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Lynchburg's Swabian Jewish Entrepreneurs in War and Peace¹

by

Richard A. Hawkins

During the mid-nineteenth century a wave of German Jewish immigrants swept into the United States. Articles in Eric E. Hirshler's anthology suggest that this migration wave had a number of characteristics. It was especially heavy in the period 1840 to 1848, when only about one-twentieth of German immigrants were Christians.² During the same years the Jewish population in the United States is estimated to have increased from fifteen thousand to fifty thousand.³ The newcomers were mostly poor,⁴ and, although they had had some elementary education, they lacked knowledge of the English language on arrival. Probably two-thirds still did not understand English during the 1850s. Most, however, endeavored to acculturate and integrate in their new home. Their typical occupation after arrival was that of peddler. Surprisingly, given their lack of civil rights in their 'Heimat' [homeland] and the fact that many had preserved distinctive cultural traits, including the use of Judeo-German, many appear to have remained ardent German nationalists even after attaining American citizenship.⁵ The immigrants displayed a pattern of chain migration not only from Germany to America but also within the United States. Extended family networks provided an indispensable support network for the migrants. Rather than being provincials,⁶ these Jews were cosmopolitan. Southern Jews with German roots went on to lead northern and national Jewry in the same fashion

*Memorial to the former synagogue, Hürben, Krumbach, Bavaria.
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that their northern brethren migrated southward to build families, congregations, and businesses.

The view that the typical German Jewish immigrant in the 1840s started out in the United States as a peddler is supported by the business historian Elliott Ashkenazi.⁷ This article suggests that some of the German Jewish immigrants in the 1840s were fortunate enough to skip this step on their road to success. They arrived with sufficient capital to found businesses immediately or very soon after their arrival. To document this interpretation, the experiences of two of the leading Jewish families from 1840 to 1870, the Guggenheimers and Untermyers, will be traced from Swabia to Lynchburg, Virginia, and used as a case study.

In the early 1840s, Swabian Jews were subject to the notorious 'Matrikel' [literally, register or roll] paragraph of the Bavarian

Edict of June 10, 1813. The Matrikel regime was explicitly intended to reduce the number of Jews in Bavaria. Every Jew had to be a registered member of the local Matrikel. A Matrikel number, a separate residence, and a trade that was not what the authorities considered overcrowded were required to establish a lawful residence and a family. The only way to obtain a Matrikel number was when one became vacant, for example through the death of the previous holder. These restrictions remained in effect until 1861.⁸

Yet Bavarian Jewry actually increased in numbers from 53,200 to 61,000 between 1816/1817 and 1848, suggesting that the Matrikel system at least partly failed. However, it did result in the mass migration of Bavarian Jews, mainly to the United States.⁹ Thus it is no coincidence that Bavaria was one of the principal centers of the first wave of German Jewish migration. Emigration of Jews from Bavaria was exceeded only by that from Prussian Posen. Between 1847 and 1867 in Bavaria, the relatively largest emigration occurred from Swabia, which lost 1,033 Jews, one-third of the region's Jewish community.¹⁰

Salomon and Nathaniel Guggenheimer were the first members of their family to immigrate to Lynchburg in Campbell County. Lynchburg was one of only five Jewish communities in the state in the 1840s.¹¹ That the Guggenheimer brothers chose the American South is probably explained by Ashkenazi's view that in the antebellum era its agrarian economic and social structure was similar to that of southwestern Germany.¹² They had been born in the Judendorfes Hürben,¹³ which was effectively a ghetto outside the town of Krumbach. This was one of a number of eastern Swabian villages to which the Jewish population of Augsburg had been exiled after the expulsion of 1438.¹⁴ They were the sons of Abraham Guggenheimer, a wealthy tradesman in leather.¹⁵ Abraham, who had fifteen children, sent seven sons and two daughters to the United States because the Matrikel ordinances denied them equal opportunities in Bavaria.¹⁶ Exactly when the Guggenheimers immigrated to the United States is unknown.¹⁷

Abraham's oldest son, Süsskind,* emigrated in 1843. He had married Jetta (Henrietta) Obermayer of Kriegshaber, Bavaria, and they had nine children.¹⁸ The first seven were born in Hürben. The seventh child, Carlyne, was born on July 22, 1843.¹⁹ Genealogist Malcolm H. Stern wrote that Süsskind and his family arrived in Natural Bridge, Virginia, in 1844.²⁰ Natural Bridge is in the same county as Gilmore's Mill. Stern's statement is confirmed by the fact that Süsskind and Jetta's last two children were born in Natural Bridge, Jacob in 1845 and Flora in 1851.²¹ Süsskind subsequently moved to Gilmore's Mill, where he died in 1856.²²

Süsskind's two younger brothers, Salomon²³ and Nathaniel²⁴, probably immigrated together with him to the United States. Salomon and Nathaniel established a retail business in Lynchburg, a Virginia town of six thousand inhabitants that had been incorporated in 1786. They were not the first Jewish residents. The Jewish presence in Lynchburg can be traced back to Samuel Saul who paid local taxes in 1790. Two other Jews are recorded in Lynchburg in 1808 and 1834, respectively.²⁵

Salomon and Nathaniel founded a dry goods store in the spring of 1844. Ashkenazi argues that, as in their homeland, the Jewish immigrants in the antebellum South performed bourgeois mercantile and capitalist functions that the dominant local group, the landowners, considered to be distasteful or were unable to perform.²⁶ Both Salomon and Nathaniel joined the local Freemasons' Lodge.²⁷ The following advertisement appeared in the *Lynchburg Virginian* during 1844:²⁸

NEW DRY GOODS STORE, On the Cash Principle

The Subscribers have the pleasure to announce to the citizens of Lynchburg, and vicinity, that they have opened a new DRY GOODS STORE on Main Street . . . The selection of Goods they

* There are difficulties in spelling from German to English, which are compounded by the family using different spellings for names from Europe to the United States. An effort has been made here to use the most common spelling. *Ed.*

Jewish Cemetery Hürben, Krumbach, Bavaria.
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keep will give satisfaction, as to style, quality and price. Selling for cash, they will be satisfied with small profits, and receiving fresh GOODS from the Northern Cities during the season, they will always keep a select assortment. — A call is respectfully solicited.

