Adam Mendelsohn - Jewish Soldiers in the Civil War

- Morning, Judy.

- Hi, Wendy.

- From a very, very, very snowy, miserable New York. Adam, and also I'd just like to say to our participants, well, first of all, welcome back. It's nice to have you all with us. Adam, I just wanted to address what happened, a presentation that you gave last week about slavery. I actually, and Jews and the role that they play with regard to slavery. And I received an email from one of our participants picking me out about what I said, the story that I relayed, saying that it made her feel extremely uncomfortable and wondered if it made others on the call feel extremely uncomfortable. And I just wanted to apologise if it did. I also want to remind the viewers that I group did grow up in Swaziland and I grew up in a very much an integrated school. I, we used to play with the villagers. We used to go down, swim in the river. We were afraid of actually was lahaise and crocodiles and the snakes in the trees. And I've been very fortunate and lucky to grow up in a family where I have really been exposed to an extremely diverse audience. And I am lucky that I have, now that I live in a cultural world, my group of friends are extremely mixed and diverse.

And so the story that I relayed about young Michael, who has actually become a very, is a very close friend of David's and has now become a very close family friend, I just found it actually quite astonishing because it was the first time that I had met a young, gorgeous, black Jewish man, young man in New York. So, you know, I just felt that it was interesting to relay that story. And I'm most certainly did not mean to cause offence to anybody or make anybody else feel uncomfortable. You know, 'cause I'm completely at home with, regardless of colour. It's totally irrelevant to me. But this I just felt was a very interesting story to relay. So, Adam, I'm sorry if I made you feel uncomfortable.

- No, certainly not. In my, as I said last week, it's a very, very unusual case and I've, and appropriate for what I was speaking about last week that I described the few examples we know of with historical documents relating to African Americans who enslaved and who take on Judaism. And as I described, there are baptismal records from after the Civil War, which reflects their conversion to Christianity. It's, there's a single article on the subject, and I'm very happy to, if anyone's interested in it, I'm very happy to send you the details. And I haven't heard of a single case thereafter that so, so I, as I've subsequently said to Wendy, I'd love to speak to Michael and to find out the family story. And this is something worthy of research. We might have discovered something very interesting here. So certainly no, from my perspective, no apology necessary. And I think we've found something very interesting and new. So I'm going to personally take it further.

- Very good. No, no. He'd be more than willing to talk to you. So, excuse my cough. So I love this platform because I do, I enjoy different opinions and people to pick each other out. So what

I'd like to say, we're going be dealing with Jewish soldiers in the Civil War. And now over to you. And just one more thing. This is actually not a platform where we are looking to be divisive or where we are coming from a bad place. So this is a platform really, as I said, many, I said many times where we come together in friendship and openness and, you know, a place where we'd like to share information. So thank you.

- So my topic today is Jews in the Civil War and specifically a subject which hasn't received its due, at least I will argue hasn't received its due, which is looking at the experience of Jewish soldiers during the American Civil War. And you'll see that my talk today and my talk tomorrow are interconnected, that they both have the Civil War at their core. Tomorrow I'll be speaking about the, this extraordinary economic transformation in American Jewish life where the Jews go from being a rather marginal group to the one which does extraordinarily well. And I'll make the argument tomorrow that the Civil War was really central to that transformation. Today, I'm going to talk about the experience of ordinary soldiers, ordinary people, ordinary Jews, most of 'em immigrants during the Civil War. And really to focus on their everyday experience. What is it like to be a Jew in the Union army? And I should say that this is a subject of a book project that I've been working on for now many years and working together with the Chappelle Manuscript Foundation. And they've developed something called the Chappelle roster, which I'll talk about a little bit later to really try and uncover the experience of Jews, really identify Jewish soldiers, and then understand their experience.

So, I, this is a, the book hasn't yet come out. It's still in a sort of manuscript form, but hopefully later this year. But, so this is really you're getting a first taste of part of this book project. So I'm going to start with a fascinating incident, an episode in August of 1863. And it starts with a man called Benjamin Szold, who was the rabbi of Oheb Shalom congregation in Baltimore, in Maryland. At the time, Benjamin Szold was a young man, barely 30 years old, who's really just finding his footing in America. Unlike many Jews in the United States at the time, he was a new arrival. He just arrived from Hungary a few years before. He arrives in the United States in 1859. So this is now 1863. He's been in America for less than four years. He had at this point in 1863, he has an almost a three years old. One of the first things he and his wife do when they get to America is have a daughter, an American born daughter. Her name is Henrietta. She's the first of of eight daughters that will be born to his wife, Sophie. And Henrietta Szold, who you, I suspect some of you have heard, ultimately far surpassed her father in fame. Henrietta Szold founded Hadassah, the woman's Zionist organisation. But that was far, far in the future. At this point, as I said, she's not even three years old, but, and the story is obviously about her father, about Benjamin. For the moment, rabbi Benjamin Szold had more keeping him up at night than just his infant daughter. It's difficult in 1863 being a rabbi in Baltimore. Baltimore, after all, was a restive city in a restive border state in the midst of the Civil War.

Remember that when the war broke out in April of 1861, so just over two years prior this point in time, in April of 1861, a mob had attacked Union troops as they passed through Baltimore on their way to defend Washington DC, pelting the troops with rocks and attacking them with clubs and knives as they crossed the city from one railway depot to another. And if you look at the

next slide, you'll get, these are artists' impressions of exactly this. These are depictions of this mob attack, literally attacking Union troops in a Union city in April of 1861, just days after the war has started. And we actually know of a handful of Jews who amidst the rioters. In fact, I, if you're interested, I have a firsthand account of one of the family members, at the Friedenwald family, where the, one brother who was a Republican disapproved of the riot, but three other brothers very much approved of it and one participated. Another one later would join the Confederate army. So the other person on this very date, this is April 19th, 1861, who was chased from Baltimore that same day was David Einhorn. David Einhorn was a rabbinic colleague of Soldz and he was chased from Baltimore for expressing his opposition to slavery. He spent the rest of the war in exile in Philadelphia. So Union troops from that point onwards, from April of 1861, effectively occupied Baltimore during the war to ensure that future troubles were suppressed.

So even though Baltimore and Maryland are in Union territory, they're a Union state, they never leave the Union, Union troops have to remain in Baltimore because of this issue with the sympathies of those who live in Baltimore, the uncertainty of their sympathies. So these troops kept the peace within the city, but really didn't change the hearts and minds of many of the residents of the city. For example, just over a year and a half later after this riot, just before the Battle of Antietam in September of 1862, when General Lee's armies were ominously close to Baltimore, we know that some residents, Jews included, expected with glee, with anticipation, the prospect of a confederate conquest, that in other words, the city would join, would, that Lee would win at the Battle of Antietam. He didn't. And that his troops would soon be in Baltimore. And they made their sentiments known in other ways too, Jews and the general population of Baltimore. So for example, Maryland sent relatively few regiments to join the Union Army, that there weren't that many sympathetic and volunteers to the Union Army.

