nashville Jewry's wealthiest citizens. In 1860, he moved his dry goods store to Cedar Street, where he continued to do business throughout the Civil War. In 1867, he was still at the same address as in 1870, although he had become more of a general store operator, carrying dry goods and groceries.

According to the 1870 census, Jacob Bloomstein was Nashville's wealthiest Jew with real estate valued at \$60,000 and personal property in the amount of \$14,000. By 1875, he had moved to the "country" or all the way out to 253 South Summer Street, and he is listed in that year's business directory as a farmer. He remained at that location for a number of years.

He served several terms as president of Congregation Ohavai Sholom (1868-70 and 1874-76), and it was largely due to his leadership that the new Vine Street Temple was built and completed in 1876. The 1880 census lists him as having the largest family in Nashville's Jewish community, ten children (note 24).

Judah Bloomstein. (1848-1924) The son of Jacob (see above), he is first listed in the city directory as a student (of medicine) in 1867. In 1869, he became the first Jew in Nashville to receive a local college degree, graduating from the medical department of the University of Nashville. By 1870, he became a physician with an office at Cedar and Watkins, the same location as his father's dry goods and grocery store. In 1875, when his father moved to 253 South Summer Street, he went with him and continued to practice medicine at that address. In 1878, he received his degree in pharmacy at Vanderbilt University and entered the drug business, opening his own drug store on Union

Street. Two of his brothers, Max and Jacob joined him and the Bloomstein Pharmacy became a familiar landmark at 501 Church Street until 1920. An advertisement appeared in the 1890 Nashville City Directory: "Max Bloomstein's Pharmacy...Pure Drugs and Chemicals, Toilet and Fancy Articles. Pure drugs at moderate prices. And nothing but the best in every line." (note 25).

Miss Lizzie Lee Bloomstein. (1857-1927) Daughter of Jacob (see above), she became one of Nashville Jewry's leading ladies. She was very bright and well educated, having been valedictorian of the first graduating class from Peabody College. By 1880 she was teaching at the State Normal College, where she taught for many years. Her broad educational background and her deep intellectual curiosity made her the undisputed cultural leader of her community. Perhaps her most lasting legacy is the continued strength to this day of the Magazine Circle, the first Jewish women's literary group which she founded and served as its long time president (note 26).

Louis Bloomstein. The younger brother of Jacob (see above), he was a partner in the successful Bloomstein & Markowicz cigar manufacturing company in 1854 at 54 North Cherry Street. After the depression of 1857, he lost his cigar business and in about 1859, he opened a small family grocery business at 22 Line Street. He was beginning to

succeed already by the time the 1860 census was taken, as it listed him as having personal property in the amount of \$1,000, no small amount for a 28 year old, struggling Jewish business man at the outset of the Civil War. Since he knew the tobacco business, he began to stock an extensive line of cigars and tobacco products in his grocery store in 1860. The Civil War was not kind to Jacob Bloomstein. He was arrested in 1863 for allegedly smuggling goods to rebel soldiers, although he denied it (his daughter's account was that he was merely providing blankets for the injured and sick). He was sent to prison in Alton, Illinois and later was released with the help of Governor Andrew Johnson. His absence caused much hardship for his family, so after the war, he started anew and he opened a dry goods business at South Cherry Street near Broad Street, where he remained for many years. The disruptions of the Civil War touched all families, great and small.

Louis Bloomstein was active in the community from the very beginning of his business career. In 1857-58, he was a trustee for Nashville's original congregation, K. K. Mogen David and remained involved throughout his life (note 27).

Blum.

Robert D. Blum. Throughout the centuries, there have been great Jewish artisans. R. D. Blum was Nashville's most revered artist of his day. Born in Poland in 1826, he and his wife Frances (a native of Prussia) brought their family here, via England, after having a son in England in 1849. In the 1860 census, he was listed as having five children. As early as 1859, he had an engraving business at 18 Cedar Street, which he operated throughout the Civil War. However, due to the problems caused by the war, he was forced to temporarily abandon his first love of engraving and he joined a gents' furnishing goods firm at 20 Cedar Street in 1865 and 1866. By 1858 he was becoming involved in the orthodox congregation K. K. Mogen David at North Market Street, serving as a member of the board of trustees that year, and later, in 1866 as its vice-president.

After a fire destroyed much of his inventory in 1866, he was able to get back in the engraving and die sinking business at 44 North Cherry Street in 1867, along with his son Joseph. In 1870, he had moved his business to 100 North College Street and advertised himself as an engraver and jeweler.

By 1872, his business had become so successful that he was able to afford a one-third page advertisement in that year's Nashville City Directory (page 62) which proclaimed: "I would most respectfully call your attention to the fact, that having been established since 1858 as Plain and Ornamental Engraver, Die Sinker and Embossed Printer, I am prepared to furnish in best possible and artistic style seals for States, Courts, Rail Road Companies, Societies, Notaries, Lodges, Official and Private Facsimiles, etc. Silverware, Doorplates, Stencils, Marking Plates and Brands. Addressed Envelopes, Business Cards, Wood Cuts, etc., engraved with neatness and dispatch. Any orders that may be tendered by mail, express or otherwise, will receive as careful attention as though personally presented. Information and specimens sent free on application. Your patronage is respectfully solicited, and satisfaction in every instance is guaranteed. No. 100 North College Street. R. D. Blum."

In 1885 he was at 178 North College Street in the jewelry and engraving business.

He continued to be involved in the community, serving as president of the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1874. In 1880, his engraving business had moved to 138 North College Street. His son Joseph was a grocer at 146 North College in that year. Perhaps his most lasting

legacies were his contributions of art to his congregations. In 1859, he donated two large plates on which he had engraved the Ten Commandments. This was placed over the Ark. An even greater legacy was given by Blum when he outlined the letters which were chiseled in the cornerstone of the new Vine Street Temple in 1874, and he made the beautiful silver crown for the Torah for the dedication service in 1876. He also carved the letters above and on either side of the Ark which formed a part of the earliest decorations on the walls of the sanctuary (note 28).

Brodie.

Simon Brodie. (Sometimes spelled Brody). He was living in Nashville by 1861, having come from Germany via Pennsylvania. He appears in the 1865 city directory, but with no occupation listed. By 1866, he was in the dry goods business at the southeast corner of Cherry and Elm Streets. In 1867, he was in the dry goods business at 268 South Cherry, as he was in 1870, and 1875 and 1880. It was a sign of unusual stability for one business to remain in one location for so many years during those unsettled times. He was one of the early members of the first break-away congregation, K. K. Ohava Emet, having petitioned to become a member on April 10, 1863. In 1864 he became embroiled in a controversy there. In May of 1864,

congregation member Isaac Cohen brought a charge against Simon Brody (the charge was not specified in the minutes). The charges were dropped, and then Cohen was charged with something by Brody, so he had to defend himself. These charges were dropped. In September, 1866, Brody was fined \$5.00 for "misbehavior" and suspended from membership for one month. No mention is made of what this misbehavior was, but one may surmise that perhaps he forgot to wear his kipa or tallit during services! (note 29).

Brown.

Isaac (Also known as A. I.) Brown. He was a native of Poland who came to Nashville and was in the dry goods business in 1867 at 178 Church Street. In 1870, his dry goods business had moved to 226 Church Street. In 1875, he was in the clothing business at 222 Church Street. He was associated with D. Weil in business for much of his career, and then Brown-Kornman Co. Later still, he was in the wholesale clothing business with his son Leon. In 1878, he was one of the eight founders of congregation Adas Israel, the group which had reacted negatively to the reforms of the new congregation Ohavai Sholom (note 30).

Cline.

Nathan Cline. He was a native of Poland and came to America in 1851. He was a camp follower, migrating south

to Nashville with the Union Army, and eventually founded the firm of Cline-Bernheim Company in the 1860's (see Louis Bernheim above for complete history of that business). Cline was active in Ohavai Sholom congregation, serving as an officer (note 31).

Cohen.

Henry Cohen. (1825-1884). He was a native of Poland and immigrated to Nashville in the 1850's. He was a successful jeweler, who had advertised in the city directory as early as its second edition in 1854, proclaiming on page 56: "H. Cohen, Watch maker and Jeweler, wholesale and retail dealer in Watches and Jewelry, No. 26 Market Street." In 1855 he moved to 159 North Market Street, and in 1859, he had moved his jewelry store to 30 South Market Street, where he lived also. That same year, he advertised again in the city directory of 1859: "Importer and dealer in Watches, Clocks and Jewelry, wholesale and retail, No. 30 South Market Street. Watches and clocks repaired and warranted. Cash paid for old gold and silver, or taken in exchange." He was listed in the 1860 census as being 34 years old, married to Rosa (28 years old), having 3 children, two of whom were born in Nashville, and possessing the handsome wealth of \$6,000 in real estate and \$2,000 in personal property. By the end of the Civil War, he was still in the jewelry business at the

same address, an unusual feat for most of Nashville's Jewish business people. By 1867, he had moved his jewelry store to 45 South Market Street, where he remained through 1870, 1875 and 1880. By 1880, his son Meyer had joined him in business, now called "H. Cohen & Son." In 1885 his widow Rosa continued his business. In 1890 his son Meyer was operating a pawnbrokerage at 170 Church Street. Henry served in the Civil War and was treasurer of Congregation Ohavai Sholom in 1867 (note 32).

I. B. (Israel B.) Cohen. A native of Poland, he was one of the eight founders of the congregation Adath Israel in 1876. He was in the clothing business in the late 1860's, was listed on the 1870 census, and had a dry goods store in 1870. In 1875, he had a general store at 71 Broad Street, where he remained through 1880. From 1879-83, he served as president of K. K. Adath Israel. He died in 1907 (note 33).

M. Cohen (full first name unknown) An early resident of Nashville, he advertised in the second edition of the city directory as a pencil, pen and ink manufacturer at 17 Spring Street. He was at this location in 1855 also, but after 1855 there is no sign of his being in Nashville any longer (note 34).

Samuel Cohen. In 1859 he was one of the founders of the "split off" congregation K.K. Ohava Emes. In 1859 he was listed in the city directory as a pedlar [sic] who lived at 8 North Market Street. He was born in Poland in 1830. In 1865 he was owner of S. Cohen & Company dry goods store at 70 South Market Street. In 1866 he was a clerk at a clothing store at 51 North College, and in 1867 he had a dry goods and clothing store at 93 South Market Street. He and his wife, Caroline Schiff Cohen (1831-1909 - a native of Germany) had six children, two of whom became prominent players in the Nashville Jewish economy in later years: Charles and Nathan Cohn (the "e" "naflah"). Charles married Corinne Lieberman of Louisville in 1890, and went into the lumber business with Albert Goldberg (see). Nathan became a lawyer and married Rosa Lowenstein in 1891. Nathan was a member of the first class of the Hebrew Union College in 1875, but dropped out to attend the University of Cincinnati law school where he received his law degree in 1883. Samuel Cohen died in Nashville in 1868 (note 35).

Cohn.

Morris. In 1849 he bought the City Clothing Store at 53 North Market Street from J. B. Nichol. He advertised in the Nashville Daily Gazette in 1850 that he offered goods for "small profits, quick returns." In 1853 he sold the business to Martin Sulzbacher, his step brother, who became

one of Nashville's leading citizens (see below). Cohn left Nashville in 1853 and became one of the earliest settlers of Leavenworth, Kansas (note 36).

Simon. An advertisement appeared in the second Nashville Business Directory in 1854, on page 56: "S. Cohn, fashionable shoe and boot maker. All work done promptly and warranted to give satisfaction. No. 43 South College Street." He also was listed in 1855, 1856 and 1859 (at a new location, 25 South College Street). In 1860, his boot and shoe-maker operation was located at 128 South College Street, and in 1870 at 337 South Cherry. In 1867, he was president of the I.O.B.A. King Solomon Lodge No. 6 (note 37).

Crone.

Augustus. In 1880 he was in the grocery business with his brother, Marcus (see below) at North Market Street on the corner of the Public Square. On Sunday evening, October 15, 1882, Gus Crone was present at the first meeting of the organization of the social club which would become the Standard Club and eventually the Woodmont Country Club. He became a charter member and a member of the first executive committee. By the 1890's, the grocery store known as Crone & Jackson became to be recognized as a higher end establishment which carried delicacies and

gourmet items from around the world. In 1890 he was still a grocer at 119 Public Square (note 38).

Herman Crone. In 1875, he was the co-owner of a grocery store at 41 North Market Street, along with his brother Marcus (see below). In 1880, he had left the family grocery business to go into the dry goods business at 40 North Market Street. By 1885 he was selling boots and shoes at 167 Union Street, but in 1890 he was back in the grocery business at 501 Broad Street (note 39).

Marcus Crone. In 1875, he was the co-owner of a grocery store at 41 North Market Street, along with his brother Herman (see above). In 1880, he was still in the grocery business, and his brother Gus had joined him. He remained in the grocery business throughout the 1880's at 119 Public Square. On November 23, 1882, he became one of the earliest members of the Standard Club. However, on January 25, 1883, he resigned (note 40).

Cronstine.

Hyman Cronstine. (1824-1899). A native of Poland, in 1865 he was in the dry goods business in Nashville. By 1866, he had become a partner of Cronstine & Green clothing and dry goods store at 67 North College Street. He was listed on the 1870 census. In 1880, he was still in the

clothing business and lived at 139 North Market Street. He was active in the congregation Ohavai Sholom, serving as its warden in 1876 and for a number of years thereafter. He was also active in the Hebrew Relief Society (note 41).

Ellis.

Jacob Ellis. One of the earlier and more successful businessmen in Nashville Jewry, he was a clothing merchant on Capitol Street as early as 1859 after having come to Nashville in 1858. He is listed on the 1860 census as having accumulated personal property in the amount of \$4,000, no small amount for a 24 year old Prussian immigrant. He was married to Hannah, two years his senior and also from Prussia, and they had three small children. In 1860, he had his dry goods and clothing store at 34 Broad Street. In 1865, he moved his dry goods store to 62 South Market Street, and was still there in 1866. He was listed on the 1870 census. By 1875, he was operating a general store at 40 North Market Street, as he continued to do through 1880. By 1885, his store was one of the most prominent on the Public Square, where he employed a very ingenious advertising gimmick. He placed a seven-foot candle in the store window and promoted a contest of guessing how long the candle would burn, and it attracted customers by the car load. He had done well enough to have capital to invest in other ventures. In 1869 he was one of

the investors in the Tennessee Manufacturing Co. along with several other very prominent Nashville Jewish business names.

He was very active in the Jewish community, serving as the very first vice president of the newly formed congregation Ohavai Sholom in 1867. He later served as president of the congregation for two terms: 1870-72 and 1876-77, and was one of the original purchasers of pews at the new Vine Street Temple in 1875. He was also treasurer of the I.O.F.S. of Israel, Gal-Ed Lodge No. 81 in 1877 (note 42).

Elsbach.

David Elsbach. He was one of the first Jewish settlers in Nashville, having left Walddorf in Saxony in 1845 at the age of 14, and arriving in Nashville in 1846. It is believed that he was one of the original members of the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Association known as Mogan David which began in 1851 and which became the first Jewish congregation in Nashville in 1853. He and his brother Max (see below) were one of the original "Five families and eight young men" which Isaac Garritson mentioned in his 1852 letter to Rabbi Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia asking for help in forming their new congregation. From 1856 to 1861, he served as secretary of the congregation.

The 1850 census lists David Elsbach as being an 18 year old merchant. He was among the very few Jews listed in the first Nashville City Directory in 1853, which showed that he was a clothing merchant at "Lande & Elsbach" at 48 North Market Street. He was also a partner in "Lande, Elsbach & Co." which was a hat and cap manufacturer next door at 50 North Market Street. In 1854 and 1855 they continued to advertise in the city directories out of the same location. By 1859, David is listed as an Agent at 12 Public Square, but in 1860 he is listed as a clothing merchant again, with his residence at 168 South Summer Street. The 1860 census lists him as a produce dealer with a wife Sarah Lipman, who was born in Pennsylvania and two daughters, Caroline and Rebecca both of whom were born in Nashville. Rebecca died at the age of two and on June 28, 1860 she was the ninth person to be buried in the cemetery. By 1860, this 28 year old merchant had accumulated \$3,000 worth of personal property. After the 1861 city directory, there is no further mention of the Elsbachs (note 43).

Max Elsbach. He was the older brother of David (see above) and immigrated from Germany in 1845 at the age of 16, arriving in Nashville three years after his brother in 1849. He is known to be one of the "Five families and eight young men" who started the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Association in 1851, which became the first Jewish congregation in Nashville, Mogen David in 1853. Max was

the first secretary of the benevolent association and the first treasurer of the congregation. He served as treasurer from 1853-55. He is listed as one of the original incorporators of the congregation in the Act of the General Assembly of Tennessee on March 2, 1854.

Max Elsbach was associated with his brother in the firm of "Lande & Elsbach" which was listed in the first Nashville City Directory of 1853 as a clothing store at 48 North Market Street and a hat and cap manufactory at 50 North Market. Interestingly, Max was never mentioned in any subsequent business directory nor even on the 1860 census. This is most curious since it is known that he served as secretary of the Mogen David congregation from 1853-55, and it is also known that he was a member of the search committee to employ a new rabbi in 1860, as evidenced by a letter he received on March 12, 1860 from Rabbi Albert Rosenfeld asking about the details of the job opening. One source lists him as being secretary of Mogen David in 1863 (note 44).

Emanuel.

Joel Emanuel. He was an immigrant from Germany and in 1860 was a bookkeeper at 47 North Cherry Street, as he was in 1865 also. In 1866 he was doing business at 34 South Vine Street. In 1867, he was listed as a merchant living

at 124 North Market. In 1875 he was still listed as a bookkeeper at 46 North College, as he was in 1880. He was one of the original incorporators of the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1860, and in 1870 he was treasurer of the Reform congregation K.K. Bnai Jeshurun (note 45).

Feldman.

Myer Feldman. He was very active in the Jewish community. From 1869-73, he served as president of the reform congregation Bnai Jeshurun. In 1873 he was president of the social club Concordia, as well as vice president of the Bnai Brith chapter. In 1874 he was also vice president of the Bnai Brith and in 1875 he was still president of Concordia. His wife Sarah was one of the incorporators of the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1870. In 1870, Myer was listed as a clothing salesman at 1 Public Square, as he was also in 1873 and 1875. He lived at 67 South High Street. He was listed on the 1870 census. By 1880, he had moved to 50 South High Street (note 46).

Fensterwald.

Joseph Fensterwald. At the age of twenty, he came to Nashville on business for his uncle from Baltimore who owned the Burk-Fried clothing manufacturing company, which he had established in 1843. Joseph came to Nashville in

the late 1870's and opened an outlet store for his uncle's firm. In 1880, the store was located at 3 North Cherry Street, and he was boarding at the Commercial Hotel. In short order, he had built Burk & Company into one of Nashville's best known clothing stores and it became famous throughout the region for many years until they sold it to Harvey's in 1954. His family became prominent leaders in the community (note 47).

Fishel.

Morris Fishel. He was one of Cincinnati Jewry's most prominent citizens and when he moved to Nashville, he had more influence on the future of Reform Judaism there than any other citizen of his day. He and his brothers Edward, Isadore and Julius immigrated to America in the 1840's from Bavaria. They ran a very successful wholesale and retail clothing and dry goods operation in Cincinnati and in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Morris ran that business until in 1849 he got gold fever and went to California with the Cincinnati Mining Company. (The writer has seen a gold nugget which Morris brought back from the gold rush and his great granddaughter Nancy Fishel Wolf of Cincinnati had made into a ring. His great grandson, James Fishel of Nashville is reported to have a \$5.00 gold piece, also of this expedition). He returned to Cincinnati and continued to build the Fishel & Brother clothing and dry goods

business at 60 Main Street with his brother Edward. They were frequent advertisers in The Israelite, the Cincinnati Jewish weekly newspaper. They advertised to the many peddlers who would buy their stock in Cincinnati, as well as to the many country merchants who used Cincinnati as their market center. They advertised that "country merchants are invited to examine our stock." This was one of the most successful of this type of business in Cincinnati, as they advertised in almost every issue of The Israelite since their first ad in Volume I, No. 30 on February 2, 1855.

In 1864, Morris moved to Nashville and opened a business similar to what he had in Cincinnati, Fishel & Brother, a wholesale dry goods store at 48 North Market Street. Experienced advertisers from Cincinnati, they took up advertising immediately in the city directory of 1865: "Fishel & Brother, wholesale dealer in dry goods, boots, shoes, hats, Sutler goods, wines, cigars, tobacco, stationery, notions, etc. 48 North Market Street." By 1866, Fishel & Brother (the other brother in this partnership was Edward, who remained in Cincinnati to run the business there - he eventually returned to Germany and died there in 1896) was located at 1 Public Square, where they remained in 1867. In 1867, Julius joined Morris in this partnership. Morris was living at 29 South High Street then. In the 1867 city directory, they advertised:

"Fishel & Brother, importers and wholesale dealers in dry goods, clothing, gents' furnishing goods, boots, shoes, hats, notions, etc. No. 1 Public Square at the corner of Front Street." In 1870, they were still doing business at that address, as they were in 1875. He was listed in the 1870 census, as was Julius. In 1880, they moved to No. 2, Public Square. They were one of the most prominent business houses on the Square until 1890.

The Fishel business is significant for this analysis, as it gives great insight into the important links between Cincinnati and Nashville at that time. Many of the businesses in Nashville, like Fishel's, were in the clothing and dry goods industry, and many of them received their goods from Cincinnati. There is an excellent collection of invoices, record books and receipts of Fishel's business in the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, thanks to Fishel's granddaughter, Dorothy Fishel May of Nashville (Mrs. Dan May). Many of these records show the ineffable link between these two cities. For example, on November 1, 1866, Morris Fishel received a letter from Louis J. Goldman of Cincinnati inquiring if Fishel had received a certain shipment, and he discussed shipping goods back and forth from Cincinnati.

The ties with Cincinnati went beyond business; they were personal ties as well. On September 26, 1866, J. H.

Goodheart wrote Fishel a letter requesting Fishel to help administer his niece's late husband's estate (Mr. Schulhoffer). "I consider you the nearest friend I have," Goodheart pleaded with him.

One of the most interesting documents in these archives is an inventory list found from 1866, which gives insight into exactly what type of merchandise these "dry goods and clothing" stores carried in those days. These are some of the stocks carried: hats, boxed collars, pants, trunks, carpet, watches, gold chains, rings, show case goods, shakers, children's hose, gloves, mittens, veils, ladies kid gloves, spectacle cases, linen handkerchiefs, pack pins, pocket books, meershaum pipes, sets of knives and forks, linen shirts, corsets, neck ties, mens shirts, ladies hats, cigar cases, mirrors, combs, parasols, wallets, towels, piece goods, bonnets, shoes, boots, hose, belts, shawls, cassimeres, sundries, buckles, hooks & eyes, fans, suspenders, carpet bags, etc.

Perhaps Morris Fishel's most lasting legacy was the introduction of Reform Judaism to Nashville. When he lived in Cincinnati, he had known Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, the prime mover of Reform Judaism in the United States at the time. Morris taught Nashvillians about this new approach to their ancient religion, and he was one of the founders of the new reform congregation, Bnai Jeshurun, in 1864. He

served as its first president from 1864-66. He was also active in other Jewish activities at the time. In 1870 he was president of the Harmonia Society, a social club. In 1872, he came back on the board of Bnai Jeshurun and served as its treasurer, as he did in 1873. As Ohavai Sholom was beginning to consider becoming a part of the Reform movement, Fishel became active there as well. In 1874-75, he served as vice-president of both Bnai Jeshurun and Ohavai Sholom! In 1876, the last year of Bnai Jeshurun's existence, Morris Fishel was president of the congregation; he was their first and their last president. He immediately became active in his new congregation Ohavai Sholom, serving as financial secretary for many years. He was one of the original purchasers of pews of the new Vine Street Temple in 1875. In 1881, he was vice-president of Bnai Brith. Julius was a charter member of the Standard Club, which would later become the Woodmont Country Club, and was elected to be its first treasurer on October 22, 1882. Morris attained the very rare honor of 33rd degree Mason. He was an incorporator of the Nashville Hebrew Relief Society in 1891 (note 48).

Flashman.

Nathan Flashman. The brother of Phillip (see below), he also immigrated from Bavaria to Nashville in the late 1850's. In 1859, he was a peddler living at 107 South

Cherry Street. He was married to Bettie and they had a daughter, Leah, born in Nashville in 1858. He earned a living at first as a laborer as he was attempting to establish himself as a peddler. By 1865, he was trying to settle down by opening a small dry goods store at 57 1/2 Broad Street. By 1870, he was still in the dry goods business at 44 Broad Street. There is no evidence that he was very active in the community, other than the fact that he became a member of the break away congregation Ohava Emet on December 1, 1861 (note 49).

Phillip Flashman. A native of Bavaria, he came to Nashville in the late 1850's and by 1859, he had opened a jewelry store at 26 South Market Street. By 1860 he was listed in the census as a merchant with personal property in the amount of \$1,000. He became an active participant in Jewish society immediately, as he was an incorporator of the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society on March 5, 1860. He was also one of the early members of the congregation Ohava Emet. However, a note in the minutes of that congregation indicates that he was forced to resign from Ohava Emet because he had a "long illness and was unable to follow his day avocation." This would explain his long absence from the city directories, as he does not appear there from 1861 when he had a jewelry store, until 1870 when he had joined his brother Nathan, in the dry goods business at 44 Broad Street. However, in spite of the fact

that he resigned from Ohava Emet in 1862, he re-joined soon, because he had volunteered to sit at the door of the synagogue during the High Holidays in 1863 "to show members and strangers to their seats." Further evidence that he was having financial challenges was a note in 1866 in the estate of S. Schoolhofer, Morris Fishel executor, that Phillip Flashman was in debt to the deceased in the amount of \$966.45. In spite of all this, he managed to remain active in the community. In 1877, he was secretary of a Jewish men's lodge the A.J.O.K.S.B. Rock City Lodge No. 128 ("Keshet Shel Barzel") (note 50).

Frank.

Isaac Frank. His family arrived in Nashville in the early 1860's via Cincinnati. He is significant for this study as he was one of the few Jewish butchers in Nashville at the time. By 1865, he had a butcher stall at the markets, and he lived on Jackson Street. He was still operating there in 1867, as he was in 1870. He appears on the 1870 census. By 1875, he had upgraded his business from butcher to stock trader. He still lived at 22 Jackson Street (note 51).

Frankland.

Abraham Ephraim Frankland. The Frankland family was one of the first Jewish families to arrive in Nashville,

having settled there in 1845 after having immigrated from England. A.E. Frankland was among the original members of the first official minyan which met at the home of Isaac Garritson in 1848. However, soon after arriving, he left for Memphis, Tennessee in 1849, and became a successful and active member of their Jewish community (note 52).

Joseph Frankland. He was not related to A.E. or Judah Frankland, but was actually named Joseph Turk, born in Posen, Prussia in 1840, and changed his name to Frankland after arriving in Franklin, Tennessee in 1858. After fighting for the Confederacy in the Civil War, he moved to Nashville to join his uncle, Peter Turk in business. Joseph is a cousin of Sol Frankland (see below). In 1866, he opened a dry goods store called Frankland & Louis at 18 Union Street, and it continued in 1867. By 1870, the business had changed its name to Sol Frankland & Company, still at 18 Union Street. He was listed in the 1870 census. In 1873, he opened a dry goods and notions store at 17 Public Square in partnership with S. Heiman. His brother-in-law, Samuel Lebeck worked for him prior to joining his brothers at the Lebeck Brothers store. By 1880, Joseph Frankland & Company had expanded their dry goods business to 15 Public Square. In 1885 he was still in the dry goods business with Samuel Lebeck (J. Frankland & Company) at 54 North College Street and in 1890 he was at 311 North College Street, but no longer with Lebeck (note 53).

Judah Frankland. (sometimes spelled Franklin) He was the brother of A.E. (see above), and was also a member of that original minyan of 1848. Born in New York in 1834, he was one of the very few American born native Jews to settle in Nashville in those early days. Before the Civil War, he worked as a clerk in various stores, such as in 1859 when he worked as a clerk in a dry goods store at 51 North Market. During the Civil War he was a reporter for the Confederacy, and afterwards, he came back to Nashville to become a reporter for the Nashville Gazette. He died in 1866 during the terrible cholera epidemic. This was one of the rare Jews who made a living as a newspaper reporter in Nashville (note 53).

Solomon Frankland. He was the cousin of Joseph Frankland and was not related to A.E. or Judah Frankland. Born in Posen, Prussia on January 10, 1845, as Solomon Turk, he changed his name to Frankland when he and his cousin Joseph moved to Franklin, Tennessee in 1863 (see Joseph above). Before the Civil War, he was a peddler in the country outside Nashville. He fought for the Confederacy in the Civil War, and then moved to Nashville where he became a salesman in a dry goods store at 14 Union Street, which he continued to do in 1867. By 1870, he was doing quite well when the name of the store became Sol Frankland & Company and they moved to a larger location at 18 Union Street. At this time, his cousin Joseph was

working for him and he was in partnership with F. Hindman. By 1880, he had gone into partnership with his brother-in-law, I. Tugendrich, as Sol Frankland & Company moved to 46 North College Street, where they remained until the late 1880's when they moved to 315 North College Street. He married Henrietta Tugendrich in 1872, who was active in the community at an officer of the Ladies' Hebrew Working Society in 1879-1881. Solomon became a vice-president of the congregation Ohavai Sholom from 1884-1888 (note 55).

Franklin.

Elias Franklin. One of the earliest Jewish settlers in Nashville, he was one of the original "eight young men" mentioned in Isaac Garritson's letter to Isaac Leeser in 1852 (see David and Max Elsbach above). Born in Warkovia in 1823, he came to the United States in 1847. He was a member of the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Association, Mogen David, which became the first congregation in Nashville. His name is recorded on the purchase of the cemetery property in 1853, and he served the new congregation as a trustee from its inception in 1853 through 1856.

His clothing and dry goods store, Franklin & Brother, at 26 Broad Street at the corner of Market Street, is listed in the very first Nashville City Directory in 1853. It is also listed in the 1854 and 1855-56 volumes, but not

in the 1859 volume. He is listed on the 1860 census as being a 38 year old native of Poland, married to Fannie, age 32, also of Poland, and having a daughter Carrie, 8 years old, born in Nashville. He was one of Nashville's more prominent citizens in 1856, and the city asked him to be on a committee with Jacob Bloomstein to select the site for a new bridge over the Cumberland River. After the war, he opened a dry goods and notions store on 16 Union Street. He is listed on the 1870 census. During the late 1860's, Elias Franklin made a career change (a mid-life crisis, no doubt) and purchased Erwin's Boarding House at 105 North College Street. Soon, he changed the name to Franklin's Boarding House and expanded it by 1875 to include 103 North College Street next door. By 1880, this thriving restaurant and boarding hotel took up nearly an entire block from 103 to 128 North College Street. The restaurant was popular with the court house crowd, and the boarding house was a good first residence for many of Nashville's newly immigrating Jews.