S. GUGGENHEIMER & BROTHER.

April 25

From September 1845 Salomon and Nathaniel were able to advertise that they had received a "new and splendid stock of dry goods." They were now able to offer their customers a complete supply of both staple and fancy articles including hats, boots, and shoes. "All persons in want of Good Bargains, [were] invited to give [them] a call."²⁹

The business appears to have thrived. Salomon and Nathaniel followed their earlier advertisement two years later:³⁰

NEW SPRING AND SUMMER GOODS

APRIL, 6TH, 1846.

THE SUBSCRIBERS would inform their friend[s] and the public generally, that they are now in receipt of their stock of SPRING AND SUMMER GOODS, composing the latest style of Ladies' Dress Goods, and Gentlemen's Wear, Bonnets: Fur, Silk and Palm Hats: Boots & Shoes, and almost every article usually found in a Dry Goods Store. This store has been selected with great care, and the Subscribers flatter themselves will compare in point of cheapness, style and durability, with any other stock in the market. [*sic*] – They deem it unnecessary to follow the custom of giving an extended list of the many articles they offer – but would say to all in want of Goods, their assortment is nearly complete, and will be sold as low as the same Goods can be bought at any house in this place. The subscribers solicit a call from purchasers, feeling assured they will find it to their interest to give their stock an examination before purchasing elsewhere.

S. GUGGENHEIMER & BROTHER

In September 1846 Salomon and Nathaniel informed potential customers that the store would soon have an entire stock of fall and winter goods including woolens, domestics, hats, caps, boots, and shoes.³¹ The following March they announced, in what amounted to seasonal campaign advertising, that they had just received a “handsome” stock of spring and summer goods from the North.³²

The store was now successful enough so that Salomon could return to Hürben to marry Therese Landauer on July 28.³³ This appears to have been an unusual event. There was only one other known case of a Jewish emigrant returning to Hürben for the purpose of marriage during the period of the Matrikel, and, as will be shown below, he was Salomon's brother. Therese had been born on April 10, 1827,³⁴ the daughter of ironmonger Raphael Israel Landauer and Johanna Tolz Landauer. Salomon needed the permission of the Bavarian state to marry Therese. Usually this took months, but Salomon was able to obtain permission almost immediately³⁵ because Carl Obermayer,³⁶ the United States Consul in Augsburg, certified on June 28, 1847, that Salomon had been granted United States citizenship on April 23, 1846.³⁷

Therese's brother-in-law, Bernhard Levinger, also helped to get the release. Therese's dowry was 2,100 Bavarian gulden, which was the equivalent of about \$860.³⁸ After their marriage Salomon and Therese settled in Lynchburg. On July 20, 1848, Therese gave birth to a son whom they named Randolph.³⁹ Therese and Salomon probably lived in a house in which other family members, such as Salomon's brother Nathaniel, were resident. Isidor Untermeyer, a cousin of the Guggenheimer brothers, also may have lived there, but it is not clear whether this was before or after Salomon's death. Such sharing of residences reflected extended family ties and a means of saving money when starting out.

When Salomon Guggenheimer died on October 17, 1848, his body was escorted by a group of Masons in a packet boat to Richmond where he was buried in the Hebrew Cemetery.⁴⁰ Both Salomon and Therese were observant Jews. Since there was no synagogue in Lynchburg, they were members of Congregation Beth Ahabah in Richmond, to which the cemetery belonged. Salomon left a will. In his business partnership with his brother Nathaniel, *S. Guggenheimer & Brother*, he had \$1,200 more invested than the latter. But he was willing to share with him as an equal because of expenses incurred in traveling, presumably to Bavaria to marry Therese. He wanted his share of the family business bequeathed to Therese and Randolph. Salomon also noted Therese had 11,000 gulden (the equivalent of about \$4,500) in simple, which he desired to remain her property, and also \$400 invested in the dry goods store which he wanted her to have.⁴¹ Therese probably brought a substantial sum of money with her to America in addition to her dowry. Nathaniel was to hold Randolph's share. The dry goods store was renamed *N. Guggenheimer & Company*, of which the partners were Nathaniel, Therese, and Samuel Guggenheimer. Samuel was Nathaniel's younger brother who had immigrated to the United States in August 1846.⁴²

On February 21, 1850, Salomon's estate was settled. *S. Guggenheimer & Brother* was valued at \$8,800 of which Therese was due \$400 in accordance with Salomon's will. The remaining \$8,400

was divided so that Nathaniel received \$4,200, and Therese and Randolph received \$2,100 each. Nathaniel was to hold Randolph's share because he had been appointed Randolph's guardian on February 4 with Isidor as security. Guggenheimer & Company was dissolved and a new partnership, Guggenheimer & Untermyer, was formed. The new partners were Nathaniel and Isidor. Nathaniel contributed \$4,200 as capitol, Isidor put in \$3,600, and he also gained control by marriage of Therese's legacy of \$2,100 from Salomon, making a total capital of \$9,900. The \$2,100 belonging to Randolph also remained in the business to be a debt due to him with interest.⁴³

Nathaniel's new partner, Isidor Untermyer, was also a Swabian Jew. He had been born on May 8, 1811,⁴⁴ in the village of Kriegshaber. It was another of the villages to which the Jews of Augsburg had been exiled in the fifteenth century. The Kriegshaber rabbi from 1819, Aaron Joseph Guggenheimer, was a member of the Guggenheimer extended family.⁴⁵ Isidor was the son of Isaak Untermyer, who was a master butcher, and Jette Guggenheimer, an older sister of Abraham Guggenheimer.⁴⁶ Isidor's parents had died in 1839, and he had immigrated to the United States in 1844.⁴⁷

Isidor's sister Adelheid⁴⁸ probably emigrated with her brother.⁴⁹ She remained in New York City where she married Nathan Mendelsohn, a Prussian-born Jewish merchant. By the 1860s Mendelsohn was the proprietor of a flour store.⁵⁰ Ashkenazi argues that it was not uncommon for Jewish families to be split between New York City and the South in the antebellum period, usually for business purposes,⁵¹ although this does not seem to be the case for Isidor and Adelheid.

