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A Certain Ambivalence: Florida's Jews and the Civil War

by

Daniel R. Weinfeld*

Morris Dzialynski was proud of both his Jewish heritage and his service in the Confederate army. He emigrated with his family from the Prussian province of Posen in the mid-1850s while in his early teenage years.¹ After a brief stay in New York, the Dzialynskis settled in Jacksonville, Florida. By 1860 Morris had moved to the interior hamlet of Madison, Florida, where his older brother, Philip, had established a general merchandise store. Morris was still living with Philip when the nineteen-year-old, stirred by the war fervor sweeping the South in the months following the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter, enlisted in the Madison Grey Eagles, later Company G of the Third Florida Infantry. The Third Florida marched in General Braxton Bragg's invasion of Kentucky and engaged in heavy fighting at the battle of Perryville, Kentucky, on October 8, 1862, where Morris was severely wounded. Undaunted, he returned to his unit after two months' recuperation in time to fight in the battle of Murfreesboro, Tennessee (Stones River).²

As the war dragged on into its third year, Dzialynski's martial fervor began to waver. The Third Florida had suffered great losses, forcing its consolidation with the First Florida regiment. In early 1863, Dzialynski furnished a substitute, an option then open for those who could pay the substitute soldier's hefty fee to gain exemption from military service. Morris,

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however, reconsidered and soon reentered the ranks. Later in 1863, Dzialynski was reported sick: one note in his service file even erroneously reported his death in an Atlanta hospital.³

Morris's medical condition left him "unfitted to remain in the field." According to accounts composed three decades later, Confederate authorities then detailed Morris to "blockade running service between the Indian river and Nassau." Morris may have run the Union blockade to supply the Confederacy, but a naturalization certificate filed in New York City dated October 26, 1864, suggests that he also seized the opportunity to cross Union lines. In May 1865 Morris was still in New York City, where he married Rosa Slager, daughter of Charles Slager, a Jewish merchant who had left his Ocala, Florida, home for Union-held territory early in the war.⁴

Morris Dzialynski, c. 1900. (From the collections of the Jewish Museum of Florida-FIU, originated by Marcia Jo Zerivitz, Founding Executive Director.)

The contradictions found in Morris Dzialynski's war record—courageous service for the Confederacy and wartime relocation to New York—reflect the varying responses of Florida's Jewish community to the Civil War. Like Dzialynski, a number of young Jewish Floridians demonstrated their zeal by rushing to enlist at the start of the Civil War. Many others, however, manifested reluctance by signing up only when prompted by the threat of conscription. A number of Jewish Floridians avoided the dislocation, rigors, and high mortality rates of regular army units by volunteering for limited service in home guard militias near their families and businesses. Some managed to avoid service entirely while remaining in the South. Still others departed the region. Some of these men returned after the surrender while others closed their businesses and moved permanently to the North or West.

Scholars have traditionally described Civil War-era southern Jewry as "overwhelmingly, almost unanimously" loyal to the Confederacy. Over fifty years ago Bertram Korn wrote, "Southern Jews had no doubts about fighting for what Rabbi James Gutheim [of New Orleans] called 'our beloved Confederate States.'" Robert Rosen, an expert on Jewish Confederates, echoed Korn when describing southern Jews as "committed to the cause of Southern independence" and "flock[ing] to the Confederate banner."⁵ Recent scholarship that examines military service has started to question the "almost unanimous" loyalty to the Confederacy by pointing to conscription and military service avoidance. Historian Anton Hieke, for example, argues that Confederate army service is "an invalid litmus test for Southern identity."⁶

The wartime decisions of Morris Dzialynski and other adult Jewish Floridians challenge the premise of unstinting loyalty to the Confederacy. This study examines the neglected stories of Dzialynski and Florida's other Jewish Civil War soldiers to reveal their varied and nuanced responses to the Confederate cause and military service on its behalf. Furthermore, choices some Jewish men made during the Reconstruction era defy the impression of Jewish submission to a southern consensus formed around white racial and political solidarity. This evidence in turn

supports recent studies that question the degree to which southern Jews should be viewed as fully embracing southern white identity and as distinctive from other American Jews.⁷

Profile of Florida Jews in 1860

Generally overlooked by historians of the Jewish South, Florida presents a fresh and promising field for research into Jewish participation in the Civil War. Jewish settlement in Florida began when the British took the territory from Spain in 1763. After the return of Spanish rule a few years later, some Jews continued to dwell in Pensacola and St. Augustine. During the four decades from 1821, when the United States took control of the territory from Spain, until the Civil War, the Jewish population grew steadily, but, like the Florida population generally, remained quite small and dispersed in coastal towns or villages and hamlets scattered across the long northern belt that stretched between Jacksonville and Pensacola.⁸

By 1860 few Jews had yet planted roots with the intention of permanent settlement in Florida. Only Fernandina, Tallahassee, and Pensacola could claim as many as twenty Jewish residents. The majority of Florida's Jews lived in smaller, scattered groupings, often just a pair of shopkeepers, or one or two families. Prior to the Civil War, with the sole exception of a cemetery dedicated in Jacksonville in 1857, such microcommunities did not have concentrations of population sufficient to establish and sustain communal institutions.⁹

No serious effort to survey Florida's entire nineteenth-century Jewish community exists. Consequently, the first hurdle in studying the Civil War experience of Florida's Jews is identifying Jews among the state's population.¹⁰ A precise tally is impossible, if only because the researcher confronts the ambiguity of the Jewish identity of particular individuals. Certain assumptions, however, focus the search. For example, the majority of adult southern Jews in 1860 were immigrants from central and eastern Europe, primarily arrivals from the German states, Prussia (including its Polish provinces), and Russian Poland.¹¹ The 1860

United States census shows five hundred Florida residents born in central or eastern Europe (CEE).¹²

Jews can be identified by cross-referencing each individual with markers of affiliation such as membership in synagogues, B'nai B'rith chapters, and Hebrew benevolent societies, once those groups were formed, as well as social items in Jewish regional newspapers and burial lists from Jewish cemeteries. Finally, invaluable assistance came from tracing family connections through Anton Hieke's database of Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina Jews.¹³

In 1860, two hundred Jews lived in Florida: about 120 adults and 80 minors under the age of eighteen. The adults were almost all immigrants, with 54 percent from the German states and 39 percent from Prussia (including its Polish provinces), Russian Poland, and a few other European locations. Only 7 percent of the adults were born in the United States, whereas nearly 80 percent of the minors were American-born.¹⁴ Not surprisingly for an immigrant community in a frontier location, Florida's adult Jewish population in 1860 was over 70 percent male. Almost every adult woman was married or widowed. Men older than thirty were also typically married (81 percent), whereas 85 percent of men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were single.

The 1860 census taker reported occupations for all adult Jewish men (in contrast with only four women listed as working outside the home). Nearly 90 percent were involved in trade as merchants, clerks, bookkeepers, and salesmen. The title of merchant was probably grandiose for many younger men whom the census taker found had little in taxable assets or property. Most were probably peddlers, but only one man described himself as such. In contrast with other Floridians and non-urban Americans, just one Jewish Floridian listed his occupation as farmer. Three men toiled simply as laborers. Single individuals described themselves as druggist, watchmaker, butcher, saddler, artist, and physician.¹⁵

In addition to being recent arrivals to the United States, Florida's Jews in 1860 were, like their non-Jewish neighbors, also newcomers to the state. Florida's white population grew rapidly

from 27,943 in 1840 to 77,747 in 1860 but included only 7,300 (9.4 percent) Florida-born adults on the eve of the Civil War. The Jewish population was even more transient: fewer than ten Jews living in the state in 1860 had resided in Florida in 1850, and only one Jewish child over the age of ten in 1860 was born in the state.¹⁶

After identifying Florida's Jews, I sought those who joined the locally raised militias. In theory, every "able bodied free white male inhabitant" in the state between the ages of eighteen and forty-five was required by law to join and drill with militias. By the 1850s, however, the militia system was in disarray and few men, immigrants or otherwise, participated.¹⁷ Some Jewish men may have taken part in the Seminole Wars, but the approach of the Civil War presented the first opportunity for most to join their non-Jewish neighbors in military activities.¹⁸

*Florida's Jews and Service in the
Confederate Military*

Florida militias began to reform in earnest with the secession crisis fomented by the election of Abraham Lincoln in November 1860. Immigrants enlisted in many of these reinvigorated companies. Those who joined the Fernandina Volunteers included Jacob Gardner, a Prussian-born seventeen-year-old living at home; Dr. Jacob Cohen, a South Carolina-born physician; and merchants Edward Robinson and Adolphus Rosenthal. In Jacksonville, Tobias Brown, Julius Herrman, Isaac Ehrlich, and Gabriel Hirsch signed up with the town's Light Infantry Company in winter 1861. Jacob Burkheim reenlisted in the same militia unit that he had joined two years earlier.¹⁹

Most Jewish Floridians, however, like their neighbors, did not enlist until after the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter in April 1861. The vast majority—possibly in excess of 90 percent—of southern white men born between 1814 and 1847 eventually served in the Confederate military in some capacity. Approximately fifteen thousand of the state's more than seventeen thousand white men of military age served.²⁰

