

Adam Mendelsohn - How Jews Made it in 19th Century America

- [Wendy] Okay, I see that it's two minutes past the hour. So, thank you very much once again. Much appreciated. Thanks to Judy as well. And so over to you.

Visuals are displayed throughout the presentation.

- Thank you, thank you, Wendy, thank you. I'm going to talk today about a first topic relating to Jews in 19th century America, which is really the extraordinary economic trajectory of Jews in American society. Not just social mobility, but economic mobility as well. And I'm going to offer an explanation, rather an atypical explanation of why this took place. How Jews really move from the margins, the economic margins of American society, really being a rather insignificant group in American economic life to being a group which in the 20th century is unrivalled in its economic upward mobility. That a number of economists and historians have looked at this question. And Jews really have this exceptional trajectory, this exceptional mobility in the 20th century. And I'm going to offer some explanation about why this is the case, and in fact, tying it with, into themes that we spoke about yesterday, but also themes we spoke about last week as well. But I'm going to start by talking about the arrival on May 10th of 1861 of a passenger ship in Liverpool Harbour, at dawn on May 10th of 1861.

And this is the, the first slide in front of you here is Liverpool Harbour, and obviously a busy port in 1861, a bustling port, a port which had been the centre of the slave trade and a city whose merchants had been made rich by dispatching their vessels to rendezvous with slave traders and that had dotted the West African coastline. Now Liverpool prospered by importing cotton and cotton primarily picked by slaves on plantations in the American South. And this cotton was then transformed into cloth in the factories of Lancashire. So this is May 10th, 1861, a Friday morning, early in the morning, and just weeks after the fall of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbour had signalled the beginning of the Civil War. And many in Liverpool expected to soon be doing business with the Confederate States of America. The Confederate states of America is really just, created itself by seceding from the Union. If they had known who was aboard one of the ships that arrived that day, the Stevedores in this pro-southern port city, Liverpool was known certainly in this stage of the war for having pro-southern sentiments. The Stevedores might have given one of the passengers who disembarked that day a hero's welcome. After disembarking, Caleb Huse was in no mood to tarry. His voyage had taken him over three weeks. He was 31 years old, a recent West Point graduate, and freshly commissioned as a major in the newly established Confederate Army.

And he'd been dispatched from Richmond, the Confederate capital to London on a secret mission. He was carrying on his young shoulders, as a 31 year old, the knowledge that the task that had been assigned to him might determine the very fate of the Confederacy. Although an exultant glow still radiated through the South after Fort Sumter. This is three weeks after the fall of Fort Sumpter and the series of parades and celebrations to mark the creation of the Confederate States of America. The Confederate government was confronted by a stark reality.

In its rush to war, The Confederacy had little time to create the stockpiles needed to sustain its armies in the field. This is a government and a nation created almost out of nothing in 1861. Once it began to muster men into regiments, to actually begin to form its army, it quickly found itself at a massive disadvantage because on the eve of war, only a tiny fraction of the nation's factories, of the factories in the United States were based in the American South. In fact, in the 1850s, the South has imported two-thirds of its clothing, something we'll talk about a little bit later. And it could barely provide footwear for its soldiers. It's a economy in the South, which is obviously very wealthy because of cotton, because of slavery, but it's one which, it's an agricultural economy. There are factories in Richmond and Atlanta and a few other places, but certainly it relies heavily on the northern market.

So it imports goods from the North. It imports goods from Europe, but its primary export is obviously cotton. That's in the 1850s. So the herculean task of outfitting the Confederate armies fell to a quartermaster's department, which was hurriedly cobbled together under the command of Abraham C. Myers, and you'll see him in the next slide. Abraham C. Myers was the grandson of Charleston's first Rabbi. Those of you who know Florida well, Fort Myers is named after him. So, this is his responsibilities to outfit the Confederate Army. But given the limitations of its own manufacturing capacity, the Confederacy almost immediately realised it would need to rely on supplies imported from abroad to stand any hope of victory. It doesn't have the manufacturing capacity to sustain its armies in the field without importing enormous quantities of munitions and uniforms and all sorts of other things from abroad. Hence, this mission of Caleb Huse, this confederate officer who was dispatched to London to begin purchasing the vast quantities of military supplies needed to surmount the Confederacy shortfall. This is his job, is to begin sending boatloads of supplies across the Atlantic.

He arrived without detailed instructions and with considerable discretionary power to buy and ship goods to southern ports. Basically, he's on an enormous buying mission, the buying mission, which will last through most of the Civil War. In fact, he arrives and he's not the only person from America who's buying munitions and rifles and artillery pieces and uniforms and other things from London. In fact, he finds himself soon in competition with representatives of the Union of the North, also in London and in Paris and elsewhere, buying vast quantities of supplies as well. But the Confederacy Fund itself, as I said, had another disadvantage too, that again, the arms manufacturers and other manufacturers that it was buying goods from demanded exorbitant cash payments because the credit of the Confederacy was uncertain. And likewise, its longevity was uncertain. No one knew whether this government and the state would survive. So, hence, they were charging premiums to Caleb Huse. So therefore, what Caleb Huse does is to turn to a little known firm for assistance.

And if we go to the next slide, you'll see one of the representatives of this firm. So, so began a partnership that paired Caleb Huse, Caleb Huse is on the left hand side of your screen as an older man. And on the right hand side with one of the Isaac brothers. A faithful partnership began, which paired him, Caleb Huse on behalf of the Confederacy with S. Isaac, Campbell &

Company. It's a British firm, which had begun in the boot making business, but now devoted its entire attention to servicing the Confederacy. So basically, they begin to work very closely with Caleb Huse. So Huse doesn't have any underlings of his own. He arrives alone, and he's under tremendous pressure from Richmond. And what he does is therefore come to rely heavily on this firm, to satisfy the Confederacy's appetite for whatever he can send across the Atlantic. 'Cause not only is this firm of S. Isaac, Campbell & Company willing to extend large amounts of credit at critical moments, but also it offered its expertise in navigating the landscape of the British arms industry. At this point of time, Britain has one of the largest, most important arms industries in the world. And this firm takes Caleb Huse by the hand, literally so, in London, he actually moves in, he rents a house just down the road from their headquarters in St. James. And they assist him with purchasing. So this firm negotiates contracts with suppliers. It inspects the purchased articles against defects. It organises shipping to bypass the northern blockade, which you'll see in the next slide.