On February 24, 1850, the Rev. Maximilian Josef Michelbacher married Isidor to Therese at his synagogue in Richmond.⁵² Michelbacher was the first minister of Beth Ahabah and, like Isidor and the Guggenheimer brothers, he was a Freemason. A fellow Swabian, he had been born in Oettingen, a Bavarian village a few miles to the northeast of Hürben, in 1810.⁵³ Given the existence of another branch of the Untermyer family in neighboring Steinhart, it is possible that Isidor and the minister were already

acquaintances. Isidor appears to have been a member of Congregation Beth Ahabah since at least October 1848.⁵⁴ His name also appears on the list of members certified by Michelbacher on March 10, 1851.⁵⁵

Although by 1859 quite a number of Jews were reported to be residing in Lynchburg, indeed in the opinion of *The Occident*⁵⁶ sufficient to form a congregation, the city's first synagogue was not opened until 1897. However, a synagogue is not required for Jewish religious services, and services may have begun in fall 1852, when enough Jews had come to Lynchburg to form a minyan for the High Holy Days. Isidor is believed to have acted as a spiritual leader.⁵⁷ He was reputed to have "the character of being a correct, upright man."⁵⁸

Isidor and Therese were to have at least seven children.⁵⁹ It is not clear what education if any the Untermeyer children received in Lynchburg. Samuel Untermeyer later claimed that, up to his bar mitzvah at the age of thirteen, he was destined to be a rabbi.⁶⁰ If this is true, he may have attended Michelbacher's private school.⁶¹

Although Nathaniel had been in Lynchburg longer than Isidor, the 1850 Census shows that the latter rather than the former replaced Salomon as head of a household. This was composed of Isidor, Therese, Randolph, Isidor and Therese's daughter, Iva, twelve year old M. Guggenheimer (possibly Meier, the eldest son of Nathaniel's brother Marx), Nathaniel Guggenheimer, Joachim and Henry (Heinrich) Guggenheimer, the younger sons of Nathaniel's brother Marx,⁶² salesman William Goode, peddler Josef Bacharach⁶³, who was the son of Isidor's sister, Vögele⁶⁴, and Jacob Myers, also a peddler.⁶⁵ The peddlers probably sold Nathaniel and Isidor's merchandise in the countryside surrounding Lynchburg. Isidor also owned three female slaves.⁶⁶ It has been estimated that one-fourth of all Jews in the antebellum South had enough capital to own slaves, so Isidor is not untypical.⁶⁷ The spiritual leader of the Untermeyers and Guggenheimers, the Rev. Michelbacher, preached that slavery was ordained by God.⁶⁸

By the mid-nineteenth century Lynchburg was a prosperous community that received full urban status on August 27, 1852. The same year saw the Virginia and Tennessee railroad arrive. The

city's principal product was tobacco, and, in 1854, when the new South Side railroad to Richmond was connected to the city's first railroad, there were thirty-six tobacco factories. Another railroad, the Orange and Alexandria, was completed during the second half of the 1850s, connecting Lynchburg with northern Virginia. The James River and Kanawha canal, completed in 1840, also connected Lynchburg with Richmond. The population was expanding rapidly. For example, between 1848 and 1854, it increased from seventy-seven hundred to fourteen thousand inhabitants.⁶⁹

In fall 1851 another Guggenheimer brother, Maxmillian, arrived in Lynchburg.⁷⁰ "Honest" Max Guggenheimer Sr. established a clothing store at 139 Main Street.⁷¹ By 1860 he was married to fellow Bavarian, Fannie.⁷² The Guggenheimer brothers' sister Karoline also joined them in Lynchburg sometime in the 1850s.⁷³ Another Guggenheimer brother, Simon, immigrated to the United States during the early 1850s and established a business, in Jackson, Tennessee.⁷⁴ Apparently Simon later moved to Richmond.⁷⁵

On February 24, 1853, the partnership between Nathaniel and Isidor was dissolved. Ashkenazi argues that changing partnerships was common business practice in this period. Partnerships were often formed for specific, short-term purposes. The cash on hand, bad debts, and money due to creditors were divided equally. Isidor received about 40 percent of the collectable debts while Nathaniel received 60 percent. The two thousand dollars due at that time to Randolph was also divided equally between the partners. Isidor took responsibility for the four hundred dollars due Therese under the terms of Salomon's will and for five hundred dollars due Joseph and Myer Bacharach.⁷⁶ The dry goods store was renamed N. Guggenheimer & Company.⁷⁷

In 1853 Nathaniel returned to Hürben to marry his cousin Cilli Guggenheimer on August 3.⁷⁸ Like Salomon, he had to obtain the permission of the Bavarian government and to get Carl Obermayer to certify his American citizenship to expedite matters.⁷⁹ Cilli's dowry was only 1,500 gulden (the equivalent of approximately \$615), about a third less than Therese's dowry.⁸⁰ The newly

*Former Kriegshaber Synagogue, Augsburg
(Copyright © Richard Hawkins, 1999.)*

married couple was to establish their own household in Lynchburg. They had three daughters and two sons.⁸¹ In 1860 Nathaniel's personal estate was valued at thirty thousand dollars which means that he was one of the wealthier men in Lynchburg, itself one of the wealthiest cities in the United States.⁸² Nathaniel also owned three female slaves.⁸³ In June 1865 he dissolved his company and formed a partnership with Max Guggenheimer, Jr., Guggenheimer & Company, to revive the clothing store at 144 Main Street.⁸⁴ He died on January 16, 1866.⁸⁵ The business later became Guggenheimer's Department Store.

Isidor established his own business independent of the Guggenheimer brothers. In the 1860 Census he is described as a clothier with a personal estate of eight thousand dollars. This was less than one-third of the value of Nathaniel's personal estate. In addition to Ellen, Isaac, Samuel, and Morris, three salesmen resided in the clothing store, Marx⁸⁶ and George Myers from Wurttemberg and J. Diffinler from Bavaria. George Myers also

worked as Isidor's bookkeeper.⁸⁷ Isidor is listed in the 1860 Census as the owner of four female slaves.⁸⁸

Randolph Guggenheimer, who would have been twelve years old, was not resident in the household. He later recalled that he had gone to New York City in 1859 as a poor boy, lived on Allen Street, and attended school on Chrystie Street.⁸⁹ Randolph's step-aunt, Adelheid Mendelsohn, lived on Allen Street on the Lower East Side.⁹⁰ His mother had sent him to New York to get an education not available to him in Lynchburg. It may be significant that the College of the City of New York, where he was to study law, has not charged tuition fees since it was established in 1847.⁹¹ Hasia Diner has argued that education was a very low priority for most German Jewish immigrants in the nineteenth century.⁹² If she is correct, then Therese Untermeyer's determination and success in seeing that all of her boys were educated to university level was extremely unusual.