It is significant that Elias Franklin continued to be active in the Jewish community throughout his life. As a founder of the original congregation, which naturally was orthodox/traditional, he was one of those who reacted negatively to the changes brought on by Reform Judaism. He was among the founders of Adath Israel, which began out of a desire to retain the traditions of their ancestry.

However, in order to maintain "shelom bayit" in the small Jewish community in Nashville, he became active in the new Ohavai Sholom. He was one of the first purchasers of pews at the new Vine Street Temple, and he even served as a vice-president of the congregation in 1878. This is indicative of the spirit of cooperation that existed among the different factions at that time (note 56).

Fry.

Joseph Fry. He came to Nashville in 1858 and was in the clothing business in Nashville as early as 1859, operating out of a store at 59 Broad Street. The 1860 census listed him as a tailor, born in Poland in 1828, married to Bettie, born in Prussia in 1830, with three children, Fannie, age 8, Sophia, age 5, and Flora, age 3. Only Flora was born in Nashville. He had accumulated a wealth of \$2,000 in personal property by then. In 1860, he had moved his clothing and dry goods business to 26 Broad Street. After the war, in 1865 and 1866, his dry goods store was at 54 South Market Street. In 1867, it was at 73 South Market. He was not listed on the 1870 census, nor was he listed on any city directories subsequent to 1867. He was not active in the Jewish community (note 57).

Lewis Fry. He was a peddler in and around Nashville during the late 1850's and early 1860's. He was one of the first natives of Russia to come to Nashville that early.

He was married to Esther, also from Russia. He was one of the very few who actually listed himself as a peddler in the business directories, as he did in the 1860 volume. Most Jewish "peddlers" called themselves "merchants," which sounded a bit more upscale and established. By 1866, he actually did have a provision store on South Cherry Street. This was the last mention of him in existing records in Nashville (note 58).

Solomon Fry. A native of Poland, he started out as a peddler in Nashville in the late 1850's. According to the 1860 census, he was born in 1842 and was not married by 1860. By 1866, he had set up a clothing store at 91 North College Street. In 1867, his store was at 85 Broad Street, and in 1870, it was at 41 Broad Street. He was listed in the 1870 census, but not on any subsequent directories or lists in Nashville (note 59).

Garritson.

Isaac Garritson. He was unquestionably the father of the Jewish community of Nashville as he virtually started it, founded it and organized it. Originally named Isaac Gershon, he Americanized his name to Garritson (also spelled Garrison and Garretson). It was in his home in the 1840's that the first minyans met to pray together as Jews. He spearheaded the drive to organize the Hebrew Benevolent

Burial Association, which purchased a little over three acres of land on Buena Vista Pike to become the first official sacred burial ground for the Jews of Nashville. The burial society was named "Mogen David" (Dr. Jacob Marcus suspects this name may have been chosen because of the name of Davidson County). In 1852, Isaac Garritson wrote a letter to Rabbi Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia, then the leader of American Judaism, asking for help in organizing a congregation. He stated that their group was made up of "five families and eight young men." Garritson's was one of those families. This is the earliest known description of the Jewish community of Nashville. In 1853, they officially became the first Jewish congregation in Nashville, K. K. Mogen David. Garritson was elected to be the warden of the burial ground, and his son-in-law, Henry Harris was elected to become the first president of the congregation.

Garritson was a religious Jew, as evidenced by his fervent work to organize the community in Nashville. However, his wife was not Jewish. On March 23, 1856, Garritson brought a she'ala (question) to the board of the congregation, and Rev. Dr. Illoy was invited to give the t'shuva (answer) to his halachic problem. A wonderful account of this story was carried in full by The Occident, Isaac Leeser's magazine, in Volume XV, No. 9, December, 1857, pages 431-432. The question was whether Mrs.

Garritson could be buried in the congregation's burial ground, as she may not have been properly converted. Isaac Garritson, a Jew from Holland, married a Gentile wife. After living in Nashville for some time, he decided to take her back to Amsterdam to convert, but the Bet Din was prohibited by law from doing this. They suggested that he take her to a small town, Maarsche, where they would help them. They went there, and the Bet Din did indeed convert her but they refused to give him a certificate of proof. They returned to Nashville, and Garritson claimed she lived a good Jewish life, and died with the Shema on her lips. Rev. Illowy and the congregation ruled to allow her to be buried in their sacred ground.

Garritson was also a leader in the business community of Nashville in those early days. He was one of only 28 Jewish heads of household to be listed in the 1850 census. He is listed as 54 years old then, a merchant and a native of Holland. In the first volume of the Nashville City Directory of 1853, he is also listed as a merchant living on Summer Street. He advertised in that issue that he sells "Dry Goods, Hats, Caps and Shoes" at 20 Broad Street. In 1855, he is also listed. The 1860 census says he is a 64 year old merchant. He died in 1863 or 1864.

Gilbert.

Harris Gilbert. In the early 1880's he was in the dry goods business at 38 North Market Street. He lived at 32 North Market Street in 1881. By the end of the 1880's he was in the clothing business at 237 North Market Street where he also lived (note 60a). His sons, Charles and Leon achieved significant prominence within the Jewish as well as the general community.

Godhelp.

Sigmund Godhelp. In 1853, he arrived in America at Baltimore from Hesse, Germany, at the age of 17. He came to Nashville around 1860 and enlisted in the Confederate Army. After being taken prisoner and released after the war, he moved back to Nashville and opened a small dry goods store at 90 South Market Street. In 1866, he moved his dry goods store to 104 South Market Street. In 1870, he married Bertha Liebman. In that year, he took in a new partner in his business, who would soon marry Bertha's sister, Minnie Liebman, a young man named Meier Werthan (see Meier Werthan below). They moved their new business, Godhelp & Werthan, to 143 South Market Street, and began selling used materials and scrap. He was in the 1870 census. By 1875, they had added produce to their lines, as Nashville was becoming a major agricultural distribution

center. In the city directory of 1877, they advertised: "Godhelp & Werthan. Dealers in Peanuts, Feathers, Rags, ginseng, Beeswax, Dried Fruits, Wool, Hides, Sheep Skins, Butter, Eggs, Poultry, Bacon, etc. etc. 145 South Market Street. Consignments promptly attended to, and orders filled on short notice." He was still at the same location in 1880. When Godhelp died in 1895, the firm changed its name to M. Werthan & Company, and was built into one of the most significant businesses in Nashville.

Sigmund became an active member of the Jewish community, serving as president of Bnai Brith in 1873, and secretary in 1877. In 1875, he was one of the original purchasers of pews of the new Vine Street Temple and in 1876, he served as vice-president of congregation Ohavai Sholom. He was also one of the first members of the Standard Club, joining on November 23, 1882, just a few weeks after their first meeting, and just in time to be called a "charter member" (note 61).

Goldammer.

Rabbi Julius Goldammer. He was the rabbi at the congregation Ohavai Sholom from 1878-1886, and had a major impact on the growth of the congregation shortly after they had moved into the new Vine Street Temple in 1875. Most significantly, he did much for ecumenicism in Nashville

between the Jewish and Christian communities. He taught at Vanderbilt University and was lectured often at various Christian churches and inter-faith gatherings. This set a pattern for most of the future rabbis of this congregation for many years to come.

One of his most interesting speeches gives insight into the feeling of optimism which existed in the business community at the time. On April 30, 1880, he gave a "centennial sermon" on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city of Nashville. "There is in this city of Nashville today no man who looks with more gratification upon the 100th anniversary of this city than he who calls himself a son of Israel," Rabbi Goldammer declared. "No man is able to appreciate better the present happiness he enjoys than he whose memories swell with the woes he wept in the past! [We] look cheerfully to the future, and to trust our hopes to the custody of Him who never disappointed us in the past. God has taken and will always take Nashville under his special care, and as sure as the earth moves toward the sun, and not backward, so sure moves Nashville toward a future of unfailling prosperity." Regardless of Goldammer's understanding of astronomy, he certainly captured the feeling of enthusiasm Nashville's citizens shared about their future (note 62).

Goldberg.

Albert L. Goldberg. The son of M. C. Goldberg, Albert was in the lumber and saw mill business with his father (see M.C. Goldberg below). He became active in the Concordia social club, serving as its secretary in 1874. By 1874, their company was known as the Champion Saw Mills at Lindsley and Fillmore Streets. After his father died in 1878, he tried to open a saw mill in Glasgow, Kentucky, but it was not a success, so he came back to Nashville and went into the lumber business, A. L. Goldberg & Company, at 153 Broad Street. He was competing with his father's old firm, which now had powerful backers with deep pockets, the Loveman family (see Simon Lieberman and Adolph Loveman below). Eventually, Albert went into partnership with his nephew, Charles Cohn (see above) in the business of Cohn-Goldberg Lumber Co. In 1885, he brought in another family member, William Rich (see) and called the firm "Goldberg & Rich" through 1890 (note 63).

Henry H. Goldberg. In the late 1850's he came to Nashville from Germany, and by 1860 was trying to earn a living as a peddler for himself, his wife, Henrietta, also born in Germany, his son, Julius, and his two daughters, Caroline and Guineveve. According to the census of 1860, he had only accumulated personal property in the amount of \$100. This did not deter him, however, from being involved

in the Jewish community. In 1859, he was one of the founders of the first split off congregation, Ohava Emes, to which he pledged \$3.00 at the charter meeting on March 12, 1860. Since there was no rabbi there, he volunteered to lead the musaf service on Rosh Hashanah, 1863. By 1865, he had opened a clothing store at 100 Church Street. He appears in the census report of 1870, but never in any subsequent city directories or congregational or Jewish organizational lists (note 64).

Meyer C. Goldberg. A native of Bremen, Germany, he brought his family to Nashville around 1866 and opened a saw mill. In 1867, he lived at 180 North Market Street, as he did in 1870. He was listed on the 1870 census. Around 1874, his son Albert L. Goldberg (see above) joined him in the Champion Saw Mills at Lindsley and Fillmore Streets, where they remained for many years. By 1875, his son-in-law, Simon Lieberman had joined Meyer as a proprietor of the saw mill. In 1878, the year of Meyer's death, Lieberman (see below) was listed as a partner in the saw mill, then called "M.C. Goldberg & Co" (note 65).

Goldner.

Simon Goldner. He came to Nashville in the 1870's and started out as a salesman in the large clothing store at 30 Public Square in 1880. His family later had a successful

jewelry store and went on to become active leaders of the Jewish community (note 66).

Goodman.

H. Goodman. In 1867, he was a shoemaker in Nashville at 44 1/2 Cedar Street, as he continued to do through 1870. He was listed on the 1870 census. In 1885 he was a shoemaker at 144 Deaderick and in 1890 he continued in the same line of work at 334 North Cherry. On July 20, 1887, he became a charter member of the "Ungarischer Unterstetzung Verein of Nashville," or the "Hungarian Benevolent society of Nashville" (note 67).

Green.

Isaac Green. He was a native of Poland who came to Nashville in the late 1850's after having spent a few years in California, presumably to find gold. He was a peddler at first and then settled down with a clothing store at 61 Broad Street. He was married to Fanny, born in 1836 in Poland, and they had four children, Rachael and Eva (born in California), and Rebecca and Sarah, born in Nashville. He had accumulated only \$600 in personal property by 1860. By 1865, he was selling fancy goods and dry goods at 74 North College Street, as he was in 1866 also. In 1867, he had moved to 135 Broad Street. He did not appear in any subsequent directories or listings (note 68).

Greenstein.

Joseph Greenstein. In 1875, he had a second hand clothing store at 101 South Cherry Street, along with his brother, Isaac, who had been in the dry goods business at 122 North College Street since 1869. Joseph started out as a peddler before joining Isaac in 1875. They both appeared on the 1870 census. In 1880, their store, Greenstein Brothers had expanded to take in two other brothers, Israel and Moses, as well as Yettie, after her husband Isaac died in the late 1870's. Joseph was active in the Hungarian Benevolent Society, serving as its secretary in 1876, when they bought their burial ground. He was also active in Congregation Adath Israel, serving as its president from 1884-85 (note 69).

Griff.

Sigmund Griff. Like most recent immigrants in the United States in the nineteenth century, Sigmund Griff wrote several letters to his parents back in Europe. What was different about these letters from most others is that they have been preserved in the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati. Although Griff spent just a little time making a living in Nashville, these letters are important for this study as they give wonderful insight into the lives these immigrants were leading.

In his first letter home on September 1, 1849, after arriving in America, he describes his ship voyage. The trip took 77 days at sea in horrible conditions, "hunger, thirst, continuous heavy storms, the constant narrow escapes with our lives, the vermin, the skin diseases and thousands of other uncomfortable things that I would not even want to mention were the order of the day."

In a section that gives insight into why these immigrants left New York, the port of entry for most of them, and headed into the interior of the land, Griff says, "New York is one of the prettiest cities I have ever seen but it is just as hard to make a living here as any place in Germany. During the ten weeks my wife and I were in New York, I could not earn a penny in spite of all my efforts. America is a land of hardships and those who are accustomed to hardships have always been^e able to get along the best here; but those who are used to a different life, and educated people and white-collar workers are a pitiable lot here." He stresses, however that the freedom is great with "no prejudice because of background or religion."

Like many of the people studied in this paper, Griff moved to Louisville with no money. "I became a peddler with a big suitcase like all the other Jews who come to America selling handkerchiefs and neckerchiefs, laces, stockings and similar things from door to door, and have to

keep at this to nourish my family in this way, a business which I would never have gone into in Germany for anything."

His next letter on October 22, 1849 describes the tough business situation in Louisville: "Business here (Louisville) is very bad. The market is glutted and we cannot get rid of the products. We had expected to do more business with the German products than we have been able to."

On April 14, 1850, he wrote that he had left Louisville because business was so bad there. "I bought a horse so that I can take my wares and travel and more readily sell my wares." This led to his moving to Nashville to set up shop. This gives an insightful and rare first-hand account of how so many of the subjects of this paper happened to settle in Nashville (note 70).

Hanf.

Louis Hanf. He was a member of the first minyan which met at the home of Isaac Garritson in 1848, and his was one of the original "five families" who started the first congregation Mogen David in Nashville in the early 1850's. His name was on the Act to authorize the Jews of Davidson County to purchase a burial ground and build a synagogue

which the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee passed on March 2, 1854. He served as a trustee of the congregation in 1854-55. He was listed on the census of 1850 as having been born in Bavaria in 1823, married to Eliza, also of Bavaria, and having four children, all born in Nashville. Little is known of his business career, because after he was listed on the 1850 census report as a merchant, he does not appear in any subsequent directory or list (note 71).

Harris.

Hal Harris. He was one of the few Jews listed in the city directories as a peddler. In the 1860 volume, he advertised himself as a "pedlar" [sic], with no address listed. This was the only time his name appeared in any of the sources (note 72).

Henry Harris. The son-in-law of Isaac Garritson, he was the service reader at the first minyan in Nashville, which met in 1848 at Garritson's home. He was included in Garritson's family as one of the original "five families" to begin the new congregation Mogen David (see Isaac Garritson above). When the State of Tennessee General Assembly passed an act which authorized the new congregation, Harris' name was on the charter. He was elected to be the first president of the new congregation

on May 1, 1853. He served as president of the congregation from the beginning in 1853 through 1855, and then again from 1856 until 1860. He was very well educated and his intellect was respected throughout the community.

The census report of 1850 lists Henry Harris as being 42 years old (born in Austria in 1808), married to Esther Garritson, age 36, born in Holland, and having four children, all born in the United States. He is listed as a merchant. In the first Nashville City Directory volume of 1853, he is shown as owning a clothing and dry goods store at 74 South Market Street. In the 1854 volume, he is listed as a merchant at 22 Broadway. In 1855, he is shown as having two clothing stores, at 39 North Market Street and at 74 South Market Street (early chain stores!) In 1859, his clothing store is at 30 North Market Street. It is possible that he had some business problems with his clothing store after the deep recession of 1857, for in 1860 he is operating a boarding house and saloon at 11 South College Street. He is listed on the 1860 census report as having three additional children who were born in Nashville. He only operated the boarding house for a few years. He died in 1881 as one of the most highly regarded Jews in Nashville (note 73).

Heims.

Simon Heims. He was a Prussian Jew who migrated early to Nashville, opening a tailor and clothing store at

100 North College Street as early as 1859. He was born in 1822 and married Rosa, also born in Prussia. They had seven children by 1860, only the youngest of which was born in Nashville in 1859. He had accumulated \$2,000 of personal property by 1860. In 1860, his shop was at 68 North College Street, and in 1865, it was at 42 North Market Street, as it was in 1866. In 1867, it was at the southwest corner of Market and Union Streets, and he lived at 73 South Market Street with his brother Morris, who was a clerk in his store. In 1870, he continued to do business there. He was listed on the 1870 census (note 74).

Herman.

Ben Herman. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Herman Brothers, Lindauer & Company was the largest wholesale dry goods, boots, and shoe outfit in Nashville. Ben started his business career working for David Weil, the most successful wholesale operator in Nashville in the late 1860's and 1870's. Herman was born in Demmelsdorf, Bavaria on July 21, 1850, and migrated to Cincinnati in the early 1860's. In 1867, he joined Weil and eventually became a partner. In 1881, he bought out Weil and changed the name to Herman, Winter & Company, in partnership with his brother William Winter as well as Abram Winter and Joseph Lindauer (see below). In 1883, the Winter interest was purchased by two new partners, Ben

Lindauer and Edward Pritz. The name of the firm became Herman Brothers, Lindauer and Company.

Ben Herman was very involved in the Jewish as well as the general community. At their first meeting held at the Delmonico on October 15, 1882, he is the first person listed as a charter member of the Standard Club, which became the Woodmont Country Club. He also served as president of the Standard Club for a while. He was very active in congregation Ohavai Sholom, serving as president for several terms, 1881-82, 1892-93, and 1897 until he died in August, 1898. When the Temple moved to Harding Road in 1955, they said this about Benjamin Herman in a history of the congregation in their dedication brochure: "Benjamin Herman was president of Ohavai Sholom for many years. He was one of Nashville's merchant princes and gave lavishly of his time and purse. He was a public-spirited citizen and was in the forefront of all matters affecting the charitable and educational interests of the people of Nashville. He was the first Jewish member of the Board of Education of Nashville. He also served on the Board of Trustees of the Masonic Widows and Orphans Home." He also was president of Bnai Brith for three terms in the late 1870's (note 75).

Hirsch.

Joseph Hirsch. Born in Waldgrune, Germany, he brought his family to Nashville in the 1860's after trying unsuccessfully to establish businesses in Texas and Louisiana. By 1870, he had opened a dry goods store at 98 North College Street, Hirsch & Company, along with his brother Sigmund. By 1875, Joseph had joined his father, Nathan in N. Hirsch & Company at 70, 72 and 74 North College Street. Brother Samuel worked there as a salesman and brother Sigmund worked as the bookkeeper there.

They also took in a partner, Samuel Lowenstein, their brother-in-law. This became one of Nashville's most successful retail stores of the day. In 1880, the business was still flourishing and supporting Joseph, his father and brothers, although the store had moved to smaller quarters at 56 North College Street. In 1886, the business failed. Later, Joseph and his brothers, Samuel and Sigmund and his brother-in-law, Sam Lowenstein joined Leopold Jonas, also a brother-in-law in L. Jonas & Company (see below) which became a very successful wholesale millinery establishment.

Joseph was beginning to become involved in the community by the 1870's. In 1875, he served as vice-president of Concordia. He also served as vice-president of congregation Ohavai Sholom and was one of the original

purchasers of pews of the new Vine Street Temple building. After his retirement, Joseph became sexton of Vine Street Temple until his death in 1917. Upon the death of their father, Nathan, Joseph and his family donated beautiful stained glass windows to the Vine Street Temple building in his memory. This family, which includes the Gilbert Fox family, has contributed much to the community over the next several generations (note 76).

Nathan Hirsch. The father of Joseph (see above), Sigmund and Samuel Hirsch, he came with his family from Waldgrune, Germany to Nashville in the 1860's. Interestingly, he opened a separate dry goods store from his sons Joseph and Sigmund in 1870, called N. Hirsch & Company at 17 Union Street. By 1875, the firm had grown to one of the largest retail establishments in Nashville, encompassing three doors at 70, 72 and 74 North College Street. Sons Joseph, Samuel and Sigmund and son-in-law, Sam Lowenstein had all joined in this thriving business by 1875.

By 1880, they had moved to a smaller location at 56 North College Street, and another son, Nathan, Jr. had joined the firm. In 1886, the business failed. Nathan died in 1894 (note 77).

Peter J. Hirsch. In 1865, he had a boot and shoe store at 161 North Market, as he did also in 1866. In

1867, he was a clerk at the shoe and boot store at 51 North College Street. In 1870, he continued to work as a shoemaker and lived at 248 North Market Street, and in 1880 he lived at 21 Jackson Street (note 78).

Hirshberg.

Jacob Hirshberg. He came to Nashville and opened a clothing store at 5 North Market Street in 1867. By 1870, he had moved to 12 North Market Street and was in the dry goods business with one of his sons, David. By 1870, Jacob Hirshberg was the oldest Jew in Nashville, at the age of 78 years old, and had the largest number of children, ten, of any Jewish family in Nashville. He was still alive in 1875, at the age of 83, and still running his general store at 12 North Market Street with one of his sons, Isadore (note 79).

Simon Hirshberg. After serving in the First Tennessee Regiment in the Civil War, he went into the dry goods business at 53 Broad Street in 1865. In 1866, he was in partnership with Morris Karger at the same address in the dry goods store. There were no subsequent listings of him (note 80).

Hyman.

Jacob Hyman. A native of Poland, he was living in Nashville in the late 1850's. He was married to Esther Myers, granddaughter of the first known Jew to live in Nashville, Benjamin Myers (after she was widowed to Bernard Le Jeune). They had two daughters already living in Nashville when they moved here, Rebecca (Mrs. Sam Powers) and Henrietta (Mrs. Mike Powers). Jacob Hyman was age 64 at the time of the census in 1860. In 1866, he joined Samuel Hyman in the clothing business at 12 Public Square. They were still in business in 1867 and until Jacob died in June, 1868 at the age of 72 (note 81).

Samuel Hyman. He was in the clothing business on the public square at Market Street by 1865. In the Nashville Business Directory of 1865, he advertised on page 222: "Samuel Hyman's Depot of Bargains. Dealer in Ready-Made Clothing and Furnishing Goods. Public Square and Market Street." In 1866, he had taken in Jacob Hyman in this firm. By 1870, he had become an "auctioneer" at 11 Public Square. By 1875, he was the proprietor of the Tom Thumb Clothing Store and was living at 75 North Summer Street. In 1880, he had a general store at 14 North College Street. In 1885 he was manufacturing shirts at 14 North Cherry Street. In 1890 he was the owner of the Vanderbilt Shirt Mfg. Company.

He also had been active in the congregation Ohavai Sholom, serving as its secretary from 1872 through 1875. He was one of the original purchasers of pews at the new Vine Street Temple building in 1875 (note 82).

Isaacs.

Abram Isaacs. A native of Poland, he migrated to Nashville in the 1860's and set up shop as a tailor. In 1867, his store was located at the Public Square and Market Street. He was listed on the 1870 census. In 1875, his store had moved to 14 North College Street, and he advertised that he was a tailor, cleaner and repairer of clothes, and by 1880, he was at 30 Deaderick Street, in 1885 at 150 Deaderick Street and in 1890 at 37 Bridge Ave. He was one of the founders of congregation Adath Israel, and his family have been among their staunchest supporters over the next five generations (note 83).

Iser.

Alexander Iser. He was Nashville's first rabbi. The new congregation Mogen David brought him in from New York for the High Holidays of 1852. He was hired to be the hazan (cantor), shochet (kosher butcher, supervisor), mohel (ritual circumcisor), and Hebrew teacher in addition to service reader. He was only paid \$600 per year to do this, so he had to find other ways to earn a living.

In just a few years, the small membership of Mogen David had split over the issue of liturgy minhag and other ritual performance. Iser, a native of Poland, fell into the camp which desired the Polish rite for its services. Therefore, on October 9, 1859, Alexander Iser was the chairman of the first organizational meeting of the new congregation, Ohava Emet. Iser did not have time to be the full time shochet of the congregation. So in 1863, after the many advertisements they had placed in the Israelite and other Jewish newspapers had gone unanswered, they sent Iser to New York to hire one. He returned to Nashville without a shochet, so they finally found one in Cincinnati bearing references from Isaac Mayer Wise. After a short time, the shochet was found unsuitable, so Iser and other members took turns trying to be good shochets. Soon after the congregation purchased a burial ground in 1861, Iser sadly had to lay his own daughter to rest there on March 7, 1865.

On September 30, 1866, Iser appointed a committee of Ohava Emet to meet with a committee of Mogen David to work out details to look for a lot in the central part of the city to build a permanent place of worship and if possible to bring a union among both congregations. In July, 1867, after much haggling, they merged.

Iser was listed in the second volume of the Nashville Business Directory as a rabbi, residing at 42 North Market Street. Since the congregation could not afford to pay him much (\$600 per year), he found it necessary to earn a living pursuing other interests. In 1859, he was a partner with L. Frestenburg in the dry goods business at 26 Broad Street. In the 1860 census report, he is listed as being 45 years old, in the dry goods business, married to Mina, a native of Germany 15 years his junior, and they had three children all born in Nashville. By 1861, he was in the dry goods business on South Cherry Street, but Frestenburg is no longer with him. He was still at the same location after the war in 1865. In 1866, he joined Joseph Elsasser in Elsasser & Company at 30 Union Street. In 1867, he was on his own again at 33 Union Street selling fancy goods, and in 1870, he was in the dry goods and clothing business at 263 South Cherry Street. By 1869, he was doing well enough to be able to be one of the original investors in the Tennessee Manufacturing Co. along with several other of Nashville's leading business people. He was listed on the 1870 census.

In 1875, he called his operation a general store, at the same location of 263 South Cherry Street. In that year, his daughter, Miss Sarah A. Iser was a school teacher at Howard School and later at Hume School in Nashville. Sarah was active in the Jewish community as well, serving

as secretary of the Ladies' Hebrew Working Society in 1879-81. In 1880, when they received their official charter, she was listed as one of the incorporators. His other daughter, Miss Eva Iser was a milliner at 37 Union Street in 1880.

It is quite interesting that this rabbi owned a fifty year old Black female slave in 1860 (note 84).

Jacobs.

H. Jacobs (first name unknown). In 1860, he was listed on the census as a peddler who was born in Germany, married to Harriett from Germany. They had two children: Abraham, their oldest child was born in England in 1856, and Rachael, their youngest, was born in Nashville in 1859.

There were several other Jacobs families which lived in Nashville in the early to mid - 1860's, but none settled there. A. Jacobs was listed in 1860, but no business was named. Daniel Jacobs was a grocer at the corner of Jackson and College Streets in 1860, but never again listed. Isaac Jacobs was listed in the 1866 city directory with no business listed. G. Jacobs had a clothing store at 41 1/2 Broad Street with S. Liebenstein in 1866, but it had disappeared by the next year. There were no other Jacobs found in Nashville until 1880, when a Tobias Jacobs was

listed as a clerk in the large clothing store at 30 Public Square. This was an excellent example of how so many Jews came through Nashville in their attempt to find a place where they could settle and make a living to support themselves and their families. Some were able to find their niche in Nashville, and others moved on to greener pastures (note 85).

Jacobus.

Morris Jacobus. Born in Prussia in 1839, he was the brother of Solomon (see below) and he came to Nashville in the 1860's. In 1865 and 1866, he had a clothing store at 6 North Market Street. Later in 1866, he joined his brother Solomon in Jacobus & Brother clothing store. In 1867, they advertised that they had dry goods, clothing, boots, shoes, etc. at 27 Broad Street. (See Solomon below for subsequent Jacobus & Brother business history).

Morris was active in the Jewish community, serving as a board of trustee member of the congregation Ohavai Sholom, president for several years of Bnai Brith, and active with the benevolent societies (note 86).

Solomon Jacobus. Brother of Morris (see above), he was born in Prussia in 1831 and came to Nashville in the 1860's. In 1866, he had a dry goods store, Jacobus & Brother at 24 Broad Street. His son, Nathan was also in

the clothing business with them. In 1867, Solomon moved to New York City, but retained his partnership in Jacobus & Brother. His son, Nathan remained in Nashville to help run the business. Nathan became active in the Concordia, serving as its treasurer in 1872, and its vice-president in 1873. By 1875, Solomon had returned to Nashville and Jacobus & Brother had moved to 112 North College Street, where they remained through 1880. In the 1880's they continued the dry goods, boots and shoe business on North College Street. Solomon was also active in the benevolent societies and congregation Ohavai Sholom (note 87).

Jessel.

Henry Jessel. One of the original daveners at Isaac Garritson's minyan in 1848, he was one of the first Jews to settle in Nashville. When the Mogen David Hebrew Benevolent Burial Society formed in 1851, Jessel was the treasurer of the organization. And when they became the first congregation in Jewish Nashville, Jessel's name was on the charter and the Act of the Tennessee General Assembly to authorize it. He was also treasurer of the congregation in 1854-55.

When the first volume of the Nashville City Directory came out in 1853, Henry Jessel's wholesale and retail clothing store at 29 North Market Street was one of the few

Jewish advertisers. He was in partnership with his brother, B. Jessel (first name unknown). By 1857, he was a clerk in a clothing store at 13 Public Square, and his brother was a clerk at 34 North Market Street. For all the flurry of early activity of Henry Jessel, neither he nor his brother ever appeared in any subsequent lists, census reports or directories after 1857 (note 88).

Jonas.

Jacob Jonas. In 1866, he was in the clothing business at 124 Church Street, as he also was in 1867. He lived at 28 Broad Street. By 1870, he had moved his clothing store to 68 North College Street. He was listed in the 1870 census report. By 1875, he was no longer doing business in Nashville (note 89).

Leopold Jonas. (1857-1927). He was in the millinery business, and eventually built L. Jonas Co. into one of the largest wholesale millinery firms in the South. He was married to Rickie Hirsch, daughter of Nathan (see above). In 1886, after the N. Hirsch business failed, several of Leopold's brothers-in-law, Samuel and Sigmund Hirsch, and Sam Lowenstein joined his hat business. In 1887 they began "The Palace" at 410 Union Street which was a retail and wholesale millinery operation, also carrying notions and fancy goods, cloaks, suits and coats.

Together they grew the business into a major force. Jonas and his family contributed much (as they continue to do today) to the Jewish community of Nashville, but most of that activity took place after the terminus point of this paper. In 1901 they manufactured the "ELL-JAY" brand of hats (note 90).

Joseph.