Even though Baltimore was home to one of the largest Jewish communities in the United States at the time, they have almost 5,000 Jews in Baltimore, we know of only 15 Jews, 1, 5, 15 Jews from the city who volunteered to join the Union Army. So again, the sign that this is not exactly a city, which is enthusiastic and supported the Union. So this is what Benjamin Soldz might have had on his mind in August of 1863 when he received an urgent request to travel to Beverly Ford on the Rappahannock River. And we'll go to the next slide. You'll see a picture of Soldz. This is probably Soldz slightly older than when he was, slightly younger man than when this etching was made. The request had come from the headquarters of the Second Brigade of the First Division of the Army of the Potomac. This vast army, the Army of the Potomac, had recently returned to Northern Virginia, depleted after a difficult summer of campaigning, which had begun very badly. It had begun with defeats at the battle of Chancellorville and ended the summer of campaigning, it ended with the pursuit of General Robert E Lee's shattered army after the Battle of Gettysburg.

So this Soldz is called to the, to a brigade headquarters of the Army of the Potomac really just a month and a half after the Battle of Gettysburg has been won by the army of the Potomac. So despite the urgency of his task, this desperate summons, rabbi Soldz's travel was delayed by a

day because he couldn't secure a train ticket. That's all the seats had been taken for those who were on their way to a presentation ceremony at the headquarters of the General Mead, the Commanding General of the Army of the Potomac. He's late. He's a day late. But so serious was the duty that called him to the Army of the Potomac that he travelled on Saturday. This is an Orthodox rabbi and he breaks the Sabbath to travel southwards. And he arrived at the military camp shortly before noon and was soon cloistered with the man by the name of George Kun. We don't, I don't have an image of George Kun to share with you for reasons to become clear in a moment. So George Kun, the man meeting with, or the man that's Benjamin Soldz, rabbi Benjamin Soldz is meeting with, George Kun had begun August, 1863 under more hopeful circumstances in Philadelphia. He enlisted in the Union Army in the 118th Pennsylvania infantry in Philadelphia.

And, but like many of those who joined this Richmond, he clearly had little intention of fulfilling his recruitment contract he'd signed up for for three years. And he clearly has little intention of actually serving. Indeed when the recruits, these new recruits had been sent from Philadelphia southwards to join the 118th Pennsylvania in Northern Guinea, when they arrived at the, at this, the Richmond's camp close to the Rappahannock on August 6th, the escort had already lost 50 recruits to desertions. In other words, they'd been, people had enlisted and they'd taken the enlistment bounty and they had skedaddle out of there. They disappeared. But five of their number, five of those who deserted, were unlucky enough to be caught and were dragged into camp a week later. And among these five was George Kun. He'd been caught not in his military uniform, but been caught instead in civilian clothing. And despite this, he denied that he'd actually deserted. Instead, he claimed at the hastily called court martial that he only had gone to fetch some water and had got lost.

And somehow, of course, put on civilian clothing in the process. The judges at this court martial were unconvinced and they ordered Kun and the four others to be executed, which is a very rare sentence at this point in time. And they obviously then are desperate. They send appeals for clemency to the Commander of the Army of the Potomac, to General Mead, and also to President Abraham Lincoln. They send him a letter pleading for their lives. And the letter is still sitting in a national archives. You can read it. It's a really a desperate and pathetic letter. But at this moment in time, General Mead worried that desertion was hollowing out the Army of the Potomac. This army had been depleted over the previous four months by the battles of Chancellorville and by Gettysburg. Likewise, a number of volunteers had ended their terms of service and they were going home. So he's worried about the integrity of his army. And what he also wanted to do was to stiffen the spines of conscripts and substitutes who were increasingly beginning to fool the ranks of his army. He wanted to send a message, in other words, to those who perhaps had little commitment to the Union cause.

Lincoln was also disinclined to intervene, probably because he didn't want to undercut General Mead, who had demonstrated what was a very rare gift, which was the gift of having defeated General Lee, the Confederate General Lee in battle. What Mead did do, Commander of the Army of the Potomac, what he did do was to concede to a delay, to the delay of the sentence of

execution, so that a Catholic priest and a rabbi could attend to the prisoners because George Kun was a Jew and some of the other prisoners of the other five were Catholics. Hence Rabbi Soldz forlorn and urgent travel to meet with George Kun. Kun, who was manacled and distressed, had been confined to a tent under guard for the previous two weeks. They spoke to each other from noon until 3:00 PM on this fateful day. They spoke either in German or Hungarian. They're both from Hungary. That's probably why Soldz had been summoned. And their meeting in this tent was punctuated by the steady tramp, tramp, tramp of tens of thousands of boots outside. And they leave this tent at three o'clock in the afternoon. And they step outside. And this is a scene, if we look at the next slide, this is a scene that confronts them. Below them, they're on a hillside, below them with three divisions of the Fifth Corps of the Army of the Potomac, at least 15,000 men standing in silence, arrayed in dense columns that formed three sides of a square. And at the centre of the square were five freshly dug graves.

The spectacle that followed was seared into the memories of many who witnessed it, because as I've described to you, executions were still relatively rare in August of 1863. And this one deliberately had been marshalled to serve an exemplary purpose, to really create a spectacle out of these executions. And in the audience there were two artists from popular magazines, one of them, Harpers and in fact, if you look at Harpers Monthly from 1863, you can see the the sketches which were drawn by that artist. And they sketched out this macabre processional, which escorted these five prisoners to their graves. The only sound was slow, measured, and sorrowful. The military headquarters band was playing the Dead March from Handel's Saul. One of the men who was there that day, Captain Francis Donaldson of the 118th Pennsylvania, the unit which Kun and the others had deserted from, he's standing there and witnesses the event at close quarters, and he confided beforehand to that, in his own words, "The thought of this bloody execution sickens me.

They'll be shot like dogs." Indeed, he is shocked by what he's sees and describes in detail in his diary of what he witnesses, and I'll read to you from his diary. "Then came two coffins born by eight men." In other words, the procession, they're carrying their coffins with them. "Then two of the condemned with the rabbi, Major Herring had so arranged as to have the rabbi representing the oldest faith on the right. Then another coffin with four men and one prisoner. And then two more coffins, born by eight men. Two more prisoners, priest and chaplain. Each prisoner's hands were manacled behind them. Four of the condemned walked steadily and with apparent unconcern. One was weakened and with difficulty born along, needing heavily support." So they arrived at the graves. And in fact, if you look at the image on your left hand side, you can see the graves and you can see the coffins. Again, this is from the Harper's illustration. And the prisoners were then seated on their coffins.

The firing party halt and stood at parade rest. "My God", despaired Donaldson, our eyewitness. This is, these are more of his words. "Think of the terrible thoughts of these helpless men as they marched to their graves. Think of their awful condition as seated on their coffins they gazed at the 12 men standing before them, sternly awaiting order to take their lives. Oh, it was a dreadful sight to see them there, swaying backwards and forwards, so utterly helpless and

forlorn. Our regiment was posted close up to the graves, a little to the right of them, close enough to hear the earnest words and prayers of men of God who prayed so fervently that God would've mercy on their souls." A much agitated George Kun, another eyewitness wrote, "Now stood up and recited after the rabbi a portion of the Tehilim, the Yigdal, and the Shmal. At the close, rabbi much affected, kissed the accused, who convulsively clung to him. After a few parting parting words, Donaldson continued, the ministers of the gospel stood aside, and the poor fellows were left alone on the brink of eternity. They hadn't longed to wait. Attention guard in clear ringing tones called Captain Orn. Shoulder. Arms. Forward march. And the solid steady tramp of the detail sounded appalling on the air. When within six paces, halt, ordered the captain. Ready, aim, fire. And 60 pieces flashed full in the breasts of the deserters. And military justice was satisfied. Four of the men fell back heavily on their coffins and rolled off to the ground, their heads striking the coffin, making a sounding thud.