Ninety Jewish adult men lived in Florida in 1860 whose ages would subject them to military service in support of the

Confederacy during the war's four years.²¹ Forty-five eventually enlisted; another eleven who did not appear in the 1860 census also joined Florida-based regiments. These fifty-six men included two commissioned officers (Elias Yulee and Marcus Lyons) and a teenager, Rodolph Lyons, who joined the Confederate navy. Thirteen served exclusively in home guard forces or local militias. Thirty-six Jews enlisted in regular Confederate Florida army units (i.e., infantry, artillery, or cavalry), with four additional soldiers serving in neighboring states.²²

Comparing the Confederate military service rates of Jewish Floridians with their non-Jewish peers is problematic. No reliable numbers about southern military service during the Civil War exist. Defining "service" presents another difficulty. For example, 50 percent of military-aged Jewish men living in Florida in 1860 performed some sort of Confederate military service, but more than one-quarter served in home guard or militia units, some of which disbanded after the war began. Excluding the home guard enlistees reduces the Florida Jewish military service rate to 37 percent.²³

Examining the service rates of Florida's non-Jewish CEE immigrants gives context to Jewish service rates.²⁴ The 270 immigrants of military age residing in Florida in 1860 (who included thirteen U.S. soldiers and sailors stationed at Pensacola) did not enlist in numbers close to the generally accepted estimates for Confederate military service across the South. Cross-referencing Florida's CEE-born adult men, including CEE-born Jews, with the rosters of Florida's Confederate soldiers shows that 26 percent of these immigrants enlisted in regular (i.e., non-home guard) Florida-based units. But if CEE-born Jews are removed, the rate of non-Jewish CEE-born military service in Florida falls to 22 percent. There is no apparent explanation why CEE-born Jews served at higher rates than their non-Jewish CEE-born peers.

Florida's CEE-born immigrants certainly served in much lower percentages than their American-born neighbors. Several reasons for this are plausible. These immigrants, mostly merchants, settled disproportionately in coastal villages whose waters were controlled by the Union navy. For example, among

CEE immigrants living in Pensacola, Milton, or Apalachicola, only five of almost seventy adults joined the state's regular army regiments.²⁵ CEE immigrants may have simply lacked the commitment to the region and social structure that motivated American-born men to fight to preserve the southern way of life.²⁶

Florida's few American-born Jews enlisted like other native-born Floridians. Six of these seven adults served in regular army units. Moses Lyons from Pensacola, who was still a teenager when the war ended, was the only American-born Jew of conscription age not to have a military service record.²⁷

Florida's Jews and Enlistment

When evaluating allegiance to the Confederacy through military service, one significant factor is the timing of enlistment. About 43 percent of all military-aged southerners—and 39 percent of Floridians—joined the Confederate forces during the war's first year. In contrast, only 11 percent of military-aged Jewish Floridians enlisted during that time.²⁸

Opposite: *Muster roll of the Fernandina Volunteers, c. 1860–1861.*

The first paragraph reads: "We, the undersigned residents of Nassau County, in the State of Florida, do solemnly promise and agree, that we will, on five days [sic] notice, or in less time, if practicable, repair to any place of rendezvous which may be lawfully designated, and there be mustered into the service of the State, subject to the Articles of War of the State of Florida, and so continue for a period not exceeding six months."

The names of Adolphus Rosenthal (entry #8), J. Cohen (#10), Jacob Gardner (#23), and E. J. Robinson (#24) are included.

(Courtesy of the Division of Recreation and Parks, Fort Clinch Exhibit Materials, Florida Division of Library and Information Services.)

Nine of the ten Florida Jews who enlisted in 1861 were single young men with an average age of twenty-two. The youngest soldier, Samuel Herman, a Bavarian-born clerk, had immigrated in 1858. The exception to this youthful demographic was forty-two-year-old Mordecai Hyams, a pharmacist whose special skills as a botanist drew the attention of Confederate officials. After serving nine months, Hyams was discharged from the Second Florida Infantry and sent to North Carolina to collect and compound medicinal plants.²⁹

It can be surmised that Jewish Floridians enlisted in 1861 for the same motives that scholars have debated for more than a century: patriotism, war fever, protection of home, defense of slavery, to impress young women, peer pressure, etc. The majority of these young men had little or no reported property and may have found enlistment bounties and the pay of eleven dollars per month for Confederate privates “an appealing prospect.”³⁰

A greater number of Jewish Floridians enlisted during the war’s second year. In December 1861 the Confederate legislature hoped to induce 1861 enlistees who had signed up for twelve months to reenlist. It also wanted to tempt previously hesitant men to enter the ranks by authorizing a fifty-dollar bounty to those who committed to three years of service. Simon Fleishman, Marcus Brendt, and William Wolf enlisted soon after. Leopold Adler, who did not appear in the 1860 census, joined up in early 1862, and Jacob Triest entered a Georgia cavalry unit. These five were young (Adler was the oldest at twenty-six) and unmarried, and only Brendt, a Hamilton County merchant, reported possessing substantial property.³¹

In April 1862 the Confederate Congress passed a conscription law that required white male “residents of the Confederate States” between eighteen and thirty-five to serve for three years.³² This first draft in American history prompted many southern men to sign up to avoid the humiliation of conscription. Eleven more Florida Jews enlisted between April and June 1862. The 1862 Jewish enlistees, with an average age of twenty-six, were older by four years than the 1861 cohort.

As the war dragged on and casualties mounted, the Confederacy expanded its conscription pool. A second conscription act in September 1862 extended the upper age limit to forty-five. Service records of many late-war enlistees suggest little enthusiasm for fighting for the southern cause. In the early months of 1863, Jacob Burkheim, a thirty-year-old merchant, married with children, enlisted at Madison County. Burkheim had joined the Jacksonville Light Infantry prior to secession but did not remain with that unit after it entered the Confederate army in summer 1861. Burkheim spent the war detailed as a tailor and did not leave the state with his regiment. David Greenfield, a Marion County merchant, signed up a few months later but deserted within the year. In summer 1863 Gustave Gump of Apalachicola and Simon Einstein of Micanopy found six-month stints in Georgia-based home guard units.

Increasingly desperate, the Confederate government passed yet another conscription law in February 1864 that required men "between the ages of seventeen and eighteen and forty-five and fifty" to enroll in state reserve units. In addition, exemptions were revoked for men who had previously furnished substitutes.³³ The new law drew a few more Florida Jews into service. Henry Rothschild, at the age of forty-five, joined the Marion Light Artillery in spring 1864. Forty-one-year-old Abraham Forcheimer of Pensacola entered a Mobile, Alabama-based reserve unit for older men. Aron Davis, listed as a Jackson County laborer, enlisted as late as April 1864 at the age of twenty-two and deserted before the end of the year.

As previously indicated, the April 1862 conscription act authorized the controversial practice of permitting the potential draftee to obtain release from service by presenting a substitute. The substitutes were recruited from among men outside the conscription age range. The prospective soldier and the potential substitute privately negotiated the price. Over time, as a brokerage market evolved, the fees demanded by substitutes escalated, leaving this exemption available only to the wealthy. The pool of potential substitutes shrank in 1862 when

Confederate conscription law of April 16, 1862.
(Public Laws of the Confederate States of America,
ed. James M. Matthews, 1862.)

the Confederate Congress raised the age limit for conscription from thirty-five to forty-five.

Nine Jewish Floridians, along with seventy thousand southern men, presented substitutes to their regiments.³⁴ Six of the Jewish Florida men (Joseph Blumauer, Simon Katzenberg, Morris G. Joseph, Philip Fleishman, Ferdinand Fleishman, and Moses Strause) were merchants with substantial real and personal property, confirming the suspicion that furnishing substitutes was a privilege reserved for the prosperous. The others were young men presumably financed by well-to-do relatives, such as Jacob Gardner, son of Lewis Gardner, a prosperous butcher, and Jacob Triest, son of Myer Triest, a successful merchant. Herman Burgheim lived with Julius ("John") Burgheim, a wealthy Starke merchant, who was probably a brother or cousin.³⁵

Merchants and tradesmen who furnished substitutes, served in home guard units, or found ways to avoid service often continued to conduct business with the Confederate military. At least seventeen Jewish merchants listed in Florida's 1860 census sold beef, hides, leather, and a wide range of equipment sought by the Confederate authorities. Simon Katzenberg, in particular, engaged in extensive trade with the army.³⁶

The War Experience

For those Florida Jews who did enlist, service records reflect the full range of possible wartime experiences. Twenty-year-old Samuel Grant fell in action at Perryville in October 1862. Captured at Chattanooga, Leo Kleinbauer died on a Union surgeon's operating table. Simon Fleishman and Simon Straus were captured at the battle of Missionary Ridge, Tennessee, in November 1863 and languished in northern prisons until the Confederate surrender. Seligman Davis, who rose in the ranks from private to second lieutenant, was also taken prisoner, but his northern captors positioned him outside Charleston as a human shield.