One of the things that the Union does is to blockade southern ports. So you need to, in the next slide you'll see that this is the Anaconda plan to effectively cut the Confederacy off from the world. So but fortunately, this firm will help organise these blockade runners, these fast ships who will get through this naval blockade to get these essential suppliers to the Confederacy. So, you might be asking yourselves, what has this to do with Jews? How does this relate to Jews in any way? You're right in thinking that Caleb Huse is not a particularly Jewish name, nor is Isaac, Campbell & Company. But while the very Protestant Caleb Huse knew much more about musket balls than balls, although the two are sometimes not dissimilar, Isaac Campbell and Company was a very Jewish firm, in a very Jewish business. In fact, the firm's name Isaac, Campbell & Company was intentionally misleading. Dugald Forbes Campbell, the Scottish attorney, who occasionally represented the firm, larger service was providing a name for the masthead that obscured the religion of the two brothers who actually owned and operated the company. Over the course of the Civil War, Samuel and Saul Isaac made a fortune by acting as a crutch to Caleb Huse in the Confederacy, really as this key role as suppliers to the Confederacy.

Much of what they shipped literally put clothing on the backs of soldiers within the field. They shipped boots and blankets and buttons and kit bags and millions of yards of fabric. And you can in fact see examples of, in the next slide of some of the goods that they shipped across the Atlantic. Here's a case of a sword, a Confederate sword inscribed with the mark of S. Isaac, Campbell & Company. And if you go to the next slide, again, you can see some of the other articles that they shipped as well, revolvers. And as I said, much of it actually was clothing as well. But they also had items as large as artillery pieces, which they bought. By 1863, so two years into the war, this firm was owed the astronomical sum of 515,000 pounds by the Confederacy, by one calculation, that's over 300 million dollars today. So they owned an enormous amount of money because they're shipping these goods on credit. And without their services, the Confederacy may not have been able to fight as long and as hard as it did. And you get a sense of this relationship in the next slide, this is a slide, an interesting, very curious slide, which shows Judah P. Benjamin, then the Secretary of War, or Secretary of State for the

Confederacy, it earlier being Secretary of War.

He writes to the firm, to these, the Jewish owners of the firm, basically thanking them for the credit they've provided. And I won't read the letter to you, but it's worth having a look at, which again describes quite directly, indicates that other firms are unwilling to provide credit, and he's thanking them for providing credit, allowing them to continue buying and purchasing vast amounts of munitions and other things, despite the fact that, again, the Confederacy is unable to pay, or at least unable to pay at this point in time. It was no accident that the Confederacy turned to Jews in London to supply the Confederacy, particularly when it came to uniforms. 'Cause over the previous two decades, really, in the 1840s and 1850s, Jews had risen to the top of the ready made clothing trade in London. And they'd done so through innovation. This is one of the interesting, the stories of Jewish life in England during this period is that we begin to see Jews already by the 1840s, 1850s, innovating and becoming key figures within the, what at this point is a very young ready made clothing trade that this is a trade which they've come to dominate in some areas. So Jewish entrepreneurs, for example, were early adopters of the sweating system. In other words, the system of using unskilled labour in place of expensive tailors in order to drive down the cost of producing clothing.

So this is again a, particularly a Jewish innovation or at least an innovation which Jews play a central role in. And we begin, in London, for example, in the 1840s and 1850s, a number of the largest purveyors of ready-made clothing are these Jewish firms. So for example, the Isaac brothers, who I've just described to you are examples of this too. They don't make a fortune in the clothing trade but in the boot making trade. You can see in fact in the next slide an example of their boots. They supply the civilian market, but they also supply the military market as well. They supply the British army. In fact, the reason, one of the reasons why they are so eager to get business from the Confederate States of America in 1861 is that they, just a few years prior, they had supplied large quantities of boots and other gear to the British army during the Crimean Wars. The boots had proven to be not particularly sturdy. And there's a whole series of scandals around this. And ultimately, by 1861, they aren't able to, they're banned from supplying to the British army. So therefore they find another buyer in which, you know, in this case the Confederate States of America. But many more Jews of the ilk, of the Isaac brothers made their fortunes in supplying inexpensive jackets and suits to London's rapidly growing population. As I said, this becomes really a Jewish business, the clothing trade. And many of the innovations, as I said are in introducing the sweating system, using it very profitably to make ready-made clothing, but also in retailing, new methods of selling clothing.

And here they rely on this rapid turnover model to make low margin clothing items profitable, that these ready made items of clothing are sold much more cheaply than tailored clothing is. And again, we're familiar with this system today, this is how most clothing stores operate. But at that time, it's novelty. It's a novel system. So, Jewish firms produce large quantities of cheap clothing, which they then sell cheaply and quickly at their retail stores to price conscious shoppers. And what they do as well is that they create emporia, which again, prefigure, which predates the department stores of Paris and New York. And again, you see an example of one

of these Jewish owned departments, or Jewish owned retail stores in London in the next slide. And this is a store run by the Moses family firm. It's a store, which is, as you see, in a quite architecturally ornate. It has gas lighting, it's fronted by large plate glass windows. All of this, again, is Jews innovating in the clothing trade, doing something which is new, new ways of selling, new ways of manufacturing clothing. But this is a very much, as I said, an example which is distinct to England at the time, not to the United States as I'll make clear.

So to me, there's no surprise, therefore, that when Caleb Huse arrives in London and he needs to buy vast quantities of uniforms and material for tents and other such things, no surprise that he comes courting to a Jewish firm because this is again Jews have mastered this business of mass manufacturing. Ironically, Saul and Samuel Isaac, the owners and operators of S. Isaac, Campbell & Company were not the only Jews who made their fortunes as military contractors during the Civil War. But while the Isaac brothers in London specialised in supplying the Confederate Army, their co-religionists, their fellow Jews in the United States supplied the Union Army. But if the Isaac brothers were the obvious choice for the Confederacy, the obvious choice of who to do business with in England, because they were desperate for massive quantities of clothing and uniforms and things like that, the role of Jews in the Union was much more surprising because unlike in London where Jews already by 1861 are dominant within parts of the clothing trade, that's not the case in America in 1861. Before the Civil War in the United States, Jews were at the periphery of the garment trade, not at its centre.

Unlike their co-religionists in London, Jews in the United States were not amongst the leading clothing manufacturers. Instead, as I've said, Jews were peripherally involved in the clothing trade, not as manufacturers, but again, as retailers, particularly as petty retailers. In other words, the people who are selling goods in the country sides, peddlers, and as rural storekeepers who sell clothing to customers in and outside the large cities. So, Jews in other words, are relatively marginal within the clothing trade in the 1840s and 1850s. As I described to you yesterday, for Jewish immigrants in the 1840s and 1850s, the peddling of fancy goods and notions and clothing to rural customers had become a rite of passage. You'll see an example of this in the next slide of what I mean by peddling in the countryside. This is, again, an image of a peddler with his waggon going in a, travelling a usually a regular route through the countryside, stopping at homesteads along the way to sell goods to farmers and their wives, often actually selling to their wives. And these Jewish peddlers were part of a wave of immigration from Europe that transformed the American Jewish community. It transforms it from a very small community, about 3000 Jews in America in 1820 to a much larger Jewish community by 1860, about a 150,000 Jews by 1860.