In July 1861 the Untermeyers took in Max Siesfeld, a relative on sick leave from the Confederate Army. Siesfeld was the twenty-one year old nephew of Therese.⁹³ Siesfeld had enlisted in New Orleans in Company D of the 5th Regiment of the Louisiana Infantry as a private on May 10, 1861. On July 1 he was granted sick leave and went to Lynchburg. In August he was listed as absent without leave, his furlough having expired. He was discharged on August 10, 1861.⁹⁴ The following April he purchased a boardinghouse on Main Street, Lynchburg, from William W. Mosby for seven thousand dollars.⁹⁵ On January 1, 1863, Siesfeld transferred the property to Therese.⁹⁶ The boardinghouse was one of the first institutions of Jewish community life even before the congregation or cemetery. Unfortunately it is not known whether Therese ran the boardinghouse with a kosher kitchen. The deed states the property was transferred "in consideration of one dollar, and particularly of the natural love and affection which the said Max Siesfeld [bears] to the said Theresa Untermeyer his aunt. . . ."⁹⁷ However another interpretation is that he was assisting Therese, who was purchasing property through her nephew. In September 1863 Siesfeld purchased a commercial property on Main Street in Jonesborough,⁹⁸ Tennessee, from Max

L. Mayer for thirty thousand dollars.⁹⁹ It also may be no coincidence that Salomon's niece, Ellen Cone, lived in Jonesborough. Her husband Herman owned an adjacent property.¹⁰⁰ On January 12, Siesfeld sold this property to Isidor on behalf of Therese "for and in consideration of the natural love and affection which he entertains for his Aunt the said Theresa Untermeyer."¹⁰¹ The deed states that Isidor "shall hold the said property its rents issues profits for the sole separate and exclusive use and benefit of the said Theresa Untermeyer and not to be liable for the contract debts or liabilities of her said husband. . . ." ¹⁰² Siesfeld's relationship with the Untermyers must have been very close. On January 15, 1868, he was married by the Rev. Michelbacher in Therese's house in Lynchburg to her daughter Ellen (Helen).¹⁰³

If Therese were engaging in business on her own account with the assistance of her nephew, this would be very unusual. Her husband, Isidor, was still alive and also engaged in business. Suzanne Lebsock's study of women in a similar Virginia community, Petersburg, found that only a small minority of businesses were owned by women in this period, and most were on a much smaller scale than those owned by men. None of the women Lebsock writes about appear to have engaged in business separate from their husbands.¹⁰⁴

By fall 1859 Isidor was the proprietor of a clothing store at 128 Main Street. In an advertisement in the *Lynchburg Virginian* he drew attention to his role as a clothing manufacturer:¹⁰⁵

I would call particular attention to the fact that at least one-half of my extensive stock of Clothing is manufactured in this city [i.e. Lynchburg], under my supervision, thereby saving to my customers the Northern manufacturers profit, besides selling to them the best made Clothing to be had any where. Please bear in mind that I am never out of an assortment, even in the decline of a season, as I am continually replenishing my stock by my own manufacture . . . My stock of Youth's [*sic*] and Boy's Clothing [*sic*] is extensive, comprising every style to be desired, and mostly all of my own make.

Later in 1859 Isidor placed another advertisement aimed at the visitors to the Lynchburg Agricultural Fair and again sought to attract southern patriots:¹⁰⁶

At least half of my extensive stock is manufactured in this city, it is unnecessary to tell the public, that by calling upon me, they will not only save Northern manufacturers profit, but get better made Clothing than can be had elsewhere.

By the end of the year Isidor was trading as the Lynchburg Clothing Manufactory.¹⁰⁷

During the first three months of 1860, Isidor continued to advertise, using the growing tension between the North and the South as a selling point:¹⁰⁸

It is a fact not generally known, that I established my CLOTHING FACTORY in this City twelve years ago, and that I have from that time continued to cut and make a very large proportion of my stock in Lynchburg, as hundreds of my customers will testify to, and having increased my forces from time to time, am now better prepared to furnish my own made clothing, and will guarantee TO SELL THEM AS LOW as they can be bought of Northern houses, and equal if not superior in style, material, and durability.

All those who wish to build up Southern manufactories patronize the old established houses first, and let them reap the reward they so justly merit, for past, present, and future exertions, on behalf of home manufacture.

This is no humbug, as I can prove by from 35 to 50 hands, now in my employ.

∅ Patronize your Manufactories at home when you can do so without additional cost.

From April 1860 until late fall Isidor placed shorter, similar advertisements.¹⁰⁹ In the summer he promoted “cassimere” clothing at “greatly reduced prices.”¹¹⁰

In 1861, after the beginning of the Civil War and the secession of Virginia from the Union, he stopped advertising his business as the Lynchburg Clothing Manufactory, perhaps

because he could no longer obtain supplies of cloth from the North as a result of the war. However, he continued to advertise as I. Untermeyer.¹¹¹ Between August 1862 and mid-1863, he placed the following advertisement:¹¹²

Just Received from Wilmington and Charleston
 25 Gross the New Confederate Staff Buttons,
 50 " New Style Infantry Buttons,
 50 " Eagle Buttons,
 400 Spools Gold Lace,
 100 Spools Black Flax Thread,
 100 great gross Pantaloon Buttons

All these goods were bought at the sale
 of cargoes lately run the blockade.

Together with a large assortment of other
 goods Military, to which I call the particular
 attention of the public and dealers.

This was the last advertisement Isidor placed in the *Lynchburg Virginian* for his clothing business. But it should be noted that as the war progressed to its end, the newspaper stopped taking business advertising.