The bullets passing through the bodies were seen skipping and bounding over the open fields." This scene horrified rabbi Benjamin Soldz. Moments before, he had embraced Kun. Now the friendless soldier was confined to an unmarked grave. "The poor rabbi", Donaldson wrote, "was sadly cut up. He had never before witnessed such a death scene. Hastening to the Major's tent, he gathered up his few traps, and made for the train, anxious and eager to get away from such scenes of blood. As he expressed it, he was in such a hurry to depart that he left his pocketbook behind." It was probably no coincidence that the next month, Soldz arranged for the Jewish soldiers stationed around Baltimore to be issued with passes so they could attend high holiday services in that city. And this is in fact one of the very few cases we know of where rabbis actively intervened this way to provide passes to the soldiers. We can presume that Soldz still had Kun on his mind. In reality, this tragic episode of this otherwise unknown Jewish soldier of George Kun, almost certainly an alias, we don't know what his real name was, actually involved one of the few instances where the Union Army made special allowances for Jews asking a rabbi to attend his execution. Indeed, there was great novelty in so many Jews having freely chosen to serve and fight for their homeland.

We know of several thousand Jews who volunteered for the Union Army. Never before had Jews joined a mass volunteer army, itself a relatively new historical phenomenon, in such numbers and with such enthusiasm. Of course, with George Kun aside. Their precise number is unclear. We don't know exactly how many Jews serve, but as I described to you earlier, the Chappelle Manuscript Foundation has been working on this question for years and is producing a roster and describing those who did fight on behalf of the Union and ultimately the Confederacy as well. As we all hear today, it was very difficult to be a Jew in the Union Army, more so than it was to be a devout Christian. The military's reputation for hard drinking, for hard swearing, and for hard living was long established even before the war. Few who signed up were under any illusion that this mass volunteer army provided a haven for the faithful. In fact, devout Christians routinely complained that the military camp was a profane place. Few of their fellow soldiers shared their desire for religious fellowship. Instead, there was coarseness and boorishness. The idle hours which soldiers had were filled with sinful pursuits and officers and men were indifferent to observing the Sabbath.

Those who prayed in public, Christians included, faced scorn and scoffing from their fellow soldiers. The conspicuous display of piety was associated with woman and domesticity in the 1850s and 1860s, not with the manly vigour of soldiering. In other words, it's seen as inappropriate at the time for men to pray openly. But if faithful Christians feared the mockery of their comrades, Jews had even more reason for reticence, to hide their Jewish identities. But this didn't stop some of them from trying to live like Jews in the army. Henry Alba, for example, who mustered into the 13th Ohio Cavalry in April of 1864 as a farrier, was eager to worship as a Jew. In July of 1864, so shortly after he enlists, when he and his comrades were stationed outside of Petersburg, Virginia, Petersburg is being besieged by the Union Army at this point in time, Alba called a meeting of Jewish soldiers at the regimental headquarters with, as he proudly noted in a letter that he sent to a Jewish newspaper, farrier Henry M. Alba presiding. What Alba was tasked to do at this meeting was to write to rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, the famous leader of the reform movement in America, to solicit a siddur and tzniut and to tefillin, to prayer books, ritual fringes, and factories, as well as copies of Wise's newspaper for, and this is to quote from Alba, "We are tired of reading the evangelist." He's tired of reading a missionary newspaper.

That's the only literature they could get their hands on. So they're asking for that they should be sent religious articles and that these religious articles should be provided to each and every Jewish soldier. So this letter that he sends, this public letter that he sends, demonstrates his desire to maintain some measure of religious observance in the field, as well as his confidence in putting on garments, certain to call attention to his religious identity. As soon as a a soldier puts on a tefillin and tzniut, it's clear that that other soldiers would take note. But he has time on his hands at this point in time. As I said, his regiment is stationed outside at Petersburg. They're in the midst of a siege. And he has time to plan this and to prepare what he expects to be an opportunity to pray in future. What happened next, however, reveals how war could intrude on the best laid plans. Two days after dispatching his letter, his regiment, the 113th Ohio Calvary went into line, now obviously dismounted Calvary by this point in time, occupying rifle pits and bomb proofs, shelters roughly 200 yards from their Confederate counterparts. And again, you can get a sense in the next slide of what these fortifications looked like at the time. The barrage of bullets and shells, a soldier in his regiment record, was now constant.

They're, you know, hiding in these bomb proofs and in these trenches, you know, close at hand to the Confederates. At night, the sound of these bullets pinging off the sandbags and off the wooden reinforcement sounded, in his words, "like an old fashioned wood chopping." This constant beat of mini balls against the trenches. A whiskey ration was issued twice a day. After two weeks in the these trenches, the regiment was moved even further forward to occupy the very front line, even closer to the Confederate trenches. And here, this regiment and Alba experienced a new phase of misery, this torrential rain, which swept away the fortifications. One soldier remembered of their experience with this regiment that after the rains had fallen, the ground became alive, and these are his words, "Alive with vermin. Maggots washed down from the hillsides, abound in the runs and springs. And our hard tack, our food, contains the little

chaps, contains the maggots. Put a hard tack in hot coffee and these little scamps will cool out with a smile on their faces as to say how'd they do?

Our appearance is dirty. Grey backs, ragged clothes, unkept hair, et cetera." Launched forward on July 30th, as part of the broader assault that accompanied the Battle of the Crater, military disaster for the Union, the regiment was torn to shreds as they attempted to storm the Confederate breastworks. So bodies of Alba's friends and comrades lay in the foul and broiling no man's land for three days, recognisable after three days only by their calvary jackets when finally buried under the flag of truce. Upon returning to the rear, more than 30 men in this regiment rebelled, refusing to take up arms anymore and pleading to return to calvary duty. This is an awful experience for Alba and his fellow soldiers. Alba was spared some of the exhausting routine that continued until December in the trenches around Petersburg, picket duty and squirmishes and constant digging, the felling of trees and building of breastworks, as he was just diagnosed with an abdominal complaint that had been exacerbated probably by the stresses of combat. And eventually at the end of December, the regiment returned to cavalry duty and Alba returned to his horses.

There's no evidence, however, that he ever received his prayer books, nor that he ever received his newspapers. As Alba plead to Isaac Mayer Wise reveals, Jewish soldiers largely had to fend for themselves in the field. Access to the well springs of Jewish life was very, very limited. For the most part, the army marched and fought in areas where relatively few Jews lived prior to the war. And most Jewish soldiers were very far from home. Despite these and other challenges, which I'll talk about, Alba and some of these fellow Jewish soldiers sought to fashion a space for themselves within an environment which was more accommodating for the profane than of the sacred. In other words, they try to cling to a Jewish identity despite the challenges, which we'll describe, and I'm going to speak about particularly what are, how, and the challenges relating to living as a Jew, to trying to practise as a Jew in the army. Much of what we know about the role of religion for Jewish soldiers is revealed in the everyday choices they made relating to Jewish diet, to Kashrut, the Sabbath and religious festivals, and to prayer as well. Military life rewarded flexibility. I'll give you another example.