And certainly when it comes to the male immigrants, this sort of experience, the experience of spending time peddling in the countryside, this was a rite of passage for many of them, how many of them got their start. And what they did was to follow the rapidly expanding western frontier. America is growing dramatically, both geographically and in terms of population. Much of that growth is pushing outwards, pushing westwards as new land is settled and these peddlers are following in the footsteps of these pioneers, of those who are these lands, they're

selling to farmers who otherwise had limited access to consumer goods. And you see this again in the next slide. This is an illustration from Harpers Magazine, an illustration of a peddler, again, selling consumer goods. Looks like to me a tablecloth, perhaps a blanket that he's selling to at a farmstead. Again, look who his customers are. He's selling to presumably the wife and daughters of the family, perhaps he's selling a piece of cloth here. You can see what else is on his waggon as well. These are cheap consumer goods, which otherwise these farmers would not necessarily have access to. By 1860, many of these Jewish peddlers had completed what had been a backbreaking apprenticeship of carrying a peddler's pack and graduated to ownership of small clothing and dry good stores across America.

So they often will open a store in an area that they have peddled. They now know the market, they know their customers, they know there's demand and will open a small store in small rural towns that dot the American hinterland. This is the typical American Jewish experience at the time. So the Jews scattered, dispersed across the countryside. Many of them, as I said, start as peddlers, and really by 1860 many of them are operating small general stores, but often selling clothing and dry goods. By 1860, many of the small towns, the small rural towns in the South and the Midwest and the West had these Jewish owned stores. And these Jews would purchase stock from factories in New York and Cincinnati and sell to customers eager for the sort of goods, consumer goods that they were buying from Cincinnati and New York and other larger cities. But they're buying, sometimes they're buying from Jewish wholesalers, but the manufacturers ultimately are not Jews, the people that produce these goods in the 1850s, particularly when it comes to clothing, the Jews, as I said, are involved in this petty retail, but certainly are not involved in mass manufacturing.

But the dispersion of Jews, this network of Jews in the countryside began to create the foundations of what later would become a Jewish distribution system. Like I said, Jews are, in these small towns they're going to be advantages which will play out much, much later, which we'll talk about. But as I've said now, several times, only a handful of Jews in America are manufacturers of clothing on any substantial scale that Jews are really, as I said, really somewhat peripheral in the clothing trade. In 1860, the market for ready-made clothes, both in terms of manufacturing and in terms of large scale retailing in a place like New York or Philadelphia or elsewhere, is in the hands of non-Jewish firms. Like for example, Brooks Brothers is a classic example of this, Brooks Brothers is one of the first clothing firms in the United States to adapt this new method of mass manufacturing clothing. And they had risen to prominence, you know, 50 years before this point of time. In other words, they are prominent already in the 1810s and 1820s, long before Jews are peddling in America. You have these non-Jewish firms, which are beginning to innovate in terms of manufacturing clothing and retailing clothing. So how then did this come to change so dramatically?

How has it changed from a position where Jews are peripheral to the clothing trade, in particular in 1860 to a position by 1880, where the clothing trade is the Jewish business par excellence. What happens in the intervening years, which transforms and as we'll see, it's not just a case of this particular business being transformed, a business where Jews are on the outskirts going,

you know, moving to the centre, but also we'll see that this is central to the economic transformation of Jews in America more broadly. That the clothing trade is the vehicle by which I'm going to argue that Jews begin to get ahead in America in a very, very significant way. So how, in other words, did Jews come to dominate the ready-made clothing business in the United States, supplanting all of these non-Jewish rivals in a very short space of time, what changes all this? As we'll see, the Civil War decisively changed the position of Jews in America, the economic position of Jews in America. And over time produced a cascade of consequences that have really rippled down to the present day. I'm going to argue again that the Civil War is this transformative moment, which really changes the trajectory, the economic trajectory of Jews in America. And this cascade began soon after the war started. Jewish firms were really helped by two factors that I'll talk about. The first related to the nature of the clothing trade prior to 1861. And here we're going to tie in with a subject we spoke about last week, which is slavery. Before the Civil War, the largest single market for clothing in the United States was in the South. The South wasn't producing that clothing, New York City was producing much of that clothing, but clothing that was produced in New York City was being sent to the South.

The South was tremendously prosperous because of cotton and slavery. So as much as two-thirds of all the clothing which was manufactured in New York City and New York City in the 1850s is the centre of America's clothing trade. As much as two-thirds of all the clothing manufactured in that city were sold to southern customers, again, it gives you a sense of the prosperity of the South and the demand from the South for clothing, both for plantations clothing, both for the slaves, but also for rich white Southerners who wanted to dress well and could afford to do so. The dependence of New York City on the southern market undoubtedly played a role in shaping the political views of New Yorkers, of merchants, of manufacturers, and workers in New York City. So I think in fact, one of the reasons why Rabbi Moses Raphael, who we spoke about last week, why he, again, when he spoke to his congregation in January of 1861 and effectively defended slavery as biblically sanctioned, one of the reasons he could do this is that his congregants were people who lived in a city which was tied to the South, which depended on the South economically.

So for them, any talk, any idea of a rupture in the Union, of secession wasn't just a matter of political danger, it was also their livelihoods potentially at stake as well. So that's again, another important piece of information to think about when we assess Moses Raphael and how other Jews in New York respond to the Civil War. So Jews and non-Jews in New York understood that the workshops and factories in their city and in the North more broadly were kept humming because of demand generated by slaved picked cotton, and were opposed to measures that might disrupt an economic system that they depended on. So again, this is not just a theoretical question to them, this is their livelihoods. Jews, as I've described to you, were relatively new to the clothing business and were marginal in the manufacturing and selling of clothing, particularly to southerners. The Jews for a variety of reasons play a very insignificant role in the southern market in terms of the vast quantities of clothing which have been sent from New York. Again, non-Jewish firms dominate this trade with the South. Instead, as I've described to you, these non-Jewish firms have these extensive networks in the South and reap these enormous profits

by selling to this plantation based economy. These same firms soon found their dependence on Southern customers to be a disaster in the making.

Because in 1860, clothiers and dry good merchants in New York watched this escalating political crisis with trepidation. Suddenly, they realise that secession and the possibility of war will devastate them economically. They've come to, again, depend very, very heavily on profits from the sale of clothing to the South. As I said, Jews aren't particularly active in the southern market for reasons I can talk about in the Q&A time, if you're interested. But these non-Jewish firms, which dominate the clothing trade, they're dependent on sales to southern customers. So barring an unexpected turn of events, New York City in particular appeared all but certain to be one of the largest losers if the South was to secede. The metropolis of New York would be robbed of its largest market if the, you know, states was to secede from the Union. So even before the war, this is already in the Summer and Fall of 1860. So as the national mood soured, these manufacturers began to lay off workers. These clothing firms began to literally cut their losses, both the manufacturers, and clothing retailers, and wholesalers, they began to cut back on manufacturing. Because what's clear already is that southern customers stopped buying from New York. That's the regular, the agents usually come from the South to New York to buy clothing stopped coming and everyone sees a disaster in the making.