In April or May 1862, Isidor entered an equal partnership with Samuel W. Shelton to manufacture tobacco in a speculative venture.¹¹³ Shelton was a forty-eight year old Virginia tobacco-nist¹¹⁴ who had purchased considerable amounts of clothing from Isidor's store for many years.¹¹⁵ Shelton had once been in the dry goods business himself. In the late 1840s he had been a partner in a boot, shoe, and hat store with J. A. Hatcher.¹¹⁶ Shelton's latest partnership, a tobacco business, Shelton & Clay, had recently ceased trading. It had employed thirty slaves of whom he owned five. Shelton appears to have been quite wealthy. In 1860 his personal estate amounted to \$16,283 and his real estate was worth \$3,000.¹¹⁷ It is not clear why he went into partnership with Isidor.

In June 1862 Shelton & Untermeyer purchased from Shelton & Clay factory fixtures for \$2,555.72. In the same month they purchased two African American slaves at an auction for \$1,020. In

August 1862 they purchased a lot for \$3,500 in Lynchburg from Harry J. Chandler on the corner of West and Fifth streets on which was located a tobacco factory. Unfortunately the factory had been requisitioned by the Confederate government and was being used as a hospital. As a result they rented another factory from Chandler in which to conduct their business. They produced tobacco in 1862 and 1863. Production ceased in November 1863, and the remaining tobacco was stored with Isidor.¹¹⁸ In fact the whole tobacco manufacturing industry in Lynchburg ceased production for two years.¹¹⁹ Isidor may have fallen back on what was left of his clothing store business. Shelton went to spend the winter south of Richmond. He became ill and found himself behind federal lines. He remained there until August 1864, when he was allowed through the lines by flag of truce and returned home. In the meantime the partnership had made a profit of \$99,315.42 of which \$200 came from rent collected by Isidor in February 1865 from the Confederate government for the use of Shelton & Untermeyer's West Street and Fifth Street factory as a hospital.¹²⁰

Dianne Ashton has observed that the political views of Jews in this period tended to reflect those of the region in which they lived.¹²¹ The Untermeyer family appears to have adhered to this pattern. In later life Samuel Untermeyer held banquets every June to celebrate his birthday at which he told stories about his childhood in Lynchburg.¹²² Apparently his earliest recollection was as a boy of seven, running up and down in front of his home in Lynchburg, shouting "Hurrah for Jeff Davis" at the Union army which was entering the city. He also claimed that his father, Isidor Untermeyer, had developed tobacco lands in Virginia, eventually becoming the owner of twelve hundred slaves. In some versions of this story Isidor served as an officer in the Confederate Army. At the outbreak of the war he entered the Confederate Army and served throughout the war as a lieutenant. Meantime his plantation was despoiled, and he lost most of his property. Isidor had also invested heavily in Confederate bonds, a sign of his faith in the cause of the South. According to family legend he collapsed and died when he heard that General Robert E. Lee had surrendered. Samuel's mother guessed the future more accurately and

converted her personal property into gold. She went to New York City with ten thousand dollars at the end of the Civil War and opened a boardinghouse.¹²³

At Samuel's banquets his sister, Helen Siesfeld, used to sit by his side. She would recollect one particularly memorable day during the Civil War. She was thirteen or fourteen and had beautiful black corkscrew curls. When she told this story, she always preened herself. She walked through the main street of Lynchburg and stopped in front of a shop to admire a window full of epaulettes. While there, a tall man came behind her, patted her black curls, and asked her "Are you a little Rebel?" She quickly replied "I would rather be a little Rebel than a debbil!" She looked around and saw that the man who had addressed her was not Moses descending from Mount Sinai with tablets of stone, but none other than General Robert E. Lee.¹²⁴ Helen also recalled that her family used to purchase forty pounds of corned beef and supply this along with very large cakes to a Confederate camp near Lynchburg. Although Helen recalled that this food was a gift,¹²⁵ it may have been a memory of another of Isidor's business activities.

As has been shown, most of Samuel's stories about his father were untrue. Indeed given both the distaste of Max Siesfeld for military life, and, as will be shown, of Isidor's nephew Myer Bacharach as well, it could be argued that, notwithstanding Isidor's trade advertisements, Samuel and Helen's recollections of their family's degree of support for the Confederacy may have been exaggerated. However, both of them strongly identified with the image of southern gentlefolk, and, because they repeated these stories so often, they may well have forgotten the reality.¹²⁶ As Clement Eaton has observed, after the Civil War the antebellum romantic stereotype of the Old South was reinforced by the psychological need of compensation by southerners for bitter defeat and poverty.¹²⁷ In reality few southerners had had aristocratic lifestyles like, for example, Virginia planter John Randolph of Roanoke, after whom Randolph Guggenheimer was apparently named. Abraham J. Peck has also argued that southern Jewish families in the period before 1830 pursued the development of an

aristocratic myth in the hope that as “southern gentlemen” they would gain social acceptance.¹²⁸

However, there is no doubt that during the Civil War, Isidor’s relatives, the Guggenheimers, were enthusiastic supporters of the Confederacy.¹²⁹ Nathaniel’s cousin, Max Guggenheimer Jr.,¹³⁰ and nephew, Henry Guggenheimer, were among the original members of the Lynchburg Home Guard when it was organized on November 8, 1859.¹³¹ Nathaniel supplied undressed uniforms to the Confederate Army.¹³² In 1860 he was one of the founders of the “Wise Troop,” but his already failing health prevented him from going into the field when that command was ordered there. Later he became commanding officer of a cavalry company for the home defense of Lynchburg. Nathaniel also helped care for sick and wounded Confederate soldiers in his home.¹³³ Lynchburg seems to have been free of the anti-Semitism that became commonplace in both the North and the South during the Civil War.¹³⁴ Indeed, on March 28, 1866, the new *Lynchburg Daily News* published an editorial entitled “The Jew,” which criticized William Shakespeare for his anti-Semitic “Merchant of Venice” and instead provided a sympathetic sketch of the Jewish character.¹³⁵