We know that August Bondi, a relatively well known Jewish immigrant from Austria, from Vienna, and came to America as a very young man after 1848, and then had lived in a variety of different places before ultimately settling in Kansas. We know that again, he writes a wonderful memoir of the war. We know that he was used to eating pork before he enlisted. We know this because he writes in his memoir, which is probably based on his diaries, he writes that before he left home to enlist in the Fifth Kansas Calvary, that he slaughtered his hogs so that his wife and children should have food for the winter. And so again, it's demonstration that he's not exactly fastidious before the war in observing Kashrut, but even he was troubled by the monotonous diet in the military, by the rations they received. Heavy on salt pork, on bacon, and of beef of dubious origin, which was staples of army rations. If you go to the next image, you can, it's a really unusual image. It's an illustration of, supposedly by a Jewish soldier, appearing again in Harper's Illustrated. And if you look at, you can read the caption here by a, you know, a

Jewish artist at the Pixus.

You can see this is an implicit complaint here that he's drawn a picture of or made this etching of barrels of pork and ham and of pigs, which are undoubtedly can be central to his dive. So August Bondi, we know was frequently hungry in the field because of the inadequacy of supplies. And this is pretty common in the Union Army. And what he did is he relished the foraged additions that he and his mess mates added to the pot whenever they could. So they're constantly trying to beg, borrow, and steal whatever they can find around where they're marching and where they camp. When times were tough, his contributions to the communal pot included raccoon, which I haven't checked, but I suspect is it's also not particularly kosher. Likewise, Marcus Spiegel, another Jewish soldier, also an immigrant, made little fuss of the meat that he ate, though he took careful note of the occasions when his drab diet was supplemented through the industry of his men.

This is, Marcus Spiegel, he's an officer, and he can rely on those under him to beg, borrow, and steal, to forage all sorts of things to supplement their diet. Now I'll read you one of the, you know, quote from his letters. "My boys killed three young hogs during the night", he wrote to his wife, "and gave me a couple of nice hams, which with other things made us a splendid repas." Who's an army surgeon had fond memories of a fine, good sized pig in his description that his, to use his own words, "His coloured orderly has had stolen or confiscated and then boiled after the Battle of South Mountain." And he ate this pig and shared with others over the course of two days. It was again, as rare treat. Another Jewish soldier, Joseph C. Levy, regarded his daily pork ration as taking his for Uncle Sam. And Joseph C. Levy, unlike the other soldiers I've introduced you to, was Orthodox, was traditional, and wanted to live a traditional Jewish life despite being in the army, regarded having to eat pork as just something that you had to do in the military.

He wrote to the Jewish Messenger, a Jewish newspaper in New York, to complain that the bill of fare that he was eating in camp included, and these are his words, "Bread, coffee, and pork for breakfast. Coffee, pork, and bread for dinner. Pork, bread, and coffee for tea." So you can see that, you know, the pork is the one constant in his diet. And he wrote that perhaps as a good Orthodox, as he described himself, "The less I say on the subject, the better." The less he writes about what he's eating in the army, the better for the readers of this newspaper. So in other words, Joseph Levy held his nose in the mess tent and resigned himself to this unholy diet. What's interesting about him is he didn't discourage others from following his example by enlisting. These are all volunteers. People have chosen to enlist. But what he did flag for the readers of this newspapers, that observance soldiers, those who wanted to live traditional Jewish lifestyles, would have to make compromises, sacrifices of various kinds. Immigrants, which who comprised the bulk of these Jewish volunteers may have already been accustomed to making do, making compromises.

Certainly 16 year old David Setin relished, what in his words, "The good food and drink he received in the army." And he wrote back to his family in Berlin and he said, "Our best food is thick rice with syrup and a piece of bacon." This is proudly, he announced to his family, and this

is again aside, in spite of indications, that Setin continued to put on the Tefillin regularly while in the army. We know this because his Tefillin was actually stolen, not because anyone wants to probably steal the Tefillin, but they thought there was something more attractive in his, where he kept them. He kept his Tefillin in his bread sack. And after 10 months in uniform, his bread sack was, disappeared. Someone walked off with it, with the, with his to Tefillin as well. What's interesting about Setin is that his perspective about food may have been shaped by his struggles after he arrived in America, again, recently arrived in America. He arrived after the war has started. He arrives in May of 1861, which is not a good time to be an immigrant in New York. There's no work to go around. And so unable to find work, he again wrote back to his family, complained that, Setin in his words, "The hunger is painful and it takes an awful lot if a young person is supposed to feed himself all alone." So for him, you know, thick rice with syrup and a piece of bacon is a great luxury if it's arriving on a regular basis.

Much better than starvation, which faced him when he arrived, you know, at the beginning of the war. So such compromises born of the press of circumstances would be familiar to all sort of other Jewish immigrants who'd made their way to the New World, who had to, again, had or many people, they had to adapt, had to compromise in order to adapt to America. So though the consumption of pork was a particular taboo for tradition minded Jews, the other meat which is supplied to these Jewish soldiers and to the other soldiers in the army, also didn't conform to any rigorous religious standards either. You can see, again, get a sense of what these rations are in the next slide, and this is again, a slide, these are not Jewish soldiers in the slide. These are instead, you know, the soldiers cooking their rations. You can also see on the bottom left what hard tack looks like. This is what had infested Alba's food. You know, the maggots had infested his hard tack in Petersburg. And see, it's rather unpleasant. Has to be softened by immersing it in water and other such things.

These soldiers aren't eating particularly well in the army. And in reality, it was near impossible for an enlisted man, for a volunteer, to permanently forgo his meat ration and to subsist on the coffee, and the hard tack, and the beans, and the plunder and forages that's made up his diet. And even if it was supplemented by generous food parcels sent from home, which was very much the case, that families would send care packages to their, you know, chunks, stuff with food to their soldiers in the field, and if you were lucky, it arrived without being pilfered. So the arrival of these occasional packages from home did more than just bridge the psychic and physical distance that separated men from their loved ones. They're, you know, far away from family who are at, back on the home front might be in Chicago or Philadelphia or Cincinnati or New York, or, you known, in Northern Virginia or maybe Mississippi or elsewhere, you know, with the Union Army. These, but these care packages don't often arrive often enough to provide a reliable source of sustenance, but they are pined after.

So for example, Marcus Spiegel, the soldier I've already introduced you to, pine for the comforting tastes of home. And he writes to his wife to say, "You may send me something nice to eat in the box", in one of these care packages. "It would not cost anymore", he coaxed his wife, and this is in February of 1862, "to add a bottle of something to drink." It won't hurt

anybody to, again unsettle hint that he would like some probably alcohol from her. Two weeks later, this is now sent these instructions home, he's salivating at the prospect of this care package arriving. And he just, who writes again, writes home, "My mouth is watering for the contents already. I have no doubt, but it'll be here by tomorrow. And then, oh God, won't I pitch in? I should think I will." In fact, the care package then arrives and he writes back this letter to his wife, which says, he says, "Tongues. These are duck tongues." Oh, presumably pickled sent by his wife. He writes back, approvingly says, "Oh, these tongues were just the thing on a hard march." This is a very Jewish soldier enjoying his food in the army or food from home in the army. But it's not easy for a soldier to observe religious rituals.