But by the end of the year, by the end of 1860, this is, you know, before the Civil War has started, many of these manufacturing and wholesaling firms in New York City involved in the clothing trade were bankrupt because their sudden customers refused to pay their bills and have already cancelled their orders. So, basically in New York City, which is sent two-thirds of the clothing it's manufactured to the southern market suddenly loses that market. So all of those clothing firms, which depend on these sales are in economic turmoil. Many of them, as I've said, will have to declare bankruptcy. By April of 1861, the clothing business in New York is decimated, but then unexpected salvation because on the April 15th, 1861, which is the day after the surrender of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln made his first call for mass enlistment. At least in theory, each soldier was entitled to an annual allowance of at least one cap and one hat, two jackets, three flannel shirts, trousers and drawers, and four pairs of socks and shoes. And you can see this, what these uniforms looked like in the next slide. In fact, soldiers were expensive to clothe. The annual clothing allowance for a soldier was double that of a rifle. So you can see it actually, the top line is of uniforms of, most of those are actually dress uniforms of Union officers.

But again, as I described to you, this is, you know, clothing is relatively expensive still in 1861, and it costs more than twice the amount to outfit a soldier as it does to buy that soldier a rifle. By the end of the war, most Union soldiers were wearing uniforms of the distinctive Prussian and sky blue, the uniforms that you see at the top of the slide. But in the early months of the war in the summer of 1861, many regiments like the dashing Fire Zouaves who were comprised of rowdy New York City firefighters drew from a much brighter palette. You can see the Fire Zouaves in the next slide. The next image is of this regiment made up of firefighters who then quickly discovered that it's a very bad idea to wear bright red on the battlefield because you

literally are a sitting duck, or at least you're an easy target. So the Fire Zouaves, you know, learned their lesson, others learnt their lesson too, and ultimately the Union army will alight on, better renowned system on these Prussian blue uniforms. But whatever the enlistees wore in the Spring and Summer of 1861 needed to be produced in great haste and in great quantity. And there's a tremendous rush to outfit the volunteers. This rush sets federal money, money from the federal government coursing through a garment industry that had come apart at the scene. So there's an enormous demand for uniforms, the clothing trade, and many of those manufacturers who are used to producing clothing on mass, many of them have gone bankrupt, have gone out of business by April of 1861, and they're unable to take advantage of the deluge of money and of orders.

And this worked to the great advantage of entrepreneurial Jews eager to profit from this opportunity because the field was left open to these ambitious newcomers who are somewhat familiar with the clothing trade. They've been involved at the edges of the clothing trade, particularly in clothing retail. And they're obviously, since the possibilities, the possibilities of profit from these vast new orders placed by the Union Army. And the scale of demand was unimaginable. For example, the Union Army ordered 10 million pairs of trousers alone by the end of the war. And crucially for Jews, the army was ill-equipped to handle this volume of orders. It didn't have a system in place for acquiring 10 million pairs of trousers. Remember that the US Army, the United States Army prior to the war is 16,000 strong, 16,000 strong, 16,000 strong. And by the end of the war, more than 2 million men had served in Union uniforms. It doesn't have the systems in place, the structures in place to acquire these uniforms in a efficient manner. So, again, this we'll see provides opportunities for those who are entrepreneurial and those who are somewhat familiar with the clothing trade like Jews.

So once the war started, Jewish firms were helped by the indiscriminating procurement policies of State Governments. Indiscriminating in the sense that whoever's pretty much willing to pay a bribe had access to government contracts. Wholesale bribery at the time it's, you know, not distinct to the clothing trade. This is pretty much the nature of government in America before the Civil War. It's also, by the way, the nature of business in particularly the arms trade, the clothing trade in England at the time that the, when Caleb Huse, who we spoke about earlier, when he does business with S. Isaac, Campbell & Company, he's ripped off tremendously by S. Isaac, Campbell & Company who defend themselves later who said that this is the English mode of doing business. That, again, are cheating and bribing otherwise is just standard practise at the time, which is not untrue. And there's tremendous opportunity here because in the first year of the war, these state governments, not the federal government, are responsible for outfitting the troops, outfitting the troops regiments which are raised in their states. So the state governments control procurement, and again, there's more money than they know what to do with.

They hold the purse strings wide open and all sorts of, which again, provides opportunities for those who are entrepreneurial. And those who were unfamiliar with the working of state capitals quickly discovered, as I've described to you, that business was often conducted with a wink and a nod. And this is just how corruption in American government, which is just part of political life

prior to the Civil War. And a discrete gift could pay quick dividends. Now, I'll give you an example. Joseph Seligman, who's one of the brothers who would later form a famous banking firm, was sent to Albany on behalf of what's then a small family clothing firm to win contracts in 1861. He's sent to Albany to win contracts for the firm. And what he does is he gives the wife of the State Treasurer a gift of a silk dress. And here he's actually just following the lead of others because the payoff was even greater for Brooks Brothers. As I've described to you, Brooks Brothers is not a Jewish firm, but it's well established in the clothing trade. It survives the crash of the clothing trade in 1860. And what they do is they know not to just to buy the State Treasurer's wife a dress, they do give her a dress, but also they give his son an outfit and also they do the same for the State Attorney General. They also provide him with a dress for his wife and clothing for his children. So these sartorial schemes proved fruitful both for Brooks Brothers and for the Seligmans. We know that for the Seligmans in the weeks that followed the fall of Ford Sumter, that these firms were awarded contracts to manufacture thousands of uniforms. So over the summer of 1861, for example, the Seligman Firm bid on contracts to produce shirts and caps and jackets and overcoats and pants and blankets for the Union Army.

And the scale of orders that they receive is so substantial that they soon employ more than two and a half thousand workers to fulfil these obligations, to fulfil these contracts that they have won. So by the end of the year, the Seligman firm is the 11th largest supplier to the state of New York. It gives you a sense of the scale of these contracts. And they are behind, by the way, Brooks Brothers, which wins even more business. It makes sense too, as I said, to be generous to the State Attorney General and the Treasurer's wife and other such people. But most Jewish firms won contracts, not through underhanded means, but because they were well positioned to do so. But this didn't stop anti-Semites from claiming otherwise. And you'll see in the next slide, a cartoon which appeared in a newspaper in 1861, which basically makes this accusation that Jews prefer to contract, to fool these contracts on behalf of the Union Government to supply the Union Army rather than to sign up. And there are lots of cartoons of this kind, an association, an anti-Semitic association in the public mind between contractors who have a terrible reputation and Jews, that often the term Jew and contractors is used interchangeably, even though, again, Jews actually make up a minority of these military contractors.