Not all soldiers compiled glorious records. Many defied the narrative of universal Jewish patriotism and sacrifice constructed by Simon Wolf and other early historians. In an army rife with

*The battle of Perryville, Kentucky, October 8, 1862, where Morris Dzialynski was wounded and Samuel Grant was killed.
Lithograph by H. Mosler. (Harper's Weekly, November 1, 1862.)*

desertion, several Florida Jews took the “French leave.” Others, after capture, willingly took an oath of loyalty to the Union.³⁷

Men with families were much less likely to risk their lives for the Confederacy. The reluctance of such Jewish men to serve in the military is striking. Only four of twenty-five military-aged Jewish Floridians identified in the 1860 census as married men with children enlisted in regular regiments; three of them furnished substitutes. The fourth, Mordecai Hyams, was discharged from his unit in April 1862 to work as a military pharmacist.³⁸ Although there are no figures for the percentage of married men with children from the South enlisting overall, a sense that substantial numbers of them did enlist is evident from the statistic that 31 percent of Army of Northern Virginia (ANV) soldiers had children.³⁹

Although most were recent immigrants, Florida’s Jewish soldiers enjoyed a surprisingly high level of financial security. Nearly one-quarter (23 percent) accumulated sufficient resources

Fort Clinch, Fernandina, Florida, c. 1861, where the Fernandina Volunteers were inducted into military service. (Library of Congress.)

to reach the threshold of \$4,000 combined real and personal property that Joseph Glatthaar designated as a cutoff for the wealthy or upper class.⁴⁰ But even the wealthiest Floridian Jew to enlist, South Carolina-born Dr. Jacob Cohen of Fernandina, did not approach the level of southerners whose fortunes rested on cotton plantations and slaves. This relatively affluent group was older than their less prosperous fellow Jews, with an average birth year of 1827, and did not have particularly distinguished service records. Five men furnished substitutes, and five more served only in home guard or militia units. Other wealthy men included Henry M. Rothschild—the last Jewish man to enlist in a Florida unit—and Elias Yulee, the oldest to enlist, who resigned his officer's commission in September 1862. One wealthy soldier, Adolphus Rosenthal, died from wounds received in combat.

Fourteen soldiers (25 percent) belonged to the middle class, with \$800 to \$4,000 of property. This group was seven years younger on average than the wealthier class and included more men who remained in Florida after the war. Like the wealthy group, the middle class supplied one man who died in combat.

Ostensibly the remaining soldiers (52 percent) were without property, but fourteen of these "poor" men resided in wealthy Jewish homes, and an additional six lived in middle-class households.⁴¹ Overall, 48 percent of Florida's Jewish soldiers were wealthy or lived in wealthy households compared to 19 percent of the general United States population. Twenty-eight percent lived in poor households, in contrast to 51 percent of all Americans.⁴²

The reasons why Jewish service rates were lower than those of non-Jewish, American-born southerners are open to speculation. Civil War historians have increasingly emphasized the defense of slavery as the heart of the secessionists' cause and as a leading motivation for Confederate soldiers.⁴³ Yet Morris Joseph, who furnished a substitute after a few months' service, was the only Florida enlistee who owned slaves. Henry Rothschild, a Savannah, Georgia, resident who joined a Florida regiment, owned one slave. In contrast, 14 percent of soldiers in Lee's army held slaves. Although 16 percent of Jewish soldiers from Florida owned or lived with family members who owned slaves, almost 40 percent of soldiers in Lee's ANV lived in slave-owning households.⁴⁴ Jacob Triest, Herman Burgheim, and brothers Marcus and Rodolph Lyons offer examples of Jewish soldiers whose parents owned slaves.⁴⁵

Historians have traditionally considered Jews of the antebellum South too quiescent to publicly oppose slavery, but anecdotal evidence exists of principled opposition to slavery among Florida Jews.⁴⁶ Emmaline Oentz Miley, of Hillsborough County, mother of soldiers David and Samuel Miley, is reported to have banned slavery from her household as a condition of her marriage to William G. Miley, a non-Jew. Max White (born Weiss), who worked in stores in Tampa and Key West on the eve of war and who did not enlist, recalled in his memoir that he "did not like the Slavery of the black people in the South." Writing decades later, White reported, "I expressed myself in favor of Emancipation of Slavery so I got myself in great trouble I almost got killed for it before I found out how strong they were for Slavery of the Negro."⁴⁷ German immigrants living in the

South generally had a reputation for opposition to slavery, and some were persecuted for these principles.⁴⁸

Battle eventually claimed the lives of five, and possibly six, of Florida's Jewish Confederate soldiers. This roll of honor corresponded to the combat-related death rate of 12 percent estimated for American-born Confederates. German-born Abraham Ellinger, the first Jewish Floridian to perish, lived in Lake City, Florida, where he was remembered as a saloon keeper and "social, jovial, fellow of convivial habits who had the goodwill of everyone in town." Ellinger enlisted in July 1861 in the Second Florida Infantry and received a promotion to first sergeant. He was killed at the battle of Williamsburg, Virginia, on May 5, 1862.⁴⁹

Ellinger's death was followed five months later by the combat death of twenty-year-old Corporal Samuel Grant at the battle of Perryville. Leopold Adler died at Chickamauga, Georgia, in September 1863. Corporal Leo Kleinbauer was shot in the chest at Chattanooga. Adolphus Rosenthal had worked with his brother Joseph in a Fernandina store before the war. Shot in the foot at the battle of Spotsylvania Court House in Virginia on May 12, 1864, Rosenthal was taken to the home of a Jewish family in Richmond, Virginia. He refused to allow a surgeon to amputate his foot and soon showed signs of blood poisoning. The Semon family daughter, Rachel, wrote that she and Adolph intended to marry after his recovery, and in a series of poignant letters she described Adolph's suffering. Following the Jewish folk custom, Adolph was given a new name to ward off the angel of death, but he passed away on May 27, 1864. Rachel assured his brother Joseph that Adolph "died a good Jew."⁵⁰

Seven Jewish Floridians survived battle wounds, and seven more were hospitalized for illness. Only Samuel Leopold, who died in a Virginia hospital from typhoid fever early in the war, is reported to have succumbed to disease in military service, compared to more than 12 percent of ANV soldiers. Three men were discharged for health reasons. Harris Berlack received a surgeon's certificate of disability in February 1862, five months after enlisting in the Second Florida Cavalry. Marcus Lyons

*Florida State Monument, Chickamauga National Battlefield, Virginia,
This monument was erected in 1913 to honor Florida soldiers who died there on
September 19–20, 1863. There were probably more Jewish soldiers from Florida
present at Chickamauga than at any other Civil War battle.*

One, Leopold Adler, was killed there.

(Photo by user Lat34North, www.waymarking.com.)

resigned his officer's commission because of chronic ill health but reenlisted in an Alabama unit late in the war. Carl M. Yulee, son of Elias Yulee and nephew of Senator David Yulee, was discharged for insanity in late 1862 and confined to an asylum.⁵¹

Desertion was common in the Confederate military and more pronounced among foreigners than among American-born soldiers. Glatthaar reports that foreigners deserted Lee's army at a rate of 26 percent compared to 14 percent for American-born southerners. This statistic provides strong evidence of foreigners' more complicated motivations and weaker commitment to risking their lives for the Confederacy. Seven or eight Florida Jews (no more than 19 percent) deserted their units.⁵² Sometimes desertion was consistent with the soldier's previous signals of reluctance to fight. In 1860 Aaron Davis, born in Prussia in 1842, was a laborer living in the Jackson County home of Jewish merchant Aaron Barnett. Davis resisted enlisting until he joined Company E of the Fifth Battalion Florida Cavalry on April 1, 1864. He deserted eight months later. Aaron Barnett deserted a Columbus, Georgia, home guard unit in Memphis. David Greenfield delayed enlistment until he joined the Fourth Battalion of Florida Infantry in May 1863 and then deserted at Tallahassee in February 1864.

Twenty-six percent of Florida's Jewish soldiers were taken prisoner by the Union during the war, compared to fewer than 5 percent of ANV soldiers. Many Florida Jewish soldiers, however, served in the western theater, and the ANV numbers may not be a reliable comparison. Captivity ended the war for these ten Jewish prisoners, including five men captured at the battle of Missionary Ridge in November 1863.⁵³

Several Jewish prisoners of war sought release from captivity in northern prisons by offering to pledge allegiance to the United States and even volunteering to fight for the Union. After enduring years of combat with the Fourth Florida Infantry and extended illness, Samuel Herman was captured in Georgia in May 1864. Herman tried to win an early exit from prison by offering to join the Union army. Rejected, he took the oath of allegiance and gained release in late October. After surviving combat, wounds, and the horrors of Civil War hospitalization, Hermann Hirsch was

captured in September 1864. He applied for release by claiming that he was loyal to the Union but had been conscripted—a lie considering Hirsch’s early date of enlistment. Hirsch, too, took an oath of allegiance and gained early release from prison. After eighteen months with the Sixth Florida Infantry, Simon Straus was shot and captured at the battle of Missionary Ridge. Straus argued that he should be released on the grounds that his home was in the North and that he was the sole support of his widowed mother. Straus’s plea was rejected, but he settled in Chicago after the war.⁵⁴