As illustrated above, in later life Samuel Untermeyer claimed that his father was a Confederate army officer, but this was false. However, Isidor does appear in the Confederate Army records, because in 1863 he interceded on behalf of his nephew, Myer (Maier) Bacharach, the brother of Josef,¹³⁶ who had been conscripted into the “Wise Troop” in January of that year. Myer had been born in Illertissen, a small village a few miles northwest of Hürben, on August 3, 1826, and had emigrated in 1848. By 1852 he was living in Lynchburg.¹³⁷ In the 1860 Census he was listed as a tailor with a personal wealth of only two hundred dollars.¹³⁸ On January 16, Isidor is reported to have pleaded “in tones loud, but not sonorous, for the discharge of one Bachrack [*sic*] a conscript to whom military duty is more fearful than the rack.”¹³⁹ Isidor also submitted a written statement in which he testified that Myer

has been living with me in Lynchburg 10 years & that he always was of a feeble constitution or in sickly condition. In consideration of this, I humbly solicit an examination to proof [*sic*] & establish this facts [*sic*] & his disability to perform military duty. The conscript is a Taylor [*sic*] by trade, which he followed in my house and may be made useful in that capacity in the Government Tailoring [*sic*] Department.¹⁴⁰

Although the 1860 Census suggests that Myer did not actually live with Isidor,¹⁴¹ Isidor's intervention was successful. Myer was issued a Certificate of Disability for Discharge on February 28. It said Myer had been unfit for duty for forty-five days during the last two months and that he had a double renal hernia and rheumatoid arthritis. Myer collected \$20.53 back pay on March 4 in Richmond.¹⁴² Myer clearly was in poor health, and he died the following May. Isidor paid \$50 for a coffin.¹⁴³ Ironically given Myer's distaste for military life, he was buried in the fifth row of the Soldier's Section of the Hebrew Cemetery in Richmond.¹⁴⁴

Business conditions in postbellum Lynchburg were very bad, particularly for shopkeepers like Isidor. The city had one of the highest proportions of African American residents in the South. The freedmen had very little disposable income, and the planters no longer purchased clothes on their behalf from merchants. Furthermore the tobacco industry did not revive until 1866, since virtually no tobacco had been planted in 1865.¹⁴⁵

When Isidor died on March 24, 1866,¹⁴⁶ a committee of Freemasons escorted his body to Richmond where he was buried in the Hebrew Cemetery alongside Salomon.¹⁴⁷ On June 4, 1866, with the approval of the Lynchburg court, Randolph, who was over fourteen, chose Therese to be his guardian together with Max Siesfeld as security.¹⁴⁸ Siesfeld also took over Isidor's clothing store.¹⁴⁹

At the time of his death, Isidor's businesses were heavily in debt. The total estate was valued at \$543 (including \$6,000 in Confederate money valued at \$10). Debts against the estate amounted to \$22,274.25.¹⁵⁰ Among the creditors were merchants Isaac, Simon, and Herman Bernheimer trading as Bernheimer Brothers; Solomon, Mayer, and Daniel Gans and Lazarus L. Leberman

trading as Gans Leberman & Company; Arnold Nusbaum & Nerdlinger and Nathan Blum.¹⁵¹ These debts were probably related to the clothing store rather than the tobacco factory. Bernheimer Brothers, for example, were wholesale clothiers.¹⁵² Unfortunately debts due to Isidor incurred before the end of the Civil War were impossible to collect because of the acts passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, known as the Stay Laws of 1864, 1865, and 1866. These acts suspended the collection of debts for a limited period, the last until January 1, 1868.¹⁵³

On March 12, 1867, Samuel H. Shelton and Max Siesfeld, through their partnership, S. W. Shelton & Company, agreed to take out a loan not exceeding twelve thousand dollars on behalf of Therese with Moses, Dohan, Carroll & Company of New York City. It seems probable that this was done to meet debts incurred by Isidor to his northern creditors because Therese, as a woman, could not borrow the money on her own account. As surety for the loan, she was required to deed to Moses, Dohan, Carroll Company's trustees, Charles L. Mosby and Edward S. Brown, the two properties which she owned in her own right: the boardinghouse on Main Street, Lynchburg, and the property on Main Street, Jonesborough, Tennessee.¹⁵⁴ Moses, Dohan, Carroll & Company advanced the money contemplated to S. W. Shelton & Company, and Therese repaid forty-eight hundred dollars on July 18, 1868. Moses, Dohan, Carroll & Company agreed to accept this in full payment and release the deed.¹⁵⁵ Exactly how Therese raised such a large sum of money is a mystery although she had possessed the equivalent of about forty-five hundred dollars in 1848. Perhaps she called in some debts on her own account rather than her late husband's account.

On July 12, 1867, Therese began a lawsuit in her role as administratrix for Randolph against Shelton, Max Siesfeld, Isidor's creditors, and five children.¹⁵⁶ The lawsuit involved Isidor's only major asset, his interest in Shelton & Untermyer, and was on behalf of Randolph, because Isidor had died indebted on his guardianship account.¹⁵⁷ Nathaniel's widow, Cilli, had paid twelve hundred dollars to Isidor in February 1866 in full settlement of her late husband's guardianship account for Randolph.¹⁵⁸

Nathaniel Guggenheimer

(Courtesy The News & Advance of Lynchburg, Virginia.)

Max Guggenheimer Jr., who had become proprietor of Nathaniel's store after his death,¹⁵⁹ later testified that he had paid the money to Isidor on behalf of Cilli but he did not know what Isidor had done with it.¹⁶⁰

After the Civil War, S. W. Shelton & Company occupied and used the West Street and Fifth Street factory. In August 1868 United States Revenue officers seized and closed the factory. However, Shelton continued to individually occupy the factory.¹⁶¹ The lot and factory were put up for sale in March 1870 and sold to John Robin McDaniel and S. W. Shelton for twelve hundred dollars in October 1871.¹⁶²

Randolph returned to Lynchburg in 1867 and became the proprietor of Randolph Guggenheimer's Dry Goods Emporium on the ground floor of Therese's boardinghouse at 167 Main Street. Advertisements from the Lynchburg press suggest

that he ran the store from at least September 1867 to January 1868.¹⁶³

In the summer of 1868, Therese apparently decided to leave Lynchburg and relocate to New York City. On August 29 she leased her boardinghouse at 167 Main Street, apart from the store-room occupied by Randolph, to Ino H. Bailey and Frank Spenser for one year for an annual rent of five hundred dollars.¹⁶⁴ The following year she sold her boardinghouse in Lynchburg to her relative Adolph Levinger for nine thousand dollars.¹⁶⁵ Siesfeld moved with Therese to New York City and helped her settle into her new residence.¹⁶⁶