In the states that remained loyal to Lincoln, scores of Jewish businessmen, many of them who have just only recently given up an aching peddlers pack, you know, a year or two before, set to stitching and sewing blue uniforms for the Union Army in quantities unprecedented in American history. So these Jewish dry goods merchants and clothing dealers and wholesalers and you know, former peddlers found themselves in the right industry with the right skills at the right moment. And effectively they become foot soldiers mustered into service by the Union's war economy. They become these prime purveyors, suppliers to the Union Army, particularly when it comes to clothing. In the Midwest, for example, many soldiers went off to war in uniforms supplied by Jewish firms. And this again is because of innovation, particularly in Cincinnati by Jewish businessmen. Once the war started, several leading Jewish businessmen in Cincinnati adopted a novel strategy that ensured that Jewish firms became some of the largest suppliers to the Union. What we see in Cincinnati is former rivals banding together to form alliances, to form

partnerships which enable these firms, these temporary firms to pull their capital, to purchase raw materials in bulk and then to bid more effectively for contracts on the national level.

I'll give you an example. The firm of Mack, Stadler, and Glaser became the second largest supplier of uniforms to the entire Union Army in 1861. Much bigger than anything we see in New York, much bigger than the Seligmans that here, you know, this firm, which has just been created by bringing together a number of very entrepreneurial Jewish clothing manufacturers of people who have just gone into clothing manufacturing. They're able to become the second largest supplier of uniforms to the Union Army in 1861. In one frenetic four month period, from August to December of 1861, this firm manufactured 200,000 articles of clothing for the United States Army. And so much are they producing that a local Jewish newspaper crowed that the Union Army was marching off the war with the mark of Mack because the Mack Brothers firm, Mack, Stadler and Glaser firm. Let's go to the next slide, these orders, and in the next slide you can actually see on the right hand side is Henry Mack, one of the Mack brothers who are involved in this very successful firm. These orders were dwarfed the next year, in 1862 when the firms contracts with the Union Army more than tripled in value, elevating it to one of the largest businesses in the United States.

So again, you can see this extraordinary upward mobility of these Jews, who again basically position themselves to manufacture uniforms for the Union Army. Of course, the Mack brothers are better remembered for their ill-fated partnership with Jesse Grant, who you see on the left side of the slide, father of General Ulysses S. Grant to smuggle southern cotton northwards. Part of the speculative scheme between the Mack brothers and Jesse Grant intended to turn filial loyalties to best advantage. And several historians, I described this yesterday as well, have argued that this venture, that this partnership between the Mack brothers and Jesse Grant was probably the proximate cause, the immediate cause of Ulysses S. Grant's General Orders No. 11, which expelled Jews from the vast territory under his command. In other words, that Grant is so angered by discovering that his father is in business with Jews, particularly with the Mack brothers, that he orders this, he issues this General Orders No. 11. You can see General Orders No. 11, some of its text in the next slide, which describes the terms by which Jews to have to leave this territory under Grant's command.

While the Macks and many other Jewish manufacturing firms made hay during the war, more often than not this harvest fattened a multitude of smaller Jewish businesses as well. So certainly the Macks are the case of extraordinary Jewish success during the war, but there are many, many others on a smaller scale who do well too. And they really break into the clothing trade, particularly clothing manufacturing during the war. In order to these vast orders placed by Union Quartermasters, these large firms like the Mack Brothers outsourced production to scores of subcontractors. So the Macks, for example, were subcontracting to smaller Jewish firms, again, giving them an entry point, a foot in the door in the clothing trade. And these subcontractors were often new businesses established by Jews who had recently peddled or run clothing and dry good stores. They, again, knew their way a little bit around the clothing business. They knew about fabric and fabric supply. They certainly had access and relationships

with those that they were getting the contracts from i.e, people like the Mack brothers. And this again, as I said, really gives them a toe hold on the edge of the clothing business.

Now, wartime demand for uniforms, as I described, provided this leg up into mass manufacturing. This is where we begin to see Jews in the United States becoming mass manufacturers of clothing. By the end of the war, hundreds of Jewish entrepreneurs had gained the resources and the expertise and the skills necessary to run small clothing factories. What impact then did this have in the long term on the economic position of Jews in America? What are the consequences of this in the long term for American Jewish history? For some Jews, these immense wartime profits provided a springboard into a variety of higher status occupations. We see this, for example, with the Mack Brothers. They would leave, they'll continue to be involved in clothing manufacturing, but they also, again opened an investment bank after the war. And this is the same pattern we see with other several future bankers like Abraham Kuhn and Solomon Loeb, Jesse and Joseph Seligman, just to name a few who earned these enormous profits during the war supplying the Union Army, footing these wartime contracts.

But also what they do is they learn a variety of sophisticated financial skills in doing business with the government because the United States Government is very slow to pay its bills during war. So these firms have to grow sophisticated in matters of debt and risks. They gain an appetite for an appreciation of banking as a unexpected consequence of doing business with the United States Government. And some of them decide that we'll leave clothing manufacturing behind, better for us actually to just go into investment banking. This is the roots again of the Jewish involvement in investment banking in United States, this interesting trajectory that I've described to you that there aren't Jewish investment bankers prior to the Civil War and after the Civil War, we see that these former peddlers and storekeepers and wholesalers and manufacturers, a number of them will migrate into, move into investment banking. The most significant legacy of the war for Jews, however, was in the dramatic broadening of Jewish participation in the manufacturing of ready-made clothing. That's where we really see a dramatic change. Whereas before the war, few Jews were manufacturers.

After war, Jews found themselves dominant within several key sectors of the ready-made clothing trade. With bank balances swollen by wartime profits, most quickly turned to manufacturing for the civilian market. And here they in fact benefit from a major new wartime development because in producing uniforms, the Union Army and these manufacturers discover that there are standardised sizes, at least a sense that there's a, there's certain body shapes and body sizes which tend to recur. This is the first, there's a first recorded scale of clothing measurement is developed. And again, they apply this then after the War too, ready made clothing manufacturing, the sense that there are certain sizes that recur and that you can profitably mass manufacture clothing in those sizes and sell them in for the civilian market. What helps them too is that America booms after the war and clothing becomes considerably cheaper. So Americans who before the war had for the most part worn secondhand clothing, now purchased new clothes. And you see this, if we go to the next slide, the beginnings of

ready-made clothing manufacturing in the 1870s and 1880s.

Dramatic expansion of the clothing trade, again, as the American market grows and with Jews now playing a central role in this market. Once more, timing and location proved to be fortuitous for Jews, because in the 1880s, some of the very manufacturers who had profited during the Civil War now benefited from the tidal wave of Jewish immigrants arriving in New York City because these owners of clothing really made clothing businesses with manufacturing businesses needed hardworking tailors and seamstresses who are willing to produce the mountains of cheap clothing to satisfy this booming demand in the United States. So what they do is effectively is to conscript these Eastern European Jewish immigrants into their factories. These Eastern European Jews become the large low wage workforce for an earlier generation of Jews who had broken in into mass manufacturing of clothing. And this, you know, is no surprise to many of you, is the basis for the garment industry on the lower East side of New York, which became for a time the largest single source of employment for immigrant Jews. At its height, the Lower East Side provided America with 90% of its new clothing.