Like Simon Straus, many of Florida’s Civil War-era Jews demonstrated that their ties to the South were weak or temporary. More than 90 percent of Jewish Floridians were immigrants, most of whom had arrived in New York and had spent time in the North before moving to Florida. As Anton Hieke verifies, mid-nineteenth century Jews came to the South—and Florida—from all over the United States for business opportunity or to follow family members who had arrived earlier. After settling in the South, Florida’s Jews continued to maintain strong family and business ties to the North. Merchants visited New York regularly to purchase stock or arrange financing. Several men claimed northern residences in various documents. Others had connections to more distant parts of the United States. For example, Robert Williams and Joseph Blumauer had lived on the West Coast before settling in Florida. Hieke refers to this pattern of movement as “trans-regional mobility” and argues for taking it into consideration when discussing southern and Confederate identity.⁵⁵

As merchants with mobile stock, unencumbered by acres of land or numerous slaves, many Jews—unlike their farmer neighbors—could contemplate closing their shops, selling their stock, and leaving the South, an often-voiced criticism at the time.⁵⁶ Bavarian Samuel Fleishman, for example, arrived in the Apalachicola River valley in the early 1850s and eventually established stores and owned property in various locations in that area. He became subject to conscription after the age ceiling was raised to forty-five in late 1862. His relatives in nearby Gadsden

County, Ferdinand and Philip Fleishman, had furnished substitutes, but Samuel Fleishman was either unwilling or unable to take advantage of that exemption. Nor did he enlist like family members Benjamin and Simon Fleishman, who both compiled distinguished war records. Instead, Samuel Fleishman transferred title to some of his property to his wife and then, in late 1862 or early 1863, departed for New York City, where he worked in his in-laws' lower Broadway shop. Fleishman returned to Florida and his family after the war.⁵⁷

Several others left the wartime South under various circumstances. Lewis Kohn, likely a peddler plying routes in Alabama and Florida, enlisted in September 1862. Assigned to duty at the Tallahassee hospital, Kohn deserted in early 1864, determined "to go to New York to his relations." A letter of introduction addressed to an army officer in Union-occupied Key West, Florida, described Kohn as "an exemplary young man . . . unfortunate enough to reach Apalachicola just before the commencement of the war."⁵⁸ Isaac Ehrlich, a Prussian immigrant, joined the Jacksonville Light Infantry during the secession crisis but managed to avoid further service. Ehrlich moved to Madison County, Florida, where he married in March 1863. When conscripted, he left for Savannah and in June 1864 "escaped into the lines of the Union army."⁵⁹ Decades later, Harris Berlack recalled having tired "of the way things were going" during the war and leading his family through Virginia and on an adventurous crossing of the Potomac River to get to New York. Charles Slager, a prominent merchant from Ocala, spent most of the war trading with the federal army behind Union lines in Beaufort, South Carolina. Teenager Jacob Dressner survived a dramatic escape to Union ships off the coast of New Smyrna, Florida, that took him to New York. Tallahassee merchant Newman Leopold arrived in Union-controlled Key West after his schooner was taken by a Union ship in July 1862. Leopold promptly swore an oath of allegiance and applied for a permit to go to New York. Merchants Joseph Isenburg and Emanuel Schwarz and clerk Henry Landecker settled permanently in the North during the war.⁶⁰

One man who departed for the North met a tragic end. Twenty-seven years old when the war started, Ferdinand Fleishman was already a successful merchant in Quincy, Florida, where he and Philip Fleishman opened a store supplied with stock purchased from Samuel Fleishman. Ferdinand traveled regularly between Florida and New York, where he filed a passport application in June 1861. He then returned to his wife, children, and business in Quincy. Ferdinand presented a substitute in May 1862 and again departed for the North, escaping via Key West. Fleishman complained that he received little help from his New York family and connections. He ended up in Cincinnati, where the *American Israelite* reported his suicide in July 1864.⁶¹

Antisemitism in Civil War Florida

The perception of low enlistment by German and Jewish immigrants drew the attention and ire of Florida officials. In 1860 attorney Robert Hilton roomed in the Tallahassee home of Abraham Feuchtwanger, sharing the household with Lewis Ohlman and William Wolf, both young German immigrants. Elected to the Confederate Congress, Hilton followed a colleague's harangue against Jews on the House floor with his own complaints about "foreigners [who] should be dragged in military service." He blamed price inflation and currency devaluation on Jews "who flocked as vultures to every point of gain." Since two of his former housemates, Feuchtwanger and Wolf, served the Confederacy at the time of Hilton's speech, Hilton apparently spoke more from preconceived prejudice than from actual observation.⁶²

Hilton was not alone among Florida officials in his suspicions of Jewish commitment to the Confederate cause. Commenting on the phenomenon of blockade-runners trading cotton in league with northern business interests, Florida's Governor John Milton complained that "southern partners—men of northern birth or vile Jews professing to supply the people of the South" were corrupting guileless southerners. Later, Milton did not specifically mention service-evading Germans and Jews but probably had

these groups in mind when he urged state legislators to organize new units consisting of those not already in the Confederate service, including “those who have resided in the state five days, those who are or may be in it one hour for the purpose of speculation, and not excluding those who may claim to be aliens.”⁶³

Milton, a prosperous plantation owner from Jackson County in the Florida Panhandle, would have known many of the nineteen German-born adult men living and working in the Apalachicola River valley. His possible awareness that only six of these immigrants enlisted may have contributed to the governor’s resentment of “aliens.” Among these six, however, Jewish merchants Benjamin and Simon Fleishman, watchmaker Simon Straus, and clerk Seligman Davis compiled impressive military records.

The criticism and insinuations coming from Milton and Hilton echoed typically “covert” southern antisemitism and suspicions about Jewish fidelity to the South. Evidence of such attitudes is found in the R. G. Dun & Co. reports, which offered a confidential assessment of Jewish merchants’ character and creditworthiness. Dun’s Florida correspondents filled their Civil War and Reconstruction-era reports with snide and denigrating descriptions of “tricky,” “shrewd,” and undependable “wandering Jews.” Dun reports repeatedly implied that should business falter, Jewish merchants, with few ties to their Florida communities, might abruptly disappear and defraud creditors. Despite this atmosphere of mistrust and muted hostility, there exists no record of violence or retribution against Jewish or German immigrants in Florida during the Civil War.⁶⁴

*After the War: Florida’s Jews
and Reconstruction*

The war ended for Florida with the surrender of Confederate forces at Tallahassee on May 10, 1865, one month after Robert E. Lee’s surrender at Appomattox. The experiences of Florida’s Jewish Civil War soldiers in the years immediately following the war were as varied as their service records during the conflict.

Some returned to Florida to rejoin or establish new families and rebuild or found new businesses. Several fostered the nascent Jewish institutions in postwar Florida. After his service discharge for disability in 1862 and his wartime flight north, Harris Berlack moved back to Jacksonville, where he helped found Congregation Ahavath Chesed. Jacob Burkheim married Dora Dzialynski. The Burkheims' large family lived in various places throughout Florida, including Tallahassee, where Burkheim taught Sunday school, and later Jacksonville. After his discharge from the army, Julius Slager entered into a business partnership with Philip Dzialynski in Savannah. Slager soon returned to Jacksonville, married, and worked as an insurance agent and auctioneer. In the 1880s Slager was president of Ahavath Chesed and secretary of the Jacksonville B'nai B'rith lodge. Robert Simon Williams, married to yet another Dzialynski, Helena, carried a Torah scroll to Tallahassee, where he remained a pillar of the organized Jewish community for years.⁶⁵

*Simon Fleishman's headstone
in Chicago's Zion Gardens
Cemetery indicates his
service in Company B of
Florida's Sixth Regiment.
(Contributor SixthSense,
www.findagrave.com.)*

Economic opportunity and family ties continued to motivate returning soldiers and deserters to return to or depart from Florida. Lewis Kohn, who fled to New York, became a successful businessman in Pensacola. Simon Fleishman returned from wartime captivity to Gadsden County, where he became a promi-

ment businessman with his own building on Quincy's town square.

Several Jews who left Florida became successful businessmen in neighboring southern states. David Greenfield became a wealthy Albany, Georgia, merchant and real estate investor.⁶⁶ Samuel Herman founded the Herman Coal and Wood Co. and an auction commission business in Savannah. Aaron Davis turned up as a merchant in Bainbridge, Georgia, in 1870 and, after his 1870 wedding in Eufala, Alabama, returned to Florida before taking his wife and four children to Texas. Jacob Kazminski and his wife Bertha moved to Richmond, Virginia, where they operated a restaurant. Herman Hirsch remembered the attractive Jewish daughters of the Lehman family in whose Mobile, Alabama, home he recuperated from wounds suffered at Murfreesboro. Captured at Jonesboro, Georgia, and then obtaining an early release in December, Hirsch returned to Mobile to find Caroline, his favored Lehman girl, already married. He then married Caroline's sister, Eliza, and settled in Albany, Georgia, where Hirsch prospered as a merchant.⁶⁷

Other veterans left Florida for the North or West Coast. Abraham Feuchtwanger settled his family in Michigan, where he died in 1891. Philip Fleishman, a prosperous merchant who had supplied a substitute, moved to New York City after the October 1869 murder of his relative Samuel Fleishman. Joseph Blumauer had lived in San Francisco before coming to Florida. Following brief military service, Blumauer returned with his family to the Pacific Northwest, where he joined his four brothers. The Gump brothers of Apalachicola moved to San Francisco, where they established the luxury goods store whose catalog still bears their family name. Herman Burgheim worked at making cigars in Cincinnati.