Isaac Joseph. One of the earliest Jewish settlers in Nashville, he had already had a child in Nashville by 1845. He was one of the very rare American born Jews to settle in Nashville, as he was born in South Carolina in 1819. Even more unusual was the fact that his wife, Elizabeth was born in Tennessee in 1826.

His business career was an example of how aggressive advertising can bring in the customers. In a technique that foreshadowed the obnoxious commercials seen on television today, or K Mart's "blue light specials," Joseph would ring a large bell and beat a loud drum to gather his customers to his auction and commission house at 11 Front Street. His method of doing business in the commission house was to accept barter for his goods. He would be paid by farmers in crops in exchange for merchandise. He would then sell the crops to various agricultural markets, thus hoping to profit on both ends. After an appearance in the

city directory of 1857, he disappears from all records. Perhaps someone ran him out of town for disturbing the peace. However, his spiritual descendants are alive and well in the retail business today! (note 91).

Myer Joseph. (1835-1906). A native of Prussia, he migrated to Nashville around 1860 and married Isabella Hyman, the daughter of Jacob Hyman and Esther Myers Hyman, from the Colonial Myers family (descendant of the first Jew to live in Nashville, Benjamin Myers). He was very active in Bnai Brith, serving as its vice-president for several years, as well as the president of A.J.O.K.S.B. (Keshar Shel Barzel) in 1881 (note 92).

Klein.

Alexander Klein. A native of Warsaw, Poland, he and his wife Jennie and their son, Simon arrived in the United States in 1853. He was one of the original members of the break-away congregation, Ohava Emet in 1859. In the census report of 1860, he is listed as being born in 1818, married to Jennie, born in 1828, also in Poland, and having four children, two of whom were born in Nashville in 1859. He had accumulated only \$200 by 1860. He had a clothing store at 4 North Market Street in 1859, and his son Simon (see below) was working there with him. After the war, his store opened at 91 Church Street. In 1867, he continued

his almost annual move to 320 South Cherry Street. He was listed on the 1870 census report. By 1880, he had changed careers and had opened a saloon at 92 South Market, but in 1885 he was back in the tailoring business at 440 South Cherry and in 1890 at 810 South Cherry Street (note 93).

M. Klein. In the second volume of the Nashville Business Directory, in 1855, M. Klein was listed as the owner of a tailor shop at 20 Deaderick Street. By 1857, he had become so successful that he was one of the rare Jews who was able to afford a medium size advertisement in the city directory of that year. It said: "M. Klein & Co. Fashionable Clothing Store. 13 1/2 Spring Street. Men's and Boys' Clothing made to order, and warranted to give satisfaction." By 1859, he had moved his clothing and tailoring shop to 15 Spring Street. In 1860, he was at 15 Church Street (note 94).

Simon Klein. The son of Alexander (see above), he was working in their clothing store at 4 North Market Street in 1859. He traveled around lower Nashville, probably helping his father move from one store to the next, as they seemed to have moved almost every year. By 1880, they had changed careers and opened a saloon at 92 South Market Street. Simon was the barkeeper. In 1885 he changed again and was working at the Merchants National Detective Agency, perhaps Nashville's first Jewish "Private I." In 1887, Simon was

one of the charter members of the Hungarian Benevolent Society of Nashville, which held services and acted as a congregation (note 95).

Labshiner.

Rabbi Labshiner. He was the first "Reform" rabbi in Nashville, having been brought to the new congregation Bnai Jeshurun in 1864 , where he stayed through 1866 (note 96).

Lande.

Aaron. An observer in 1993 looking back on Aaron Lande's distinguished career would have to say that one of his most noteworthy achievements was that he was the first president of the congregation Ohavai Sholom. A native of Germany, he was born in 1820 and migrated to Nashville in 1846. One of the original "eight young men" who founded the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Association Mogen David in 1851, which became the first congregation in Nashville in 1853. He was elected to the first board of trustees of the congregation on May 1, 1853, and he was one of the incorporators of the congregation when the Tennessee General Assembly passed an act to authorize the congregation on March 2, 1854. He was also one of the charter founders of the local Bnai Brith chapter when it began on October 24, 1865. He was also one of the founders

of the Young Men's Hebrew Relief Society. He served as president of Mogen David from 1865-67, and in 1867, when the two congregations Mogen David and Ohava Emet decided to merge, Aaron Lande was the first president of the new congregation, now called K. K. Ohavai Sholom.

Aaron Lande's business career began in the 1840's when he opened a hat and cap manufacturing company. He was also a partner in two clothing stores, the Lande-Elsbach store on North Market Street and the Lande-Schlessinger store on the Public Square. In 1850, he was listed on the census as a merchant. In the first volume of the Nashville City Directory, 1853, he advertised his two businesses: Lande, Elsbach & Co., Hat and cap manufactory at 50 North Market Street; and Lande & Elsbach & Co. clothing store at 48 North Market Street.

In the second issue of the business directory in 1855, he advertised Lande & Schlesinger, clothing at 10 Public Square, as well as the clothing and hat company. In the third volume in 1857, he also advertised Lande & Elsbach, clothing and hats, corner of Market and the Public Square. In 1859, he was listed as an agent at 12 Public Square. By 1860, he had become one of the wealthiest of Nashville's Jews. The census report lists him as having \$1,800 worth of real estate and \$5,000 worth of personal property. In 1854, he married Esther Boxim, who was born in England in

1836. They had three children who were born in the United States.

In the early 1860's, Nathan Lande, Aaron's brother, joined him in business after having run a firm in Shelbyville for a few years.

In 1861, Aaron's young wife, Esther died leaving him with three young children. She was one of the first to be buried at the Temple cemetery. With the help and support of his sister-in-law, he was able to maintain his family and continue in business. In the 1865 business directory, he advertised: "Lande & Brother. Dealers in Hats and Caps, Gentlemen's Furnishing Goods, Boots, Shoes, Trunks, Valises, etc. 41 College Street." In 1865, they lived at 170 South Summer Street. In 1866, he was still in the same business at the same address. In 1867, he and Nathan had moved down the street to 46 North College Street, selling hats, furs and gentlemen's furnishing goods. By 1870, they had moved back up to the Public Square (No. 21), selling furs and gents furnishing goods. They were listed on the 1870 census. Unfortunately, their venerable old business succumbed to the depression of 1873, and they left town to live in St. Louis. Aaron Lande had a major influence on the founding and strength of the Jewish community of Nashville (note 97).

Landsberg.

Abraham M. Landsberg. In 1863, he was one of Nashville's largest suppliers of merchandise to sutlers, agents authorized by the government to supply merchandise to the soldiers during the war. In 1865, he and his brother, M. G. Landsberg, were still selling sutlers supplies at 13 Public Square at Market Street. In that year he took out an aggressive advertisement in business directory: "A. & M. Landsberg. Corner Public Square and Market Street. Wholesale Dealers in Sutlers' Supplies, Wines, Liquors, Cigars, Tobacco, Boots, Shoes, Hats, Furnishing Goods, and Notions. We offer inducements to Sutlers and Dealers as we have a buyer constantly in the Eastern markets, buying at auction, and can therefore sell goods at low figures. WE CANNOT BE UNDERSOLD! All our goods warranted to give satisfaction. Terms Reasonable."

By 1866, business was booming. He and his brother took in a third partner, Phillip Cohen. In that year, took out a full page advertisement, in the business directory, money presumably being no object. They advertised: "Landsberg, Cohen & Company. 13 Public Square at the Corner of Market Street. Dealers in Dry Goods, Clothing, Boots, Shoes, Hats, Furnishing Goods, Notions etc. A complete stock of wines, liquors, cigars and tobacco."

In 1865, he was one of the founders and the first secretary of the local chapter of Bnai Brith. He was treasurer of the Concordia Society as well as the Eureka Club in 1866. His brother M. G. was the rabbi at congregation Mogen David in 1866. For the large splash the Landsburgs made on Nashville's business and social scene for three years, there were no subsequent records of their activity after 1866 (note 98).

Laufer.

Sampson Laufer. In 1859, he was a clothier at 13 Public Square, but in 1860, he became a cattle driver. The census report of that year says that he was a 46 year old native of England, married to Caroline, native of Saxony, and that they had \$1,000 worth of personal property. At the time, Nashville was a major agricultural center for the region, and Laufer sold cattle to the markets in Cincinnati. He lived at 67 South Summer Street (note 99).

Lebeck.

Louis Lebeck. One of the sons of Emanuel Lebeck who was born near Frankfort, Germany, Louis was born in New York in 1856. He came to Franklin, Tennessee to work with his brother-in-law, Joseph Frankland (see above) in his store there in 1869. In 1874, he moved to Nashville with his brother, Mike (see below) to open a small retail clothing store on Union Street. By 1880, they had moved the store, called Lebeck Brothers, to 17 Public Square. Another brother, Samuel, remained to work for J. Frankland & Co. until about 1885. This became one of the most successful of all the Jewish retail companies until Mike died in 1922. Louis died in 1924 (note 100).

Michael Lebeck. Brother of Louis (see above), he was a partner in the very successful Lebeck Brothers Company retail company. Mike was very involved in the community, serving as a board member of the congregation Ohavai Sholom, and vice-president in 1898. On October 15, 1882, at the first organizational meeting of the Standard Club (later the Woodmont Country Club), Mike Lebeck was chairman of the meeting, and a charter member of the club. At the second meeting, he was elected the first vice-president of the Standard Club of Nashville. In 1887, he married Annie Weil, daughter of David Weil, another of Nashville's clothing magnates (see above). She served as a community leader in many fields as well (note 101).

Lefkovits.

Herman Lefkovits. (sometimes spelled Lefkovitz). Migrating to Nashville in the 1860's, he was one of the founders of the Hungarian Benevolent Society in 1871, and he went on to become president of it by 1890. He was one of the original supporters of Shearith Israel congregation. In true Nashville spirit of supporting all the congregations, he was one of the original purchasers of pews in the new Vine Street Temple building in 1875. He was a tailor for all of his business career, also engaged in cleaning and repairing clothes. In 1875, his shop was located at 86 North Cherry. He died in 1903 (note 102).

Jacob Lefkovits. A native of Hungary, he came to Nashville around 1880. He was in the wholesale hide business with Falk Leventhal. It later became J. Lefkovits & Company. He was very active in congregation Ohavai Sholom, and served as its president for longer than any other person in its history, ten years from 1898-1908. He died in 1921 (note 103).

Levi.

Marcus Levi. In 1855, he was in the clothing business at 29 North Market Street. He is listed on the 1860 census as being a native of Russia. If this is accurate, he is among the first Russian Jews, if not the first, to settle in Nashville. He was married to Eliza, a native of Germany, and they had one son who was born in New York in 1853 (note 104).

Levick.

Samuel Levick. When the new split off congregation began on October 9, 1859, Samuel Levick (also spelled Lewich) was one of the founders. He was born in Poland in 1825, and was married to another native of Poland, Fanny. After a few years trying their luck in the gold rush of California in 1849, he settled in Nashville in around 1857. In 1859, he had a clothing store at 39 Broad Street, two

doors from College Street, which he continued in 1860. In 1863, he was arrested for keeping his store opened on Sunday. By the end of the war, he was still in the dry goods business at 30 Broad Street, and in 1867, he was at 33 Broad. In 1870, he was at 103 Broad Street. He was listed on the 1870 census. By 1875, he had added boots and shoes to his clothing lines, still at 103 Broad Street. By 1880, he was running a general store at 21 South College Street which he operated through 1885. His daughter, Rachael married A. I. Brown (see above). (note 105).

Levine.

Jacob Levine. Born in Germany in 1844, he migrated to Tennessee in the 1860's, although he settled in Pulaski, Tennessee at first. In the 1870's, he moved to Nashville and opened a cigar factory with S. Friedman at 120 North College Street. (Legend has it that he learned the trade from Samuel Gompers). The business was going strong in 1880, and did so until the early 1890's when he decided to run for magistrate of the County Court. He was elected and served until his death in 1934. He was one of the few Jews to serve the government in this capacity in Nashville. He was also active in Bnai Brith and the other Jewish fraternal societies (note 106).

Levy.

NOTE: The name Levy is one of the most common of Jewish names, and in Nashville it was no different. The writer has found records of many Levy families which have passed through Nashville or settled here permanently. Some of the most significant are mentioned here.

A. Levy (first name unknown). He was the first Levy on record as living in Nashville. He was born in Tennessee in 1822, and was a merchant in Nashville in 1850 (note 107).

Adolph Levy. In 1865, he was in the dry goods business at 10 Union Street. In that year's city directory, he advertised: "Adolph Levy (late of McMinnville, Tennessee). Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Dry Goods, cloths, cassimeres, shawls, cloaks, boots, shoes, hosiery, notions, Ladies' and Gents' Furnishing Goods and Fancy Goods. 10 Union Street. Merchants will find it to their interest to examine my stock before purchasing elsewhere." In 1867, he was in business at 16 Union Street (note 108).

Isaac Levy. In 1865, he was a partner in Levy & Company at 15 Union Street, as they were in 1866 also. By 1870, he was with G. Rice & Company at 16 Union Street, as

he was in 1875. He was active in congregation Ohavai Sholom, and was one of the original purchasers of pews in the new Vine Street Temple building in 1875 (note 110).

Bertha Levy. Daughter of Joseph Levy of Cincinnati, she moved to Nashville in the early 1850's with her family. Joseph Levy established a clothing store at 130 North Market Street by 1855. She married Julius Ochs (see below) on February 28, 1855 in Nashville with Reverend Dr. Alexander Iser officiating. She and Julius lived in Nashville for a while until a fire destroyed their business. Since he had no insurance, they left Nashville for Knoxville and traveled throughout the south and midwest. Their son, Adolph ended up in Chattanooga and bought the Times newspaper, and eventually owned the New York Times. Bertha Levy was one of the "forty eighters" to leave Germany in 1848 due to political protest during the revolution that year (note 109).

Lehning Levy. One of the earliest Jewish settlers in Nashville, he was a tailor there in 1850. He was born in Poland in 1822 (note 111).

S. Levy. Settled in Nashville in around 1857, he was in the clothing business at 13 Spring Street by 1859. An immigrant from Poland, he was born in 1822 and married Anna, also a native of Poland, born in 1828. They had

three children born in Poland, one born onboard the ship that brought them across the Atlantic Ocean in 1847, two born in New York and two born in Nashville, for a grand total of seven children. In his tailor shop, he specialized in dying and scouring. By 1866, he had moved his clothing store to 32 Broad Street (note 112).

Zadok Levy. (Also known as Zodie). Born in Bavaria in 1813, he came to Nashville by 1852, and by 1855, had opened a dry goods and clothing store at 64 South Market Street. He was still operating out of that location in 1857, as he was in 1859, although he had an additional location that year at 72 Broad Street. That year he took out an advertisement in the business directory: "Z. Levy. Dealer in Mens and Boys Clothing, Also Staple and Fancy Dry Goods, Hats, Caps, etc." By 1860, he had accumulated \$4,000 worth of personal property, making him one of Nashville's wealthier Jews. He was married to Amelia Laufer, also of Bavaria, and had five children, all of whom were born in Nashville: Solomon, Raphael, Jacob, Mark and David. In 1859, he moved his clothing store to 28 Broad Street, where he remained until 1867 when he moved to 31 Broad Street. This was the home of his clothing store for a number of years then. He was listed on the 1870 census. He died in 1880.

Legend has it that 1874 was the official starting date for Levy's, the fine mens' clothing store which still

exists in Nashville today. The significance of that year is that Zadok's three sons, Solomon, Raphael and Jacob joined him in the firm at 58 North Market Street. However, Z. Levy had already been running the business out of that location since 1872. Prior to that, Z. Levy was at 31 Broad, and other places around downtown Nashville. In fact, Z. Levy had been in that business since 1855, which may be the official starting date of Levy's. His sons were excellent business men and built Levy's into one of the best "upscale" mens' and boys' clothing operations in the history of Nashville.

Z. Levy was active in congregation Ohavai Sholom, serving as its vice-president in 1872-73. He was one of the original purchasers of pews in the new Vine Street Temple building in 1875. His descendants have been supporters of Ohavai Sholom for the next five generations, including Alfred J. Levy's service as president of the congregation from 1943-45 (note 113).

Lewis.

Solomon Lewis. In 1857, he migrated to Nashville from Prussia and went into the clothing business. By 1860, he had a wife, Amelia, also born in Prussia, and six children. However, he does not appear on any subsequent directories, so during the Civil War his family moved on (note 114).

Lewinthal.

Rabbi Isidore Lewinthal. He was one of the most prominent rabbis to serve congregation Ohavai Sholom, a pulpit he nobly held for thirty four years, from August 1, 1888 until he died in office in May, 1922. When he began, there were only 125 members. On his tenth anniversary in 1898, he wrote a brief resume of the work he aimed at and accomplished. He was most proud of the growth the congregation had enjoyed from 125 members to 200 families in 1898. He said he was also proud of the fact that Ohavai Sholom "was the first congregation in the United States to adopt the new Union Prayer Book [of the C.C.A.R.]".

Lewinthal was greatly respected in the wider community as well as the Jewish community. He was a Mason, Elk, Shriner, and an active member in literary and cultural organizations. He worked hard for social justice, laboring for orphans, the handicapped, poor and sick of all faiths. His divine service were marked by simplicity, dignity and beauty.

Not only did he reach out to the Christian community, he also stressed "shalom bayit" among the various Jewish factions. In 1902, when congregation Adath Israel dedicated its new Gay Street synagogue building, Lewinthal gave a welcoming address (note 115).

Lieberman.

Simon Lieberman. He came to Nashville in the late 1850's, after having lived in Louisville for some time. He was one of the founding members of the Young Mens Hebrew Benevolent society in 1860. By 1865, he was in the boot and shoe business, with a store at 39 North Market Street. In 1867, he moved his shop to 50 North Market Street. He was listed in the 1870 census. Before 1875, he joined his father-in-law M. C. Goldberg (see above) in the lumber business. In 1878, he and Adolph Loveman and Andrew O'Brien began the Lieberman, Loveman and O'Brien Lumber Company. According to Loveman family documents, Emanuel Loveman furnished the capital for his younger brother Adolph to carry on Goldberg's saw mill. Lieberman proved himself to be an excellent business man. That combined with the deep pockets of the Loveman family ensured this firm to become one of Nashville's most solid businesses, one which continues to exist today under the name A. M. Loveman Lumber and Box Company. A piece of stationery from the 1880's is stored in the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati and it has a letterhead which reads: "Lieberman, Loveman & O'Brien. Saw and Planing Mills and Box Factory. Manufacturers of all kinds of ceiling, siding and casing. Dry walnut, ash, and poplar. Dimension stock cut to order. Corner Lindsley Avenue and Fillmore Street. Rough and Dressed Lumber."

Simon Lieberman was active in the Jewish community, serving as secretary of Bnai Brith in 1867, and later as president. He was also active in the reform Bnai Jeshurun congregation, serving as its treasurer for a while and secretary in 1876, its last year in existence. Lieberman started a family tradition of service to the Nashville School Board. He was a member of the Nashville Board of Education and served as its chairman for a while. His daughter, Corinne Lieberman Cohn (Mrs. Charles Cohn) also served on the school board, as did her son, Paul Cohn, Sr. and his son, Paul Cohn, Jr. The Cohn High School in west Nashville is named for this family which has long dedicated itself to community service (note 116).

Lindauer.

Ben Lindauer. He was the brother-in-law and business partner of Ben Herman (see above) in the firm Herman Brothers, Lindauer and Company. This was a wholesale dry goods, notions shoes and boot company, one of the more successful ones in Nashville at the end of the nineteenth century. He was born in Louisville and lived in Cincinnati for a while before coming to Nashville to become credit manager of the firm. He was also active in local politics, rising to president of the city council in 1899. He was also involved in the Jewish community. He was one of the original members of the Standard Club (later to become the

Woodmont Country Club) on October 15, 1882, and in their first election of officers one week later, he was elected secretary of the club. He later served as president (note 119).

Joseph Lindauer. Brother of Ben Lindauer (see above) and brother-in-law of Ben Herman (see above). He was also a partner in the firm of Herman Brothers, Lindauer and Company, beginning as bookkeeper in 1880 when they were located at 88 South Market Street. By 1890 the firm was known as "Herman Bros., Lindauer & Company." He was also one of the charter members of the Standard Club in 1882, and served on the board of trustees of congregation Ohavai Sholom (note 120).

Lindheim.

A. Lindheim. Born in Germany in 1840, he came to Nashville and was a clerk in a clothing store at 74 Public Square in 1859. In 1860, he was a clerk in a store at 12 Union Street (note 117).

Lindoman.

L. Lindoman. He was listed in the first volume of the Nashville City Directory in 1853 as having a second hand store at 89 North College Street (note 118).

Loeb.

Herman Loeb. He worked for Simon Weil (see below) in 1866 in the dry goods business at 3 Public Square. However, in 1867, he had moved to work for a furniture manufacturing company at 334 South Cherry Street. He was listed on the 1870 census, and by 1880 he was working at a gents' furnishing goods and cigar store at 33 Deaderick Street (note 121).

Jacob Loeb. In 1865, he was a clothing merchant at 172 South Summer Street. In that year, he became one of the charter members of the Bnai Brith chapter in Nashville and served as president in 1866. He was also active in congregation Mogen David, serving as its secretary in 1864 (note 122).

Loth.

M. Loth. While this was a Cincinnati business and not one from Nashville, it is noteworthy in this analysis because of the the significant economic ties between Cincinnati and Nashville and the importance of that major market center on the economy of the region. In 1865, M. Loth took an advertisement of the entire back page of the Nashville Business Directory of that year which read: "M. Loth. Cincinnati, Ohio. Wholesale Notion House: Notions,

gloves, wallets, braids, skirts, nets, hosiery, suspenders, handkerchiefs, embroideries, corsets, paper, envelopes, pins and needles, etc., etc., etc., etc. Call when in the city or if convenient, mail us your orders. They will receive PROMPT ATTENTION!" Of course, this merchandise was meant to be sold to the many retailers and peddlers in the Nashville region (note 123).

Loveman.

Adolph Loveman. Son of Morris (see below), he was working with his brother David (see below) for a while. Later he worked for the Goldberg Lumber Co., owned M. C. Goldberg (see above). In 1878, Adolph's brother, Emanuel furnished the capital for Adolph to enter into partnership with Simon Lieberman and Andrew O'Brien in the Lieberman, Loveman & O'Brien Lumber Company (see Simon Lieberman for more information on this company). Adolph was an early member of the Standard Club and belonged to congregation Ohavai Sholom (note 124).

David Loveman. He proved to be one of Nashville's outstanding business persons. He moved to Nashville in 1862 with his father, Morris (see below) and other family members. Like so many other Jews of the time, it was the Civil War that brought them to the relative security of the city, as well as the tremendous economic opportunity which

awaited there. Shortly thereafter, David started the "Nashville Hoop Skirt Manufactory," which manufactured corsets in a small factory at 60 North College Street. Business was good immediately and this afforded him the opportunity to advertise in the 1865 business directory: "D. Loveman & Company. Nashville Hoop Skirt Manufactory. 60 North College Street. Skirts made to order at the shortest notice. Dealers in Ladies Furnishing Goods; also, Old Skirts repaired, altered, and shaped as new. A full stock constantly on hand."

He became a regular advertiser in the business directory and newspapers of the day. In 1866, he advertised: "Nashville Hoop Skirt Factory. Hoop Skirt Manufacturer and Dealer in Corsets, Cloaks, Shawls, Shoes and all kinds of Ladies Furnishing Goods. 63 North College Street near the Square. Dealers shipped at New York prices. Repairing neatly done at short notice."

By 1867, they had reached such prominence that they were able to afford an advertisement in the front of the business directory, before the listings on page 9. That year their advertisement in the business directory read: "Loveman Brothers, Nashville Hoop Skirt Factory. Hoop skirt manufacturers and dealers in corsets, of which we have the best stock that has ever been in the city. No. 112 Church Street. Dealers supplied at New York prices."

Repairing neatly done at short notice." The brother was Adolph, his brother (see above) who worked with David for a while before venturing into other fields.

By 1870, David had moved up to the Square and he was expanding his inventory, as evidenced by the advertisement of that year in the business directory: "Nashville Hoop Skirt Factory. Loveman Brothers, No. 16 Public Square. Manufacturers of hoop skirts, Importers of French corsets, of which we have the best stock this side of New York. Dealers in a full and complete stock of White Goods, Irish Linen, Hosiery, etc. Also a complete assortment of Human and Artificial Hair, dealers supplied at Eastern Prices. Hoops made to order and satisfaction guaranteed."

A few years later, the hoop skirt factory had evolved into a retail store which was selling all sorts of clothing and dry goods. By 1876, it had achieved such success that he took out an advertisement on the front cover of the business directory. It read: "D. Loveman's. Headquarters of Fashion. The ladies Furnishing House, White Goods and Trimmings. No. 16 Public Square." He took in a new partner during those years, Leopold J. Loventhal (see below).

They continued to advertise on the front cover of the business directory for several years. In 1879, their

advertisement read: "D. Loveman & Company. Headquarters for Imported corsets and Ladies' Furnishing Goods. 16 Public Square." In 1880, they advertised on the front cover again. Perhaps an indicator of recessionary business conditions of the times, they took out a smaller advertisement than usual in 1881. No longer on the front cover, but on page 329, their small ad read: "D. Loveman & Company. Ladies' Furnishing Goods. 16 Public Square. Headquarters of Fashion. Ladies' Furnishing House. Headquarters for wraps of every description. Ladies Undergarments. Infants outfits, fancy goods, and novelties. Dressmakers' supplies a specialty."

In 1879, David was a trustee of M. C. Goldberg's estate. It was at this point that the family put Adolph into the lumber business.

D. Loveman's eventually became one of the greatest mercantile houses in the city. Later, it became to be called "Loveman, Berger & Teitlebaum," and was dubbed "the satisfactory store." They closed in 1975.

This writer could find no evidence of David Loveman's participation in any facet of Nashville's Jewish community (note 125).

Morris Loveman. The father of David and Adolph (see above), as well as Emanuel, Jettie (who married Louis Mills - see below), and Rose (who married William Rich - see below). In 1854, he was experiencing financial difficulties in post-revolutionary Hungary, so he wrote his brother Bernard for help in getting to America. Bernard had been sold a piece of property in Owosso, Michigan by a slick real estate salesman, who conned him out of most of his life savings, so all he could do is help with the passage to Michigan and offer Morris' family lodging in a wigwam nearby. Morris worked in a logging camp, until Bernard taught him the ways of peddling.

He eventually found his way to Nashville in about 1862, and he opened a small store. His wholesale dry goods store became the headquarters for immigrants coming from their part of Hungary. Morris would sell them goods on credit so they could get started in the peddling business. In 1865 he was selling dry goods and Yankee notions at 25 North College Street. By 1866, he moved to 63 North College Street, and in 1867, he was upstairs at 7 Union Street. In the 1870's, he moved his dry goods store permanently to Cedar Street until he died in 1887.

Morris was active in the Jewish community. He was one of the charter members of the Hungarian Benevolent Society of Nashville. He became so well known that once he

received a letter addressed to "Morris Loveman, America." Legend has it that he received it in the regular length of time for a letter to reach its destination.

The story of the Lovemans is one which showed the remarkable degree of financial success attainable for the immigrants of these early days. They came to America penniless, slept in wigwams for a while, worked in logging camps, traveled with packs on their backs, and eventually settled down and built up several major businesses. They did it with hard work, good will and ingenuity. They also did it by investing in each other's businesses and taking care of their extended family. Out of Morris Loveman's loins sprang D. Loveman's department store company, Adolph's lumber company, Mill's Bookstore, one of which still exists, and two of which lasted almost until the end of the twentieth century. While Loveman's family's success exceeded most, it is still an example of what so many of the Jews studied in this paper were able to carve out of the American experience (note 126).

Loventhal.

Leopold J. Loventhal. Lee Loventhal had a major impact on the Jewish community of Nashville, and some have even called him Nashville Jewry's "first citizen." Born in Prussia in 1834, he migrated to Nashville in the 1860's

with his brothers. In 1865, one of his brothers, Isadore had a clothing store at 50 North Market Street. In 1866, Lee and another brother, Benjamin S. Loventhal and a brother-in-law, S. L. Mode (married to sister Tillie Loventhal) entered into the partnership of the clothing store at 50 North Market Street. The Modes were residing in Cincinnati that year. An advertisement they took out in the 1866 Nashville Business Directory said that they were: "Mode & Loventhal. Dealers in custom made clothing, cloths, cassimeres, vestings and gents' furnishing goods." In 1867, they moved their clothing store to 66 North College Street.

In 1868, Lee joined David Loveman's clothing firm and continued to work there until 1885. In 1885, he rejoined his brother Ben in the wine, spirits and liquor business for a few years until he met some people from a growing life insurance firm in Wisconsin whom he convinced that they should branch out into Nashville. On October 1, 1889 Lee became one of Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company's most successful agents. With the vast network of people he had met through his association with one of the busiest department stores in town, and all of those he knew through his community activities, he was a natural for this business. He was the only Jewish agent for a major life insurance company, so this obviously helped him sell to his fellow Jews.

Almost immediately upon arrival in Nashville, Lee began what became a life long pursuit of active community involvement. He was a leader in almost every facet of the Jewish community as well as the community at large. In 1870, he served as an officer of Bnai Brith. In 1872, he was president of Concordia. In 1877, he served as president of both the Keshet Shel Barzel and the International Order of the Free Sons of Israel. In 1880-81, he was secretary of Keshet Shel Barzel. At the first meeting of the Standard Club on October 15, 1882, L. J. Loventhal was present as a charter member. One week later, he was elected the first president of that club, which went on to become the Woodmont Country Club. He was for many years a leader of the congregation Ohavai Sholom, serving as its president for two terms for a total of eight years. His son, Charles B. H. Loventhal held that post in 1938-40. In the general community, L. J. was active also. He was a Mason, he was involved in local and state politics, and he served on several community boards.

L. J. Loventhal may have been the archetype for the ideal Jewish citizen in Nashville's history. He used the resources he had as a result of a successful business career to help others. He devoted untold hours to being involved in Jewish organizations, he was a good ambassador to the general community, and he found time to raise seven children and pass on to them a devotion to service. His

son Lee was especially active in the community serving as a leader in Community Chest and a leader in the Nashville Centennial celebration. There have been a number of Jews who have followed this pattern in Nashville since then, but L. J. Loventhal fashioned the mold (note 127).

Lowenheim.

Benjamin Lowenheim. Son of Joseph (see below), he was born in Louisville on June 27, 1858 and was married to Hattie Oppenheim of Cincinnati on October 31, 1891. He moved to Nashville with his family in the 1860's and later went into several businesses there with his brother David (see below). In 1875, at the age of 17, he was a salesman at a clothing store at 17 Public Square. By 1880, he was a bookkeeper at a store at 56 North College Street. In 1880, he and David went to Union City, Tennessee and opened a successful retail business.