An extraordinary figure if you think about it, that again, these are Jewish and for most part, Jewish owned firms with Jewish workers supplying this vast American market with 90% of its clothing. Those immigrants who clustered in the sweatshops of the Lower East Side entered an industry where Jews were already involved at all levels of the clothing business, in distribution, wholesaling, and manufacturing. And as I've described to you, given that demand continues to grow, there actually is initially plenty of opportunity for these newcomers to carve out spaces for themselves. So as the earlier immigrants, as those who had made their fortunes during the Civil War move upward and outward in the clothing trade, they created vacancies which were filled by their fellow Jews. This opportunity, again, for entrepreneurialism by Eastern European Jews who basically take over the clothing trade from this earlier generation of Jews. Crucially for these Eastern European Jews, again, timing matters because when they arrive in America in the 1880s and 1890s and the first two decades of the 19th century, oh, 20th century, it's relatively inexpensive and easy to strike out on your own, to open up your own sweat shop or workshop.

In the early 20th century, it costs less than a hundred dollars to buy and rent the essential equipment required to set yourself up as an independent contractor. In other words, there's a ability for entrepreneurialism within the clothing trade. And as we know, many of these new immigrants worked for others before becoming their own bosses. And they're often, again, started by sewing and pressing alongside higher workers and trying to work their way up this chain. So in other words, the clothing trade when Jews are involved in it at this period, encouraged entrepreneurship. You know, why work for someone when you can scrape together enough money to be your own boss. Crucially, the other factor, which is good and fortuitous for Jews, is that also this is an unpredictable and hyper-competitive business. There are long slack periods between seasons with little work to go around. And you see this in the next slide. Next slide these are government workers out of work. Likewise, it's an industry with few protections for workers and little regulation in the industry. And the fact actually is that Jews enter the

government trade in government manufacturing, these Eastern European Jews, and they work in it.

They make money, and crucially, they leave this line of work as quickly as they can. So in other words is that Jews enter the sweatshops, but crucially, they leave the sweatshops, they seek other work as quickly as they can find it. So already by 1920, Jews were outnumbered in the sweatshops of New York by Italians. already there's ethnic succession. Italians have taken over by the 1920s. And here this timing matters. It's all fortuitous for Jews because it's relatively easy for Jews to leave the sweatshops behind in the first two decades of the 20th century. But, things changed there after, because by the 1920s, the sweatshops were being out competed by factories in many cases that particularly the expansion of mass manufacturing of men's wear in Chicago and elsewhere, that means that these, you know, would be immigrant entrepreneurs who once could have been able to open their own sweat shop. Now they don't, they can never aspire to have enough money, the \$2,000 required to open a factory. So it means that Italians who followed Jews into the clothing trade, they have a very different experience of the clothing trade from Jews. That Jews get out in many cases, not all cases, but get out before the clothing trade turns. But for Italians, again, they find that wages stagnate and sometimes decline.

And it's very difficult to raise the money needed to be entrepreneurial, to open up your own clothing business. So, Italians get stuck in the clothing trade while Jews to speak, not to generalise, managed to get out. In other words, it becomes a mobility trap for Italians, it's a springboard for Jews just because of timing. Not only was the exodus from garment manufacturing in America timely, so too was the entry of Jews into a variety of other fields in the first two decades of the 19th century when mass consumption was taking off in America. Because again, Jews are leaving the clothing trade and they're getting into other new industries in the 1920s and 1930s. And again, ironically, paradoxically, anti-Semitism plays a helping role here too, the Jews who otherwise might have gone into white collar occupations, might have gone into, for example, utilities and teaching and other things are excluded in many cases by quite a vicious antisemitism in the 1920s-1930s. Many of them will stay in commercial roles, will stay in retailing and wholesaling, and they flock instead to new industries which are beginning to take off during this time.

So they, for example, they can't become school teachers in many cases. They can't become, you know, get jobs at utility firms or law firms, et cetera. So instead they go into new industries, new déclassé industries, industries which often are slightly disreputable like the film industry and the music industry and the cosmetics industries and the household goods industries of various kinds. And again, this is fortuitous. It turns out that these are good industries to be in because of the dramatic growth of demand, particularly after the Second World War as again, consumption in America takes off. And you see this, in fact, in the next slide, this is of the Brill Building in New York, we associate the Brill Building with music. But in reality, the reason it's called the Brill Building, you can see in this photograph is that the business at the bottom is the Brill Brothers clothing store. And they own the building. And you can see this interesting sort of transition here, that the Brill brothers are still in the clothing business, but everything else going

on this building is associated with the music business, again, this ethnic transition taking place. So in other words, what we see happening is that Jews move out of the clothing trade into a variety of new fields.

You know, music, film, cosmetics, household goods, which become Jewish economic niches. Industries where Jews are present from the start and do very well because they are present from the start. They're get in at the ground floor of what becomes a great consumer boom in America. The beginnings, in other words, of Jewish prosperity in the United States, was not wrought by magic and genius, although there certainly are many innovators and lots of people who work extremely hard to be successful, nor was it solely a product of Eastern European immigrants and their children, much had occurred prior to the arrival of Eastern European Jews in America to make their progress possible. As I described to you this earlier history of Jewish involvement in the clothing trade, which was made possible by the Civil War. To properly understand this extraordinary mobility, economic mobility of Jews in the 20th century. In other words, we need to see that in a much longer historical context. There was nothing inevitable in the economic rise of Jews in the United States.

This is a history, as I've described to you, with all sorts of moments of good fortune, you know, getting into the clothing industry and then getting out of the clothing industry, getting into new industries and profiting from their expansion. As I've described to you, this good fortune began with the Civil War and then grew as Jews came to dominate the clothing trade. Yes, Jews had to work extremely hard, but they could not have moved ahead so quickly without schmutter. The relationship that developed between Jews and the clothing trade had long-term consequences for both. The economic ascent of Jews in America, this extraordinary economic mobility of Jews cannot be fully comprehended without understanding the business of stitching and selling garments. And the garment industry cannot be fully understood without following the thread of Jewish involvement in the schmutter business, that Jews are innovators within this business. Although, Jews may have been responsible for making parts of the modern clothing industry, I argue that without question, the clothing industry made the Jews in America, thank you. Let me now take some of your questions. I'm going to probably.

- Thanks Adam, that was wonderful.

Q&A and Comments:

- Again, I see more questions that I can possibly answer.

Q: There's a very nice question, which is asked here by Arnold Levine about how was payment made from the US North and South to the UK?