Just as many Florida Jews had not fully embraced the cause of the Confederacy, those who remained in the state often deviated from the Democratic Party and from southern white racial and political solidarity after the war. Morris Dzialynski, who won a seat on the Jacksonville City Council in 1868, may have been the only Florida Jew elected to public office as a Democrat during the

period of Republican control over Florida from 1868 through 1874. Florida's Jewish Reconstruction-era officeholders often affiliated with Florida's new Republican Party, which was dominated by "carpetbaggers" from the North and newly enfranchised blacks. Many encountered violent reactions from other whites. Simon Katzenberg became an active Republican, culminating in his 1868 election as a "scalawag" state senator for Madison County. He also received the federally controlled appointment as Madison County postmaster and served as chairman of the county board of education. Katzenberg's store burned in 1868, allegedly set on fire "by arsonists who disagreed with his policy of selling goods to local Negroes."⁶⁸

Although a Confederate veteran, Marcus Brendt received an appointment as a federal cotton tax inspector in Hernando County. Brendt uncovered collusion between white planters and freedmen who attempted to evade the cotton tax. He was murdered on July 5, 1868, at his store, "his head split open by an axe."⁶⁹ Isidore Blumenthal, a Union army veteran, established several businesses in the Tampa area, including a sawmill. The Grant administration appointed Blumenthal to the coveted post of collector of customs at Cedar Keys, Florida, in October 1873. Embattled by local opponents who sought to drive him from office with accusations of financial impropriety, Blumenthal reminded the Grant administration that since his arrival in Florida he had been a member and "special agent" of Florida's Republican Party executive committee. Blumenthal resigned his post at Cedar Keys in November 1874 but soon received the position of collector of customs at St. Marks, Florida, replacing Herman Levy.⁷⁰ Samuel Fleishman never held office, but he was shot in October 1869 for his association with the Freedmen's Bureau and Jackson County Republicans. Regulators had accused Fleishman of urging blacks to retaliate violently against whites.⁷¹

Other Jewish Republican appointees in Florida enjoyed less turbulent tenures. Veteran Benjamin Fleishman returned from captivity in May 1865 to resume business activities in the area of Gadsden and Jackson Counties. He served briefly as a county treasurer, evidence that he associated with Republicans during

Reconstruction. Jacob Burkheim became an officer in Jacksonville's "White Republican" political clubs, taking a different political path from his brother-in-law Morris Dzialynski.⁷² Charles Slager, who had left for the North during the war, was appointed postmaster at Tampa in 1871, an office he had held before the war at another Florida location.

There are no reports of Jewish Floridians participating in the KKK-like Regulator cells that sprouted across Reconstruction Florida. With few exceptions, Jewish Democratic officeholders began to surface only in the years after white "redemption" of the state. The Dzialynski brothers received appointments from Governor G. F. Drew when the Democrats took back the statehouse in 1877. Several Jewish newcomers to Florida were elected to local office as Democrats, including Henry Brash and Herman Glogowski as mayors of Marianna and Tampa, respectively.⁷³ Louis Witkovski, a one-armed veteran of the famed Louisiana Tigers regiment, moved after the war to Starke, Florida, where he won election as mayor and as a Bradford County commissioner. Jacob Burkheim may have allied with the Republicans, but his daughter and Dzialynski in-laws fully embraced the Democratic Party and "the Lost Cause." Burkheim's daughter joined the Gainesville United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), volunteering for a committee in 1905 to decorate the graves of Jewish veterans. Gertrude Dzialynski, daughter of Philip Dzialynski, also was active in the UDC, despite her father's having no known Confederate service record. Morris Dzialynski joined a committee of Jacksonville veterans and sons of veterans established to raise funds for a proposed memorial "to the Women of the Confederacy."⁷⁴

Wartime hesitation and veiled insinuations of disloyalty did not haunt Florida's Jewish community. After the war, the community enjoyed economic and social cooperation with their non-Jewish neighbors and suffered from the same suspicions that had characterized their prewar experience. The composition of the community, however, changed rapidly. Fewer than 20 percent of the Jews living in the state in 1860 can be identified in Florida in

1870 or after, including just fourteen of the Jewish Confederate soldiers. The percentage of Jews remaining in Florida, which is lower than Hieke's figures for Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, supports Hieke's findings of a general internal migration pattern. As Florida's Jewish population grew rapidly – doubling to four hundred in 1870 and rising to six hundred by 1880—Jewish Florida continued to be comprised largely of newcomers to the state and recent immigrants from Europe.⁷⁵

By 1880 Morris Dzialynski's wartime interlude in New York was unknown, forgotten, or deemed inconsequential in rapidly evolving Jacksonville. After their wedding, Morris Dzialynski and his wife Rosa returned to Florida and settled in Jacksonville, near fellow Jewish Confederate veterans and relations Harris Berlack and Julius Slager. Morris Dzialynski prospered as a merchant and busied himself with religious and secular communal affairs. He helped found Congregation Ahavath Chesed and served as its first president. He also made significant contributions to the development of Jacksonville, organizing the fire department and holding the offices of president of the city council and county treasurer. He won election as mayor of Jacksonville as a Democrat in 1881 and 1882. For the last dozen years of his life, Dzialynski served as a municipal judge, enjoying a reputation for integrity, sound judgment, and bonhomie. He died on May 5, 1907, after a stroke suffered at a baseball game. He was sixty-five years old and had survived his wife, Rosa, by two years. Dzialynski's body lay in state in Jacksonville's city hall, and both Jews and Christians attended the memorial service at the synagogue he had led. Obituaries recalled Dzialynski's public service, "noble deeds and loving kindnesses," and, not least, his "record as a Confederate veteran."⁷⁶

Conclusion

The prosperity and acceptance enjoyed by Morris Dzialynski and the Jewish businessmen and small-town officeholders of Gilded-Age Florida belie the ambiguity of the Jewish situation during the Civil War and Reconstruction eras. Almost all immigrants, Florida's Jewish men were forced into choices about

loyalty and identity when expected to sacrifice for a cause many could not perceive as their own. While a number of Jewish men enthusiastically joined Confederate regiments, others made the logical, reasoned, and understandable choice to defer military service or avoid enlistment, even going so far as leaving their homes and businesses in the South. Jewish volunteers served valiantly, but many, like their southern-born comrades, grew disillusioned and war-weary over time.

Jewish researchers and scholars, often filiopietistic or insecure in the face of southern white solidarity and Lost Cause ideology, have simplified the complexities of the southern Jewish situation to present a narrative of Jewish embrace of the Confederacy. In truth, many Florida Jews defied wartime southern expectations of conformity. Christian neighbors, in turn, continued quietly to question Jewish immigrants' commitment to their state and region during and immediately after the Civil War. Collectively, these findings raise questions about the degree to which nineteenth-century Florida Jews developed a distinct southern Jewish identity. As the Civil War sesquicentennial draws to its close, the time has arrived to examine and reassess the complex and nuanced Jewish response to the Confederacy and its cause.

NOTES

The author wishes to thank Anton Hieke and Canter Brown, Jr., for their advice and encouragement in the preparation of this article. The author and editors are also grateful to Dr. Hieke for his help in sorting out the difficulties of identifying German, Polish, and Prussian regions of central Europe.

¹ The provinces of Posen and West Prussia had a largely Polish population and were joined to Prussia with the partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century. To avoid confusion with the modern Polish city of Poznań, I am using the German name for the Polish province, Posen.

² Canter Brown, Jr., "Philip and Morris Dzialynski: Jewish Contributions to the Rebuilding of the South," *American Jewish Archives* 44 (1992): 519, 522; "Morris Dzialynski," Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers, National Archives, RG 109 (hereafter

cited as CSR), www.fold3.com, accessed April 15, 2014. For the history of Florida regiments serving in the Civil War's western theater, see Jonathan C. Sheppard, *By the Noble Daring of Her Sons: The Florida Brigade of the Army of Tennessee* (Tuscaloosa, 2012). The story of Florida regiments in the Virginia theater is ably told in Zack C. Waters, *A Small but Spartan Band: The Florida Brigade in Lee's Army of Northern Virginia* (Tuscaloosa, 2010).

³ Sheppard, *Noble Daring*, 90, 96, 107.

⁴ Brown, "Dzialynski," 522; J. J. Dickison, *Confederate Military History* (Atlanta, 1899), 11:258; Rowland Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta, 1902), 1:520. Although Dickison and Rerick published biographical profiles of Dzialynski within three years of each other and during Dzialynski's lifetime, their accounts are contradictory about the extent and success of Dzialynski's blockade-running service. Dickison notes five successful blockade runs, whereas Rerick identifies none. Remaining in New York, Dzialynski does not appear to have been a "land blockade runner" making clandestine trips north to bring back goods to sell in the South. In contrast, see the story of Heyman Herzberg in Steven Hertzberg, *Strangers Within the Gate City: The Jews of Atlanta, 1845–1915* (Philadelphia, 1978), 26.