In 1892, they returned to Nashville and became associated with Rosenheim Company (see below), which was to become one of the premier retail department stores in the region. The firm was established by the two Lowenheim brothers; Louis and George Rosenheim, already successful retailers from Louisville; Joseph Frank of Frank & Company, another successful clothing firm; and David S. Morse. They put up a \$400,00 investment into this venture, and one

local newspaper claimed, "These are six of the most extraordinary young business men known anywhere. Beginning with nothing, each has made himself a power in the community. There has never begun in Nashville a firm under greater promise and brighter prospects." The store did live up to those lofty expectations for a few years. They brought many new techniques to their store, previously unseen in Nashville. The store was the largest in Nashville, taking up five stories and the entire square from Cherry Street to the Public Square.

However, the partnership dissolved after a few years. Details are not available as to why this happened, but one may surmise that a partnership composed of six people, two of whom had already run a large operation (the Rosenheims) and the others had only had smaller stores, there must have been a lot of disagreement as to how the operation should be run. "Too many chiefs and not enough Indians."

Later, Ben and David opened a boot, shoe and dry goods store on the Public Square until Ben tragically died at the young age of 39. He was mourned by his many friends in Nashville. The Standard Club, of which he was an active member, memorialized him with a special service and plaque on September 9, 1897. Congregation Ohavai Sholom, in which he was active, also memorialized him with a special service on August 29, 1897 (note 128).

David Lowenheim. Brother of Benjamin (see above) and son of Joseph (see below), he was born in Louisville in 1856, and moved to Nashville with them in the 1860's. He was in several businesses in Nashville, including clerking at a retail store at 56 North College Street in 1880. That year, he and Ben moved to Union City and were in business together until Ben's untimely death in 1897 (for details see Ben above).

After Ben's death, David ran a successful jewelry store in Nashville for many years. He died in 1938. He was married to Tessie Blum, granddaughter of R. D. Blum (see above). David and Tessie's daughters, Elizabeth (Jacobs) and Mary Jane (Werthan) have been among the Nashville Jewish community's unparalleled leaders (note 129).

Joseph Lowenheim. (1828-1904). Joseph and his wife, Bertha Davis Lowenheim were both natives of Prussia. They lived in Louisville and Cincinnati for a while, where their sons David and Ben were born (see above). They moved to Nashville after the Civil War and Joseph was a peddler in rural Tennessee. According to family history, he was assaulted by hooded Ku Klux Klan members while traveling the back roads, and was about to have his throat slit when he flashed the Masonic distress signal to prove to the Klanners that he was a Mason. Even though he was a Jew, as long as he was a Mason, he was worth saving.

In 1866, he opened a clothing store with Phillip Harris at 72 South Market Street. By 1870, he was on the road peddling again, as he advertised himself as a pedlar [sic] in the 1870 business directory, living at 67 Ewing Avenue. He was listed on the 1870 census. By 1880, he had opened a saloon at 68 North College Street (note 130).

Lowenstein.

Louis Lowenstein. Born in Frankfort, Germany in 1835, he came to the United States in 1852, eventually settling in Nashville in the early 1860's. In 1865, he opened a dry goods store at 52 South Market Street, which he continued in 1866. In 1867, he moved the clothing store to 23 Broad Street. That year, he married Frances Lowenstein (same name). She kept her maiden name! In 1875, he was a produce dealer. In the late 1870's he joined his brother-in-law, N. Martin in business. Later, he and his son Julius operated a fur and hide business called L. Lowenstein & Son. However, by 1885 he was back with N. Martin & Company where he remained through the end of the decade.

Louis was quite active in the Jewish community. He served as financial secretary of the Bnai Brith in 1870. He was active in the original Reform congregation, Bnai Jeshurun until it closed in 1876, when he joined Ohavai

Sholom. He was one of the original purchasers of pews in the new Vine Street Temple building in 1875. He was on the board of trustees of both of those congregations. He was a long-time member of the religious school committee of the Temple. He died in 1907 (note 131).

Samuel Lowenstein. (1836-1906). He came to Nashville around 1870 and married Regina Hirsch, daughter of Nathan (see above). He joined the N. Hirsch Company and worked there during the 1870's. In the 1880's, he and his brothers-in-law, Joseph, Samuel, and Sigmund established one of Nashville's largest retail establishments. The business failed in 1886, after which Sam Lowenstein, and Sam and Sigmund Hirsch joined Leopold Jonas in L. Jonas Co., one of the largest wholesale millinery firms in the city. Sam was active in the congregation Ohavai Sholom and he was one of the original purchasers of pews in the new Vine Street Temple building in 1875. He and his wife, Regina had five children, one of whom, Rose married Charles Loventhal, son of L. J. Loventhal (see above). Sam died in 1906 (note 132).

Lusky.

Betty Lusky. Wife of Myer Lusky (see below), she lived to the age of 107 in 1927. After Myer died in 1872, she supported herself as a merchant in her own right. This

was unusual for that day, but she was an excellent business woman. For many years, she was a milliner in L. Rosenheim Brothers & Company at 30 Public Square. Betty was the aunt of Louis and George Rosenheim, natives of Warsaw, Poland. She was responsible for their coming to Nashville, so they repaid the compliment by giving her a millinery department in their department store. It became one of the more successful departments they had (note 133).

Morris Lusky. Migrating to Nashville from Poland in the early 1850's, he was one of the earliest Jewish settlers there, along with his brother Myer (see below). Morris was a merchant tailor at 34 Broad Street in 1855-58. In 1859, he was a grocer at 119 North Market Street. In 1860, he was listed on the census report as being 26 years old, a native of Poland, married to Adelaide Nassauer, age 23, with three children, all born in Nashville. He had accumulated \$1,000 worth of personal property by 1860. Adelaide was a cousin of the Nassauer boys and a niece of Z. Levy. In 1861, his grocery store had moved to 81 Broad Street. He was in the grocery business until he died in 1866 at the age of 32 (note 134).

Myer Lusky. Brother of Morris (see above), he also came to Nashville in the early 1850's. He was 23 years older than Morris, and had been in the fur trade in Poland. He was married to Betty, also of Poland and they

had one daughter, Harriet, who was born in Poland in 1849. When he settled in Nashville, he opened a boarding house. He advertised in The Israelite, the weekly Jewish newspaper published in Cincinnati on April 20, 1860 saying, "M. Lusky's Kosher Boarding House. No. 65 Broad Street, corner of Cherry and Broad. Nashville, Tennessee." Many Jewish peddlers stayed at Lusky's Boarding House when they first came to Nashville, until they settled down and could find more permanent housing. He also had a large hall suitable for large social events. Myer operated this establishment until his death in 1872 (note 135).

Lyons.

Benjamin Lyons. One of the earliest Jewish settlers in Nashville, he was listed in the first volume of the Nashville City Directory in 1853 as an importer and dealer of cigars, tobacco, wines, liquors, etc. at 19 Cedar Street. He was in partnership with his brothers, Jacob, Lewis and Samuel. In the second volume of the directory in 1855, they also advertised Lyons & Co. at 19 Cedar Street.

By 1857, they had attained such a stupendous level of success that they were one of only a handful of business people who were able to afford a full page advertisement in the business directory. It read: "Lyons & Co. Importers of and Wholesale Dealers in Havana Cigars, Tobacco, and all kinds of Foreign Wines, Liquors, etc. etc. No. 19 Cedar Street, Nashville, Tennessee. The subscribers keep constantly on hand, and offer for sale on the most favorable terms, a well assorted and extensive stock of Havana Cigars, smoking and chewing tobaccos, brandies, wines, etc. and all kinds of liquors. Every article warranted. Also: Pickles, Sauces, Catsups, Preserves, Brandy, Fruits, etc., etc. Agents for Dr. Mill's Bitters, Hostetter's Bitters, Green's Aromatic Sasparilla. Sole Proprietors of 'Lyons & Co.'s' Celebrated Aromatic Schiedam Schnapps, and 'Lyons & Co.'s' Celebrated Medicated Brandy. Country orders will meet with prompt and careful

attention." The depression of 1857 struck Lyons & Co. and just as rapidly as they rose, so did they decline. By 1859, Lyons & Co. was out of business. Ben was running a billiard saloon that year, and Lewis was still a cigar manufacturer at 5 North College Street. Ben continued to run the pool hall in 1860. His activities in the community included being a charter member of the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1859, and his involvement as a volunteer fireman (note 136).

Markowiecz.

A. Markowiecz. He was Jacob Bloomstein's (see above) partner in a cigar manufacturing firm at 54 North Cherry Street in 1855-57. In 1859, he had a different partner, a Mr. Burns in his cigar store at the same address. He remained in the cigar business in 1860 (note 137).

Marks.

S. Marks. One of Nashville Jewry's earliest settlers, he was a merchant in 1850, having immigrated from Germany. He was one of the early worshippers with Isaac Garritson's minyan in 1848. The records on him are vague, but his wife appears in the 1855 business directory as a French milliner at 17 Spring Street. It is possible that S. Marks died in the early 1850's at the age of around 30 (note 138).

Martin.

Nathan Martin. Migrating from Germany in 1855, he eventually landed in Nashville in the early 1860's. By 1866, he had opened a small clothing store at 50 South Market Street. In 1867, he went into partnership with B. Bernstein in the dry goods business at 69 South Market Street. He was listed on the 1870 census. By 1880, he had gone into the hides and wool business at 44-46 Broad Street with a brother-in-law, Louis Lowenstein; the business was called N. Martin & Company. They continued that business at 98-100 Broad Street in 1885 and at 306 Broad in 1890. He married Louis' sister, Rosalie in 1866. He was active in congregation Ohavai Sholom and in the Bnai Brith (note 139).

May.

Jacob May. While May's business activities in Nashville took place after the official terminus of this paper (1890), his story began in the United States in 1879, and it is so interesting that it bears telling here. Born in Hochst, Germany on May 8, 1861, Jacob May migrated from Germany in 1879. After a brief stay in New York, he moved to New Hampshire where a relative had a retail store. He became a peddler with a horse and wagon and traveled the New England area selling his wares. He was proud that he

never had to start out with a pack on his back like so many other German Jewish immigrants of his day; he started at the next level up, with a horse. He saved money from those days to set up his own store in Laconia, New Hampshire, home of many hosiery mills. He sold the local hosiery in Boston when he went there on buying trips, bartering hosiery for merchandise he could then sell in his store in Laconia. Thus, he learned the hosiery business.

One day, Jacob saw an advertisement in a Boston newspaper saying that the State of Tennessee was taking bids for convict labor. He took a long shot, and to his surprise, his bid was accepted. So, in 1896, he moved to Nashville and started the Rock City Hosiery Mills inside the walls of the Tennessee State Penitentiary, where they manufactured socks. The original capitalization was \$15,000. May put up 60% of this, and a New York partner, Leo Kaufman put up 40%. The business was an instant success, and by 1901, May bought out Kaufman and became the sole owner.

The business eventually came to be known as May Hosiery Mills and had a proud and long history in Nashville. The May family has contributed much to the Jewish community over the years, including two presidents of congregation Ohavai Sholom, Mortimer May (president from 1940-43, and one of the Reform movement's leading Zionists)

and his son Leon May in the 1970's. Dan May was on the city council for many years, and was one of the community's great leaders (note 140).

Mehrenstein.

Louis Mehrenstein. After serving in the Confederate Army, he settled in Nashville and opened a cigar store with a Mr. Baker at 21 Deaderick Street. In 1867, he had moved to 26 Deaderick, where he stayed with a relative, C. Mehrenstein through 1870. This was an excellent location on the corner of Deaderick and the Public Square. In 1875, Louis had moved to become a clerk in a store at 9 North Cherry Street. There is no record of any involvement in the Jewish organizations of the day (note 141).

Meyer.

Adolph H. Meyer. Born in Germany in 1863, he migrated to America and became a peddler. According to his autobiography, he was astonished that he earned \$13.00 on the first day he was out selling goods. Not bad, he thought for someone who was a penniless immigrant yesterday! Eventually, he came to settle in Nashville, and became a partner in L. Jonas & Company. He married Bettie Elkan, daughter of Simon Elkan and Yettie Schuler. Adolph became very active in the Jewish community, serving as

president of congregation Ohavai Sholom in 1916-18 (note 142).

Milholovitch (Mills).

Louis Milholovitch (later changed to Mills). He and his family were in the wholesale liquor business at 9 South Market Street in the 1870's. Louis married Jettie Loveman, the oldest daughter of Morris Loveman (see above), after which Louis went into the dry goods and notions business with Morris. Jettie and Louis' son, Reuben Mills, along with two other "Loveman" cousins, the Rich Brothers, founded Mills Book Store in 1892. This became one of the truly outstanding book stores in this part of the country and lasted for around 100 years under the sound leadership of Bernie and Adele Mills Schweid (note 143).

Milius.

William Milius. He was a member of the Milius family in Cincinnati who owned a large and successful clothing company there. He came to Nashville in the 1850's and went into partnership with Elias Wolf in a wholesale and retail clothing store at the corner of Market Street and the Public Square (see Elias Wolf for more details). William Milius was one of the early members of congregation Mogen David, and served on their board of trustees in 1855-56 (note 144).

Mitchell.

Dr. Jacob Mitchell. He was one of the first to participate in Isaac Garritson's minyan in 1848, and he was one of the original trustees of the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Association, Mogen David when they purchased burial land in 1851. He was also one of the "five families" who started the first congregation in Nashville. In the first business directory in 1853, he advertised himself as an Indian doctor. The Nashville Gazette on July 7, 1852, said that Mitchell was an Indian botanical doctor who rejected the use of medicines favored by the medical faculty; rather he used roots and herbs. He was, along with his brothers, Hyman and Levy, the earliest Jewish settlers in Little Rock, Arkansas in the 1830's. He died in 1859, and was one of the first to be buried in the Temple cemetery (note 145).

Morganstern.

M. Morganstern. One of the early members of the first break-away congregation Ohava Emet, he offered to rent a room to the congregation to hold services over his store on Union Street in 1863. In 1865, he had a clothing, boots and shoe store at 65 North College Street. In that year's business directory he advertised the following: "M. Morganstern. Dealer in Clothing, Gentlemen's Furnishing

Goods, Hats, Caps, Trunks, Satchels and Valises. Also a fine assortment of custom-made boots and shoes. 65 North College Street." His business continued in 1866. In 1867, he had moved his store to 74 North College Street, now concentrating mostly on shoes. By 1870, he became a boot and shoe manufacturer at 66 1/2 Church Street and he lived at 91 Line Street (note 146).

Moskovitz (Morse).

Samuel Moskovitz (later changed name to Morse). He lived from 1842-1877, and came to Nashville around 1870. In 1875, he was in the confectionery business at 78 Broad Street. He was married to Rachel Rosenheim, sister of George and Louis Rosenheim, the prominent retailers (see below). After Sam died, Rachel continued the confectionery business at 78 Broad for a number of years. One of their children, Joe Morse, Sr. was very active in congregation Ohavai Sholom, and went on to serve as its president in 1918-20.

Samuel Moskovitz (Morse) had a brother, Morris who was a shoemaker at 95 South Cherry Street. He was active in the early days of congregation Adath Israel. He was a charter member of congregation Shearith Israel in 1905 (note 147).

Myers.

Benjamin Myers. According to Dr. Jacob Marcus, Benjamin Myers (1758-1851) was the first Jew to live in Nashville. However, one of Marcus' laws states that anytime you think you have found out who the first Jew in a community was, you always find that there was another one there before him. Nevertheless, Myers is the first Jew of whom we have proof that he was living in this pioneer outpost in the 1790's. The proof is that he and his wife had the first Jewish baby born in Nashville, Sarah Myers, born on December 2, 1795. Myers' wife (Sarah's mother) was Hannah Hays, daughter of David Hays and Esther Etting, both prominent families in pre-Revolutionary America. Sarah also married into her mother's family when she wed Benjamin Etting Hays in New York City on March 23, 1814. The Hays family also included some relatives who lived in Nashville (see Joseph family above, and Powers family below), as well as the Hays who married a Sulzberger in the New York Times family of Arthur Hays Sulzberger. Sarah Myers Hays died on August 13, 1864.

Benjamin Myers was the son of Myer Benjamin, and was born in Newport, R.I. in 1755. His father was Hungarian and his mother was Austrian. He lived in New York City, Richmond and Baltimore, as well as Nashville. It is not known what he did in Nashville or why he left, but chances

are he was a trader, selling his wares to the frontier families of the day, just as so many of his fellow Jews would one day do, those who would follow him (note 148).

Ben Myers. The son of Benjamin Myers (see above) and his second wife, Rachel Hays Myers, Ben lived in Nashville and made his living in the clothing sales business. In the 1850's he was a clerk at a clothing store at 11 Public Square (note 149).

Myer B. Myers. He was the son of Benjamin Myers (see above) and Hannah Hays Myers, and was born in Virginia in 1794, and lived in the Nashville area. He is listed on the 1880 census as living in Goodlettsville, Tennessee. It is believed that he is the same Myers who was a partner in Myers-Hunt carriage and coach manufacturers in Nashville. If this is true, he was the only Jew in early Nashville to be manufacturing durable goods (note 150).

Nassauer.

H. Nassauer. There were eight Nassauer boys and one girl, nephews and niece of Z. Levy, who fled Bavaria with Levy in the 1840's. They had lived in the province of Nassau, thus the name. One of the brothers, M. Nassauer was a partner of I. P. Stein (a resident of New York) in Stein, Nassauer & Company which sold boots, shoes, etc. at

70 Public Square. In 1867, Herman Nassauer was a clerk at 35-37 Broad Street (clothing store of his uncle, Z. Levy). In 1870, he was at a dry goods store at 23 Broad Street. By 1875, he had joined with one of the Hirsch brothers in a clothing manufacturing firm at 51 Public Square.

Herman Nassauer was very active in the Jewish community. He was the second president of the newly united Mogen David - Ohava Emet congregations in 1867-68, which was renamed Ohavai Sholom. In 1868, he was also one of the incorporators of the Independent Order of Brith Abraham. He was also president of Bnai Brith. In the late 1870's, he left Nashville and lived in Mississippi until his death in 1897. His sister Adelaide married Morris Lusky (see above). (note 151).

Nathan.

Sinai Nathan. An immigrant from Germany, he was one of the earliest Jewish settlers in Nashville, and he was a participant in the first minyan which met at Isaac Garritson's house in 1848. He was also one of the charter members of the first congregation Mogen David in 1854. In 1850 when the census was taken, he was a 19 year old unmarried merchant. Later, he married Sophia Stein.

He was an excellent business man. In the first volume of the Nashville City Directory in 1853, he was listed as

having two wholesale and retail clothing stores at 44 South Market Street and at 6 Broad Street. The firm was known as Metz & Nathan. By 1857, he was sole owner of "Nathan's Clothing Manufactory Store at No. 6 Broad Street, two doors from Front Street and next to R. Stuart's Boat Store," according to a larger advertisement in the 1857 business directory. It continued, "Constantly on hand a large assortment of Ready Made Clothing of his own manufacture; and a variety of Boots, Shoes, Hats, Trunks, Shirts, Handkerchiefs, etc. which will be sold at the lowest market price for cash. B.B. Garments made to order in the latest styles, at the shortest notice."

In 1860, Nathan's clothing store was at 12 Broad Street, and he was residing at 26 South Market Street. The 1860 census reported Sinai Nathan as having amassed a fortune in the amount of \$16,000 worth of personal property and \$9,000 worth of real estate. That made him the second wealthiest Jew in Nashville in 1860. The wealthiest Jew was Joseph Stein, his brother-in-law (see below).

In the 1860 business directory, Sinai Nathan advertised: "S. Nathan. Merchant Tailor and dealer in clothing and gents' furnishing goods, hats, caps, boots, and shoes, etc. 12 Broad Street. Garments made to order at the shortest notice."

Nathan was active in the community also. He was one of the charter members and the first treasurer of the Aurora Lodge 105 of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in 1858. He continued to be active with congregation Mogen David, serving as treasurer in 1855-56, and 1858-59, and president in 1860-61 (note 152).

Noa.

Ismar Noa. This is an example of the many transient business people who were passing through Nashville at the end of the Civil War trying to make a quick buck. Ismar Noa was an exchange broker at 25 Union Street. In the business directory of 1865, he advertised: "Dealer in gold, silver and uncurrent money. Pays the highest prices for quartermaster's vouchers." Here was a classic money changer trying to help facilitate the transfer of capital and currency in a very uncertain time. Although he moved on from Nashville, his experience gives excellent insight into the instability of the monetary system of those turbulent times (note 153).

Northman.

Emanuel and Jacob Northman. These brothers were in the dry goods business and had a store at 22 Public Square from 1865. E. Northman was vice president of the Eureka

Club, one of the societies and clubs of the day. In 1867, they had moved back to Cincinnati for a brief time, and they had left their dry goods store in Nashville (E. & J. Northman & Company) to a new partner, E. Wolff. By 1870, they were back in Nashville continuing to do retail dry goods business on the Public Square. They were living at the Maxwell House. They were listed on the 1870 census (note 154).

Ochs.

Julius Ochs. Most prominently known as the father of Adolph Ochs, one of this nations greatest newspaper men and owner of the New York Times and the Chattanooga Times, Julius Ochs lived in Nashville for a while. Born in Furth, Germany near Nuremberg in the Kingdom of Bavaria on June 29, 1826, Julius came to America on May 1, 1845 at the age of 18. He went to Louisville to live with relatives and later received a proposition to join a cousin in business in Nashville in 1853.

Ochs arrived in Nashville in 1853 and said that this town "was then a flourishing town, and I soon found congenial society." He said that there was music, theatre and opera in Nashville, so he felt at home. He soon married Bertha Levy, daughter of Joseph Levy (see above) of Cincinnati. The Levy's had moved to Nashville and that is

where Julius and Bertha courted and married on February 28, 1855. Rev. Alexander Iser (see above) officiated at the ceremony. A few years later, Ochs lost his business in a fire. Since he had no fire insurance, he left Nashville and moved to Knoxville. He traveled throughout the south and midwest as a peddler for many years.

Ochs comments on Nashville's attitudes regarding the war issues were interesting. He said many Jews were anti-slavery and pro-Union and anti-secession. Tennessee was in the balance until April 12, 1861 when Ft. Sumter was taken. Then Nashville became pro-South and "it was dangerous for a Union sympathizer to express himself. I was advised to leave the city," Ochs said.

At this point, Julius moved to Knoxville and established a business. His son Adolph borrowed some money to buy the Chattanooga Times, and the rest is history.

According to A. E. Frankland's account, Julius Ochs was a part of the first minyan to meet at Isaac Garritson's house in 1848. Since Julius Ochs' own memoir has him moving to Nashville in 1853, one must surmise that if Frankland was correct, Ochs must have been traveling through Nashville at the time. Ochs had received an excellent education in Europe and he was an active member of literary and cultural groups in Nashville while he lived here. He also taught languages in school (note 155).

Oppenheimer.

A. B. Oppenheimer. Born in Germany in 1817, he came to Nashville in the 1840's. He and his brother, M. Oppenheimer (see below) were among the original members of the first congregation in Nashville, Mogen David. When the congregation was originally chartered by the state legislature on March 2, 1854, A. B. was listed as one of the incorporators. In 1850, he was a merchant in Nashville. In 1853, in the first volume of the Nashville City Directory, he was listed as having a store which sold staple and fancy dry goods at 16 Union Street (note 156).

Hattie Oppenheimer. She was from Cincinnati, and she married Ben Lowenheim (see above) on October 31, 1891 (note 157).

Morris Oppenheimer. Born in Germany in 1830, he came to Nashville with his brother, A. B. (see above) in the 1840's. In 1850, he was a clerk at a store in Nashville. He was also one of the early members of the first congregation in Nashville, Mogen David (note 158).

Powers.

Louis Powers. The Powers brothers, Louis, Michael and Sam were considered among Nashville's first families in the

1850's and beyond. They were born in England in the 1820's and made their way to Nashville around 1840. Louis was among the early members of the first Jewish congregation Mogen David in 1853, probably one of the "eight young men" Isaac Garritson referred to in his famous letter to Rabbi Isaac Leeser in 1852 asking for help in forming a congregation.

However, for whatever reason, Louis Powers was one of the principals of the new split-off congregation, Ohava Emet. Perhaps he was accustomed to a different ritual in England, as opposed to the Polish minhag used by Mogen David. On October 9, 1859, the first organizational meeting of Ohava Emet took place at Louis Powers' store and this served as the synagogue for some time. Louis was elected the first president of Ohava Emet. All three Powers brothers were active in this congregation.

In 1847, Louis Powers was advertising heavily in the local newspapers, inviting customers to buy in his Great Western Clothing Store on Market Street at very low prices for cash. In the first volume of the city directory in 1853, he listed his store as a wholesale and retail clothing store at 34 North Market Street. In 1855, he moved his clothing store to 121 North Market Street, where it remained until 1859, when he moved to 34 North Market Street. In 1859, he advertised in the business directory:

"L. Powers. Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Ready Made Clothing, Hats, Caps, Trunks, Valises, etc. No. 34 North Market Street. His seasonable stocks of everything in the clothing line, together with his new styles and low prices will guarantee satisfaction to all his customers, old and new."

In 1860, he remained at 34 North Market and changed its name to the Tennessee Clothing Depot. The 1860 census lists his fortune at \$3,500 in personal property and \$3,000 in real estate. He was married to Abbe, whom he had met in New York and they had a son, Morris born in Nashville in 1858 (note 159).

Michael Powers. Brother of Louis (see above) and Sam (see below), Mike was one of the guiding forces of the foundation of the Jewish community of Nashville. Born in England in 1822, he came to Nashville around 1840 and was one of the original participants in Isaac Garritson's minyan in the 1840's. In July, 1851, he was one of the charter members of the original Hebrew Benevolent Burial Association, Mogen David, which evolved into the first congregation two years later. He was one of the original "eight young men" to begin the congregation. After a few years, he tired of the Polish minhag of Mogen David, and yearned for something more familiar. So, in 1859, he was one of the early members of the new congregation, Ohava Emet.

Mike Powers was a successful business man. For most of the 1850's, he had a thriving wholesale and retail clothing store at 11 Public Square. He advertised in the first edition of the business directory in 1853. In 1855, he had two locations for his stores, 11 Public Square and 34 North Market Street. In 1857, he still had two stores, one at 11 Public Square, but the second one had moved to 123 North Market Street. He resided at 121 North Market Street. In 1860, he was still at the 11 Public Square location.

In 1860, Mike advertised in the business directory: "M. Powers. Wholesale and Retail Dealer in clothing and Gentlemen's Furnishing Goods of every description. No. 11 South Side Public Square." And then in a very interesting twist which may give a lot of insight into this family's competitive business relationships with each other, even though they had close personal relationships, the advertisement continued: "No connection with any other establishment of the same name or business."

Powers' store on the Public Square continued to thrive through the 1860's. The 1860 census reveals that he was the third wealthiest Jew in Nashville that year, with a fortune of \$12,000 in personal property and \$1,500 in real estate, plus his wife, Henrietta's personal property of \$1,000. Henrietta was a descendant of the colonial

Benjamin Myers family (see above). By 1870, he was still going strong at Market Street and the Public Square. He was listed on the 1870 census, and by 1880, this 58 year old gentleman continued to do his clothing business at 56 North Market Street. In 1885 he was at 2 North Summer Street (note 160).

Sam Powers. He was the oldest of the three Powers brothers (see Louis and Mike above), and he came to Nashville in the mid - 1850's. On October 9, 1859, he was one of the charter members at the original meeting of the break-away congregation Ohava Emet. Many of the descendants of the Ohava Emet members became strong supporters of Ohavai Sholom, such as Sam and Rebecca Powers' son, Bernard, who became an active member of Ohavai Sholom, and was one of the original purchasers of pews in the new Vine Street Temple building in 1875.

Sam had lived for a while in Cincinnati working for the Milius Brothers large and successful clothing firm (see William Milius above). He left them and started his own company in Cincinnati, Powers and Johnson, but this failed, so he came to Nashville. In 1855, he was listed in the Nashville City Directory as a marketer on Spruce Street. By 1857, he was working for his brother Louis on North Market Street in the clothing business. In 1860, he was listed on the census as being 46 years old (born 1814);

married to Rebecca, born in New York in 1825; and they had six children, four of whom were born in Cincinnati and two were born in Nashville. Rebecca was from the colonial family of Benjamin Myers (see above), just as Mike Powers' wife was (Henrietta). They eventually had two more children, for a total of eight.

By 1865, Sam's oldest son, Morris (then 19 years old) was working in the clothing store with Sam at 53 North Market Street, which they continued in 1866. In 1867, they had moved to 64 North Market Street, and their next son, Bernard (then 17 years old) began working at 47 Union Street as a clerk. In 1870, Sam maintained the store at 64 North Market Street, Bernard was still at the 47 Union Street store, and Morris had become a travel agent. They were all listed on the 1870 census. By 1875, Sam and Bernard were in partnership at Sam Powers & Son clothing store at 12 Public Square.

In 1877, Sam's store was doing very well, and it enabled him to take out a very prominent advertisement taking up one half of the back cover of the business directory of that year. It read: "S. Powers & Son. We want to firmly impress upon the minds of the citizens of Nashville and the farmers of the surrounding country, that we will constantly make it our aim to carry a stock of goods and sell them at prices that will merit their

patronage and give entire satisfaction in their dealings with us. Good well-made clothing, best and latest styles, fine assortment and variety of material, with the Lowest living prices, and fair and honest dealing, shall constantly be our watchword and Guide, as we intend as far as possible to make and keep our store 'THE' popular place and Headquarters for Clothing in this vicinity. S. Powers & Sons." There was no address given but there was a large picture showing a three story large store building. Under Bernard Powers' listing, the address read Burns Block, Public Square. In 1880, Bernard and another son of Sam and Rebecca, Louis Powers carried on the store at 11 Public Square (note 161).

Redelsheimer.

Henry Redelsheimer. A native of Wurttemberg, Germany, they migrated to Macon, Georgia before the Civil War. During the war, they moved to Nashville with the Simon Elkan family, their in-laws. Henry became active in the Reform congregation, Bnai Jeshurun and in 1874, he served as warden of the burial ground, and in 1875, he was its vice-president. In 1876, the final year of Bnai Jeshurun's existence, Redelsheimer was its warden. In 1874, he had a grocery store at 291 South High Street, which he continued to run there for several years. In 1885 he was a solicitor and in 1890 he was a collector (note 162).

Rice.

M. Rice. One of the earliest Jewish settlers in Nashville, the Rice family arrived there in around 1845. M. Rice was one of the founders of the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Association, Mogen David, and was elected to the board of trustees of the first congregation Mogen David. In 1850, he was listed on the census report as a merchant (clothing and dry goods); he was born in Germany in 1815, married Mary from Germany (she was born in 1825), and they had one child while living in Michigan for a brief time, and they had two children in Nashville (note 163).

Rich.