The *Untermeyer v. Shelton* Case was not settled until January 1885, when the court determined that Randolph was owed \$1,000 which with interest to September 1, 1884, amounted to \$2,060. It also determined that Therese's administration account on March 15, 1869, had amounted to \$237.57, which had included payment of taxes, funeral expenses, and charges of administration, which with interest amounted to \$462.92. However, only \$1,735.24 had been raised from Isidor's share in Shelton & Untermeyer. Randolph received only \$1,253.06 after Therese had been paid in full, and the unpaid costs of the suit had been met.¹⁶⁷

This article shows that two of the leading Jewish families in Lynchburg were untypical of the German Jewish immigrants who came to the American South in the 1840s. Both the Guggenheimer brothers and Isidor Untermeyer appear to have arrived in the United States with enough capital to found a business without the need to become peddlers. It is significant that there is no tradition in either the Guggenheimer or Untermeyer families of the Guggenheimer brothers or Isidor Untermeyer starting out as peddlers. There is, however, evidence to suggest that the Guggenheimers of Hürben were quite wealthy. For example, Abraham Guggenheimer and his wife owned a pet dog, a luxury in the early nineteenth century. The Guggenheimers had a middle-class German lifestyle at odds with their rural surroundings. It is not clear that by immigrating to the United States the Guggenheimer brothers and Isidor Untermeyer improved their life chances. For example, their life expectancy declined significantly.

Life in Lynchburg was clearly less healthy than in Hürben and Kriegshaber. Indeed sanitation in southern cities left much to be desired.¹⁶⁸ Neither the Guggenheimers nor Isidor Untermyer appear to have sought entry to the professions on their own behalf or for their children. This raises the interesting question why these Swabian Jewish families provided the capital to their children and kinsfolk who immigrated to the United States. Perhaps Askhenazi's argument that the Matrikel system was not a strong push factor does not apply in this case.¹⁶⁹ Possibly the primary motive of these immigrants was not upward mobility but a desire to live in freedom.

However, not everything about the experience of the Guggenheimer brothers and Isidor Untermyer was atypical. They were part of a business network centered on the children and kinsfolk of Abraham Guggenheimer. This network stretched from Virginia to Tennessee, Louisiana, and New York. It corresponded to the antebellum Jewish business networks described by Ashkenazi¹⁷⁰ and resembled similar Jewish business networks in Middle Europe. The Guggenheimers and Untermyers were part of a southwest German Jewish business network.¹⁷¹ Rudolf Glanz has observed that after the German Jewish immigrants had gained a foothold, they made arrangements for brothers and sisters to join them. Neighbors and relatives from other villages were encouraged to emigrate as well. This is a reflection of what historians of immigration call chain migrations. Normally the family and community allegiance of German Jewish immigrants remained strong. In this respect the Guggenheimer/Untermyer family experience was also normative.¹⁷²

None of the first generation of Guggenheimers and Untermyers achieved significant upward mobility. However, their children did. Salomon's son Randolph became a wealthy New York City lawyer, philanthropist, Tammany Hall politician, president of the New York City Council, and acting mayor. Randolph founded the Guggenheimer & Untermyer law firm in 1882 that became one of the most prestigious in the United States. It was renamed Guggenheimer, Untermyer & Marshall after Louis Marshall became a member in 1894. As well as specializing in

commercial law, the firm was involved in the defense of Jewish rights, the Leo Frank Case being a good example. All of Isidor's sons joined the firm as did many relatives, Samuel Untermeyer being the most successful. As well as becoming one of the wealthiest lawyers in the country, he became a prominent advocate of economic and social reform. However, perhaps his greatest achievement was leadership of an anti-Nazi trade boycott organization in the 1930s. As early as 1934, Untermeyer correctly foresaw Hitler's intention to exterminate Germany's Jews. Nathaniel's children stayed in Lynchburg, and his son Charles was one of the founders of Lynchburg's prominent Guggenheimer's Department Store.¹⁷³

Much has been made of southern linkages among Jewish families, something virtually stereotyped in Alfred Uhry's play, *Last Night at Ballyhoo*.¹⁷⁴ This article has provided a case study of this family connection mechanism of marriage, business associations, and travel, and extended it back to its European roots. Yet it has also illustrated how this was as much a national as a regional phenomenon.¹⁷⁵ Consequently for these Jewish families, the Civil War, although it could be celebrated in Lost Cause mythology,¹⁷⁶ did not stir bitter personal animosities and only interrupted trans-sectional interaction. It is arguable that the war and Reconstruction periods actually accelerated the dynamic. Jews continued trading and visiting whenever they could, and, in the postbellum era, many resettled across the Mason-Dixon line. As a result of these forces, from the mid to the late nineteenth century, an acculturating Jewish community prospered in unprecedented terms and leadership transcended regional divides.

Appendix 1

The Guggenheimer Family Tree

The children of Simon Guggenheimer were Jette, Joachim, Joseph, Fegela, and Abraham. They and some of their descendants are shown below. The descendants of Jette Guggenheimer and Isaak Untermayer are shown in Appendix 2.