⁵ Bertram W. Korn, "The Jews of the Confederacy," *American Jewish Archives* 13 (1961): 4; Robert Rosen, *The Jewish Confederates* (Columbia, SC, 2000), xi, 14, 47–48. Ella Lonn claimed that southern Jews were "foremost among all the foreign element in advocacy of secession" and had entered the Confederate military with "alacrity and cheerfulness" demonstrating "the sincerity of their devotion to the Southern cause . . . favorably noted" by their gentile neighbors. Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, rev. ed. (1940; Chapel Hill, 2002), 36. Adam Mendelsohn explains that starting in the late nineteenth century Jewish writing about the Civil War was motivated by a defensive insistence on proving to non-Jews as well as to members of the Jewish community that American Jews were patriotically committed to the Union or the Confederacy, depending on their region. After the sectional reconciliation of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, writers presented the service of Jewish Johnny Rebs as further evidence of Jewish American patriotism equally deserving of celebration as the contributions of Jewish Billy Yanks. Research into Jewish Civil War participation became more scholarly and attracted academically trained historians only after War World II. Adam Mendelsohn, "Introduction," in *Jews and the Civil War: A Reader*, ed. Jonathan D. Sarna and Adam Mendelsohn (New York, 2011), 2–17. For trends in southern Jewish historiography, see Mark K. Bauman, "A Century of Southern Jewish Historiography," *American Jewish Archives* 59 (2007): 3–77.

⁶ Anton Hieke, *Jewish Identity in the Reconstruction South: Ambivalence and Adaptation* (Boston and Berlin, 2013), 182.

⁷ Mark K. Bauman, *The Southerner as American: Jewish Style* (Cincinnati, 1996), 5–30, argues that "Jews in the South were influenced by the regional subculture in a relatively marginal fashion." See also Hieke, *Jewish Identity*, 2, 197–200, 307–308.

⁸ For the history of early Jewish settlement in Florida, see Henry Green and Marcia K. Zerivitz, *Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida, 1763–1990* (Miami, FL, 1991), 9–12; Samuel Proctor, "Pioneer Jewish Settlement in Florida, 1764–1900," *Proceedings of the Conference on the Writing of Regional History in the South* (New York, 1956). Other scholarly works that devote

substantial attention to Florida's mid-nineteenth century Jewish community, excluding those devoted primarily to Moses Levy or his son David Yulee, are Canter Brown, Jr., *Jewish Pioneers of the Tampa Bay Frontier* (Tampa, FL, 1999); Canter Brown, Jr., "Philip and Morris Dzialynski: Jewish Contributors to Rebuilding the South," *American Jewish Archives* 44 (1992): 517-540; Brown, "A Prussian-born Jewish Woman on the Florida Frontier: Excerpts from the Memoir of Bertha Zadek Dzialynski," *Southern Jewish History* 7 (2004): 109-154; Mark I. Greenberg, "Tampa Mayor Herman Glogowski: Jewish Leadership in Gilded-Age Florida," in *Florida's Heritage of Diversity*, ed. Mark I. Greenberg, William Warren Rogers, and Canter Brown, Jr. (Tallahassee, FL, 1997); Rachel Heimovics and Marcia K. Zerivitz, *The Florida Jewish Heritage Trail* (Tallahassee, FL, 2000); Richard E. Sapon-White, "A Polish Jew on the Florida Frontier and in Occupied Tennessee: Excerpts from the Memoir of Max White," *Southern Jewish History* 4 (2001): 93-122; and Daniel R. Weinfeld, "Samuel Fleishman: Tragedy in Reconstruction-Era Florida," *Southern Jewish History* 8 (2005): 31-76.

⁹ In December 1860, a correspondent for the *American Israelite* reported finding fifteen Jews in Tallahassee and others "in Apalachicola, St. Augustine, Aspalaga, Jacksonville, Lake City, Madison, Pensacola, Quincy, Monticello, Ridderville (Liberty County), Campelton [sic], Fernandina, Tampa Bay, Hawkinsville, Chattahoochee and several other small places." Yael Herbsman, *Index to Florida Jewish History in the American Israelite, 1854-1900* (Gainesville, FL, 1992), 20; Green and Zerivitz, *Mosaic*, 12.

¹⁰ Samuel Proctor correctly estimated that the entire Jewish population of Florida on the eve of the Civil War was approximately two hundred. Samuel Proctor, "Foreword," in Herbsman, *Index to Florida Jewish History*, ix.

¹¹ This classification according to origin largely follows Hieke's method in *Jewish Identity*. Hieke's investigation shows that in 1860, the 862 adult Jews in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia were comprised of 303 German immigrants (35 percent); 325 non-German immigrants, primarily from Prussian and Russian Poland (38 percent); and 234 U.S.-born (27 percent). The last number is skewed by the large American-born Jewish population in Charleston. Florida's Jewish community closely resembled the similarly small Jewish community of North Carolina. Hieke, *Jewish Identity*, 33-37.

Few attempts have been made to identify the Jewish population of entire states through census material. The definition of "German Jews" and "Polish Jews," which is essential for the study of mid-nineteenth-century Jewish immigration, relies on places of birth as presented in census returns. For historical and cultural reasons outlined in the most recent comparable study available, this article follows Hieke's definition: "'German Jews' [are] those who were born in later member states of the (lesser) German Empire [since 1871] with a German majority population." In Prussia, some 40 percent of all Jews lived in the formerly Polish provinces of Posen and West Prussia. They are defined as "Prussian Polish." In cases when it is impossible to identify the origin more specifically than "Prussia," immigrants might either be from German-language territories or Polish ones. For this reason, they were not considered as Germans but are shown in a separate classification as "Prussians." Immigrants from Prussian Poland or Russian Poland often

stated "Poland" as their origin in the census returns, even though no such political entity existed at the time. Thus "Germany" and "Poland" as used here refer to sociocultural entities, not political units. See Hieke, *Jewish Identity*, 17–22.

¹² For purposes of this article, eastern and central Europe are limited to the German states, Austria, Poland, Russia, and Hungary. Both Ancestry.com and FamilySearch.org allow filtering of 1860 census data by location, year, and place of birth.

¹³ Author's correspondence with Anton Hieke, 2013–2014. Herbsman's index of Florida references in the *American Israelite* is an essential resource for tracing late-nineteenth-century Jewish communal affiliation and social relationships in Florida.

¹⁴ By 1860, Florida's handful of Sephardic families retained a tenuous connection to Florida and to their religion. The Moses family had left Apalachicola in 1850 after a decade of settlement on the Panhandle coast and prospered in Civil War-era Georgia. Morocco-born Moses Levy, the most famous Jew in territorial Florida, was devoted to his faith. After Levy's death in 1854, however, his two sons, Senator David Yulee and Elias Yulee, shed any public identification with their Jewish heritage. Older brother Elias embraced the Christian Swedenborgian sect. David Yulee may not have been baptized, but he "attended church and adhered to Christian religious dogma, married a Christian woman and allowed his children to be raised as Christians." Hieke, *Jewish Identity*, 18–19; Chris Monaco, *Moses Levy of Florida: Jewish Utopian and Antebellum Reformer* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2005), 143–44; Maurice I. Wiseman, "Railroad Baron, Fire-Eater, and the 'Alien Jew': The Life and Memory of David Levy Yulee" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 2011), 78–79.

¹⁵ These findings largely correspond with Hieke's identification for Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Hieke, *Jewish Identity*, 89–99.

¹⁶ For Jewish mid-nineteenth-century "transregional mobility," see Hieke, *Jewish Identity*, 65–69, 182–194; Anton Hieke, "The Transregional Mobility of Jews from Macon, Ga., 1860–1880," *American Jewish History* 97 (2013): 21–38.

¹⁷ Governor M. S. Perry wrote on November 22, 1858, that "[with] the exception perhaps of one or two volunteer companies, there is no organized militia in this State." Jacob Burkheim appears among the members of the Jacksonville Light Infantry militia company organized in April 1859. *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, at its Ninth Session* (Tallahassee, FL, 1858), 27; Thomas F. Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, FL, 1911), 141. See also Richard Martin, "Defeat in Victory: Yankee Experience in Early Civil War Jacksonville," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 53 (July 1974): 4n13, which corrects Davis's error in the militia's founding date.

¹⁸ More attention has been paid to Jewish soldiers, such as South Carolina's Col. Abraham Myers, who participated in the Seminole Wars in Florida, than to Florida's Civil War soldiers and their families.

¹⁹ The Fernandina Volunteers militia unit was organized in December 1860. A Fernandina newspaper reported that the unit "embraces among its members many of our oldest and most influential citizens. . . . We learn that their services have been tendered

unconditionally to the Governor. They are ready and await the word." The Jacksonville Light Infantry was noted for its elaborate uniforms and "silk battle flag bearing the slogan 'Let Us Alone.' Muster Roll of Fernandina Volunteers, c. 1860-1861," http://www.floridamemory.com/exhibits/floridahighlights/fort_clinch, accessed April 4, 2014; Sheppard, *Noble Daring*, 18-19.