William Rich. He married Rose Loveman, daughter of Morris and Eva, and he came to Nashville around 1880. There, he joined Adolph Loveman in the lumber business of Lieberman, Loveman & O'Brien. He also succeeded in the real estate business as well as other interests. Two of his sons joined Reuben Mills (see above) in establishing the very successful Mills Book Store Co. One of William and Rosa Loveman Rich's daughters, Dr. Celia Rich was a graduate of the 1898 Vanderbilt Dental School and one of the first women dentists in the South (note 164).

Richheimer.

Charles Richheimer. A native of Baden, he arrived in Nashville in the early 1860's, and married Clara Fish, also a native of Baden. In 1865, he was a merchant at Summer and Cedar Streets, as he was in 1866. By 1870, he owned C. Richheimer & Company, a dry goods store at 46 North College Street in partnership with M. Klein. He was listed in the 1870 census. He continued to operate out of 46 North College Street through 1875. In 1875, he was one of the original purchasers of pews of the new Vine Street Temple building (note 165).

Rosenheim.

George Rosenheim. He was the son of Myer Rosenheim (1828-85, native of Poland) and Esther (1827-1907, also of Poland), and brother of Louis (see below). George was born in Warsaw in 1854 and came to America in the early 1860's with the help of their aunt, Betty Lusky (see above). In the late 1860's, the family was able to bring Myer and Esther over to America. Myer opened a grocery store at 125 North College Street in 1870. He moved his grocery store to 118 North College Street in 1875, next door to his sons' burgeoning retail empire.

In 1870, George and Louis opened a dry goods store at 124 North College Street called L. Rosenheim & Brother. By 1875, they had taken over all the space in 122, 124 and 126 North College Street. By 1880, they had moved to 29-31 Public Square, a location which virtually dominated the square. By 1890, their store had become the largest retail store in Nashville, a five-story building taking up the entire square from Cherry Street to the Public Square.

In 1892, the company was reorganized and its capital greatly increased with the addition of four new substantial partners: David Lowenheim (see above), who would handle the shoe department; Ben Lowenheim (see above), who would be in charge of dry goods and millinery along with Louis Rosenheim; Joseph Frank, who would handle clothing and furnishing goods; Daniel S. Morse, who would be secretary and treasurer of the company and have charge of the office. George Rosenheim would be in charge of carpets, cloaks and dress making. They placed a \$400,000 investment in the store and built the finest department store the city had ever seen. As the Nashville American said on February 2, 1892, "These are six of the most extraordinary young business men known anywhere. Beginning with nothing, each has made himself a power in the community. There has never begun in Nashville a firm under greater promise and brighter prospects." However, just a few years later, the partnership dissolved (see Lowenheims for details).

George left Nashville in 1901 and lived in New York. George was married to Leah Cohen, daughter of Henry (see above) and Rosa Cohen.

George's father, Myer Rosenheim was a founder of the congregation Adath Israel and became very active there. In fact, the first services of Adath Israel were held in his home on North College Street. In 1879, he was treasurer of Adath Israel (note 166).

Louis Rosenheim. Brother and business partner of George (see above), he was born in Warsaw, Poland in 1852. He came to America with his brother his business career paralleled George's until around 1898, when they split up. George went to live in New York for the rest of his life, and Louis went into the ladies' millinery business until he died in 1924.

Louis was also an active investor in real estate and other ventures, including the West Nashville Land and Improvement Company, the Overland Dummy line, a street car company, the Home Insurance Company, the Merchant Bank and the Mechanics Saving Bank and Trust Company, the last three of which he was a director. He was married to Mary Lyon of St. Louis. Louis was an original charter member of the Standard Club in 1882, and was a member of congregation Ohavai Sholom (note 167).

Sigmund Rosenheim. He was in the tobacco and cigar business at 6 North Cherry in 1865. He received his citizenship papers in 1867. In 1867, he and his brother Max had formed Rosenheim & Brother, dealers in cigars, tobacco and pipes at 9 North Cherry Street, where they were in business through 1880. In 1880, they advertised in the business directory that they were "wholesale jobbers of fine cigars and tobacco at 9 North Cherry Street." They also heavily advertised in the local newspapers, such as the advertisement in the Daily American of December 11, 1880 which read, "Rosenheim & Brother, Opposite Maxwell House, Sole Agents for the Celebrated Doctors' Prescription and Famous Club House Cigars." (note 168).

Saltzman.

Rabbi Herman Saltzman. A native of Hungary, he started his career in Nashville as an assistant rabbi at congregation Ohavai Sholom in 1876. However, he did not take to the reforms of the Vine Street Temple, so in 1886 he became one of the charter members and a service reader of congregation Adath Israel. In 1887, he became a charter member of the Hungarian Benevolent Society of Nashville. He became rabbi of the Sherith Israel congregation in the 1890's where he remained a spiritual leader until his death in 1928. He supported himself by running a kosher butcher operation in the meat stalls in the Market House (note 169).

Salzkotter.

Meier Salzkotter. He settled in Nashville after serving the Confederate Army in the Civil War. He worked at the George A. Dickel & Company distillers in the 1870's and 1880's. He was one of the few Jews to earn a living in that business in Nashville in those days (note 170).

Samuels.

Moses Samuels. He was a clothing merchant at 109 North College Street in 1865. He was a leader in the merchants association of that year. He was also active in the break away congregation Ohava Emet, serving as its president in 1865-66 (note 171).

Sax.

Julius Sax. In 1863, Julius and Max Sax opened the Nashville Savings Bank, which became the largest Jewish owned bank in the history of Nashville. They started out as exchange brokers but evolved into commercial and personal banking, savings and investment banking. They were also involved in currency exchange and transfer of funds overseas, which greatly facilitated many of the new immigrants' access to family accounts in the old country. The bank was located at 52 North College Street. Julius was president of the bank. By 1875, they had moved to 57 North College, and by 1880 they had a grand bank building with four magnificent Corinthian columns in front at 38 North College Street.

Julius naturally had access to outside investments through his banking contacts. In 1869, he was an investor in the Tennessee Manufacturing Co. as one of the original shareholders.

Their significant business success gave the Sax brothers a great degree of prominence in the community. Julius was involved in many activities throughout the city. In 1873-74, he was treasurer of Concordia, the club which became the Standard Club in 1882. He was also involved with the Young Mens' Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1874 as an officer. He was an officer of the congregation Ohavai Sholom and of several of the benevolent societies. His wife, Florence Ezekiel from Cincinnati (they were married on October 23, 1886 by Rabbi Isaac Leeser), was active in the community as well. She was on the board of the Women's Mission Home, the Ladies' Hebrew Working Society and was president of the Jewish Relief Society in 1884.

Unfortunately, the bank failed in the early 1890's during a severe economic downturn. This was catastrophic not only for the Sax family, who apparently lost most of their fortune and all of their self-esteem, but also for the many Nashvillians who lost their savings. It was also tragic for the Jewish community to lose such active and important leaders. The Sax family, all of it, moved to New York (note 172).

Max Sax. He was Julius' brother and partner in the Nashville Savings Bank (see above). He served as cashier of the bank.

Max was very involved in the community. In 1866, he was secretary of Concordia and in 1868, he was its president. He was also active in Bnai Brith, serving as president of the Nashville chapter as well as as vice-president of the national board. Max served congregation Ohavai Sholom as its president from 1877-83. He was married to Hannah Harris, the daughter of Henry and Esther Harris, (see above) one of Nashville's pioneer Jewish families, and granddaughter of Isaac Garritson (see above). She was very active in the Jewish community, serving as a founder and the first president of the Ladies' Hebrew Working Society in 1879-81 (the forerunner of the Temple Sisterhood).

In the 1890's, when the Sax bank failed and the family moved away from town, Nashville lost one of its finest families (note 173).

Schiff.

Dr. Gustavus Schiff. He was the first and most significant Jewish medical doctor to settle in Nashville. Born and educated in Germany, he migrated to America in 1857 and settled in Nashville shortly thereafter. In 1861, he opened a medical office at 28 Cherry Street and served his patients as a physician and surgeon. In 1864, he married Henrietta Rosenberg a native of Prussia. In 1866,

he became the first Jew to be elected to the Academy of Medicine. That year his office was at 4 North Cherry Street. In 1867, he had moved to 54 Cedar Street. By 1870, he was at 85 North Cherry Street. He was listed on the 1870 census, where he remained through 1875.

Gustavus Schiff was active in the Masons in Nashville as an officer of the Germania lodge. He was also the first Jew to be elected to the Nashville Board of Education in 1875-77. His wife was president of the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1867, its second year of existence (note 174).

Schwab.

Abraham Schwab. He was one of the early settlers in Nashville's Jewish community, participating in Isaac Garritson's minyan in 1848. He was one of the first members of the new congregation Mogen David, and he served as its president from 1855-56. In 1853 he had a fruit store (note 175).

Schwartz.

Michael Schwartz. He and his wife Pauline and their three daughters left Poland and came to America around 1850. After living in New York for a couple of years, he

found his way to Nashville by 1853, and opened a clothing and tailoring shop at 7 Broad Street. By 1859, he moved his tailor shop to 27 Broad Street. By 1860, he was 54 years old and had two more children, one born in New York and one in Nashville. In that year, he gave up his tailor shop and hit the road as a peddler like so many other Jews of the day. After the war, he had learned a new trade and became a glazier, an unusual occupation for a Nashville Jew. His shop was at 40 South College Street. He was listed in the 1870 census.

He was active in the Jewish community. He served as the first warden of the burial ground of the new united congregation Ohavai Sholom when Mogen David and Ohava Emet merged in 1867. He served in that post until 1872. However, he did not like the direction the reforms were taking his congregation, so he chose to join the more traditional Adath Israel, where he also served as warden. He was an officer of Bnai Brith from 1868-77.

His specialty was acting as burial ground warden, a field about which he was halachically adept. There is a story that Michael Schwartz heard about a Jewish soldier who had been killed in the Civil War and buried in a local military cemetery. Michael knew that the Jew must be buried in the proper way, so he arranged to have the body exhumed and interred in the Jewish cemetery with the proper Jewish burial. Michael died in 1880 (note 176).

Shyer.

Michael Shyer. Brother of Sam (see below), he was born in Hesse, Germany in 1824 and was married to Sophia Bernheim (sister of Louis Bernheim - see above), born in Wurttemberg, Germany in 1828. They came to Nashville in around 1858 and had two children. Michael's business career was marked by many changes from one business to another, rarely staying with one for more than two years at a time. In 1859, he was in the confectionery business at 24 Broad Street, the same location of his brother's clothing store. By 1865, he gave up the confection business and opened a dry goods store at Church Street between Vine and Spruce. In 1866, he had a rag warehouse at 70 Broad Street. In 1870, he was in the produce business at 109 South Market Street. He was listed on the 1870 census. By 1875, he was back in the rag business as a partner in Shyer and Rosenthal at 47 North Market Street. In 1880, he was in the "junk" business at 6 North Market Street. In 1885 he operated "Shyer & Sons" selling junk, paper bags, etc.; in 1890 he was selling wrapping paper and twine and bags at 113 North Market Street.

Michael Shyer was active in the community. In 1866-70, he served as vice-president of the reform Bnai Jeshurun congregation. He later joined Ohavai Sholom and was an officer and one of the original purchasers of pews in the

new Vine Street Temple building in 1875. He was a president of Bnai Brith. His wife, Sophia was a charter member of the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1870. Their son Louis was a charter member of the Standard Club in 1882. Michael died in 1902 (note 177).

Solomon Shyer. Brother of Michael (see above), he was in the dry goods business on Cherry Street by 1859. He was born in Hesse, Germany in 1827 and came to Nashville in the late 1850's. He married Berta, also from Hesse, born in 1835. They had three children, two of whom were born in Nashville. By 1860, he had accumulated \$1,500 in personal property. In 1860, he moved his clothing store to 17 Church Street, and in 1861 to 24 Broad Street. In 1865, it was at 20 Broad Street, where it remained for a couple of years. In 1867, his dry goods store was at 81 South Market Street, and in 1870, it was at 58 North Market Street.

Sol was active in the Reform congregation Bnai Jeshurun and later served as vice-president of Ohavai Sholom congregation in 1879-81. He died in 1902. Sol's son Nathan started a jewelry store which was quite successful and was in business until recent times (note 178).

Sickles.

Simon Sickles. In 1865, he was a wholesale and retail dealer in foreign and domestic dry goods, boots, shoes, hats and notions at Sickles & Company, 49 College Street. In 1866, he was in partnership with Isaac Levy in the same business. In 1867, he joined G. Rice & Co. He was in the dry goods business through 1870. He was one of the original investors in the Tennessee Manufacturing Co. in 1869. He was listed in the 1870 census.

He was active in the local Bnai Brith chapter serving as vice president in 1866 and was in charge of fund raising in 1868 for the orphans' home in Cleveland. He was an active member of congregation Ohava Emet, which had split off from Mogen David. However, when the two congregations decided to begin merger discussions, he resigned and joined Bnai Jeshurun. He became president of Bnai Jeshurun, the reform congregation in 1867-68. His wife Ida was treasurer of the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1867 (note 179).

Sobel.

David Sobel. Brother of I. M. Sobel (see below), he left Cracow, Poland in 1852. By 1859, they had opened a jewelry store at 30 South Market Street. That year they

advertised in the Nashville Business Directory: "I. M. Sobel & Company. Importers, Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Watches, Clocks, Jewelry, Silver and Silver plated ware. Watches and clocks repaired and warranted. Old Gold and Silver taken in exchange."

By 1867, they had moved their clothing and dry goods store to 37 South Market Street.

By 1865, they had expanded their lines to more of a full line department store, as they advertised in that year's business directory: "I. M. Sobel. Dealer in Gents' Furnishing Goods, Clothing, Boots, Shoes, Hats, Caps, Watches, Jewelry, etc. No. 8 Cherry Street, opposite Maxwell Barracks. Watches Carefully Repaired and Warranted." By 1870, they were at 37 South Market Street.

In the early 1870's, David and I. M. split up and David went into partnership with S. Leopold; they opened a retailing innovation called a "One Dollar Store" at the corner of Church and Cherry Streets. This was an idea that was truly ahead of its time, as it was to revolutionize the retail business in a few years. Soon, I. M. and David were back together and the name of the store became I. M. Sobel Dollar Store in 1881. That year, they advertised in the business directory: "I. M. Sobel Dollar Store. Jobber and Dealer in Imported and Domestic Fancy Goods. Jewelry, Notions, Toys, Ladies' Furnishing Goods, Ladies and

Children's Trimmed Hats, Toilet Articles, Perfumery, Glassware, Chinaware, Crockery and Cutlery. Exposition Dollar Store. Corner Church and Cherry Streets. Opposite Maxwell House."

Mrs. D. L. Sobel was a charter member of the Ladies' Hebrew Working Society in 1880, and served as its vice-president in 1881 (note 180).

Isaac M. Sobel. Brother of David (see above), he and his wife Yette and their infant child left Cracow, Poland in 1852 for America. They were business partners until the early 1870's, so his business career paralleled his younger brother David's (see above for details of business). By 1860, I. M. and Yette had four children, and they had amassed \$1,200 worth of real estate and \$3,000 in personal property. By 1875, when he temporarily separated from David, I. M. reverted to what he knew best, the jewelry business. He had a store at 127 North College Street. But by 1880, David's dollar store had been such a success that I. M. joined him in business that year at 2 South Cherry (corner of Church). By 1881, the business was called I. M. Sobel Dollar Store.

His daughter, Sarah Sobel, was a school teacher at Hynes School. His son Leopold joined him and his uncle David at the Dollar Store by 1880.

I. M. was active in the Jewish community. He served as an officer of Bnai Brith in 1870 (note 181).

Sohn.

Louis Sohn. It is possible that this was an errant spelling of Cohn, but it was recorded on the charter of the first congregation Mogen David authorized by the Tennessee General Assembly, so his name has been passed down as Sohn. He was a native of Baden. He was one of Nashville's earliest Jewish settlers as he was one of the original "eight young men" who founded the first congregation. In 1866, he was a partner in Stein Nassauer & Company, but he moved to New York to live (note 182).

Solomon.

Joseph Solomon. Born in Germany in 1832, he came to Nashville in the late 1850's and made a living as a peddler at first. In 1861, he clerked at a store at 12 Broad Street. By 1866, he was a partner in Spears & Solomon clothing store at 73 Church Street. In 1867, they moved to 7 South Market Street. By 1870, Joseph was in the clothing business at 69 South Market Street. He was listed on the 1870 census (note 183).

Louis Solomon. Born in Prussia in 1839, he came to Nashville in the late 1850's and opened a grocery store.

In 1860, he was young and unmarried, so he became one of the charter members of the Young Mens' Hebrew Benevolent Society (note 184).

Myer Solomon. Moved to Nashville in the 1880's and ran a shoe store on Broad Street for many years. In 1898, he married Hattie Kuhn of Louisville. He was in business with his brother Phillip (see below) (note 185).

Phillip Solomon. Brother of Myer (see above), he came to Nashville in the 1880's and joined Myer in the operation of a shoe store on Broad Street for many years. He married Rachel (Ray) Kuhn of Louisville in 1906. She was Hattie Kuhn's sister, thus two brothers married two sisters (note 186).

Spitz.

Caroline Phillips Levy Spitz. She arrived in Charleston, S. C. with her first husband, G. L. Levy in 1849. Levy's brothers were among the first Jewish settlers in Augusta, Georgia in 1840, and they achieved prominence there. After his death, Caroline married Henry Spitz (see below) and they later came to Nashville (note 187).

Henry Spitz. After coming to Nashville in the late 1850's with his wife Caroline, he went into the bakery

business on South Market Street, selling baked goods, confectioneries, fruits, preserves and wines. The business survived the Civil War, after which he went into partnership with a Mr. Rannie (a Frenchman no doubt), at 19 Broad Street. By 1867, he gave up the very competitive and marginally profitable confectionery business to go into partnership with Sol Shyer in the dry goods business. In 1870, he was a partner in Barnes, Spitz & Company, auction and commission merchants at 29 North College Street. He was listed in the 1870 census. He spent his remaining few years in the dry goods business until he died in 1875.

He was one of the founders of the split-off congregation Ohava Emet in 1859-60, and in 1863, he became its president and served through 1864. After Ohava Emet merged with Mogen David, he joined the Reform congregation Bnai Jeshurun, and from 1870-75, he served as an officer of that congregation. In 1870, he was treasurer of the Harmonia Society, and in 1872, he was vice-president of Concordia (note 188).

Stein.

Isaac Stein. A native of Germany, he was an early settler in Nashville, and one of the most financially successful. In the early 1850's, he had a clothing store at 12 Union Street, where he remained through 1865 (it was

extremely rare for one of the Jewish merchants of Nashville to remain in one location for that long). In the business directory of 1860, he advertised: "I. P. Stein. 12 Union Street. Dealer in Fancy and Staple Dry Goods, Carpets, Oil Cloths and Mattings."

By 1860, Isaac Stein was the wealthiest Jew in Nashville. He had amassed a fortune of \$6,000 worth of real estate and \$23,000 in personal property. He was a native of Hesse, Germany; he was married to Rosalie Steinfeld, a native of Nassau district of Germany, and they had one child who was born in Nashville in 1859. Rosalie's mother, Caroline Steinfeld also lived with them.

By 1866, Isaac had returned to New York to live, but he had invested in a partnership with M. Nassauer (see above) and L. Sohn in the Stein, Nassauer & Company, selling boots, shoes and clothing at 70 Public Square.

This ended Isaac Stein's association with Nashville. Perhaps this said something about the difficult conditions prevalent in the city at the end of the Civil War. Her wealthiest citizen took his money and went to live in the new cultural center of the world, New York. Years later, his son Joseph returned to Nashville and became a successful business man (note 189).

Moses Stein. He was a veteran of the Civil War and settled in Nashville around 1866. He was a clerk in a dry goods store at 12 North Market Street in 1867. He was listed on the 1870 census. In 1880, he was working at David Loveman's large department store on the public square as a clerk (note 190).

Steinau.

Simon Steinau. In 1870, he was a partner in a dry goods store with L. Ohrenstein in the firm of Steinau & Company at 36 Broad Street. He was listed in the 1870 census. By 1873, the company had become tanners and dealers in hides, oil and leathers. The company remained at 36 Broad Street through 1875. He was in business with his relatives, David and Lewis Steinau. They were active in Bnai Brith and were both officers in 1873-74 (note 191).

Steinfeld.

Nathan Steinfeld. In 1859, he was a cigar maker at Langley & Company. He was born in 1832 in Poland and came to Nashville in the late 1850's. He was in partnership with Mire Burnwald, also of Poland. In 1860, they were at 44 Union Street (note 192).

Sulzbacher.

Martin Sulzbacher. Born in Bavaria in 1817, he and his two brothers, Henry and Marx came to Cincinnati in the 1830's, and was in 1840 a charter member of the second congregation in Cincinnati, Bnai Jeshurun, which was to become the Isaac M. Wise Temple. He moved to Nashville in the early 1850's and became a founder of the first congregation there, Mogen David. His was one of the original "five families" to start Mogen David, and Martin was elected its vice-president for its second year in existence in 1854-55. He was also elected treasurer for 1857-58.

In the first volume of the Nashville City Directory in 1853, Martin Sulzbacher was one of the few Jews listed. He had a clothing and tailor shop at 53 North Market Street, the City Clothing Store, which he had purchased in 1853 from his step-brother, Morris Cohn (see above) who left Nashville that year to join in the California gold rush. Martin continued that business in the same location through 1860. In 1857, his brother Marx (also called Marcus) clerked for him. By 1860, he and his wife Dorothy Hollstein (daughter of German Jewish immigrants who arrived in Cincinnati in the 1820's) had three children.

The turbulent times of the Civil War brought many disruptions to the economy of Nashville, including the business failure of Sulzbacher's store. After the war, he changed careers and opened a grocery store, Sulzbacher & Jackson at 13 North Market Street. In 1867, he advertised in the business directory: "M. C. Sulzbacher. For cheap groceries go to M. C. Sulzbacher's. Commission merchant and wholesale and retail dealer in wines, liquors, cigars, tobacco and general supplies. Old No. 13 North Market Street. New No. 20." Martin died in 1868.

Dorothy was a charter member of the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1870.

Martin and Dorothy had a daughter, Mary who married L. J. Loventhal (see above), and two sons, William and M. Charles (also known as M. C.). M. C. worked as a clerk and a soliciting agent throughout the 1870's, and William was a salesman at 62 North College Street. In 1880, they joined together in Sulzbacher Brothers selling fish, game and oysters at 32 North Cherry Street. They continued in this business at various locations on North Cherry Street through the end of the decade of the 1880's. They also owned the "Old Hickory Vinegar Company." They were charter members of the Standard Club in 1882 (note 193).

Tugendrich.

Isaac and Jacob Tugendrich. In 1870, these brothers were auction and commission merchants at 11 Public Square. They were listed on the 1870 census. In 1880, Isaac was working with his brother-in-law, Sol Frankland in the dry goods business, which he continued to do through the end of the decade of the 1880's. Jacob was one of the original purchasers of pews in the new Vine Street Temple building in 1875. In 1881, Isaac was vice-president of the Free Sons of Israel lodge. Henrietta Tugendrich, their sister, married Sol Frankland (see Frankland family above) who went on to serve as an officer of congregation Ohavai Sholom (note 194).

Wechsler.

Rabbi Judah Wechsler. He served as rabbi of the Reform congregation Bnai Jeshurun 1869-70. At his installation service upon arrival in Nashville he spoke these immortal words, "Nashville has the reputation among Jews all over the country as a hard place to labor for the cause of Judaism. This shouldn't be true of a place where there are so many Hebrews. I admire the perserverance of this congregation that has struggled through many discouraging circumstances but when I compare this congregation to the one I have just left in Richmond, I am

discouraged. However, I came in the name of the Lord and I will try and plant the banner of religion here."

He introduced the ritual of confirmation to Nashville, and in 1869 there were six young students who became the first confirmands in Nashville's history. They were: Samuel Weil, Emma Feldman, Hatti and Hetti Shyer, Isabella and Hannah Spitz. Their picture still adorns the wall in the Temple today. Some of his speeches indicate that he spent a great deal of time emphasizing the positive aspects of reform Judaism and trying to reinforce education of the youth as his main goal (note 195).

Weil.

David Weil. Born in 1831 in the French Alsace-Lorraine area, he migrated to Nashville in the 1860's after a time in Cincinnati, New York and California. In 1865, he had opened D. Weil & Company, a dry goods store at 18 Market Street at the corner of Broad, where he operated for a number of years. He is listed in the 1870 census. By 1875, he had moved to 21-23 Broad Street. In 1867, he brought Ben Herman down from Cincinnati to join his firm (see Herman above). By 1879, he had moved into a large three story building at 38 South Market Street, as they had built the business into one of the largest wholesale clothing and dry goods operations in the city. In 1881,

David Weil sold his interest in the business to his partner, Ben Herman. In 1885 he ran three businesses: Weil, Connell, Winter & Co., a wholesale drygoods, notions, boots and shoes operation; D. Weil & Co., another wholesale operation; and he was also president of the Nashville Trunk Manufacturing Company. David Weil was certainly one of the most accomplished and talented business men of his day.

In 1875, he purchased pews in the new Vine Street Temple building. In 1876, he served as vice-president of the congregation (note 196).

Simon Weil. He was born on May 8, 1823 in Heschingen, Germany near the Alsace-Lorraine region. In 1848 he came to America and settled in Cincinnati. He was a peddler at first and moved to Jeffersonville, Indiana for a few years. Like so many of his fellow Jews, he migrated south during the Civil War, following the Union Army purveying goods for them.

In 1862, he settled in Nashville and had opened a dry goods store at 3 Public Square (on the south side of the square). He lived at 123 North Market in 1865. By 1866, he had achieved a fair level of success and was able to take out a large advertisement in that year's Nashville Business Directory saying: "Simon Weil. Dealer in Dry Goods, Groceries, Boots, Shoes, Hats, Hardware, Queensware,

Tin Ware, Clothing, Dye-stuffs, etc. No. 3 Public Square." That year he was in partnership with Herman Loeb (see above) and J. D. Roulstone.

Just as many Jews changed businesses over the years, so too did Simon Weil. From 1869-72, he had a grocery store at 43 North Market Street. He was listed in the 1870 census. In 1870, his son Samuel had started working as a clerk in a dry goods store at 23 South Market. The family lived at the same address as Simon's grocery store 43 North Market Street. In 1873-75, Simon changed his inventory lines to focus on rags, iron, feathers, hides, etc., still at 43 North Market. That year, son Samuel worked with his father. Another son, Frank was a clerk at Cherry and Deaderick Streets.

In 1876, Simon moved to 51 North Market and was selling rags and iron. In 1877, he advertised: "Simon Weil & Company. Hides, Wool, Feathers, etc. and Junk Dealer. 51 North Market Street." He remained there through the 1880's. By the 1880 business directory, he merely listed his operation as: "Junk. 51 North Market Street." His son, Samuel was working with him; Harry Abbot Weil, another son, was working as a clerk at 68 Union Street; and son Frank L. Weil was a bookkeeper at 46 Broad Street. Later, Simon and his son Frank ran a paper bags, willoware and stationery store on Market Street until 1896 when Simon died.

Simon Weil was very active in the Jewish community. Almost immediately upon his arrival in Nashville, he became a founder and charter member of the local chapter of Bnai Brith. They organized and met in 1863, but did not receive their charter until October 24, 1865. On September 3, 1863, he was elected the first president of the Bnai Brith chapter and he served as an officer for many years. Local historian Fedora Frank dubbed him "Mr. Bnai Brith." He was active in and president of (1866-67) the reform congregation Bnai Jeshurun for a number of years. His son, Samuel was in the first confirmation class in the history of Nashville in 1869, which took place at Bnai Jeshurun. In 1875, when the new Vine Street Temple building opened, Bnai Jeshurun closed and Simon became an active member of Ohavai Sholom. He was one of the original purchasers of pews there in 1875, and he became an officer, secretary, in 1878-81.

Simon Weil, the writer's great-great grandfather, married Theresa Loeb (1830-1900). They had eight children, one of whom was Harry Abbot Weil who married Marien Jacobs from one of the pioneer Jewish families of Quincy, Illinois. He was in the mens's clothing business at 5th and Church Streets with his brother-in-law, Alexander Fish, who married his sister, Augusta. Later Fish and Weil split up and Harry bought the Lincks Steam Laundry chain which he operated for a while. Finally he became an agent for a life insurance company.

Harry and Marien Weil had four children: Simon, Caroline, Marien Belle and a twin of Simon's who died as an infant. Caroline Rose Weil married Gus David Kuhn on February 6, 1917. Gus was the son of Jacob Kuhn of Louisville. Jacob was a native of Frankfort, Germany and migrated to Louisville in the 1850's. He married Sophie Somers (daughter of Miriam and Henry Somers, who came to Louisville from Mannheim, Germany in 1855) and they had eight children, including Gus. All of Jacob and Sophie's children were confirmed at the reform congregation Adath Israel in Louisville. Gus and his two brothers, Lee and Ike started the Kuhn Brothers Company retail chain in 1913, which evolved into Kuhn's Big K Stores Corp. which was sold to Wal-Mart Stores, Inc. in 1981. Gus was president of congregation Ohavai Sholom in 1936-38. He died in 1939.

Gus and Caroline had two children, Jack Weil Kuhn and Gus David Kuhn, Jr. Gus, Jr. married Barbara Jacobs from Terre Haute in 1946. They had three children, Gus David Kuhn, III, Irwin Jacobs Kuhn and the writer. Gus, Jr. also served as president of the Temple and a vice-chairman of the national board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. He died on June 8, 1982. Barbara and Gus' brother Jack also serves on that board (note 197).

Weinbaum.

Daniel Weinbaum. He was one of four brothers from Poland, including Asher, Pincus and Solomon. He and his brother Solomon were peddlers in Nashville in 1867 residing at 173 Broad Street. All four brothers were living in Nashville in 1870. By 1875, Daniel had established a successful millinery shop at 96 North College Street, which he continued for a number of years. His brother, Solomon worked in a general store at 89-95 Broad Street in 1880. The other two brothers no longer lived in Nashville. Daniel's wife, Annie Kazmirski was an expert seamstress and she added costumes to their line of merchandise. Eventually, this store evolved into Bittner's, Nashville's famous costumery. Daniel was a board member of Ohavai Sholom (note 198).

Werthan.

Meier Werthan. He came to Nashville in 1868 and went into business with Sigmund Godhelp (see above) as rag dealers at 143 South Market Street, where they remained for a number of years. In the 1870's, Godhelp & Werthan expanded to carry a full line of scrap and recyclables, similar to the Simon Weil and the Cline & Bernheim operation (see above). They were dealers in hides, feathers, wool, ginseng and all kinds of produce.

Meier's brother, Wolf had a second hand store at 34 North Market Street in 1869-70. Wolf was married to Henrietta Godhelp, Sigmund's sister, and Sigmund was married to Bertha Liebman, sister of Minnie Liebman, Meier's wife.