And Sydney, as I've described to you, dietary law is very difficult to observe and even more difficult to observe religious rituals. The rhythms of military life granted men very little autonomy, particularly those in the ranks. You know, officers, there's a little bit more latitude. When in camp and in the cycle of drawn parade structured the time of soldiers and allowed very little time, little, very little variation in the lives of soldiers. And the army makes very few allowances for the Christian Sabbath, nevermind for the Jewish one. While officers, as I've described to you, had a little bit more latitude than enlisted men, even for them, they're beholden to the military bureaucracy, which is stingy with leave and makes any sort of planning ahead very difficult if they want to try go home, for example, for Jewish festivals. We know, for example, Marcus Spiegel, a man who's writing to his wife about the pickled tongues. We know that he only learns about Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur from a chance encounter with another Jewish soldier, not in his regiment, a man by the name of Simon Brooker, who encounters by chance when they are both in Suffolk, in Virginia. This is in September of 1862.

So we know that Marcus Spiegel doesn't have any idea when Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur and Simon Brooker tells him that they're approaching very soon. And we know that Spiegel plans to attend synagogue in Norfolk, in Virginia, and you can actually see the synagogue in the next slide. And so Spiegel makes these plans to go on, for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, but fortunately for him, he actually gets leave, longer way to leave and he can actually go home. We know that Simon Brooker goes to the synagogue on Rosh Hashanah and because he writes about it and he leaves us his account. And so Simon Brooker is temporarily in Suffolk as I've described, nearby to Norfolk. And, you know, his regiment had been badly bloodied in one of the early Shenandoah campaigns that it had suffered badly at the battles of Winchester and Port Republic. And it's really, you know, enjoying a respite in Suffolk. And he's told by his parents who write to him of the presence of this Norfolk synagogue.

And he's, he writes home, he says he's much pleased. And he goes along and he says, and he, this is his letter about what happens on Rosh Hashanah. He says he was pleased to find a large congregation engaged in prayer when he arrives on the first night Rosh Hashanah. "Oh," he says, "it made me feel as though I were at home among friends once more." But in reality, it's sort of a very, you know, I suppose typical Jewish experience because they are, you know, they don't make him necessary that welcome. This is what he writes. He says that all the you'll hear him, "All the Jews in Norfolk are embedded against the Northern soldiers." They don't actually

much like these Northern soldiers. And he says he had several little arguments with some of them. Again, Jewish experience. He found most of them pretty reasonable, excepting the young ladies. And he says they can out argue the smartest statesmen in the world according to their own way. So again, this is his experience of Rosh Hashanah in Norfolk in 1862. Marcus Spiegel found another way to engage with Jews that he encountered in the towns that his regiment had passed through. So again, in that same campaign, in the Shenandoah campaign, we know that his regiment at, this is Marcus Spiegel's regiment, had been marched off its feet by Stonewall Jackson. And, but Spiegel describes how he had lots of fun. In his words, "lots of fun with Yahudi." Lots of fun with Jews.

He, again, they're marching through the Shenandoah and stopping briefly in towns along the way. Sometimes they'll camp in towns along the way. And he says that he recognised Jewish civilians to, in his words, "by their names, as well as their ponents, their faces." And he said, "I would surprise them by dropping Hebrew into his conversation." And he says, "You ought to see them jump and ask Jewda when he does this." And he does the same trick later when he's stationed in Memphis. You can see Memphis in the next slide. Memphis is again, a critical hub, in particularly the Western theatre of the war. So you can see in fact how Spiegel moves from the Army of the Potomac. He's going to change regiments. He's going to then join Grant's campaign against Vicksburg. And this is to give you a sense of what Memphis looks like. This map is actually from 1870, so slightly afterwards. But you can see again the centrality of the river, and, you know, it's a relatively small but important city. So Spiegel repeated the same trick when he's briefly in Memphis. He temporarily leaves his men. His men are aboard a transport trip, which is literally taking them from Cincinnati the whole way down to just outside Vicksburg. And he said that he got off the ship in Memphis and he was taking a stroll along the riverbank.

And he remembers at this point that it's a Saturday and it's itching, he's itching, in his own words, to have a kosher lunch as he describes it. And he comes across a couple, Jewish husband and wife who knows, he guesses to be a Jewish husband and wife, who's strolling along the embankment and he greets them with, "Happy Sabbath, dear people." And they, he frightens them out of their skins. They are unused to be, in his words, "Being offered happy Sabbath by a man in uniform with sword, spurs, and so forth." But they then, you know, I suppose, have come to terms with this rather unusual greeting, and they direct him to a Jewish boarding house where he joins 30 other, in his words, very surprised Jews for lunch. But again, this is a typical Jewish story 'cause the tables are soon turned over the lunch because his host at this Jewish boarding house recognises his face and establishes that they have a whole range of family interconnections. This is, you know, Jewish geography 1862 style. And this meeting then ultimately pays dividends for Marcus Spiegel.

A month later, he is camped outside of Vicksburg. He's three miles north of Vicksburg. This is during Grant's very long siege of Vicksburg or attempt to besiege Vicksburg. And what happens is that Spiegel had received a box of things as he described it, a care package from a well wisher in Memphis, a full game presumably with tang and all sorts of other delights for Marcus Spiegel. But to give you a sense of how unusual this is that Spiegel, the next occasion that he

celebrates Shabbat is more than a year later. We know this because he goes, a year later, more than a year later, he's in Baton Rouge and he is invited to the house of a Mrs. Bear in Baton Rouge, who is an enterprising Jewish widow who regularly entertained Jewish officers. Again, they're paying her for, to eat at her house. And this is a wonderful complaint here from Marcus Spiegel. He says, "Her place would seem very pleasant to go to if it was not for six as mean children as I ever saw." But I think he still enjoys his Shabbat meal with Mrs. Bear. We also have a handful of accounts of Jewish soldiers celebrating Jewish festivals while in the field. And the best known example of this is an account by Joseph A. Joel, who offers a vivid description of celebrating Pesach, Passover in 1862, while idled in a village, in the village of Fayette in West Virginia, in the foothills of the, a mountains of West Virginia. Actually, I've done a lot of digging around this story, so I can tell you if you're interested in the question time more about exactly how reliable the story is and what I know about it. But I'll relate the story to you 'cause it's a wonderful story.

So he's told, Joseph A. Joel, who's an Englishman, again, an immigrant who's a young man and signs up soon after he arrives in America. He's told of the approach of Pesach, again, presumably letters from home. And 20 of his comrades, he and 20 of his comrades, who belong to the same regiments, the 23rd Ohio Infantry, were granted a relief from their regular duties so they can prepare for the festival. So he's amongst, at least he claims to be amongst 20 other Jews in his regiment. I'm somewhat sceptical of that, but I'll tell you about that later. So what they do is they, these 20 Jews, they entrust to the regimental merchant to the sutler, some of their newly paid wages. And they ask the sutler, this is before Pesach, to go, when he goes back to Cincinnati to send them Mutzah. That's exactly what he does. And it's just before Pesach is just to begin, there's a precious cargo arrives. Seven barrels of Mutzah and two prayer books. And they arrive by waggon train in the camp. And I'll read you now Joel's account. In fact, you can read it yourself in the next slide.

And he describes, "We were now able to keep the Seder Nights if we could only obtain the other requisites for that occasion." Now this is what you can see in front of you. "We held a consultation and decided to send parties to forage in the country, while a party stayed to build a log hut for the services. About the middle of the afternoon, the foragers arrived, having been quite successful. We obtained two kegs of cider, a lamb, several chickens and some eggs. Horseradish or parsley we could not obtain. But in lieu, we found a weed whose bitterness, I apprehend, exceeded anything our forefathers enjoyed. We were still in a great quandary. We were like the man who drew the elephant in the lottery. We had the lamb but did not know what part was to represent it at the table. But Yankee ingenuity prevailed and it was decided to cook the whole and put it on the table, then we could dine off it and be sure we had the right part. The necessaries for the choroutzes we could not obtain. So we got a brick, which rather hard to digest, reminded us by looking at it for what purpose it was intended."