²⁰ To encompass the full range of ages subject to Confederate conscription by war's end, military age is defined here as men ranging from thirteen to forty-six years old in the 1860 census. While Florida's military-aged population is based on census data, the accuracy of the estimate of fifteen thousand Florida soldiers is open to question. The number is first found in an 1890 letter from Florida's Adjutant General David Lang to the United Confederate Veterans, without supporting documentation or further details. Lang did not state whether his estimate included home guard units or the thousand or more Floridians who joined Union regiments. Thomas Livermore, however, concludes that "substantially the entire military population of the Confederate States not exempted by law were enrolled in the army." Considering that about 8 percent of military-aged men received exemptions, Livermore's calculations support the argument that more than 90 percent of southern men of military age served. *Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans* (New Orleans, 1892), 139; Thomas L. Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861-1865* (Boston, 1900), 20-21, 23, 25. See also Aaron Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought: Family and Nation in Civil War Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 2007), 2. Sheehan-Dean calculates that Virginia mobilized 90 percent of its men living in areas controlled by the Confederacy. For Florida Civil War soldiers generally, see David Coles and David Hartman, *Biographical Rosters of Florida's Confederate and Union Soldiers 1861-1865* (Wilmington, NC, 1995).

²¹ Simon Wolf identified only two Floridians in his compilation of Jewish Civil War soldiers: Gus Cohen of the Milton Artillery and M. Daniel of Company A of the First Florida Infantry Regiment, reported to have died in captivity at the Elmira, New York, prison camp. German-born Gustave M. Cohen, who lived in Apalachicola in 1860, later lived in Pensacola. No Cohens served in the Milton Artillery, however, or in any Florida-based military unit, although a Gustavus A. Cohen served in several South Carolina units, including two artillery companies. No evidence exists that M. Daniel was Jewish. Simon Wolf, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen* (Philadelphia, 1895), 128.

²² Military age is defined per Livermore: men born from 1814 through 1847. I extended the range to 1848 to incorporate Rodolph Lyons's birth year. Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, 20-21.

²³ In calculating military participation rates, I did not include the eleven Jewish men not appearing in the 1860 census or listed as residing outside of Florida in 1860 who joined Florida regiments, because it is impossible to determine how many nonenlisting Jewish men moved to Florida during the war or were omitted in the 1860 census.

²⁴ The initially ambiguous legal status of noncitizen immigrants in the new Confederate nation seems not to have impacted many CEE men in Florida. In summer 1861, the Confederacy conferred the rights of citizenship on noncitizens who served in the military

and allowed them to be naturalized upon taking an oath and renouncing former allegiances. At the same time, an act of banishment ordered male citizens of hostile nations, including the Union, to leave or swear allegiance to the Confederacy. Abraham Friedenburg, a German-born, thirty-four-year-old merchant living in Alachua County, departed for New York with his northern-born wife early in the war, but it is unclear if he or other immigrants left in response to Confederate legislation. Julius Slager was discharged from the Second Florida Infantry regiment in September 1862, after fourteen months of service that included suffering wounds at the battle of Seven Pines in Virginia, for lack of domicile, indicating that Slager was considered a noncitizen without settled residency. Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 385. U.S. Passport Applications, Ancestry.com; CSR, www.fold3.com, accessed April 15, 2014.

²⁵ Service percentages rise slightly when adding in CEE-born men, particularly those from the Pensacola region, who served in Alabama or Georgia regiments.

²⁶ For German immigrants' antipathy to slavery, see Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 33–35.

²⁷ This calculation of the number of American-born Jewish soldiers does not include two combat veterans, David and Samuel Miley, who were born to a Jewish mother but showed no signs of affiliation or identification with Judaism during their lives. Mark Greenberg found that southern-born Jews "demonstrated stronger ideological dedication to and leadership in the fight for Southern rights." Mark I. Greenberg, "Becoming Southern: The Jews of Savannah, Georgia, 1830–70," *American Jewish History* 86 (1998): 65.

²⁸ Fifty-four percent of southerners who fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War enlisted in 1861. Based on a conservative estimate that 80 percent of all southern men were mobilized by the Confederacy, it follows that about 43 percent of military-aged southern men enlisted in 1861. The percentage of 1861 enlistees rises if adjusting to reflect age eligibility over the course of the war. Eighty percent of the foreign-born soldiers who served in Lee's Army of Northern Virginia volunteered in 1861. In 1860, Florida had 17,273 men who would have been eighteen years or older up to the later conscription birth year limit of 1814; 6,772 Floridians enlisted in 1861. The "most motivated men" enlisted early in the war. Kenneth W. Noe, *Reluctant Rebels: The Confederates Who Joined the Army after 1861* (Chapel Hill, 2010), 2, 7; Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 2011), 62; William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (Gainesville, FL, 1964 [1913]), 94.

²⁹ Three Jewish men who did not appear in the 1860 Florida census also enlisted in Florida units in 1861, and Elias Yulee, brother of U.S. Senator David Yulee, left his patent office position in Washington, DC, to accept a commission as commissary officer for the Eastern and Middle Departments of Florida. Another five men joined the Jacksonville Light Artillery and Fernandina militias during the secession crisis of 1860–1861 but did not have further military service. Two militiamen did reenlist in 1862. CSR, www.fold3.com, accessed April 15, 2014.

³⁰ Glatthaar, *Soldiering*, 62. For a discussion of the various motives of Jewish Confederate soldiers, see Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 48–54, 165; Korn, "Jews of the

Confederacy," 4. For an excellent summary and analysis of the "what they fought for" debate among historians of the Confederacy, see Noe, *Reluctant Rebels*, 3–6.

³¹ Marcus Lyons of Pensacola was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the First Confederate Battalion organized in Mobile, Alabama, in early 1862. Lyons was promoted to first lieutenant a few months later but resigned in November of the same year due to illness.

³² "The Statutes at Large of the Confederate States of America," <http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/statutes/statutes.html>, accessed February 1, 2014.

³³ "Conscription Law: An act to organize forces to serve during the war," February 17, 1864, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/lawsofcong/lawsofcong.html>, accessed May 16, 2014.

³⁴ Substitutes comprised 7 percent of all Confederate soldiers. Noe, *Reluctant Rebels*, 2, 113–114.

³⁵ Jacob Gardner had served in the presecession Fernandina Volunteers militia and then for six weeks in a cavalry unit before offering his substitute. Gardner appears to be the only man who had previously found a substitute to later reenlist.

³⁶ Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, National Archives Microfilm Publication M346, www.fold3.com, accessed March 2013 through April 2014. Seligman Davis was one of the "immortal six hundred" Confederate officers placed by Union forces in the range of cannon fire in retaliation for Confederate mistreatment of Union prisoners held in Charleston.

³⁷ I have been unable to identify Jewish men among the thousand Floridians who joined the Union regiments organized in the state. William Watson Davis estimated that "Union sympathizers and deserters never exceeded one-fifth of the [Florida] adult white population." Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 266.

³⁸ Only one married man with children, tailor Jacob Burkheim, was listed as active on a regular army roster as late as 1863. Burkheim did not appear in the 1860 census.

³⁹ Glatthaar, *Soldiering*, 127; Hieke, *Jewish Identity*, 192–193.

⁴⁰ Glatthaar, *Soldiering*, 140.

⁴¹ Three of these "poor" men from wealthy homes lived with their fathers; the Lyons brothers lived with their mother; four lived with brothers or cousins; and five lived with Jewish men, possibly employers, where the relationship is not known.

⁴² ANV soldiers came from families more prosperous than those of Americans in general. Thirty-five percent came from wealthy families, 23 percent from the middle class, and 42 percent from poor households. Florida's Jewish men listed in the 1860 census who did not serve were even more prosperous: over 50 percent lived in wealthy households. Glatthaar, *Soldiering*, 140–141.

⁴³ "Confederate soldiers' personal attachment to slavery was a powerful motivation in their military service. It was a building block upon which they forged a sense of mission and a spirit of camaraderie." Similarly, ANV soldiers who lived in slave-owning households "incurred higher casualties, deserted less frequently, and suffered more for their slaveholding Confederacy than the troops who did not own slaves." Glatthaar, *Soldiering*, 154, 165. For a summary of the debate among historians as to the primacy of

preserving slavery among Confederate soldiers' motivations, see Noe, *Reluctant Rebels*, 44–46.

⁴⁴ Glatthaar, *Soldiering*, 61.