In 1895, Godhelp died and the company's name became M. Werthan & Company. With the help of several generations of gifted business people in the Werthan family, Werthan Industries became one of Nashville's premier companies.

The Werthan family's legendary involvement in the community started with Meier. He was an officer for many years of the congregation Ohavai Sholom, where his grandsons Bernard, Sr. and Albert, and his great-grandson, Bernard, Jr. served as presidents. Meier also served as president of Bnai Brith and Kesher Shel Barzel service organizations (note 199).

Winter.

Abram Winter. For a brief time, he was a partner in Herman, Winter and Company, the successor firm of D. Weil & Company (see David Weil and Ben Herman above). In 1881, when Herman bought out Weil's interest in this large wholesale clothing and dry goods operation, Abe Winter became a partner. However, in 1883, Winter sold his

interest and left the business. By 1885 he had joined Weil again in the wholesale business.

Abram Winter started out in the dry goods business at 13 Union Street in 1859, where he stayed for a number of years. He was listed in the 1870 census. By 1875, his brother Emanuel Winter joined him in A. Winter & Brother, dry goods store at 13 Union Street, where Abram remained until joining Ben Herman in 1881.

On October 15, 1882, Abram Winter became one of the original charter members of the Standard Club which later became the Woodmont Country Club (note 200).

Wolf.

Emanuel Wolf. One of the earliest Jewish settlers in Nashville, he was one of the participants in the first minyan to take place at Isaac Garritson's home in 1848. His was one of original "five families" who founded Mogen David the first congregation in 1851-54. In 1853, at the first election of officers of the new congregation, he was elected vice-president. He served as a board member in 1854-55, and vice-president again in 1857-59. He was a board of trustees member when Mogen David merged with Ohava Emet to become Ohavai Sholom. He was an original purchaser of pews in 1875 in the new Vine Street Temple building.

He continued his active involvement in the Jewish community in 1865, by becoming a charter member of the Bnai Brith chapter. He served as an officer of Bnai Brith for many, many years. In 1868, he was a founder of the Germania lodge of the Masons. By 1860, he and his wife, Gertrude, had eight children.

E. Wolf was born in Bavaria in around 1830 and came to Nashville in the late 1840's. He started out his business career in Nashville as a peddler. By 1850, he was able to open a store. In 1853, he had a clothing store at the corner of Market Street and the Public Square, which he continued through 1860. After the war, his clothing store was at 52 1/2 North Market Street from 1865-66. In 1868, he joined Richheimers dry goods store (see above) for a while. Then in the 1870's, he opened his own general store at 61 North Market Street, with his son Isaac. By 1880, two other sons, Abraham and Joseph, joined him in business which he continued until he died in 1896 (note 201).

Zibart.

Henry Zibart. He and his wife ran a boarding house on South Cherry Street during the late 1870's and throughout the 1880's. He was also involved in the manufacture of vinegar. He married a Carlsbad from Russia. In 1876, he became a charter member of congregation Adath Israel. His

descendants operated the well-known Zibart's Book Store Company in Nashville for many years (note 202).

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

OF THE BUSINESSES AND PROFESSIONS OF THE 200 NAMES

The Jews' migration to America began at the time of the
1492-1498 voyage of Christopher Columbus. Most of the Jews
who came to the United States in that period
arrived in America with little capital. Therefore, their
immediate need was to raise enough money to support
themselves. Most arrived at the port of New York (1800),
and another approximately 10% came through Boston,
Philadelphia and Baltimore. The rest came through New

CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS OF THE BUSINESSES AND PROFESSIONS OF THE JEWS OF NASHVILLE 1840's - 1880's

The history of the Jews has a common thread which runs throughout the thousands of years of their existence, and that is the fact that they have constantly migrated from one home to another. They have been forced to leave their homes for political, economic and social reasons. They have been driven out by tyrants and by depression, by fiat and by their own initiative. Chapter I of this thesis explored the many factors which caused Jews to leave their homes in Germany and other parts of Europe in the 1840's-1880's. For whatever reason that they left their homes, they were forced to find a way to support themselves and their families in their new homes.

One period of history which gives great insight into the Jews' ability to make a living is the time of the 1840's-1880's in Nashville, Tennessee. Most of the Jews who made up the economic life of Nashville in that period arrived in America with little capital. Therefore, their immediate need was to make enough money to support themselves. Most arrived at the port of New York (80%), and another approximately 10% came through Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore. The rest came through New

Orleans (note 1). There were already many people living in New York and the other eastern port cities, so the newly arriving Jewish immigrants found it difficult to make a living there. Therefore, they began to move west to greener pastures.

Many of the early Jewish immigrants moved westward from New York, generally by going across the Erie Canal and down the river system to Cincinnati, which at the time was the largest city west of the east coast. There were several factors which attracted these Jews to Cincinnati. First, there was more economic opportunity there than in any other place they knew of at the time. Their immediate need was to make a living, so naturally they were attracted to a place where they could start out relatively easily. The second major factor for Jews being attracted to Cincinnati was the concentration of other Jewish businessmen who were already established there.

Cincinnati was the economic center of the west; it was the "core city" for the region. Its location as a major river port, central for distribution of goods throughout the developing midwest and south, put it in a perfect position to serve as a distribution center for this part of the country. Its resourceful business people were successful in building the economic base of the city, thus attracting more entrepreneurs. It was a good example of

"success breeding success." Before the rise of the railroad as a carrier of goods and people, Cincinnati exploited river trade to become the "Queen City of the West."

Chapter II of this thesis explored Nashville's growth as it became a "core city" for its region as well, although Nashville's region was a sub-region of Cincinnati during this period. Nashville was actually within Cincinnati's sphere of influence. The rise of Nashville in general and its Jewish community in particular was very similar to the rise of Cincinnati. It became a distribution center as well as a market center for goods throughout the central south, including Tennessee, southern Kentucky, northern Alabama, northern Georgia, northern Mississippi and Arkansas.

Since the newly arrived Jewish immigrant needed to hastily find a way to support himself, he would typically seek out other Jews, family or friends whom he had known from his region of Europe who had come to America before him. This is why so many came to Cincinnati. However, just as the eastern cities had become too crowded, so too was Cincinnati oversupplied with newly arrived Jewish immigrants. So they filtered into the smaller towns throughout the south and midwest.

The same principle that brought so many Jews to Cincinnati also attracted them to Nashville. As they had done for centuries, these Jews tried to help each other get established in their new homeland. Therefore, it was inevitable that they would migrate to a place where there were other established, successful Jewish business people. And so they came to Nashville.

The nature of the economy of Nashville during the period of the 1840's-1880's was as a manufacturing and distribution center of goods for the developing central South. Jewish business people were able to tap into these channels of distribution in certain industries, primarily clothing, dry goods, fancy goods, cloth, shoes and boots, hats, jewelry and certain commodities such as produce, tobacco, liquor and wines, cotton and others.

The method of distribution of these goods was crucial for the ways Jews made their living at this time. This was before the railroads had established routes to the areas outside the major cities. The road system was also not well developed. Therefore, the best method of reaching the populace outside the cities was on foot or by wagon, and those who trod these roads to distribute the goods were the peddlers.

Peddling was "nearly a universal rite of passage" for Nashville's early arriving Jews (note 2). The new Jewish

immigrant would buy goods on credit from a relative or friend, almost always another Jew at first. "There was always a Jewish supplier ready to give an immigrant a line of credit." (note 3). This was good for the immigrant as it gave him a way to start making a living. It was also good for the seller, as it increased his business.

The peddlers would travel by foot, house-to-house trying to sell their wares. They would eventually pay off their debts and get a new pack of goods to sell. Eventually, the successful peddlers would "move up to a packhorse, to a team and wagon," (note 4), thus enabling them to increase their inventory load and the volume of their sales and profits. They would sell their wares throughout Tennessee, southern Kentucky, northern Alabama, northern Mississippi, northern Georgia, and Arkansas.

The foundation of this economy was based on two major factors: availability of credit and availability of salable goods. Both of these crucial factors led to the development of Nashville's Jewish economy. At first, the only people who would extend credit to these immigrants were fellow Jews. Therefore, since there was a critical mass of Jewish business people who were willing to sell goods on credit in Nashville, this attracted more Jews there.

The same was true for the availability of goods. These same Jewish businessmen would sell their goods on credit to their fellow Jews to peddle. The successful peddlers who moved up to a packhorse and wagon were able to sell more goods. If they managed their business well and saved their money, they would eventually open a small retail shop usually on Market Street or on one of the other busy commercial thoroughfares of Nashville. The few who prospered opened larger stores, in later years known as an emporium or a department store. The few elite among them became wholesalers or manufacturers. Thus, the channels of distribution flowed. Some goods were imported from the east coast manufacturers or direct from Europe. A large proportion of the goods came from Cincinnati manufacturers or wholesalers, mostly from fellow Jews who had helped many of Nashville's Jews get started. These goods were added to the products manufactured in Nashville and then sold to the ultimate consumer throughout the central south via this peddler-small shop-department store-wholesaler-manufacturer network.

This network of commercial relations was almost an exclusively Jewish one (note 5). This led to a tight-knit community not only in business, but also in social and religious affairs.

The early Jewish settlers of Nashville made their living in many ways, but the overwhelming majority of them were in the apparel trades: clothing and dry goods. There were several reasons for this. First, many Jews had experience in the clothing, tailoring or dry goods business in Europe and they felt comfortable starting out in a familiar environment. Second and the most significant factor is that there were other Jews already established in this business in America. As discussed above, newly arriving immigrants would buy goods on credit from other Jews. Since the other Jews who would extend goods on credit were predominantly in the clothing and dry goods business, then naturally the new immigrants would necessarily go into that business.

Another factor for Jews entering the clothing business was that there were low barriers to entry in this industry. It did not require a lot of capital to enter the business. One could sell the goods on foot rather than purchase equipment at first. The fixed costs required to start up the business were minimal. Variable costs were comprised of inventory, a back pack and some shoe leather. Eventually, as the peddler could save his profits and reinvest them in more inventory, he could expand his business by purchasing a horse and wagon, then by renting a small shop and then a larger store space. Therefore, his success was dependent upon his ability to sell the goods

and manage his profits. It usually took several generations to build up the most successful family businesses.

Prior to the census report of 1850, there is little documentation of the businesses of Nashville's Jews. Newspaper advertisements in the 1840's indicate that the small Jewish community of Nashville was already beginning to prosper. The Powers brothers Mike and Louis owned the "Great Western Clothing Store" on Market Street as early as 1847 (note 6). Morris Cohn operated the City Clothing Store on North Market Street from 1849. Aaron Lande was the first Jewish manufacturer in Nashville, as he operated the Lande & Elsbach cap manufacturing company in the 1840's.

The invention of the sewing machine in 1845 by Elias Howe, and its improvement in 1851 by Singer, did more to facilitate the growth of local clothing manufacturing than anything else. Before this people sewed their own clothes by hand at home. Now small manufacturers could get a few machines and produce ready-to-wear clothing to sell in stores. This totally revolutionized the business.

In 1850 there were 31 Jewish business people listed in Nashville's census report (see Table 1). All but two of them were in the clothing, dry goods or milliner business.

Twenty, or 65% of them were clothing merchants. The rest were tailors, clerks in clothing stores, dry goods merchants and millinery manufacturers. Only two were not in this business, one auction and commission house owner selling agricultural produce, and the other was an "Indian Doctor" (note 7).

In 1860 there were 96 Jewish business people listed. Twenty-two, or 23% were listed as peddlers, primarily selling clothing, dry goods and notions. Fifteen of them, or 16%, including Jacob Ellis, Samuel Levick and Isaac Green, were clothing merchants, 5 (5%) were dry goods merchants, such as Jacob Bloomstein, and five were clerks in the clothing or dry goods stores. Six were tailors, including Joseph Fry and Simeon Heims, and one (Zadok Levy) was a merchant-tailor. There was one milliner (Lande), one shoe and boot maker (Simon Cohen) and one shoe and boot dealer. Twenty two were peddlers. Therefore, there were 61 business people or 64% of the total who were in the clothing - related industries in 1860.

In the early to mid - 1850's there appeared in Nashville the first Jewish clothing wholesalers. These were people who had reached a very high level of success in their careers, starting out as peddlers and rising to the ranks of retailers and then wholesalers. It took more capital to enter this field because the wholesalers would

typically store large quantities of goods in their warehouses, ready to ship to retailers and peddlers upon receiving their orders. As this was a competitive business, the wholesaler who could provide fast completion of orders and the best price would succeed. The wholesale business then depended on three major factors, broad selection of inventory, speed of delivery and price. Nashville's Jewish wholesalers were competing against not only the longer established non-Jewish wholesale houses, but also the major houses of Cincinnati, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Boston. It was then, quite significant that Nashville sported four wholesalers by 1853: Mike Powers, Louis Powers, Metz & Nathan, and Jessel & Brother (note 8). However, this was a far cry from the 65 Jewish owned wholesale clothing firms which were situated in Cincinnati in 1860. This is more a result of Cincinnati's dominance as the major distribution center in the West than a reflection on Nashville's business people.

Another business which began to emerge as an important one for Nashville's early Jewish business people was the grocery and food business. By 1860 there were eight grocers (including Simon Sigman and Louis Bloomstein), two produce dealers (including David Elsbach) and two confectioners/bakers (H. Spitz and Mike Shyer). One was a cattle dealer (Sampson Laufer). This was 13 people or 14% of the total, making it the second largest occupation for

Nashville's Jews in 1860, although a distant second place to apparel.

Like the apparel business, the grocery industry had low barriers to entry, for it required little capital to start up. The grocery store of this day carried mostly staples such as flour, lard, sugar, dried vegetables, parched coffee beans and molasses. Fresh produce was sold by the farmers on the bustling farmers market which filled the Public Square (note 9).

Other consumable products were sold by Jews as well. In 1860 there was a liquor dealer (Nathan Cline), two saloon keepers (Moses Bernstein and Ben Lyons), a barkeeper (Louis Morgolius), and two boarding house keepers (Myer & Betty Lusky and Henry Harris) (note 10).

Other occupations of these Jews in 1860 were the jewelry and watch trade (Henry Cohen and I. M. Sobel), musicians (Julius Losminski and Louis Levinski), scrap dealers (L. Swartzenberg), and a physician (Gustavus Schiff). There were also painters, bookkeepers, laborers, a cigar maker and a cigar and tobacco dealer. There was one prominent artisan, R. D. Blum, who made a living as an engraver and printer.

In 1870 there was still a heavy concentration of Jews in the clothing trades. By then there were five clothing

and dry goods wholesalers (including Morris and Julius Fishel, David Weil, J. & E. Northman). There were 59 dry goods merchants (including Joseph Hirsch, D. L. Sobel, H. Nassauer, N. Martin, B. Adler, A. Schiff, Jacob Bloomstein, S. Lowenstein, A. Winter), 37 clothing merchants (including S. Shyer, E. Wolf, Jacob Ellis, Zadok Levy, Simeon Heims and B. Bissinger), 12 tailors (including Abraham Isaacs, J. Hirshberg, S. Sampson, A. Kline), 6 shoe-makers (including P. Hirsch), one hat manufacturer (A. Lande), and one professional seamstress (Martha Levi). Perhaps the largest clothing business in Nashville at that time was David Loveman's Nashville Hoop Skirt Manufacturing Company. There were also twenty two Jews who worked as clerks in these types of stores and 27 peddlers who were selling primarily these types of goods. Therefore, there were a total of 173 Jews employed in the apparel trades out of a total 255 Jews working in 1870, or 68% of the Jewish workforce (note 12).

The second largest area of concentration of Jewish occupations in 1870 was in the grocery, food and consumables industry. There were eight Jewish grocers (including Simon Weil, S. Elkin and H. Riddlesheimer), one fruit vendor (A. Levine), one distiller (M. Bernstein), one liquor dealer (I. Milholovitch), one liquor wholesaler, three confectioner/bakers (including L. Moskovitz), four cigar manufacturers (including S. Kirschbaum), two cigar

and tobacco dealers (including C. Mehrenstein), four auction and commission house owners (including Cline & Bernheim, and H. Spitz), and five cattle dealers (including D. Hyman, I. Frank and E. Solinsky) (note 13). The food, grocery and commodities industry accounted for thirty Jewish business people in 1870, or 12% of the total.

The third largest Jewish occupational area in 1870 was the jewelry and watch business. There were seven Jews employed in this field including one clerk. Some of them were Henry Cohen and his sons Solomon and M. Cohen, and Myer Lipschar. This accounted for 2.75% of the Jewish occupations (note 14).

There were many other businesses in which Jews were employed in Nashville in 1870, including a school teacher (Nathan Noah), a china and queensware store owner (P. Blumenthal), a lumber and saw mill owner and operator (M. Goldberg), an optician (S. Samuels), hotel keepers (E. Franklin, J. Tugendrich), bankers (the Sax family), two glaziers (Jacob Miller and M. Schwartz), a Hebrew teacher (E. Altman), a tanner (L. Okrenstein), cotton brokers (M. C. and William Sulzbacher), a horse trader (Louis August), and an engraver (R. D. Blum). There were two scrap, hides and second hand merchants (Meier Werthan and Sigmund Godhelp, and Cline & Bernheim) (note 15).

These trends continued into the 1880's with the largest numbers of Jews continuing to be employed in the clothing and dry goods trades. In 1880 this industry accounted for 182 out of a total of 305 Jews in the workforce, or 60%. These included 58 dry goods merchants (including Joseph Hirsch, the Rosenheim brothers, M. Jacobus, L. J. Loventhal, David Loveman, M. Lebeck, and S. Weinbaum), 43 clothing merchants (Raphael Levy, E. Wolf, M. Moskovitz, Harris Gilbert, and Jos. Fensterwald), 39 clerks in these types of stores (I. Emanuel, A. & E. Jonas, Myer Kornman, and J. Greenstein), 15 peddlers of this type of merchandise (including A. Greenspan, E. Altman, A. Glick, H. Green), eight tailors (including S. Levick, J. Hirshberg), two shoe and boot merchants (A. Levine, David Bar), and one seamstress.

The number of Jews on the upper end of the channels of distribution had grown by 1880. There were six dry goods wholesalers (including Jos. Frankland and the Fishel brothers), two clothing wholesalers (including the Powers brothers), two shirt manufacturers (Alex Fish and S. Hyman), a clothing manufacturer, a shoe and boot manufacturer (H. Goodman) and a hat manufacturer.

The successful merchants had much larger stores by the 1880's. The Hirsch, Rosenheim, Powers, Loveman and Ellis families all had large stores. They were called an emporium or a department store at that time (note 16).

The second largest number of Jews were involved in the grocery-food-consumable commodities business in 1880, just as they were in previous years. There were 47 Jews occupied in this industry, or 15% of the total. These included 15 grocers (including Marcus Crone, Nathan Martin, Max Bissinger and Simon Brody), six produce dealers (Simon Weil, M. C. and William Sulzbacher, Solomon Romansky, G. Wiener, and Godhelp & Werthan), six cigar manufacturers (including M. Bernwald and Frank Flatau), four cigar and tobacco dealers (including Max Rosenheim, Jacob Levine and J. H. Loeb), two cattle dealers (including Jacob Henlein), a liquor dealer (M. Salzkotter), a liquor wholesaler, a confectioner/baker (Rachel Moskovitz), and a vinegar manufacturer (Henry Zibart). There were ten clerks in these types of businesses (note 17).

Other occupations of Jews in Nashville in the 1880's were two jewelry and watch dealers (including Joseph Jacobstein), five school teachers (including Miss Lizzie Lee Bloomstein and Hannah Marks), an optician, a dentist (Julius Radomsky), a physician (Judah Bloomstein), nine bookkeepers (including Frank Weil, Samuel Weil and E. Harris), a china and queensware store owner (P. Blumenthal), several laborers, an engraver (R. D. Blum), a music teacher, two boarding house keepers, five scrap, hides and second hand "junk" dealers (including Cline & Bernheim, and F. Loventhal), two saloon keepers (I. Barker and J.

Lowenheim), four lumber and saw mill owners (Adolph Loveman, William Rich, Albert Goldberg and Simon Lieberman), two insurance agents (L. J. Loventhal and Max Redelsheimer), three bankers (the Sax family), a glazier, a cotton broker (Sigmund Rosenheim), a horse trader (S. W. Bernheim), a carpenter (Henry Klein), two pawnbrokers (H. Cohen and M. Cohen), two saddle and harness manufacturers (Julius Rich and S. Glick), three barbers (including Abe Bloomstein), a R.R. mail agent (Meyer Herstein), a livery stable owner (Morris Speers) and one gentleman farmer (Jacob Bloomstein) (note 18).

Several trends may be noted in this period of the 1840's to the 1880's in Nashville. The most striking trend was the constancy of the proportion of Jews in the clothing and dry goods trades throughout the period. In the 1850's 65% were in this industry; in 1860 there were 64%; in 1870 there were 68%; and in 1880 there were 60%. As discussed above this predominance of one industry in which the Jews made their living may be attributed to the fact that success bred success. The earliest Jewish settlers were attracted to this business because they were familiar with it from Europe. They also bought goods on credit from other Jews who were already in this business. The barriers to entry were low due to the small amount of capital required for start up.

The fact that Jews thrived in the apparel business was due to their persistence and sound business practices and they filled a niche in the channels of distribution of these types of goods whose demand was increasing in this part of the country. The well developed network of Jewish soft-goods business people aided their advancement from Europe to New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore on the east coast through Cincinnati to Nashville and throughout the central South. These shrewd Jewish business- people saw the opening in the market and they rushed into the interstitial positions to fill the need.

The second major trend of this period was the progression from penniless immigrant to successful business person. The model for this network may best be illustrated by the peddler of the 1840's and 1850's, the small shop keeper of the 1860's, the emporium and department store owner of the 1870's and the wholesaler and manufacturer of the 1880's. Most of these Jews started out with a pack on their back and most proceeded to open shops as soon as they saved enough money to pay a little rent. The next step was more difficult, the progression from small shop keeper to prosperous merchant. However, a significant number of these Jews were able to do this. Each progressive rung up the economic ladder became more difficult, and thus there were fewer who rose to those ranks. Each step required a higher capital investment, a higher barrier to entry.

Larger department stores, such as Louis and George Rosenheim's, the largest retail store in Nashville in the 1880's and 1890's, required more inventory, higher labor cost, more advertising, insurance and other fixed and variable costs. Wholesalers, such as Fishels and David Weil's required large sums of capital to stock the inventory and ship the goods in a timely manner. Manufacturers such as David Loveman required the most capital as they needed plant and equipment, inventory of raw materials, labor, sales personnel and many other costs.

This increasing need for capital led to a phenomenon which virtually all of the Jewish businesses of this period shared, the partnership. In the early days the easiest way to raise capital was to join forces with someone else who had some investment capital. They would share the costs, the labor, the salesmanship, and virtually every task. Many of these partnerships were composed of family members such as the Hirschs, Lovemans, Levys, Cohens, etc. Many times they were brothers-in-law, such as Meier Werthan and Sigmund Godhelp. Sometimes they were father and son. Other times they were cousins or old family friends. There were many variations on the theme, but almost every Jewish business used the partnership form of organization. Later, the corporation became the best method for raising capital, but this form of organization came to Nashville's Jewish businesses later than the period studied herein.

It was an important trend, then that Nashville's Jewish businesses tended to become larger and more diverse. While the proportion of Jewish business people in the apparel trades stayed very high during this period, it was beginning to decline in the 1880's. In 1870 there were 68% of the Jewish business people in clothing and dry goods. In 1880 the level had declined to 60%. With this decline came an increase in other types of occupations being entered.

In 1850 there were only eight different occupations by which Nashville's 31 Jewish business people made a living, or 3.9 occupations per person. In 1870, there were 44 occupations for 255 people or 5.8 occupations per person. In 1880 there were 51 different occupations for 305 people, or 6.0 occupations per person. Therefore, the Jews of Nashville were finding more diverse ways to make a living as time progressed. While they were still heavily concentrated in clothing and dry goods, they were beginning to branch out into many different fields.

The reasons for this diversification are numerous. First, by 1880 there were many second generation Jews entering the workforce in Nashville and they had enough education, awareness of how to do business with non-Jews and capital to enter a field different from their parents. Secondly, these Jews were not limited to specific fields in

Nashville, and there were additional opportunities for their business careers. Third, Nashville's economy was growing and becoming more diverse and there were more possibilities to enter different occupations in 1880 than in earlier years.

Another important characteristic of Nashville's Jewish economy during this period was the amount of changing the individuals did over the course of a typical career lifetime. Many of these people changed careers, changed businesses within industries, changed locations, changed to entirely new industries, or moved in and out of town during the course of their business lives. This does not seem unusual if one considers the background of the people involved. These people uprooted themselves from centuries of tradition in their homelands in Europe and chose to immigrate across the ocean to start a new life. They were wanderers by nature, ever shifting and seeking the best opportunity for themselves. It is logical then to expect that once they arrived in Nashville, they would continue to change and adapt until they found a business in which they could be successful.

Probably the most frequent change involved a change of location of the individual shops. Most of these business people began their careers as peddlers, constantly moving from place to place to sell their wares. Once they had

saved enough money to open their own store, they tried to find the best location they could. Many times they could afford only to start out in a small shop in a secondary location. if they managed their business well, they would move to a better location, closer to the heart of the commercial retail traffic. Market Street, North College Street, Cherry Street, Church Street and Broad Street were the major thoroughfares for retail trade. The Public Square was the premier location as the highest amount of foot traffic was there due to the courthouse and the farmers market. There were literally hundreds of small storefronts dotting these streets and the square, and there was plenty of room for growth of a business. These business people would change locations until they found the ideal location and the ideal amount of square footage for their business.

There were also businesses which moved in the other direction, down in prominence. If they had a bad year, or the family met with some other misfortune, they would need to move to a smaller or lower traffic location in order to save on rent. Some businesses met with failure or bankruptcy, and the partners would change to another business, or would leave town.

The highest level of transience was experienced in the "Reconstruction" years immediately following the Civil War.

There were many business people who appeared in Nashville for a year or two, tried to capitalize on the rebuilding situation, but failed and left town. Some of these were sutlers, and others were simply capitalists looking for an opportunity to make a quick buck. In fact, the greatest increase in Jewish population occurred during this period immediately following the Civil War. In 1860 there were 96 Jewish business persons in Nashville, and in 1870 there were 255, a 165% increase. There was an increase of 100% from just 1860 to 1866. There were many more who came and left including Nashville's wealthiest Jew of the time, Isaac Stein, who went back to his native Germany during the Civil War. But there were many who came and found a way to put down their roots and make Nashville their home.

A number of these new Nashville residents came as sutlers, or agents of the Union government who were authorized to provide merchandise to the soldiers at reasonable and fixed rates (note 19). Among the sutlers were the Fishel brothers, L. Block, A. & M. Landsberg. The Fishels went on to establish one of Nashville's premier clothing and dry goods wholesale houses.

Another trend was the progression from one occupational level to another during the period (see Table). All of the occupations are classified in either a high, medium or low level. "High" level occupations are

professional, proprietors and officials. "Medium" level occupations are clerical, semi-professional and highly skilled blue-collar. "Low" level occupations are semi-skilled and unskilled labor. For the purposes of this study, included in the "high" level occupations are proprietors of all retail stores, whither clothing, dry goods, grocery, shoe and boot, tobacco, jewelry or liquors; all wholesale dealers; all manufacturers; teachers, rabbis and musicians; physicians; cattle dealers; produce dealers; distillers; lumber and saw mill owners; brokers and lawyers. Included in the "medium" occupational levels are tailors, bookkeepers, clerks, painters, bakers, carpenters, pawnbrokers, barbers and cashiers. Included in the "low" level occupations are peddlers, laborers, barkeepers, tanners, etc. Further classifications could easily be made. One could distinguish between small shop proprietors and large department store owners or manufacturers. Also, one could say that peddling is a highly skilled job, as many of Nashville's most successful business people started out as peddlers. However, for the sake of simplicity, the classifications were limited to three.

Several general trends are evident. The great majority of the Jews of Nashville were occupied in "high" jobs throughout the entire period of the 1840's-1880's. In fact the earliest years of the 1840's-1850's saw the highest proportion of Jews in "high" level occupations as

any during the period of this study. In 1850 there were 84% of the Jews in the "high" level occupations, 13% "medium" and only 3% "low."

1860 saw a dramatic shift out of the "high" levels into the "low" levels. This is primarily due to the increase in the transient population immediately preceding the Civil War. In that year, 57% were in "high" level occupations, 18% in "medium" and 15% in "low" level occupations.

After the Civil War, the trend began to move upward again, as there was a lower percentage of Jews employed in the "low" levels in 1870 (15%), and a greater proportion in the "medium" level (22%). The "high" level also rose in 1870 to 65%, its highest level since before the Civil War.

In 1880, the large trend toward the "medium" level continued to increase to 32%, and the trend away from the "low" level was dramatic, falling off to 7%. The "high" level remained relatively unchanged at 61%. One must conclude that by the 1880's the Jews of Nashville were upwardly mobile in the economy with 93% of them employed in "high" or "medium" level occupations, and only 7% in "low" levels. Generally, these immigrants were prospering and doing quite well for themselves.

This heavy Jewish concentration in the "high" or

"medium" levels was due to the fact that almost all of them were employed in the mercantile trades: merchants, traders, peddlers and clerks. This served to separate the Jews into a distinctive economic subcommunity within the city, as most non-Jews were employed in other occupations. Jews were conspicuously absent in the city's largest occupational category - unskilled laborers. Jewish concentration in the mercantile trades was by no means unique to Nashville, but rather was characteristic of virtually all Jewish communities in mid-nineteenth century America. This skewed occupational distribution of Jews was unique among the nation's immigrant groups. Among all Germans - the group one would expect to be most similar to the Jews - non-manual occupations accounted for only 10%-20% of the employed in America. Most non-Jewish Germans in America worked either as artisans or laborers (note 20).

What was so distinctive about the Jews' occupational structure is that, the apparel industry aside, they were virtual non-participants in most of the city's major industries. Pork - and cattle - packing, farm implement manufacturing, iron works, flour milling, machine and carriage making, railroads, cotton gins, soap and candle making, and cotton mills were among the major industries in which there were few if any Jews in any capacity. Nashville's largest economic sector was agriculture related and there were a few Jews involved in this area, but it was in the mercantile aspect of this industry that they were

primarily involved: grocery or commodities retailers or wholesalers. This was the only area outside the apparel business in which there was any significant Jewish participation at all.

Therefore, occupationally Nashville's Jews were a homogeneous group, just as Jews had traditionally been in Germany and Central Europe. They constituted an economic subgroup within Nashville's population, in that while they were active and successful participants in the city's economy, they confined themselves to specific sectors of it (note 21).