A: Presumably Americans did not carry gold bars and surely local currencies were not of value overseas. You're absolutely right that in fact this is what ultimately undoes the S. Isaac, Campbell & Company, this Jewish owned firm, is that they are owed a tremendous amount of

money by the Confederacy, as I've described to you at its high point, they're owed 515,000 pounds. And the problem is that they, it's very difficult to have that repaid. So what's the Confederacy does ultimately, the arrangement that they make, they have long negotiations around this. The arrangement ultimately is that the Confederacy will sell cotton securities, that it will sell, it will basically make good on its debt by signing promissory notes with this and other firms that when it's cotton can come to market, it will, you know, that these firms will make good. And they give, you know, in enormous numbers of these promissory notes to S. Isaac, Campbell & Company.

They give it to the firm just before Vicksburg is captured by Ulysses S. Grant. And suddenly these cotton features, these promissory notes are all but valueless. And then there are lengthy legal disputes between S. Isaac, Campbell & Company and the Confederate Government really till the end of the war. And this is how I know so much about S. Isaac, Campbell & Company is that there are, you know, it appears that in legal cases, that the, again, this Jewish firm is suddenly discovers that, you know, it has extended itself on behalf of the Confederate government and has been paid in paper, which is suddenly, you know, worth much less than it expected.

What the Confederacy then argues, by the way, is that, they argued that they've been systematically cheated by the S. Isaac, Campbell & Company, and therefore that, you know, it's S. Isaac, Campbell & Company's problem that this paper is now worthless, that these promising notes are now worthless. So there's a wonderful documentation for historian on exactly this, but this is the Confederacy's real issue is how to pay its debts. And again, it's as I said, much of it is promissory notes backed by, you know, by cotton, or least the promise of the export of cotton. For the Union, it's different. What the Union does is ultimately it will sell bonds and there in fact, the Seligman's play a key role in selling these bonds in Europe, particularly in Germany. In order to finance the war effort, in order to again finance these purchases of vast quantities of munitions and other things which are shipped across the Atlantic, so that's, again, that's actually the interesting case of how the Seligmans become international bankers, it's because they, again, they're selling bonds on behalf of the United States government, and again, learn all sorts of skills such that they decide after the war not to go back into the clothing business, instead that banking is a much better business to be in.

Q: There's a question from, this is not a planted question from Howard Schuster, which is any books you can recommend about this fascinating story?

A: Well, the good news is that this is a case where I have actually written the book on about exactly this topic. My talk tonight comes from a few chapters from that book, the book called The Rag Race. This is in a no self-promotion going on here, The Rag Race, which is published by New York University Press now in 2015, which deals with Jews in the clothing trade and how they, all many of the things we've spoken about this evening.

Alan Wallman says, we call them smouse here in South Africa, absolutely true, Alan is referring

to peddlers. And we see the same pattern in various parts of the world, again, where Jews get into the distribution of consumer goods as peddlers. And we see that in South Africa, we see it in Australia and New Zealand and all over the world. And again, just to demonstrate, I'm not only promoting my own books this evening, there's a book called the Roads Travelled by Hasia Diner, a historian at York University, which deals with this international phenomenon of Jews as peddlers, Jews as smouse. Smouse is actually a Dutch term for peddler. So again, it's a recommendation for the book by Stella Suberman called The Jew Store, which again, deals with Jews owning a store in a rural town in the South.

Q: There's a question about how did manufacturers transport their clothing to the South?

A: Well, it's an interesting question. Before the Civil War, much of the buying and selling of goods on behalf of these plantation owners in the South is done by what are known as cotton factors. Cotton factors really work as agents on behalf of plantation owners, they will purchase, you know, all sorts of supplies in bulk, again, with against a plantation owner's and a future harvest. So, they act as middlemen really in the southern economy are very, very, very important. Cotton factors and this factorage systems breaks down during the Civil War. And again, this is a topic for a different talk, but again, this is one of the reasons why Jews after the Civil War do play quite an important role in the southern economy is that because the factorage system is broken down, that Jews step in as middlemen in a variety of ways in the revival of the southern economy after the war.

But your question as well about how did manufacturers transport their clothing to South applies to the Isaac brothers and the clothing that they're manufacturing in London and need to get to the Confederate States of America. And what they do is, as I described to you, in some case, buy ships to act as blockade runners. These are fast ships often operating out of the Caribbean, often out of Bermuda. And they will ship goods to Bermuda and then put the goods aboard these fast sailing vessels, sometimes steam ships and they will try and basically run the blockade, beat the blockade. And it's, again, if you can succeed in doing this, it's very profitable. It's risky business obviously, that and anything you get through, you can sell at enormous profits in the Confederacy. But, there's a tremendous risk that whatever doesn't get through will be confiscated by the United States government.

Q: The question is, another question about did the Isaacs ever get paid what was owed?

A: So they get, as I said, they get paid, but in what turned out to be sort of a worthless, largely worthless payment. And how did they survive? If not, so they again, you know, have serious financial troubles, you know, in the late stages of Civil War. And then after the war they are extraordinarily resilient and in fact they bounce back after the war. They stay in the military supply business. I think they sell Confederate war ships to the Chilean government after the war. There's a scandal about this. These people, by the way, the Isaac brothers are perpetually involved in scandal. And one of them becomes a member of parliament for Nottingham, represented the conservative party in the British parliament. He goes bankrupt again late in his

career. As I said, there're quite unusual. And the other brother is again, has a second career. I think he marries very well and finances all sorts of interesting building works in, I think in Manchester after the war. So, again, they're very, you know, resilient and unusual characters.

Jonathan says that these lessons about the uniforms, about the Zouaves weren't learnt properly. That again, if you look at uniforms in the First World war, it's very much the case. In fact, the Zouaves are the reason why some of these regiments, these volunteer regiments outfit themselves in these Zouaves costumes at the beginning of the Civil War, is that they copy this from French regiments, from I think North African regiments, and who they regard as a certain around them, they regard as particularly skilled. And as I said, they learn the lessons ultimately that it's a very bad is to be wearing the bright red colour on the battlefield. We certainly, again, unfortunately, see that lesson learnt during the First World War as well, that again, you know, much better to be in a drab, khaki drab colours rather than in bright colours.

Q: So, how did manufacturers keep up with a tremendous demand from the Army?

A: So again, those factories in Lancashire, you know, churn out fabric for the, both the Confederate and the Union armies. What's interesting in the case of the Union, remember that America, particularly Massachusetts has its own cotton mills, its own mills in particularly Massachusetts, which again are starved for access to cotton by again, by the war itself. And many of them will switch to actually using wool during the war. So, again, it's a make do sort of a circumstance and, but again, tremendous demand and tremendous opportunity for substandard goods. And again, there's another set of scandals during the war. The word shoddy, which is actually a technical term, shoddy is recycled wool. It's wool which has been torn to pieces and then reconstituted. The shoddy prior to the Civil War was really used as insulation not for sewing, not for manufacturing clothing.