So with these symbolic foods in place, yes, sacramental wine, or at least a stand in at the cider, a lamb chenko in this instance, a whole lamb, an egg, the bitter herbs, and chouroutzes, and that paste of nuts and fruits representing the brick and mortar of labour in Egyptian bondage,

they were now ready for their Seder. And Joel led the service. And the ritualised meal, the Seder meal, began with the Asomba exhortation, for divine intervention to preserve us from our danger. But it soon devolved into fast. And you can see this in the next slide, the continuation of his description. So in the next slide, you'll see, I'll read to you. It says, "The ceremonies were passing off very nicely until we arrived at the part where the bitter herb was to be taken. We all had a large portion of the herb ready to eat at the moment I said the blessing. Each eat his portion, when horrors! What a scene ensued in our little congregation, it is impossible for my pen to describe. The herb was very bitter and very fiery like cayenne pepper and excited our thirsts to such a degree that we forgot the law authorising us to drink only four cups of wine, and the consequence was we drank up all the cider. Those that drank the more freely became excited, and one thought he was Moses, another Aaron. And one had the audacity to call himself Pharaoh.

The consequence was a squirmish with nobody hurt. Only Moses, Aaron and Pharaoh had to be carried to the camp and there left in the arms of Morpheus, to go to sleep. This slight incident did not take away our appetite and after doing justice to our lamb, chickens and eggs, we resumed the second part of the service without anything occurring worthy of note." There in the wild woods of West Virginia, he ended his reflection. "Away from home and friends, we consecrated and offered up to the ever loving God of Israel, our prayers and sacrifice. I doubt with the spirits of our forefathers, had they been looking down on us, standing there with our arms by our side, ready for an attack, faithful to our God and our cause, would've imagined themselves among mortals and acting this commemoration of the scene that transpired in Egypt." Equally endearing, but even less reliable is the Passover tale of Moses Levy, a cavalryman in the Fifth Pennsylvania Cavalry. Again, a regiment that we know a lot about. So Levy is remembered to overcome across the unlikely sight of a young boy munching on Matzah upon entering a town in northern Virginia in April of 1864.

So Levy is with his calvary troop, they enter this town, and he stumbles across this boy. He's actually sitting on the steps outside a house, eating what's distinctly Matzah. And this is, you know, it, this is a Confederate citizen, Confederate town that he's entered. And so Levy remembered asking the boy, he says to the boy, he asked the boy for piece of the unleavened bread, piece of the Matzah, but the child fled indoors, shouting at the top of his voice, "Mother, there's a damn Yankee Jew outside and he wants my Matzah." The boy's mother, we are told, displayed more grace than her Confederate son. She came out immediately and invited him to return for a Passover dinner that night. To conclude and to return to the subject with which we started, the less fortunate religious ritual that bothered Jewish soldiers, particularly related to burial. Let's go to the final slide. Dying far from home and alone was an abiding fear for soldiers, as was concerned about what would become of their remains if they were to fall in the field, in battle, or in an army hospital. For Jews that also raised the problem of internment, of burial in unconsecrated ground and without proper Jewish burial rights.

When called upon, local rabbis conducted funerals for soldiers who died in military hospitals. Again, these military hospitals are close to a number of Northern cities and rabbis will often see

this role. But for Jewish sergeant soldiers who are out in the field in Northern Virginia or Mississippi or elsewhere, there are again very few prospects of receiving a proper Jewish burial. More often than not, they would have to hope in such circumstances that other Jews, the other Jewish soldiers or Jewish civilians would step into help. We know, again, I've collected a lot of examples of this, but in Nashville, Henry Spitz formed a personal bond with Prussian born Julius Lipman. Henry Spitz was the president of the synagogue, a very small congregation, Orthodox congregation in Nashville at the time and he formed this bond with, personal bond with Julius Lipman, the Jewish soldier, 'cause the Julius Lipman's regiment was encamped opposite Spitz's house for more than three months in the fall of 1862. We know that Lipman invited Spitz to, oh, sorry, Spitz invited Lipman to join him at the synagogue on Yom Kippur and Spitz was in frequent contact with him and other, with Lipman and other Jewish soldiers.

This relationship had a tragic end. As Lipman's unit was engaged at the Battle of Stones River, 30 miles from Nashville, this again in the fall of 1862, and Spitz then recalled that in his own words, "At the first opportunity I had after the battle, I inquired after him, I inquired after Lipman and heard he fell in the battlefield. I considered my duty if possible to recover the body, to give him a burial according to the laws of Israel." Spitz sent word to Pauline Lipman, to the soldier's wife in Chicago, asking for instructions, in his words, "how to dispose of the remains of Lipman's husband." But he's unable to track down Lipman's wife in time. And there's clearly word comes back from Chicago that they should bury the body as soon as possible. They shouldn't dispatch it northwards from Nashville to Chicago. So he proceeded with the burial. And this is what he writes about the burial. He says that, "On the ninth day after his death, I found him a plain coffin at the undertakers. His features were the same as living, smiling in death. With the assistance of friends, reclaimed the remains, had them brought to my house, and then interned the next day, Friday, the 9th of January, on the burial ground of our congregation with all the honours a Yehuda wishes for."

And Spitz wrote to the Israelite newspaper in the hopes that Pauline Lipman, this new widow, 28 years old, and like her husband, newly arrived from Prussia, would in his words, "would learn all the facts and maybe a consolation to her to know where his remains rest." For those who survived the war, this experience of soldiering was transformative. So of those I've described to you, not all of them survived the war. Mark Spiegel, for example, falls in an ambush in Mississippi. Likewise, a number of others don't, will not survive the war either. And, but those who do, the war is transformative. It broadens their social and geographical horizons. It socialises these immigrants into life in America. For a number of them, they have these distinguished careers after the war. Sometimes marry non-Jews. Again, they've spent the war immersed in a non-Jewish environment, and, but it's undoubtedly a transformative experience that they've been exposed to. These several thousand Jewish men have been exposed to American and the American landscape in ways that they never had before.

They see a part of American, seen Americans, and been immersed with an American culture as never before. Yet as we'll see tomorrow when I'll talk a little bit more about the Civil War, the Civil War was not just transformative for those who fought in the Union Army. It's actually a

transformative moment for all Jews in America. And this is a somewhat unusual argument to make, that the Civil War doesn't receive, I argue, its due, its rightful attention from scholars. So as we'll see tomorrow, the war is transformative in another very important way. And I'm going to argue tomorrow that it's really impossible to understand the extraordinary economic success of Jews in America without recognising the role of the Civil War. And we will turn to that and talk a little bit about the war and its aftermath, economic repercussions for Jews in more detail tomorrow. But now I'll be delighted to take your questions.

- Thanks Adam. So will you just look at the questions and answers?

- Yes. Absolutely.

- Thanks.

Q&A and Comments:

-Q: So the first question is how can I find about whether my great-great-grandfather fought in the Civil War?