⁴⁵ Excluding David Yulee, Florida's remaining eight Jewish slave owners in 1860 held fifteen slaves. Julius Burgheim and Morris Joseph each owned two slaves. Jacob Triest's father, Myer, owned one slave, and the Lyons brothers' mother, Sophie, owned three. Three Jewish slaveholders served in home guard or militia units: Abraham Forcheimer of Milton (four slaves), Jacob Cohen (one slave), and Henry Wurzburg (one slave). Lewis Marx of Escambia County, owner of one slave, was the remaining Jewish slaveholder in Florida in 1860. Abraham Friedenburg's American-born, presumably non-Jewish wife, Catherine Frances, owned one slave, who was left behind when the Friedenburgs moved north early in the war. Widow Johannah Burgheim claimed the Friedenburgs' slave in an 1863 legal dispute. Burgheim and Adeline Gardner either traded or acquired slaves during the war. Approximately one-third of all Florida families owned slaves in 1860 (5,152 slaveholders out of 15,090 families). Almost 22 percent of Florida's Jews (forty-three individuals) lived in households with slaves: the Triest and Marx families, holding one slave each, accounted for sixteen of the Florida Jews living in slaveholding homes. The extent of David Yulee's slaveholding is unclear. The 1850 census lists him as owning thirty-seven slaves in Hernando County, although by 1860 he may have owned or leased many more slaves sent to toil on his plantations and railroad projects. Digital Library on American Slavery, Petition 20586307, <http://library.uncg.edu/slavery/details.aspx?pid=4773>, accessed April 22, 2014; Alachua County Clerk of the Court, Ancient Records, Bills of Sale A (1846–1889), <http://www.clerk-alachua-fl.org/Archive>, accessed April 22, 2014; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Hernando County, Florida.

⁴⁶ Bertram W. Korn, "Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South, 1789–1865," in Sarna and Mendelsohn, *Jews and the Civil War*, 110–111, 114–115; Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 37.

⁴⁷ Brown, *Jewish Pioneers*, 8–11; Sapon-White, "A Polish Jew." For the abolitionism of Moses Levy, a Jewish pioneer in antebellum Florida and the father of proslavery senator David Yulee, see Monaco, *Moses Levy of Florida*.

⁴⁸ Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 417.

⁴⁹ James M. Denham and Canter Brown, Jr., eds., *Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives* (Columbia, SC, 2000), 3–6.

⁵⁰ A sixth possible fatality is Lewis Blumauer, who enlisted in Company I of the Third Florida Infantry in summer 1861 and disappeared from the historical record in mid-1862, probably perishing in a Union prison camp. Joseph Rosenthal participated in a "Meeting of German Jews" convened in Savannah on September 13, 1862, to prepare resolutions protesting the banishment of German Jews from Thomasville, Georgia, and the slander of Jews by local newspapers. "The Jews of the Confederacy," *American Jewish Archives* 13 (1961): 58–59.

⁵¹ C. M. Yulee, CSR, www.fold3.com, accessed April 17, 2014.

⁵² Glatthaar, *Soldiering*, 64.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 65; CSR, www.fold3.com, accessed April 17, 2014.

⁵⁴ Robert Rosen dismissively refers to “‘Galvanized Yankees’—that is, Confederate soldiers recruited in Federal prisoner-of-war camps”—in the context of a brief discussion of “shirkers, deserters, and cowards.” Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, 204–206.

⁵⁵ Hieke, *Jewish Identity*, 65–82, 106–107.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁵⁷ Benjamin and Morris Altman later built their shop into the famed B. Altman department store. Weinfeld, “Samuel Fleishman,” 38–39.

⁵⁸ A. N. Murphy to Capt. Bowers, Adj. General, March 8, 1864, www.fold3.com, accessed February 1, 2014.

⁵⁹ U.S. passport applications on Ancestry.com, accessed February 1, 2014.

⁶⁰ For Berlack’s account of leaving the South, see *Florida Times Union*, January 22, 1894. For Dressner’s eventful escape and journey, see Alice Strickland, “Blockade Runners,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (1957): 85, 90; Union Citizens File, www.fold3.com, accessed April 22, 2014.

⁶¹ *American Israelite*, July 22, 1864.

⁶² Bertram Korn offers a contrasting interpretation of “latent” southern antisemitism during the war, arguing that such prejudice arose from Jews’ “concentration in petty trading” and scapegoating of Jews “for the Confederacy’s economic troubles.” Korn, “Jews of the Confederacy,” 6.

⁶³ John Milton to [Captain] Randolph, June 25, 1862, in Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 199. Milton got his wish in late 1864 when, in a move of desperation, Florida’s Confederate legislature required “that every able-bodied white male inhabitant in the State, between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five years” not already in the Confederate forces be “enrolled and liable to perform Militia duty in the Militia forces.” *Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly of Florida, at its Thirteenth Session* (Tallahassee, FL, 1865), 10.

⁶⁴ R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School, Cambridge, MA. For an in-depth discussion of “covert” antisemitism in the Reconstruction-era South, see Hieke, *Jewish Identity*, 148–164. For attacks on German immigrants in Texas, see Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 417–438.

⁶⁵ David Greenfield was president of his B’nai B’rith chapter and helped found a congregation in Albany, Georgia. Samuel Herman participated in several Jewish communal organizations in Savannah. Louis Kohn (or Kahn) may not have founded Pensacola’s Jewish institutions, but after his death from meningitis in 1880, he was “esteemed for his probity of life by everyone, but more particularly was he known and loved by the Hebrews of our city, to which class he was connected by ties of affinity and consanguinity.” Robert Williams’s Torah rests in the ark of Temple Israel in Tallahassee. Temple Yearbook, Congregation Ahavath Chesed, 75th Anniversary, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00010717/00001/1j>, accessed April 10, 2014; [Fernandina] *Florida Mirror*, October 2, 1880; Heimovics and Zerivitz, *Florida Jewish Heritage Trail*, 7–8.

⁶⁶ Simon Fleishman was buried in Chicago, Illinois, in 1908, where his grave marker defiantly proclaims his Confederate army service. "Simon Fleishman," <http://findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=20084677&Pipi=6565404>, accessed April 7, 2014; Abram Vossen Goodman, "David Greenfield and the Albany, Georgia He Knew," Robert N. Rosen Papers, Special Collections, College of Charleston, Charleston, SC.

⁶⁷ Michael B. Dougan, "Herrmann Hirsch and the Siege of Jackson," *Journal of Mississippi History* 53 (1991): 19–33; Coles and Hartman, *Biographical Rosters*, 341.

⁶⁸ Brown, "Dzialynski," 530; Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet, Florida in the Era of Reconstruction: 1863–1877* (Gainesville, FL, 1974), 128. According to Adam Mendelsohn, "Aside from the canard of the Jewish carpetbagger, we know little about Jews and Reconstruction." In contrast to the Republican membership noted here in Florida, North Carolina Jews involved with politics during the post-Civil War decades "generally identified with the Democratic Party," with few exceptions. Mendelsohn, "Introduction," in Sarna and Mendelsohn, *Jews and the Civil War*, 19; Leonard Rogoff, "A Tale of Two Cities: Race, Riots, and Religion in New Bern and Wilmington, North Carolina, 1898," *Southern Jewish History* 14 (2011): 42, 68; Stuart Rockoff, "Carpetbaggers, Jacklegs, and Bolting Republicans: Jews in Reconstruction Politics in Ascension Parish, Louisiana," *American Jewish History* 97 (2013): 39–40.

⁶⁹ A newspaper account described Brendt's killers as "two negroes." Brown, *Jewish Pioneers*, 25–26; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, August 2, 1868.

⁷⁰ Blumenthal had previously solicited President Grant for a West Point appointment for his nephew, Fernandina resident Max Blumenthal. John Y. Simon, ed., *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (Carbondale, IL, 2000), 24:98–100; 19:455; Shofner, *Nor is it Over Yet*, 234–235.

⁷¹ Weinfeld, "Samuel Fleishman," 51–52.

⁷² Benjamin Fleishman died at a young age during the Reconstruction era. *Titusville Florida Star*, February 15, 1901; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, April 10, 1905. For Gertrude Dzialynski's career in government, see Canter Brown, Jr., "Gertrude Dzialynski Corbet, 1874–1931," in *The Varieties of Women's Experiences*, ed. Larry E. Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr. (Gainesville, FL, 2010), 215–235.

⁷³ A different Henry Brash lived in Apalachicola and was a Civil War veteran but is outside the scope of this study, because he served in a non-Florida regiment and came to the state only after the war.

⁷⁴ In 1877, Governor Drew appointed Philip Dzialynski as Polk County commissioner and Morris Dzialynski as Duval County treasurer. Louis Witkovski was murdered by a Gainesville attorney under convoluted circumstances in 1889. Brown, "Dzialynski," 527, 530; *Atlanta Constitution*, December 15, 1889; *Waycross (GA) Herald*, March 30, 1895, April 6, 1895; *Ocala Banner*, March 17, 1905.

⁷⁵ Lower numbers of Jews remaining in Florida might be the result of Florida's lesser state of development than Georgia and the Carolinas. Compare to Hieke, *Jewish Identity*, 38–44, 316–317. In 1870, Florida's two hundred Jewish adults consisted of thirty-two (16 percent) American-born (including only two Florida-born adults); forty-nine (25 percent)

from German states, including thirty-five from Bavaria; one hundred (50 percent) from Prussia (including its Polish provinces) and Russian Poland; the remainder were from western Europe and various other nations. The percentage of Jewish minors rose from 40 percent in 1860 to over 50 percent ten years later.

⁷⁶ Dzialynski was also remembered as a "gallant Confederate soldier, a model citizen, an upright and merciful judge, . . . an exemplar for the youth of his beloved Florida." He is buried in the Old Jewish Center Cemetery in Jacksonville. Brown, "Dzialynski," 532; *Pensacola Journal*, May 7, 1907; *Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat*, May 10, 1907 and May 17, 1907; "Morris A Dzialynski," <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=76654975>, accessed April 11, 2014.