There were two reasons, one internal and one external, that the Jews of Nashville constituted an economic subgroup. First, as discussed above, Jews extended credit to each other in order to help family and friends start up in business. Second, it was difficult for Jews to obtain credit from non-Jewish lenders or wholesalers. This was partially due to a form of antisemitism or distrust of Jewish business people. While there was no formal institutional or governmental discrimination against Jews as there had been in Europe, the non-Jewish bankers and wholesalers were still wary about lending money or extending credit to unproven Jewish business people. The general attitudes of the time were skeptical of Jews' business practices and they were afraid they would be

cheated by the Jews. This was part prejudice and part ignorance of Jews.

Another external reason for the difficulty of Jews obtaining credit was the instability of the nation's monetary system at the time. There were no federal banking laws to regulate local financial institutions, so the currency was unstable and subject to frequent failure. This caused non-Jewish lenders and wholesalers to be even more cautious about lending to anyone about whom there was the slightest doubt.

Interesting insight into the attitudes of the non-Jewish business community is gained by analyzing the credit reports of the R. G. Dun and Company. During this period, they were the major credit reporting company in America and in 1933 became known as Dun & Bradstreet, Incorporated, which continues to be the premier business credit reporting agency. They collected data on virtually every business in America in order to report information to Dun's subscribers on the credit worthiness of potential borrowers. Many times, however there were subjective comments made by the reporters on specific businesses. Most reports were based upon general impressions about the subject's character and wealth obtained from conversations with business people in the same trade. These reports almost always identified Jewish businessmen as "Hebrew" or "Israelite" or "Jew"

usually as the first item on the report. The comments were usually quite uncomplimentary, such as "like all Jews, the inventory of his stock tells his worth," or "tricky, slippery," and "he is a Jew and with but one exception none of that 'Genus Homo' own any real estate here," and "very sharp Israelite...bound to have the best of a bargain if possible and to be dealt with cautiously," and "Jews in every sense of the word," and "He has all the money making and money saving characteristics of his race," and "Jew, young, active, industrious, and of course close fisted," and "should hesitate to credit him on account of his Jewish propensities... suppose him to be as good as men of his stamp usually are," and "they are Jews and little reliance can be placed on their representations...creditors had better send their claims at once as delay is always dangerous with Jews," and "considered good by all the dealers, but they are Jews, and their ancestors took jewels from the Egyptians when they left Egypt and never returned them," and so on ad nauseum. It is important to realize that distrust of Jews was in no sense a personal quirk of the R. G. Dun and Company, but rather a reflection of general attitudes at the time (note 22).

Therefore, the Jews had to use their own internal credit system, and this served to attract more of them to the mercantile trades and the apparel business in particular. Credit was extended to fellow Jews but only

within the established structure of the clothing and dry goods businesses. This internal credit system was a business however, and not a philanthropy. Jews risked bankruptcy if they extended credit to unworthy risks, so they had their high standards as well. As a result, it was necessary for Jews to build up a credit rating within the Jewish community. If one proved to be a poor business person, credit from other Jews dried up (note 23). This proved to be a marvelous incentive for Jews to succeed in business. In fact, this internal system of credit served to be the foundation of a prosperous and tightly knit Jewish merchant community. Their cohesiveness as an economic group carried over into their social and religious community as well.

It may be concluded then that most of Nashville's Jews of this period reached at least a moderate level of prosperity. However, even though a number became quite wealthy according to the day's standards, a few did not prosper. A number of Jewish merchants struggled to make a living and business failures were an all too frequent occurrence.

Jewish businesses were generally started without an adequate reserve of funds to fall back on in case of financial trouble. They depended heavily on credit for building up inventories and expanding trade. If the

general business climate was good and buying was done wisely, a small amount of capital and a stock of goods purchased on credit could in time be transformed into a successful and financially secure business. At the same time, however a slow economy, bad management, or sudden misfortune could quickly lead to default (note 24).

One such economic downturn was the result of the bank crisis of 1873 during which there was a panic. This paralyzed credit throughout the country and caused a severe recession and much unemployment. Several Nashville Jewish businesses failed that year including the Lande Brothers who had been in the hat manufacturing business in Nashville since the late 1840's. The 1873 recession caused this venerable old business to fail and the two brothers moved to St. Louis (note 25).

The problem with a default within the Jewish business community was that there was a great deal of interdependence among them. If one Jewish business defaulted it would negatively affect another one who extended goods to him on credit. Economic slowdowns or crop failures would mean that peddlers or small country merchants could not sell their goods, thus affecting the city merchants, wholesalers or manufacturers who could not collect their debts from them. The network was fragile, built on a house of cards, so that in times of general

economic crisis, Jewish businesses were particularly prone to failure. However, because of the closeness of the community, when the economy improved, the network could work out a system of curing defaults. It was as though they had their own internal bankruptcy court system which allowed debts to be repaid at a negotiated rate. This facilitated business being started up again (note 26).

This economic interdependence carried over into the social and religious life of the Jews of Nashville also. Chapter I explored the development of the Jewish community in Nashville and it is evident that they were quite a tight knit group. In spite of their many disagreements regarding ritual, liturgy and other religious issues which led to several congregational splits, they still worked together to build a strong and vibrant Jewish community. This was evident from their working together on many organizational levels. The community was built on four pillars: economic, religious, social and service organizations.

It was the economic interdependence which led to much of the closeness of the Jewish community of Nashville. Since most of them started out in business in basically the same way, receiving goods on credit from other Jews, there was an actual economic bond among the various businesses. However, since many of them were selling the same goods, there was bitter competition. But this did not deter them from building a close group.

The religious community was split in the early years by ritual and liturgy. Those who had practiced the Ashkenazic rite in Germany and Western Europe gravitated to Mogen David. Those whose minhag was Polish joined Ohava Emet. The most progressive among them joined Bnai Jeshurun, the new Reform alternative. But there is much evidence that they worked together in service organizations, benevolent societies and social organizations. While it appears on the surface that there were deep divisions within the community, they were a cohesive group who worked and socialized together, even if they all did not pray together.

Of course much of this cohesiveness is born out of the fact that they were all Jews. Traditionally, Jews have always been a close knit group and have joined together to build communities wherever they have settled in the thousands of years since the exile. In later years they were forced to live together in Europe, as they had never been considered full-fledged citizens in Germany, Poland and throughout Europe. Therefore, they naturally banded together out of necessity. But here in America, where they were given full civil rights, they still chose to build a Jewish community together.

The second of these types of groups in Nashville was the This cohesiveness manifested itself best in the building of service organizations and benevolent societies.

The first such organization was the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society organized in 1859 and chartered March 5, 1860 by Benjamin Lyons, S. Margolius, David Aaron, P. Flashman, S. Lieberman, L. Solomon and J. Emanuel (note 27).

These benevolent or fraternal orders were primarily mutual aid societies which acted as group insurance organizations. Members would pay dues, or what were in effect premiums into the organization and they would pay for all sorts of ills and misfortunes of its members including death benefits, burial expenses, health and medical costs. They would also help if members lost their job or business and needed financial assistance getting back on their feet. They served as a life insurance company, group health insurance, disability insurance and burial insurance. But in addition to this, they would help out a new Jew in town who may have been indigent and needed help getting started. They performed acts of "tzedaka." They also served as social organizations which offered them the opportunity to meet together on a weekly basis. This provided a "fellowship and a sense of belonging" to the community (note 28).

The second of these types of groups in Nashville was the Independent Order of Bnai Brith. Founded in New York in 1843, the Nashville chapter was opened in 1863 (note 29)

by D. Aaron, J. Loeb, Aaron Lande, Simon Weil (its first president), A. Landsberg, E. Wolf and J. Mann. This organization was perhaps the most important service and benevolent group in Nashville for many years as it did more to unite the various religious factions than any other single group.

In the mid-1860's the Independent Order of Brith Abraham was started and it was chartered on Feb. 19, 1868 (note 30) by R. D. Blum, H. Nassauer and H. D. Klisinger.

There were several other national organizations patterned after Bnai Brith which had chapters in Nashville. Kesher Shel Barzel (chain of Iron) was founded in 1875 (note 31), and the Free Sons of Israel in 1876 (note 32). The latter was joined primarily by the members of the Hungarian Benevolent Society.

The women began their own philanthropic and service organization in February, 1870, The Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society. In 1879 they merged with the Young Mens' Hebrew Benevolent Society to form the Jewish Relief Society. In the 1870's the Congregation Ohavai Sholom women formed an auxiliary, The Ladies' Working Society (the predecessor of the Temple Sisterhood). By this time they had become more than group insurance organizations, but more devoted to tzedaka work. Their members were more

prosperous and could devote more time and resources to helping newly arriving and poorer Jews become integrated into society.

The fourth and final pillar of the Jewish community of Nashville was its social life. As discussed in Chapter I, there were a number of clubs and groups which offered many opportunities for enjoying life together. The fact that there were social clubs as early as 1863 indicates that they were rising to a level of comfort and success by then. Some of the clubs were joined by the wealthier, more successful Jews in the community, especially in the later years with the Standard Club in 1882. Earlier, the Concordia and Harmonia also catered to a wealthier group. However, the service and benevolent organizations were open to a more general membership. The community did work together in their service and benevolent organizations, but they became somewhat segmented socially. They became socially stratified according to wealth. This was especially true in the later years when some of them were becoming quite well-to-do as a result of their larger businesses. The social stratification was a function of the economy.

There were important links, then between the economic activity of the Jews in Nashville and the social and religious life. Socially, there was stratification

according to wealth. It is interesting to note the links between economic success and involvement in the religious life of the community. Many of the leaders of the various congregations were the wealthier and more successful business men. For example, the presidents of K.K. Ohavai Sholom from 1868-1898 were without exception wealthy and successful business men: Aaron Lande, Herman Nassauer, Jacob Bloomstein, Max Sax, Jacob Ellis, Nathan Lande, L. J. Loventhal and Benjamin Herman. These were the most successful and prominent men of their day. It was natural to believe that good business managers would lend valuable leadership to the congregation. They were natural leaders and good organizers. The congregations also needed money, especially in the 1870's when K. K. Ohavai Sholom was building its grand and expensive new Vine Street Temple building.

But there is one more important link between economic success and congregational involvement. The Jewish community of Nashville place a very high value on congregational leadership. It was considered a very prestigious position to be a "macher" in a congregation, so it attracted the best, brightest and wealthiest - the most prominent of Nashville Jewish society. It was a sign that involvement in the Jewish community was valued above all else that its best people considered it the ultimate feather in their cap to be president of the congregation.

To be deeply active in the religious life of the community was thought to be the best thing one could do.

Women played a major role in shaping the economy of the Jews of Nashville. In those days from the 1840's-1880's, most businesses were run by the men. Most of the earliest Jewish immigrants who came to America were young men. When they had saved enough money from peddling they would send for the rest of their family. Many of these men met their future wives after this next wave of immigration came in.

However, many of the Jews who settled in Nashville were already married by the time they arrived there. This was due to the fact that most of them had settled in Cincinnati or somewhere else before migrating to Nashville. therefore, many families with women and children settled in Nashville during this period.

It was not unusual for a woman to help out in earning money to support the family. The letters of Sigmund Grifff tell of his difficult journey across the ocean with his young wife. After arriving in America he found it so challenging to make a living that his wife had to become a peddler with him. She lugged a valise full of inventory around with her and sold from door to door. In his letter, he describes this as a situation of great disgrace. He

would never have had his wife do such menial tasks in Europe. But in America, he said, anything goes - even women work.

Many women helped run the retail shops. Since retailing involves long hours, the family would all pitch in with the many chores involved in running a store. They would help with the books, sell merchandise to customers, buy next seasons inventory and were full partners in the management of the shops.

However, women were limited by several factors. First, the conventions of the time frowned on the wife of a successful businessman making his wife work too hard. But a much more significant factor was that the families of that day were very large. It was not unusual to see families of six, seven or eight children. S. and Anna Levy had seven children by 1860, as did Simeon and Rosa Heims. The families of B. Adler, Sam Powers, S. Samuels, S. Steinau, Simon Weil and E. Wolf had eight children each by 1870. The P. Blumenthals, Abram Ehrlichs and Jacob Hirshberg's had nine children each by 1870. And the first prize went to the Jacob and Miriam Bloomstein's who had ten children by 1870. Raising so many children, let alone giving birth to them, precluded many women from devoting a lot of time to the business world.

Typically, the women would become more involved in business affairs of their husbands after the children were raised. Many times a widow would take over the business of her late husband or would go to work for a family member or friend.

Betty Lusky is an excellent example of the vital contribution of women to the economy of the Nashville Jewish community. She and her husband Myer were among the first Jews to immigrate to Nashville in the early 1850's from Poland. They opened a Kosher boarding house in the late 1850's at 65 Broad Street, which was the first home to many of Nashville's early arriving Jews. They also had a large hall suitable for large social gatherings. It was in many ways a social and residential center for the Jewish community for a number of years.

In 1872, Myer Lusky died and Betty was forced to close the boarding house. However, before that she was able to save enough money to bring her two nephews from Warsaw Poland, George and Louis Rosenheim. They started out selling cookies to Union soldiers on the streets of Nashville, and by the 1880's had built up the largest department store in the city. After Myer Lusky died, Betty ran the millinery department in Rosenheim's Department Store for many years. She supported herself as a merchant in her own right until she died in 1927 at the age of 107.

Some women worked because they had to support their families. They were employed as cashiers or buyers in retail stores or office workers. They were paid less than men for equivalent work. In 1886 women were paid \$5.00 a week as cashiers or buyers in stores, one half of what men were paid (note 33).

Some women worked because they wanted to. Sarah Sobel and Sarah Iser were the first Jewish school teachers in the city schools. Emma and Julia Bloomstein taught at Ward Seminary and Lizzie Lee Bloomstein achieved the distinction of being the first college graduate of Peabody to teach at Peabody College.

There are many other examples of women's contribution to the growth and development of the economy of the Jews of Nashville. Another area in which women made an extremely important contribution was in the service organizations. They founded the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society in the late 1860's and chartered it in 1870, incorporated by Ida Bernheim, M. Cronstein, Sarah Feldman, C. Karger, Bertha Lusky, Bertha Schwarz, Sophia Shyer and Dorah Sulzbacher. This was an organization dedicated to philanthropic and service work. They met at the Ohavai Sholom synagogue and prepared garments for the poor and delivered needed articles to their homes. They also raised money for the Jews of Palestine and supported orphan homes.

During the 1870's they formed a womens' group at Ohavai Sholom, The Ladies' Working Society. This group became the Temple Ladies' Auxiliary in 1891, the predecessor of the Temple Sisterhood, formed in 1914. In the 1880's this group raised enough funds to beautify the cemetery. One of their main activities was to take care of the cemetery. A chapel was built there, more cemetery property was acquired and roadways were improved (note 34).

In summary, the women of the Nashville Jewish community were the vital foundation of the economic activity during this period. They raised their large families, helped run the family business, established service organizations and worked inside and outside the home. In this frontier city during this pioneer era, they were truly women of valor.

COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

The period of American Jewish history from 1840 to 1924 has been termed the "German Period." (note 35). There is disagreement over the exact number of German Jewish immigrants that came to America during that period. Some say it was as low as 100,000 and others put the estimate at approximately 250,000. At the same time, Jews were beginning to arrive from other countries in Western and Central Europe. Nashville experienced a similar migration pattern.

The earliest information available on the countries in which the Jewish residents of Nashville were born is the 1850 census. (See Table). Including children, the largest proportion of Nashville's Jews were already native born Americans (45%) by 1850. This is due to the fact that most of the Jews in Nashville at that time had been in America, married and had children within the previous ten years. Additionally over half of these children were born in Tennessee. However, the vast majority of these children were born to German born parents. The next highest proportion were from Germany (36%). Poland was already in third place at 7% by 1850 and remained in third place throughout the 1880's.

The designation of Poland as the native country of these Jews is confusing. During this period, there was no sovereign nation known as Poland as it had been partitioned among Prussia, Austria and Russia. Therefore, many of those who traditionally considered their home as Poland and may have listed it as such on the census reports of 1850-1880, were actually from Prussia, Austria or Russia. This worked in reverse as well, whereby some of those who listed Austria or Prussia or Russia as their native home may have been from what was in actuality Poland. There are cases of Poles and Prussians intermarrying in Nashville. This would be unusual as the Germans typically looked down on the Poles. However, it is probable that the Poles were actually from Prussian Poland.

The remaining 12% of the Jews in Nashville in 1850 had been born in England (5%), Holland (5%) and Austria (2%).

In 1860, the trend begins to develop whereby there is a more diverse group of immigrants living in Nashville. The proportion of native born Americans stays relatively constant (44%) while the proportion of Germans declines to 26%. The Poles increase to 19% and the remaining 11% are from England (5%), Russia (3%), Austria (2%), and Holland and France at under 1%. The Russians were actually from Warsaw which was traditionally in Poland but at that time technically belonged to Russia. Therefore, it may be

stated that the first Russian Jews immigrated to Nashville as early as 1855.

By 1870, the trend continues with almost half of the Jewish population being native born Americans predominately with German-born parents. The actual percentage of German-born Nashville Jews declines to 24%. Polish born residents also decline to 14%, because there are more natives of other countries then, such as Hungary (4%), Russia (4%), England (3%), Austria (1%) and France (1%).

In 1880 the trend continues. Native born Americans make up the majority of Nashville Jews then (57%), and the German natives are declining to 18% as they are becoming an aged group by then. Poles remain at 15% and Russians decline to 2.5%. The Hungarians make up 3%, English 1%, Austrians 2%, and French 1%.

Within just a few years the composition of Nashville's and America's Jewry would dramatically change as the greatest wave of Jewish immigration in history would begin in approximately 1881. Within the next fifty years over 4 million Russian and East European Jews would flood onto America's shores dwarfing the German population. In 1880 there were 250,000 Jews in America, primarily of German ancestry. In 1924 there would be over 4.5 million Jews in America, nearly all Russian and East European.

Nashville's Jewish population ballooned from 950 in 1880 to around 4,000 in 1907. The tiny group which was founded by "five families and eight young men" in the 1840's was, by the 1880's on the brink of burgeoning into a full-fledged dynamic Jewish community. It was through the efforts of these early settlers that the community was able to grow and prosper. The congregations, institutions, organizations and clubs which these men and women built in the 1840's-1880's truly put Nashville on the map of American Jewry.

TABLE 1 OCCUPATIONS OF THE JEWS OF NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 1850-1880

OCCUPATION	1850	1860	1870	1880
<hr/>				
Apparel Trades:				
Dry Goods-Retail	1	5	59	58
Dry Goods-Wholesale	0	0	5	6
Clothing-Retail	20	15	37	43
Clothing-Wholesale	0	4	0	2
Clerk in Store	2	5	32	66
Peddler	1	22	27	15
Tailor	2	6	12	8
Merchant Tailor	0	1	0	8
Shoe-Boot Dealer	0	1	0	2
Shoe-Boot Mfr	0	1	6	1
Milliner	3	1	1	1
Clothing Mfr.	0	0	1	1
Shirt Mfr.	0	0	0	2
Seamstress	0	0	1	1
Grocery/Food:				
Grocer	0	8	8	15
Produce Dealer	0	2	1	6
Confectnr/Bkr	0	2	3	1
Liquors Dealer	0	1	2	1
Distiller	0	0	1	1
Barkeeper	0	1	0	0
Saloon Owner	0	2	2	2
Cigar Mfr	0	1	4	6
Cigar/Tobacco Dlr	0	1	2	4
Cattle Dlr	0	1	5	2
Vinegar Mfr	0	0	0	1
Others:				
Jeweler	0	3	6	2
Indian Doctor	1	0	0	0
Physician	0	1	2	1
Optician	0	0	1	0
Dentist	0	0	0	1
Painter	0	1	2	0
Bookkeeper	0	1	0	9
China/Queensware	0	0	1	1
Laborer	0	2	8	2
Tinsmith	0	0	1	1
Engraver	0	1	1	1
Auction/Commsn House	1	0	4	0
Musician	0	2	0	1
Brdg House Owner	0	2	2	2
Scrap/Hides/Junk	0	2	2	5
Hebrew Teacher	0	0	1	0
Rabbi	0	1	2	2
Lumber/Sawmill	0	0	1	3
Insurance	0	0	1	2
Banker	0	0	2	3

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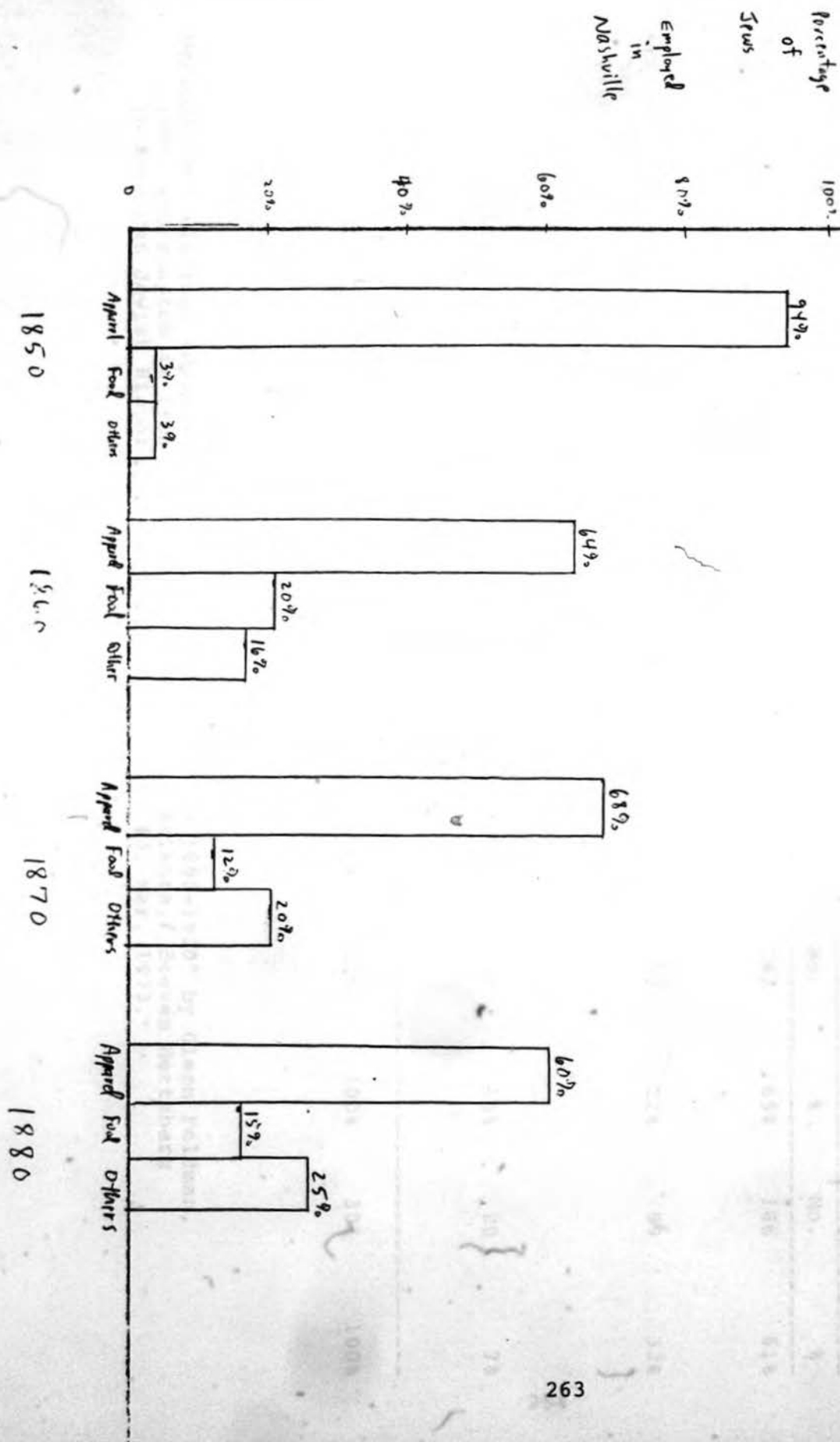
Table 1 (Continued - Page Two)

OCCUPATION	1850	1860	1870	1880
Glazier	0	0	2	1
Tanner	0	0	1	0
Cotton Broker	0	0	1	1
Horse Trader	0	0	1	0
Carriage Painter	0	0	1	0
Carpenter	0	0	1	1
Justice of Peace	0	0	1	0
Pawnbroker	0	0	0	2
Cashier	0	0	0	2
Saddle Mfr.	0	0	1	2
Barber	0	0	0	3
Sexton	0	0	0	1
RR Mail Agent	0	0	0	1
Farmer	0	0	0	1
Livery Stable	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	31	96	255	305

TABLE 2: OCCUPATIONS OF THE JEWS OF NASHVILLE, 1850-1880
ANALYSIS BY TYPE OF INDUSTRY

OCCUPATION	1850		1860		1870		1880	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
APPAREL	29	94%	61	64%	173	68%	182	60%
GROCERY/FOOD	1	3%	19	20%	30	12%	47	15%
OTHERS	1	3%	16	17%	52	20%	76	25%
TOTALS	31	100%	96	100%	255	100%	305	100%

Graph 1: Occupations of the Jews of Nashville
1850-1880 Proportional



OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS OF THE JEWS OF NASHVILLE 1850-1880

Occupational Level	1850		1860		1870		1880	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
HIGH: Professionals, Proprietors, Officials	26	84%	55	57%	162	65%	186	61%
MEDIUM: Clerical, Semi-Professional, High Skilled Blue Collar	4	13%	17	18%	55	22%	99	32%
LOW: Semi-skilled and Unskilled Blue Collar	1	3%	24	25%	38	15%	20	7%
TOTAL	31	100%	96	100%	255	100%	305	100%

Occupational Listings adapted from "The Jews of Nashville 1900-1920" by Glenn Feldman, 1985, who adapted it from "The Jewish Community of Atlanta," Steven Hertzberg in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXII, #3, Mar. 1973.

POPULATION ANALYSIS OF THE JEWS OF NASHVILLE 1850-1880

YEAR	Total Population in Nashville	% Change	Total Jewish Population in Nashville	% Change	Jews as % of Nashville Population
1850	10,165	-	60	-	0.6%
1860	16,988	67%	325	442%	1.9%
1870	25,865	52%	875	169%	3.4%
1880	43,350	68%	950	9%	2.2%

Source: U. S. Census Reports 1850-1880.

Poland	123	150
England	123	150
Russia	123	150
Austria	123	150
Holland	123	150
France	123	150
Switzerland	123	150
Hungary	123	150
TOTAL	123	150

Source: Census Reports of Nashville, Tennessee for 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880.