A: Well, as I've described to you, the Chappelle roster is, has been a work in progress for many, many years. And we'll go live hopefully later this year or early next year. And it contains really an authoritative and carefully checked listing of Jewish soldiers initially in the Union and the plan is to expand it to the Confederacy as well. There are work on the Confederacy too and contains all sorts of documents which, you know, demonstrating the service of Jews. It's really a wonderful resource and will be available. And in fact, it underpins a lot of my presentation this evening that I've used the roster and used documents in the roster to find out more about Jewish soldiers and as well, there's obviously additional research as well.

So let me pick out some other questions. As with last time, I have to be unfortunately selective in terms of, we won't have enough time to answer all the questions.

Here we go. Let me just, so there's Michael Hamon says that he's found Civil War veterans buried in the UK. Please send details. I'd love to add in more details.

Q: There's a question from Mayra Phoenia about did Jews serve in the Confederate army too?

A: Absolutely. There's a much smaller Jewish population in the South and in the Confederacy during the Civil War than there is in the North. I described this last week that there are roughly 125,000 Jews in the Union, in the Confederacy. Sorry, in the Union and about 25,000 in the Confederacy. And we know that the Jews enlist in high numbers in the Confederacy. What I'm less sure about is whether they all do so willingly. Some certainly do so. There are Jews who, you know, in Charleston, Savannah, and elsewhere, who are, who've grown up in southern society and very proud of their southern identities and see this as their patriotic duty. But many

others, the majority of the Southern Jewish population in 1861 are immigrants.

And they have good reason, again, to be reluctant to serve. It's very dangerous serving in the Confederate army. In the Union army too. And, but it becomes increasingly difficult to evade service in the Confederacy army. We know this because all sorts of groups in the Confederacy do try to evade service. We know, for example, that a lot of immigrants try to do so, and they initially in the war, if you can get, if you can claim not to be a US citizen, you can get out of a service in the Confederate army and, you know, all sorts of immigrants' write to their consul, to say, you know, to get a letter saying that they are not a US citizen, but ultimately, the Confederacy, because it's desperately short of manpower, what it does is it closes down all these loopholes.

So we know that there are lots of reluctant recruits, particularly later in the war in 1863, 1864, 1865, and Jews amongst them. So we see the Jews who are eager to enlist. There are eager volunteers, but likewise those who really can't evade service as well. There's a question here about General Grant's, General Orders Number 11. And this is again, something I obviously didn't mention this evening, but it's again one of the two episodes in the war where Jewish matters are quite prominent, that it's an order issued by General Grant, then commanding the Army of the Tennessee, who's campaigning trying to capture Vicksburg. In fact, Marcus Spiegel, who I described earlier, is again in a regiment in Grant's Army. And so Grant is, it's a very, very difficult campaign following the Mississippi River. And the prize they're trying to capture is Vicksburg, the Fortress of the West, which really commands the Mississippi River. But they are travelling through very, very rich cotton country, plantations, which dot the Mississippi River.

And what happens at this moment in time is that there's obviously enormous profits to be made by those who potentially can buy cotton and take it northwards. There's a terrible cotton shortage in the North. So here, there's a tremendous economic opportunity. In fact, the Commerce Department forces Grant's hand. Grant doesn't want anyone to be legally allowed to buy cotton, but instead the Commerce Department, because it wants to encourage industry in the North, forces Grant to allow traders to travel through his army going to buy cotton. So Grant is very upset by this. He believes that these traders are going to basically provide information, intelligence to the Confederate army. They're also going to ultimately allow the Confederacy to fight longer because, you know, they're trading gold for cotton and things of that kind.

And he's unhappy about this. And we begin to see then in the latter months of 1862, a series of increasingly hysterical letters being sent by Grant and his lieutenants, and Sherman does the same thing, talking about traders and about smugglers, and often again, using the term Jew and smuggler interchangeably. And ultimately in December of 1862, Grant explodes in rage. And there's a whole theory about why he does this. It probably relates to his father who's in business with Jews. And he issues this order, this General Orders Numbers 11, which expels all Jews from the vast territory under his command. His territory stretches the whole way north to, you know, actually into Illinois. And he gives Jews 24 hours, all Jews 24 hours to leave this territory. And fortunately the order is only partially implemented because fate intervenes. There's a

calvary raid by, Confederate cavalry raid, which disrupts the transmission of this order. But some Jews are expelled from this vast territory and some of them rush off to Washington.

They appeal to President Lincoln, who counter demands the order. But this remains a stain on Grant's reputation ever after this point in time, that Grant, you know, never really wants to talk about it, never really apologises for it. But when he himself becomes President or at least in his presidential campaign in 1867, the opposing party, Democrat party, will again revive this memory of Grant's order and says, you know, tries to persuade the Jewish community not to vote for Grant. And then what Grant does when he takes office as president is that, at least Jonathan Sarna argues in his book, "When Grant Expelled the Jews", that Grant atone for his order by appointing Jews to a whole variety of very prominent positions. So it's a fascinating episode and as I said, it's very, very unusual episode of Jews being central to the war for a a moment in time.

Q: There's a question from Lucas about what drove Jews to enlist, to volunteer. Was it ideology? Were they paid? And if so, what was the income? Was it more certain than what they left behind?

A: All sorts of motives, which persuaded Jews to enlist that, some did so because they were true believers, that they were, you know, committed to the Union or committed to the Confederacy. For, I argue that in many cases, like other soldiers in the Union in particular, they were, you know, pragmatic, that there was a economic crisis in the early stages of the war and that the, you know, they were patriotic, but at the same time, the wages paid by the military were attractive. Some of them were desperate. They had no other choice. Marcus Spiegel, who I spoke about, for example, we know that his business is failing and that you can, that he lives in Ohio and Ohio will stay your bankruptcy proceeding, will suspend your bankruptcies proceeding if you enlist in the military and that's exactly what he does.

And in fact, he does very well in the military and he has this long running argument with his wife and letters, which got backwards and forth. His wife is desperate for him to leave the military. He wants to remain. He initially does it for the money, but then ultimately he does it because he loves it and he's very good at it. And it's a very, very sad argument, which they have, and he writes about how deeply upset his wife is when he goes home to visit, but he stays in the army and ultimately he dies in this, in an ambush quite late in the war.

There, let me pick out another question here.

So someone is pointing out rightfully that that's their, you know, in later wars, the American army didn't necessarily provide kosher food as well. Yes, absolutely. The army isn't accommodating not just the Jews, but the other religious groups as well. In fact there's a general indifference to religion. Sometimes a hostility to religion in the army. But obviously it's particularly difficult for Jews. More so than for Christians.

There is a someone, Peter Seitz references Simon Wolf's book, "The American Jewish Patriot Soldier and Citizen", which is published in 1895, which has a list of, contains about 10,000 names. It's of Jews who joined Confederate and Union Army. The Chappelle roster is really an updating of that, that we know that Simon Wolf's listing is problematic for a variety of reasons, that he ascribes Judaism to a lot of soldiers who are not. They just happened to have German Jewish sounding names. So, but yes, Simon Wolf, and I've written quite extensively about him and about his book, but it's again, one of these marque books about the war.

Someone else cites Bertram Korn's book about Jews and civil war as well. Also a very good book, but about Jews on the home front.

Let me pick out more questions.

Q: Do I have any data on Jews who financed and supported the Confederacy?

A: I'll speak about that tomorrow so you could wait at that one. I can easily answer tomorrow.

All sorts of recommendations here about, you know, interesting books and articles to read. Someone is asking about the Pesach celebration. A little bit has been written about it. As I said, I've now done a lot of research about it and disagree with what's been written about it. And I'll happily, you know, as soon as the book, my book is published, I'll share that with you. Most of these stories that you heard tonight come from what I've written already.