And this, there are, during the war shoddy goes from a technical term applied to this wool which is reconstituted to its meaning, which we all understand it. In other words, substandard goods. Because again, some of these unscrupulous clothing manufacturers, not Jews, in fact so again, Brooks Brothers are the pioneers of this, what they'll do is that they manufacture clothing out of shoddy. And what happens that these shoddy uniforms and these uniforms made of shoddy collapse, literally come apart in the field. And when these soldiers go off, you know, campaigning, you know, as soon as it starts raining their uniform comes apart. And hence we see this, you know, this linguistic shift, the word shoddy, you know, becomes a word we use to describe substandard goods. So it's a major problem during the war. This and likewise, and as I said bad actors around this as well.

So, someone says, Fay says it's disco disconcerting to realise Jews were responsible for sweatshops in New York. Again, it's not, sweat shops exist, you know, prior to Jews and they exist in other industries as well, not just the clothing trade, but certainly and sweat shops still exist. But certainly, obviously, during this period of time, particularly in the 1870s, 1880s until 1920s, we really see Jews are, for a moment in time, are dominant within that trade. And then

as I've described to you, many of them leave it behind. Although, of course Jews today are still, some Jews are still involved in the clothing trade.

Q: A question about why Great Britain which had outlawed slavery earlier permitted the exploitation of goods to the Confederate Army?

A: It's a very good question. There are lots of sympathisers with the Confederacy in Britain during the war. It's a real division within Britain about and who to support. Again, there's no love lost between Britain and the United States, between Britain and the Union. In fact, there are all sorts of moments during the war when they almost come to war. But one of the things which ultimately actually does sway Britain to stay out of the war is the emancipation proclamation that makes it impossible for Britain to ultimately side with the Confederacy, which is what the Confederacy deeply wants because again, politically it becomes impossible for Great Britain, which has outlawed slavery to basically side with or declare war on the Union, which is now, which after the Emancipation Proclamation, beginning of 1863 has itself said it will outlaw slavery.

Q: Someone's asking about the singer, Martin asks about the singer sewing machine.

A: The Singer sewing machine accelerates these processes rather than originates them. So in other words that we already see sweat shops, we already see innovation in ready-made clothing, manufacturing and things of that kind prior to the Singer sewing machine. But the Singer Sewing machine, as I said, is one of those things which allows for entrepreneurship, allows for speeding up the production, allows for prices of clothing to decline. And again, when I said that it costs at the beginning of the 20th century, you know, less than a hundred dollars to set yourself up in business, to set up a sweatshop of your own, if you're an immigrant, one of the things you can afford to buy is a sewing machine in order to, again, to be able to compete with them, compete with others who are involved in clothing manufacture, so it's an accelerant more than anything else. So they're all sorts of, you know, book recommendations and things of that kind.

Q: How did Christians view Jewish entrepreneurs and businesses, particularly Christians in the Confederate States of America?

A: This is a question from Jen Captains, a very good question. So again, there are all sorts of anti-Semitic stereotypes during the war. The accusation that Jews are profiteering from the war, that Jews who are storekeepers in many small southern towns that they are hoarding goods, that they're driving up prices. But this is again, this is projections onto Jews rather than Jewish, you know, actually, and it what Jews were actually doing at the time. And it's again, a classic case that there are all sorts of anxieties and fears during the war itself. And Jews are one of many outsider groups in North and South during the war who experience prejudice. There's an explosion of prejudice in the North and in the South as well. And it doesn't help, for example, in the Confederacy that Judah P. Benjamin is such a prominent Jew in the Confederate cabinet.

Again, he becomes the focus of all sorts of hostility as well. So let me,

- [Wendy] Adam, how many more do you want to do? Cause we, will you be able to get through them all. We have another talk starting in 45 minutes.

- Absolutely, let me take, let me take two more and then I'll end, apologies to those, whose questions. I don't get a chance to.

Q: So the question from Hazel about when did Levi Strauss get started.

A: Again, that's another part of the story, which I didn't discuss obviously tonight, but I discussed, and again, self-promotion here, but in this book I wrote about the Jews and the clothing business, The Rag Race. And that's the other side of the story, that Jews in the 1850s don't become involved in the southern market because there are others who are really dominant in the southern market, but where Jews do feature in a very substantial way is in the West. In other words, after the gold rush in California, particularly in San Francisco and then in Los Angeles. And there we see Jews, particularly in San Francisco, that A, Jews make up not an insignificant portion of San Francisco's early population, but also that they gain cluster in the clothing trade. And a number of them do particularly well, the Levi Strauss is an example of exactly this. But there are others too. And again, you know, clothing trade becomes a springboard for Jews in California, you know, obviously Levi Strauss and companies stay in the clothing trade. But, others leave it and become prominent bankers and other, you know, key figures within early California. And because, you know, they do particularly well in the clothing trade.

Someone points out that the Lehman Brothers were cotton brokers. They're cotton brokers, but prior to that they actually are in the dry goods and clothing trade. They get into cotton broking because again, they're selling their southern customers in Alabama, they're selling them their clothing and other goods. And the customers often can't pay cash, but they can pay in cotton. Therefore, the Lehman Brothers begin to trade in cotton, have the, you know, this availability of cotton and they discover it's much more profitable to sell cotton than it is to sell clothing. So they transition from the clothing trade into cotton broking in a substantial way and into banking. There's again, direct movement from banking, from cotton broking into banking.

Q: There's a final question, I'll answer here about Jews and reconstruction in the south.

A: And this is, Jews and reconstruction, the rebuilding of the South and rebuilding of America after war, it's a real double-edged sword for Jews. On the one hand they are, particularly in the South quite prominent in the rebuilding of the South, particularly 'cause they have access to credits. And they, Jews moved to the South in not insignificant numbers and do well in the South. But at the same time there's also a revival of anti-Semitism during that period as well, that there's a dip of anti-Semitism after the war. But then Jews are accused of exploiting southerners, particularly southern farmers and particularly African Americans after the war. So

we see sort of this double edged experience. And again, there's a new literature on this topic, which is just emerging. I can happy to share, you know, some suggestions with anyone who's interested. But I'll end there. But thank you for wonderful questions and for obviously a very attentive and interested audience. Thank you.

- Thank you very, very much, Adam. That was fantastic. And just to answer a number of queries, a number of people wanted to know how many devices were tuned in today, and there's almost 2000. So Adam.

- Fantastic, thank you, and thank you to Wendy and to you and to Judy and to obviously.

- Judy.

- Lovely to have such a big audience.

- To the team and to the family. So thank you very, very much.

- Thank you.

- Enjoy the rest of your evening, bye-bye, everybody. And thanks for joining, bye.

- Bye-bye everyone, bye.