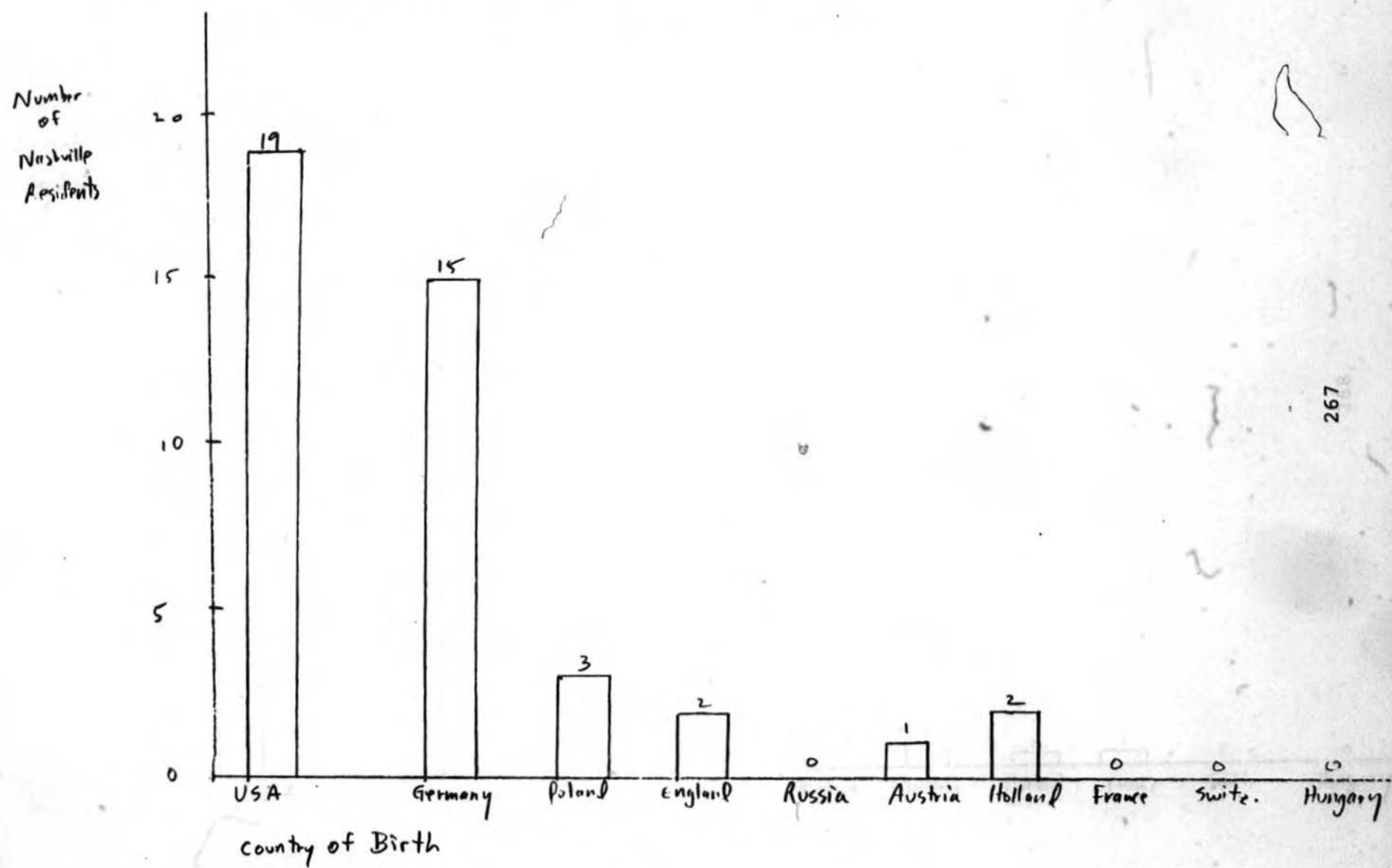
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF THE JEWS OF NASHVILLE 1840-1880

Country of Birth	1850		1860		1870		1880	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Germany	15	36%	73	26%	211	24%	164	18%
Region:								
Alsace							2	
Baden			2		8		3	
Bavaria	3				23		9	
Bohemia			1		1			
Bremen					1			
Hamburg								
Hesse			6		17		1	
Nassau			1		1			
Prussia					95		77	
Saxony			2		2		2	
Westenburg					2			
Wurttemberg			1		6		3	
United States	19	45%	122	44%	433	49%	507	57%
State:								
Ala					3		3	
Ark			1					
Cal			1		2		2	
Ga					9		11	
Ill					1			
Ind			1		6		8	
Ky			2		19		15	
Mass							1	
Md					3		1	
Mich	1							
Miss							1	
Mo	3		4		2		7	
NC	2							
NJ					3			
NY			29		53		51	
Ohio			9		55		32	
Oreg							2	
Pa	1		5		7		3	
SC	1		2					
Tenn	10		68		272		368	
Va			3		2		2	
Wisc			1		3			
Poland	3	7%	53	19%	128	14%	129	15%
England	2	5%	14	5%	23	3%	11	1%
Russia	0	0%	8	3%	32	4%	22	2%
Austria	1	2%	5	2%	9	1%	16	2%
Holland	2	5%	2	1%	1	0%	1	0%
France	0	0%	1	0%	8	1%	8	1%
Switzerland	0	0%	0	0%	2	0%	2	0%
Hungary	0	0%	0	0%	37	4%	29	3%
TOTAL	42	100%	278	100%	884	100%	889	100%

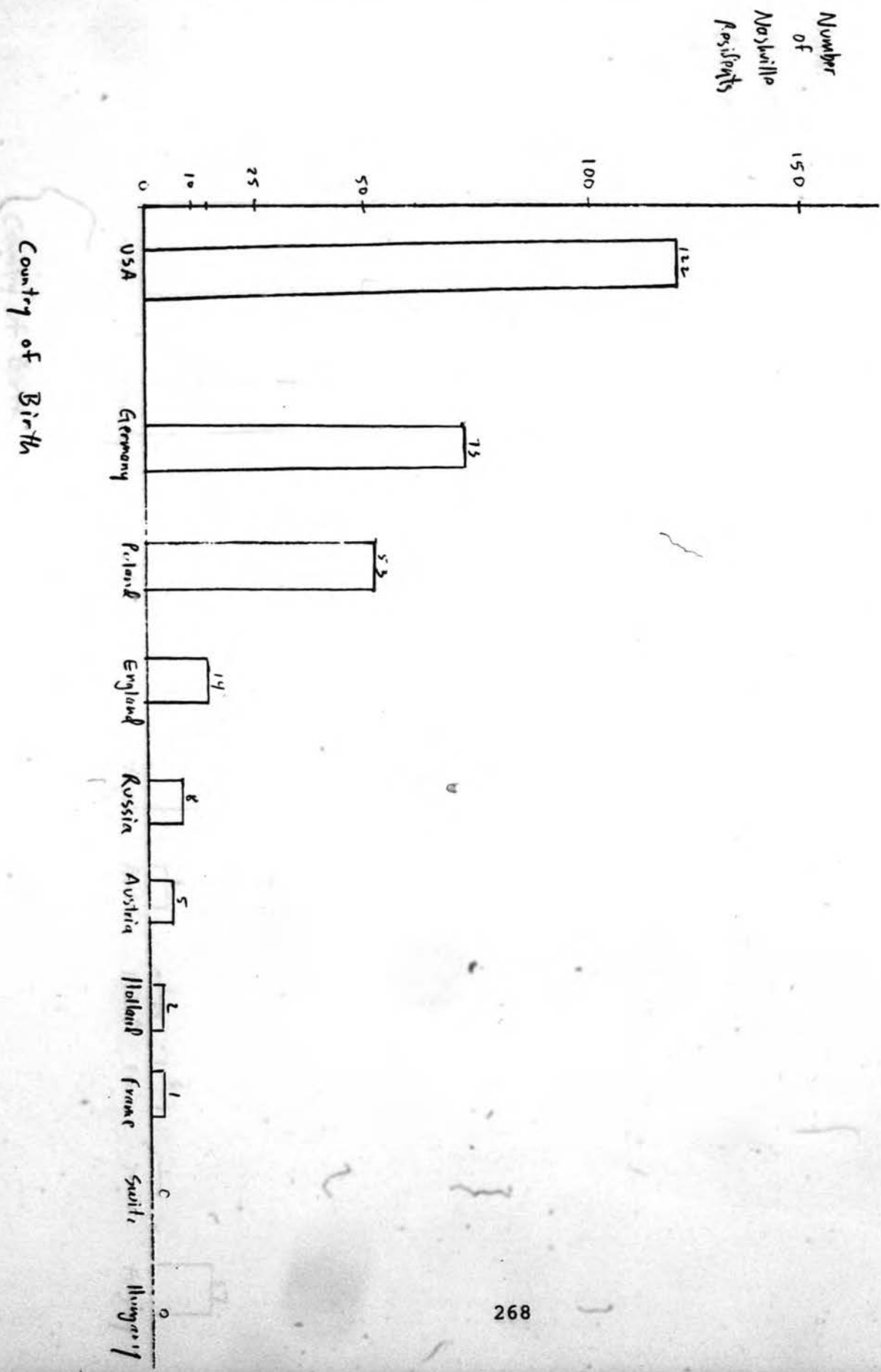
Source: Census Reports of Nashville, Tennessee for 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880.

Graph 2: Country of Origin
Of Nashville Residents

1850

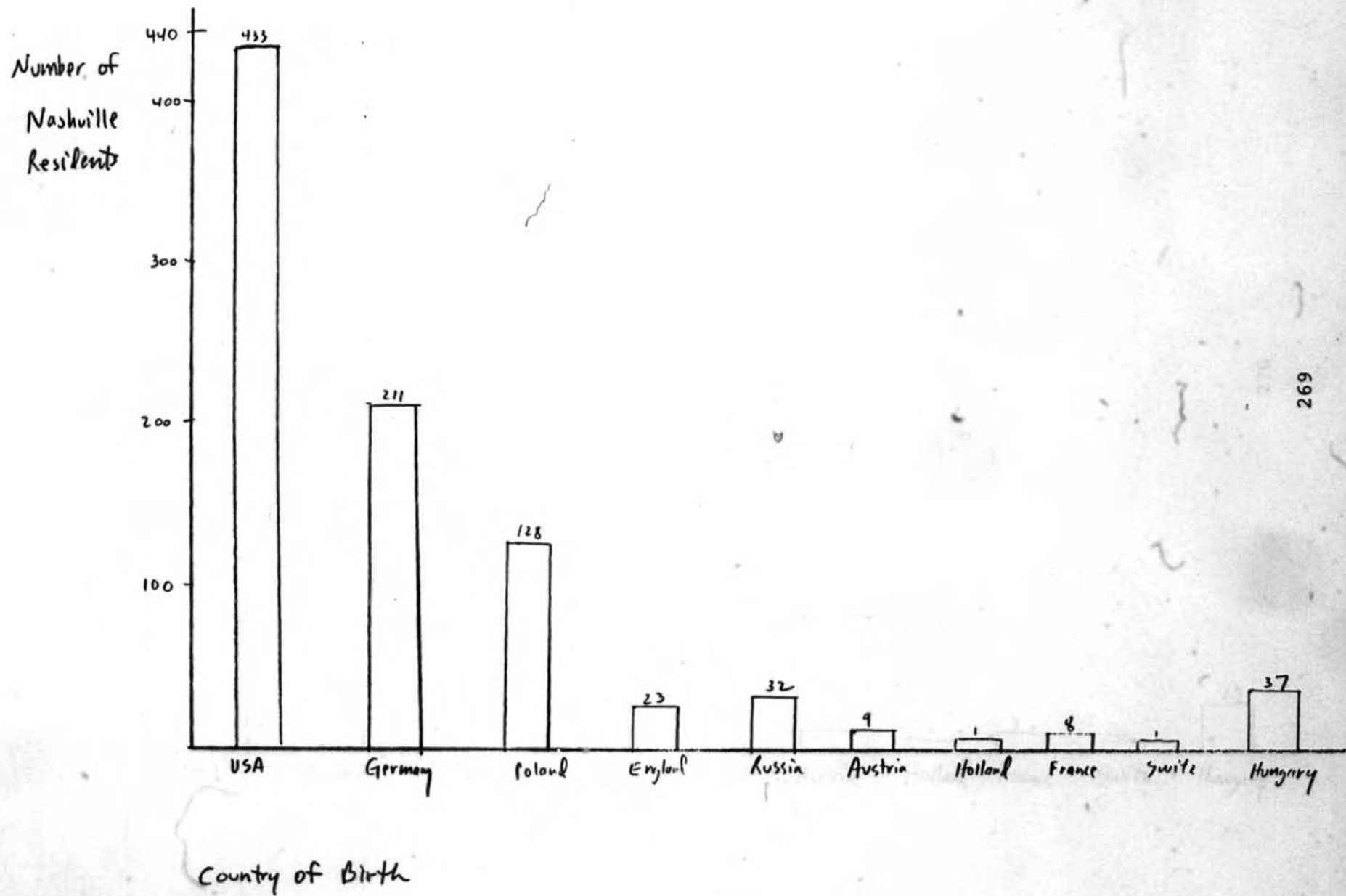


Graph 3: Country of Origin
Of Nashville Residents 1860

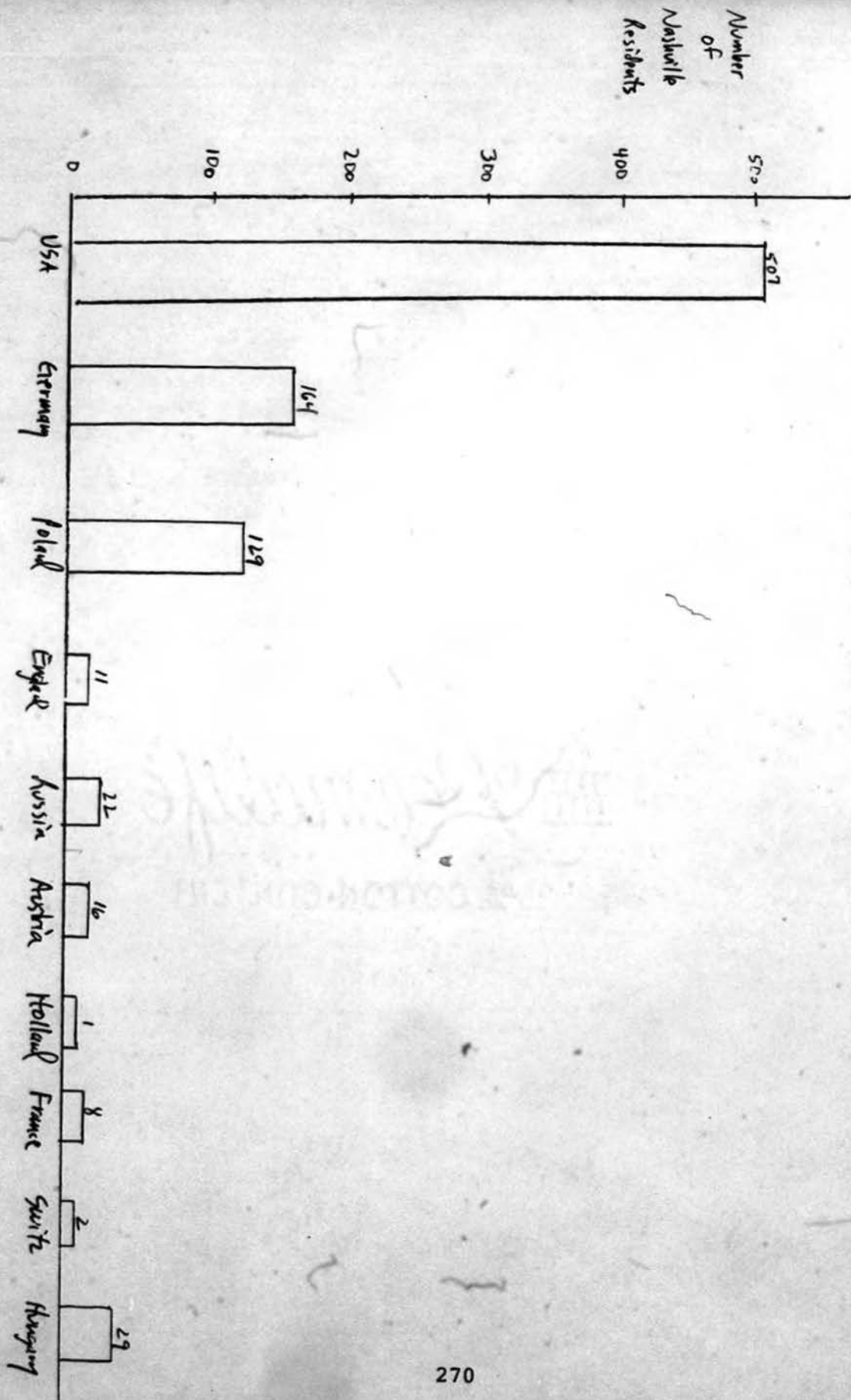


Graph 4: Country of Origin
Of Nashville Residents

1870

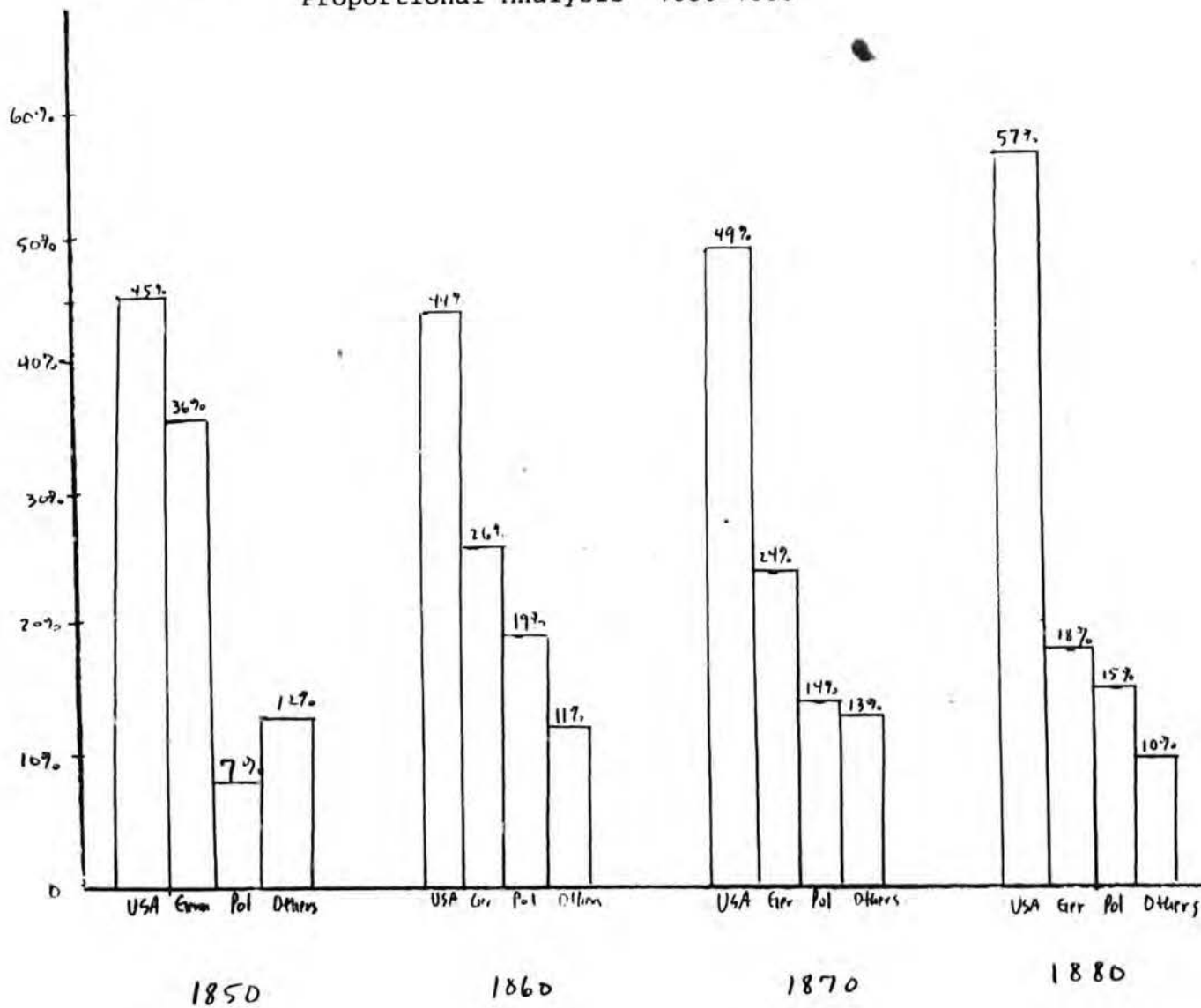


Graph 5: Country of Origin
Of Nashville Residents 1880



Graph 6: Country of Origin
Of Nashville Jews
Proportional Analysis 1850-1880

Percentage
of
Nashville
Residents



(no scale)

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS:

GENERALIZATIONS AND SUMMARY ANALYSIS

OF THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

OF THE 200

EARLY JEWISH SETTLERS

OF NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

FROM THE 1840'S TO THE 1880'S

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

GENERALIZATIONS AND SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY
OF THE JEWS OF NASHVILLE FROM THE 1840'S TO THE 1880'S

The study of Jewish history has been likened to a metaphor of a long silk chord. This rope is made up of many small strands all joined together - intertwined to hold the rope together. Very few strands run from one end all the way to the other end. But try to pull the rope apart and it cannot be done. In analyzing just one period of Jewish history, it is like looking at a cross section of that rope; one can see the many small strands, but is there one crimson thread which runs throughout the entire length of rope? Is there one common theme which runs throughout all of Jewish history? The answer may be found in considering how Nashville's early Jews built their Jewish community.

The one factor which is most impressive about the early Jews of Nashville was the intense feeling of community. Just as Jews have done throughout history, they came together from many different places and built a community. These Jews came from lands where they had been oppressed for so many centuries that their psyches knew nothing else. Finally, here they were in America, a land

where they could be free - they could hardly believe their good fortune - and what is the first thing they did? They formed a minyan so they could pray together. Then they set aside sacred ground to bury their dead. And then they formed a holy congregation.

There are several factors which led to the closeness of this community. The most fundamental reason, of course was that they were Jews - and they did what Jews have done throughout their thousands of years of exile - they came together to form a community. But this small group of Jews had left the larger cities on the east coast with their greater concentrations of Jewish communities. They also left the major Jewish community of Cincinnati and set out for the relatively small city of Nashville. The major factor which attracted these Jews to Nashville and for uniting them after they arrived was economic. The other factors were religious and social.

There were several economic forces at work which attracted these Jews to Nashville. First, there was a degree of overcrowding within the economy in the larger eastern cities as well as in Cincinnati. The Jews of Nashville believed that it would be more advantageous to pursue business opportunities there than in the other major cities.

Second, once there was an established group or a critical mass of Jewish business people in Nashville, this attracted more and more Jews. This paper has explored the nature of the internal credit system within the Jewish community. This served to bring more Jews into the Nashville economy, and helped them get started. This worked primarily in the apparel trades and secondarily in the grocery and food business. Their area of primary effectiveness was in the mercantile aspects of these businesses, first as peddlers, then as shop owners and then as larger store owners, or as wholesalers.

A third factor which brought Jews to Nashville was the growing economy of Nashville. One of the largest and most prosperous cities west of the Alleghenies during this period, Nashville provided ample opportunity for these entrepreneurs. The nature of the economy of Nashville during this period of the 1840's to the 1880's was as a manufacturing and distribution center of goods for the developing central South. Jewish business people were able to tap into the interstitial positions within these channels of distribution primarily in the apparel and food industries.

After the Jews had migrated to Nashville, the nature of their economic activity served to unite their community. The occupations they worked in, the composition of the

firms they established and their patterns of economic mobility all reflect the interconnectedness and interdependence which characterized Jewish economic life. The great majority of them were employed in the same industries, the apparel and the food businesses. They were in these businesses for several reasons. First, their start up in business was facilitated by other Jews who were already in those businesses. Second, they had experience in the mercantile aspects of the economy from their days in Europe. Third, attitudes of non-Jews in the business community were such that Jews were limited in what fields they could enter.

The composition of the firms they established also reflect the interdependence of the Jewish business community. The vast majority of these firms were partnerships composed of brothers, brothers-in-law, father and sons, or friends. The partnership served to share the capital investment needed to compete on a larger scale, as well as providing additional manpower. The partnership also afforded them the opportunity to have more input on methods of running the businesses.

The Jewish community of Nashville was a distinctive economic subcommunity within the city. Virtually all of them were employed in the mercantile trades and they were virtual non-participants in most of the city's major

industries. Occupationally, they were a homogeneous group, and while they were active and successful participants in the city's economy, they confined themselves to specific sectors of it.

There were several major trends noted about the nature of the economic activity of the Jews of Nashville. As discussed above, the first and most obvious trend was that they were an economic subgroup heavily concentrated in the same industries. The second trend was their ability to achieve a medium to high level of prosperity relatively quickly. As a rule, they progressed from poor, struggling immigrants to self-supporting business people within a few decades. Most of them started out as peddlers when they first arrived in America. They progressed to small shop owners, then to operators of larger retail stores. A few among them grew their businesses to large department stores, wholesale operations or manufacturing concerns.

Another trend which emerged late in this period was that they were beginning to enter more diverse fields of employment by the 1880's. The percentage of Jews employed in the apparel or food industries was declining by 1880. The economy of Nashville was growing more diversified and it was easier for Jews, many of whom were now second generation Americans, to enter into other fields.

It was also noted the relative frequency which Jews changed businesses, careers or locations of their businesses. They were not a highly rooted or established economic group yet, especially in the years immediately following the Civil War when there was a great deal of transience within the population.

Another trend was the ability of the Jews of Nashville to employ themselves in high or medium level occupations. By 1880, 93% of them were on these levels whereas only 7% of them were employed in low levels. It may be concluded that the vast majority of the Jews of Nashville during this period reached at least a moderate level of prosperity.

It was the economic interdependence which led to much of the closeness of the Jewish community of Nashville. Internally, the economic structure of the Jewish community influenced all other facets of community life. Religious institutions, service organizations, fraternal orders and social clubs are among the non-economic aspects of the community life which came to reflect its distinctiveness.

Religiously, the Jewish community of Nashville was divided during this period. The earliest settlers formed a minyan in the 1840's. In 1851 they founded the Hebrew Benevolent Burial Society, Mogen David. In 1854 they chartered the first congregation K. K. Mogen David. Almost

immediately upon opening their first congregation, they started to squabble about minhag. Mogen David was using the Ashkenazic rite, and there were a number who were accustomed to using the Polish rite and minhag. So within just a few years after the first congregation was established there was a split. A second congregation was formed in 1859 and they called themselves "Ohava Emet," or "Lovers of Truth." Of course, this group had the truth! The major reason for this split was over liturgy and ritual.

Perhaps the most significant step in the development of the religious community took place in 1864 when a man named Morris Fishel moved to Nashville. He was a successful wholesaler in Cincinnati and he came to Nashville to open a branch of his company. He had been a member of the new Reform congregation in Cincinnati, and was a personal friend of their rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, the great organizer and founder of the Reform institutions in America. Fishel convinced some of the Jews of Nashville to try this new Reform movement, and they opened the first Reform congregation there and named it after the one in Cincinnati, Bnai Jeshurun.

So, there they were in 1864 in a city with no more than 350 Jews and they had three congregations!

The years after the Civil War saw tremendous growth in the economy of Nashville and there was a 160% increase in the Jewish population there between 1860 and 1870. These factors caused the Jewish community to settle down and mature. The two original congregations Mogen David and Ohava Emet merged in 1867 to form what would become the leading congregation in the city, K. K. Ohava Sholom, "Lovers of Peace."

At first Ohava Sholom was still orthodox, but gradually some of the reforms caught on. The little Reform congregation, Bnai Jeshurun closed and its members became active in Ohava Sholom. In 1875 they opened the magnificent Vine Street Temple. They became one of the charter members of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and they were one of the first congregations to adopt the Union Prayer Book in the early 1890's. K. K. Ohava Sholom has been a true leader in the Reform movement in America ever since.

There were a number of Ohava Sholom members who were not willing to accept the reforms it was adapting. Around the time the congregation voted to use Isaac Mayer Wise's new prayerbook Minhag America, the more traditional faction split away from Ohava Sholom and formed K. K. Adath Israel in 1876. This grew and prospered and continues today as a strong member of the Conservative Movement as the West End Synagogue.

Nashville's third congregation today, the orthodox Sherith Israel, traces its roots to the Hungarian Benevolent Society, formed in 1871. This group was composed of Nashville's fairly sizable Hungarian immigrants who preferred their own minhag and rites.

Even though the Jewish religious community was split over issues of ritual and minhag, there actually existed a spirit of cooperation among them in most cases. Many people held multiple congregational memberships to show their support, especially in the later years. The clergy of the various congregations always supported each other in many ways. While they were divided according to certain religious issues, economic, organizational and social factors were strong enough to maintain a united Jewish community.

This cohesiveness manifested itself best in the building of service organizations and benevolent societies, such as the Young Mens' Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1859, the Bnai Brith in 1863, the Independent Order of Brith Abraham, Keshet Shel Barzel, Free Sons of Israel, Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society, Jewish Relief Society, and the Ladies' Working Society. These organizations served as mutual aid societies as well as philanthropic groups which performed many acts of tzedakah.

The fourth and final pillar of the Jewish community of Nashville was its social life. They built a number of clubs and groups as early as 1863. That they were able to build these social clubs so early was a function of their reaching a certain level of economic success. Later the community became socially stratified as their merchant class became quite well to do as a result of their larger stores, wholesale operations and factories.

There were important links between the economic activity of the Jews in Nashville and their social, religious and service organization life. Socially there was stratification according to wealth. Religiously, the links to economic activity manifested themselves by the active involvement of the wealthiest and most prominent business leaders emerging as the leaders of the religious community, especially at K. K. Ohavai Sholom. The links between economic success and the service organizations was less evident. In fact, the highest degree of community cohesiveness was evident in these service organizations and fraternal orders. Bnai Brith especially served to unite the community as it was actively joined and supported by members of all the various congregations and social clubs.

This, then was the structure of the Jewish community of Nashville from the 1840's to the 1880's. However, the flavor and character of the community can only be

understood by analyzing its people. To paraphrase Dr. Jacob Rader Marcus, history is made up of individuals and their stories, not facts and dates. It is by considering the lives of these 200 individuals that the true character of the Nashville Jewish community emerges.

In order to illustrate this character, four individuals are chosen here as examples of the nature of the Jewish community of Nashville: Morris Fishel, Morris Loveman, L. J. Loventhal and Betty Lusky.

Morris Fishel is significant because he was the first to bring Reform Judaism to Nashville. As a wholesaler and an important member of the Nashville Jewish economy, he used his resources and energies to build a strong foundation for the Reform Jewish community of Nashville.

Morris Loveman was a perfect example of how the Jews of those days helped their fellow Jews get started in business. He came to America almost penniless and worked tirelessly as a peddler until he was able to establish his own retail business. He helped his son David build up the largest Jewish clothing manufacturing company in the city and then convert it to one of the most successful department stores of the era. He was the father of the Hungarian Jewish community of Nashville and helped most of them and many others start up their businesses. Both he

and Morris Fishel were integral parts of the internal credit system whereby they would extend goods on credit to new start-up peddling and retail businesses. Three of the businesses which sprang from his loins were among the longest lasting businesses in Nashville history: Loveman's Department Store, Mills Bookstore and the Loveman, Lieberman lumber concern. He was an example of what so many of the Jews studied in this paper were able to carve out of the American experience.

L. J. Loventhal is chosen here for two reasons. First, he was a successful businessman and he established an insurance agency which still exists today. But more important he may have been the archetype for the ideal Jewish citizen in Nashville's history. He devoted untold hours to being involved in Jewish organizations, he was a good ambassador to the non-Jewish community, and he found time to raise seven children and imbue in them a devotion to service. As one looks back on all the Jews in Nashville's history and even its present, there have been a few who followed this pattern, but L. J. Loventhal fashioned the mold.

Betty Lusky is chosen because she illustrates the contribution women made to the growth and development of the Jewish community of Nashville. She was a partner and helper to her husband in their boarding house business

until he died, at which point she went to work for herself and supported her family. She was responsible for bringing some of her family to America including her two nephews George and Louis Rosenheim. They went on to build the largest retail company in Nashville in the 1880's and 1890's. Betty ran the millinery department at their store for many years. She was also involved in the Jewish community as one of the founders of the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society and other organizations. Since she lived to the age of 107 in 1927, she was responsible for transmitting many of the stories and history of Nashville's early days.

All four of these individuals were leaders of the Jewish community of Nashville in their own way. They set a pattern for active involvement in the community; this pattern is still followed today.

In summary, the character and flavor of this community was imbued with the pioneer spirit. They made their way to Nashville, a leading frontier town of the time, under difficult conditions. They had to be tough and persistent to carve out a living in these environs. They were traumatized by the Civil War, but it was also that war which brought so many new Jewish immigrants to call Nashville home. There was antisemitism but there was also a lot of interaction between Jews and non-Jews in business

and to a lesser extent socially. The Jews of Nashville made a major contribution to the growth and development of the economy of the city and they rose to a position of distinction and prominence. This was particularly evidenced by the massive outpouring of support for the dedication of the cornerstone of the new Vine Street Temple in 1874 when ex-President Andrew Johnson, the governor of Tennessee and thousands of local citizens attended their ceremony.

In conclusion, the nature of the Jewish community of Nashville may best be characterized by the fact that virtually every one of these early residents was involved in the Jewish community. Almost every one of them participated in some way in the growth and development of Judaism there. The structure of the Jewish community was established in those days. They built congregations, organizations and clubs which were the foundation of all that would come after them. The roots planted by these early settlers grew into the strong and vibrant community which still thrives today.

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162. N.C.D. 1874, p. 221; 1875, p. 216; 1876.
163. Occident, vol XI, no. 10, Jan. 1854, p. 533.
164. Sobel, op. cit., A.J.A.; Perlman, R., op. cit.

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182. Acts, March 2, 1854; N.C.D. 1866, p. 284.
183. Census, 1860; N.C.D. 1860, p. 260; 1866, p. 283; 1867, p. 262; 1870, p. 198.

184. Young Mens Hebrew Benevolent Society Charter, March 5, 1860; N.C.D. 1860, p. 260; Census, 1860.
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187. Frankland, op. cit.; Minutes, Ohava Emet congregation, 1863.
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191. N.C.D. 1870, p. 280; 1873, p. 222; 1875, p. 234.
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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

Acts	Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee.
A.J.A.	American Jewish Archives
C.S.R.C.S.T.	Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who served in Organizations from Tennessee.
D.A.	Daily American
D.C.	Davidson County
F.F.1.	Frank, F.S., <u>Five Families and Eight Young Men.</u>
F.F.2.	Frank, F.S., <u>Beginnings on Market Street.</u>
N.C.D.	<u>Nashville City Directory.</u>
O.S.	Congregation K.K. Ohavai Sholom, Nashville, Tennessee.
W.C.C.	Woodmont Country Club.

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