Q: The question here about, very good question about evangelistic or messianic movement that might influence the experience of Jews.

A: Absolutely. This is the other reason why the Jewish experience in the army is particularly challenging is that there are our missionaries at work again, who are trying to in some cases of trying to convert Jews. Not, this is certainly not the case with most military chaplains, but there is certainly this experience and likewise sort of soldiers who land up in military hospitals in some cases describe the experience of being bombarded with, you know, conversionary literature, with missionaries trying to pray at their bedsides and persuade them to convert. It's one of the reasons why before the war, after the war, we see the emergence of Jewish hospitals in America, that Mount Sinai in New York and other Jewish hospitals elsewhere are actually in a response to this. The sense that Jews are very vulnerable when they are ill and that you need to provide a place where not only will they get kosher food, but also that they can be, you know, sure not to be too pressured into conversion.

Let me pick out one or two more question.

So the suggestion that Kun, our Hungarian might not have, it might not have been an alias. We haven't been able to find, you know, any evidence for, of a Kun or a George Kun in other records, which suggested it probably an alias. And in fact, he says in his, in a letter that I have,

he says that he changed his name, that he didn't want his parents to know that he was a soldier. And this again was not uncommon. I've looked very extensively at aliases, at name changing, and there's, and lots and lots of Jews change their names during, when they enlist for a variety of reasons. Some of it's, I think about antisemitism, to avoid antisemitism. And in many cases they say I changed my name. I didn't want my parents to know that I'm enlisted. Sometimes it's to conceal their Jewish identities, things of that kind.

Let me just pick out one or two more.

Q: Do I have an idea about death toll?

A: It's a very good question. With the Union, yes. That, you know, Jews are, are killed in battle, in most of the major battles during the war. And again, the Chappelle roster has all these details and lots of Jews like, you know, the experience of soldiers in the Union army more broadly will die outside of battle. That's, your chance of dying of disease are higher than your chance of dying in battle. That's particularly for those who are in a, people in a, grown up in the countryside, haven't been exposed to living amongst, in crowded conditions amongst other men during the war that, you know, rampant epidemic disease, which kills large number of soldiers. And we see this with Marcus Spiegel when he's encamped outside of Vicksburg. His regiment drops like flies. He, they die in large numbers from malaria and from other things in these miserable conditions. And certainly this is the case of Jews as well.

Q: So did any Jews rise to officer status?

A: Yes, absolutely. That's more in the Confederacy perhaps than in the Union, than the Union Army. But yes, there are Jews. The highest rank is colonel. There are a number of Jews who are given honorary rank of general afterwards, but those who actually, you know, rise, are appointed or rise in rank during the war commission are, there are a number of cases, and Marcus Spiegel, for example, becomes a colonel and, but no higher than than that. And there are plenty of Jews, again, you know, captains, lieutenants, and otherwise, so there's, you know, and, but it's more complicated. It seems to vary by state and by units. So it's, again, it's, I can integrate this, add this to this question about anti-Semitism.

It's complicated when it comes to anti-Semitism in the Union Army. It seems to depend on a lot about which particular company that you are in, and not just your Richmond particular company, that I have lots of examples of soldiers who have bad luck, that they're the only Jew in sometimes seems to be a pattern that, you know, particularly Catholic immigrant units, and they are mercilessly bullied while, and they try to leave the unit, and some desert because of this. We have a number of examples of that kind. There are, again, plenty of examples of officers who will talk very in hostile ways about Jewish soldiers. But likewise we have fighter Semitism as well. We have positive experiences of Jews in the military.

There is no one single pattern. There's a lot of variation when it comes to anti-Semitism. And

what's important to remember, what's crucial to remember is that this is a time, the 1860s of actually before the war and after the war is a time when Americans are openly prejudiced about all sorts of groups, that they say things about Catholics and about, you know, Italians and Irish and others Germans, which you would never, you know, I suppose if you remember the Proud Boys, you might get away with today, but otherwise if not spoke, you don't speak in these ways in polite society today, but then was absolutely, you know, an open way of speaking and thinking. And so we see this apply to Jews as well. So all sorts of stereotypes of Jews, which are often anti-Semitic and, but likewise we see, you know, other groups being regarded in the same sort of way. And likewise, you know, Jews say unfavourable things about other groups too.

So there's a, you know, all sorts of a variety when it comes to, you know, all sorts of prejudice. This is a prejudiced time and a time when prejudice is, you know, in the air and spoken about. But it's, as I said, it's often, you know, Jews experiences as individuals. Very rarely do you have episodes like, you know, Grant's General Orders Number 11, which are targeting Jews as a collective. But it's certainly, you know, there's reason why Jews might want to conceal their identities and I think that plenty of them do so.

Q: Can I comment on Hessian soldiers during the war?

A: In fact, what I've done with the Chappelle roster allows me to do is to look at soldiers from all sorts of different backgrounds. So you can look at Hessians. You can look at soldiers from Bardon, from Bavaria, from other German principalities, from Hungary, from Austria, from you know, the Russian, from Russia, et cetera. And look at their, you know, patterns amongst them. And so I can tell you again, I've written about this that, you know, that there are variations between these groups, how they, how these, you know, Jews from Hess respond differently from those from Bardon, those from Wittenberg and those from Bavaria. But often the pattern seems to be where they land up in America. So Bavarian Jews seem to land up in Cincinnati and the Midwest in large numbers. Also in Baltimore. And that there's a particular, that their experience of the war is more guided by that than that they lived in Bavaria. It's definitely higher than, you know, anything which is distinctly Bavarian.

And the same is true of Hessians as well. That they've, there's chain migration. They land up in particular parts of the United States and that seems to shape their experience in the army rather than the fact that they are Hessians. They do though stick together. They do correspond with one another. And they, again, there's a, there are all these sub-identities which are very important to them as well. And again, it's an important point to remember is that, you know, I've spoken tonight about Jews, but in reality these are, some are immigrants, some are native born. The immigrants come from all over. You know, they are French immigrants and German and others from the German states and those from England, et cetera. And I argue again elsewhere in this forthcoming book that one of the things which really makes American Judaism and American Jewry is the war that they, because Americans don't see them as Bavarians or Hessians or Jews from Bardon, they see them as Jews. And because of this, they come to think

of themselves as American Jews, that this is, because they group together in this way.

And by the way, that's the same argument that historians of the Irish and Germans during the war, they make exactly the same argument that the, that a sense of Germanness for example, comes out of the experience of prejudice during the war. That, and likewise for Jews and experience of antisemitism, being described as Jews during the war, you know, that all these other identities are subsumed by a Jewish identity because of experience during the war. So I think I've answered hopefully as many of your questions as I can. And please do send me questions. A number of of people have, you know, specific pieces of information to share. Please feel free to email me.

- Thanks Adam. That was outstanding. we're going allow you to go to bed now. What's the time there?

- It's 8:20 and-

- Oh, okay.

- My wife has put my two young kids to bed. So this is the other upside of this time. You get a pause.

- Ok, great. Good. Okay, not quite bedtime. But thank you very, very much and to our listeners who are still here, thanks for joining us and just remind you that at two o'clock, we are going to be listening to Sherry Blair who's going to be talking about her foundation. Thanks a million. Chat soon. Take care. Bye.