Simon Guggenheimer (1743–1823)

- 1 Jette (1771–1839) m. Isaak Untermayer
 - 1.1 Max
 - 1.2 Vögele
 - 1.3 Adelheid
 - 1.4 Isidor

- 2 Joachim
 - 2.1 Cilli (1834–1873) m. Nathaniel Guggenheimer (1817–1866)
 - 2.2 Sara (Dreifuss)
 - 2.3 Karl
 - 2.4 Emilie
 - 2.5 Ignatz
 - 2.6 Elias
 - 2.7 Max (Jr.) (1842–1877)
 - 2.8 Simon

- 3 Joseph (1780–1852)

- 4 Fegela

- 5 Abraham (1779–1865) m. Dolze Bacharach (1785–1855)
 - 5.1 Helene m. Heymann
 - 5.2 Süsskind (1806–1856) m. Henrietta Obermayer
 - 5.2.1 Fred
 - 5.2.2 Maurice
 - 5.2.3 Helen (Ellen) (1838–1902) m. Hermann Kahn
(Cone) (1828–1897)
 - 5.2.4 Henry

- 5.2.5 Isaac
- 5.2.6 Carlyne
- 5.2.7 Jacob
- 5.2.8 Flora
- 5.3 Marx
- 5.4 Hirschle
- 5.5 Seligmann
- 5.6 Vögele
- 5.7 Salomon (1814–1848) m. Therese Landauer (1827–1895)
 - 5.7.1 Randolph (1848–1907)
- 5.8 Nathaniel (1817–1866) m. Cilli Guggenheimer (1834–1873)
 - 5.8.1 Hortense
 - 5.8.2 Delia A.
 - 5.8.3 Pauline
 - 5.8.4 Sidney N.
 - 5.8.5 Charles Max (1860–1928)
- 5.9 Joachim
- 5.10 Mendel (Maxmillian Sr.)
- 5.11 Simon
- 5.12 Joseph
- 5.13 Samuel
- 5.14 Moses
- 5.15 Karoline

Sources:

Malcolm H. Stern, *First American Jewish Families: 600 Genealogies: 1654–1988* (3rd ed.; Baltimore, 1991)

Herbert Auer, Krumbach, Bavaria, to Richard Hawkins, January 16, 1999.

Appendix 2

The Untermayer Family Tree

- 1 Jette Guggenheimer (1771–1839) m. Isaak Untermayer
 - 1.1 Max
 - 1.2 Vögele m. Bacharach
 - 1.2.1 Nathan
 - 1.2.2 Klara
 - 1.2.3 Myer
 - 1.2.4 Joseph
 - 1.3 Adelheid (c. 1816/1818–1876) m. Nathan Mendelsohn
(1801–1864)
 - 1.3.1 Sophia m. Benedict Lowenstein
 - 1.3.1.1 Adelaide
 - 1.3.1.2 Leon
 - 1.3.1.3 Sarah (Sadie) m. Maurice Untermayer
 - 1.3.1.4 Florence (1873–1916) m. Louis Marshall
(1856–1929)
 - 1.3.1.5 Elsie
 - 1.3.1.6 Beatrice (1881–1968) m. Judah Leon Mag-
nes (1877–1948)
 - 1.3.2 Isaac
 - 1.4 Isidor Untermayer (1811–1866) m. Therese Landauer Guggenheimer (1827–1895)
 - 1.4.1 Iva
 - 1.4.2 Helen m. Max Siesfeld (1839–1920)
 - 1.4.3 Isaac
 - 1.4.4 Samuel (1858–1940)
 - 1.4.5 Maurice m. Sarah (Sadie) Lowenstein
 - 1.4.6 Adelaide

Sources:

Auer letter.

Lucinda Marshall, *The Marshall Family Tree* (Phoenix, c. 1979)

NOTES

¹ The author acknowledges the research assistance given by Frank Untermyer of Evanston, Illinois, without which this article could not have been completed; Herbert Auer of Krumbach, Bavaria; the librarians of the Jones Memorial Library of Lynchburg, Virginia; Lyn Kelsey of the Congregation Beth Ahabah and Archives Trust of Richmond, Virginia; Ric La Rue of the Sherrod Library, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee, and Günter Steiner of the Staatarchiv, Augsburg, Bavaria. Samuel Untermyer II, the great-grandson of Isidor Untermyer, funded the research for this article which is part of a larger study in progress on the life of New York attorney, Samuel Untermyer.

² Eric E. Hirshler, "Jews from Germany in the United States," in Eric E. Hirshler, (ed.), *Jews from Germany in the United States* (New York, 1955), 36–37, 38.

³ Adolf Kober, "Aspects of the Influence of Jews from Germany on American Spiritual Life of the Nineteenth Century," in Hirshler, *Jews from Germany*, 130.

⁴ Bernard D. Weinryb, "The German Jewish Immigrants in America (A Critical Evaluation)," in Hirshler, *Jews from Germany*, 116–118.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 115; Hirshler, "Jews from Germany," 36–37, 40, 42.

⁶ Eli Evans, *The Provincials: A Personal History of Jews in the South* (New York, 1973).

⁷ Elliott Ashkenazi, "Jewish Commercial Interests Between North and South: The Case of the Lehmans and the Seligmans," *American Jewish Archives*, 43 (Spring/Summer 1991): 24–39.

⁸ Jacob Toury, "Jewish Manual Labour and Emigration: Records from Some Bavarian Districts (1830–1857)," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 16 (1971): 48–49; Lisa Harries-Schumann, "Between Orthodoxy and Reform, Revolution and Reaction: The Jewish Community in Ichenhausen, 1813–1861," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 42 (1997): 33, 48; James F. Harris, *The People Speak!: Anti-Semitism and Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Bavaria* (Ann Arbor, 1994), 24.

⁹ Ashkenazi argues that emigration was also influenced by a reduction in ship passage fees and by a change in inheritance laws during the Napoleonic Wars that reduced the incomes of the agrarian customers of Bavarian Jewish merchants. Ashkenazi, *The Business of Jews in Louisiana, 1840–1875* (Tuscaloosa, 1987), 7–8.

¹⁰ Avraham Barkai, "German-Jewish Migrations in the Nineteenth Century, 1830–1910," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 30 (1985): 309–310; Michael Brenner, Stefi Jersch-Wenzel and Michael A. Meyer, *German-Jewish History in Modern Times: 2: Emancipation and Acceleration: 1780–1871* (New York, 1997), 59; Arno Herzig, *Jüdische Geschichte in Deutschland: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* [Jewish History in Germany from the Beginning to the Present] (Munich, 1997), 155. In 1849 the Bavarian lower house of Parliament passed a government bill for Jewish emancipation. The bill was never enacted because of popular protest. Harris, *The People Speak!*

¹¹ Isaac Leeser, "The Jews in the United States–1848," *American Jewish Archives* 7, (January 1955): 83.

¹² *Ibid.*, 3.

¹³ The term literally means the Jewish village Hürben, but this definition misses the negative connotation implied in the German. Gernot Römer, *Schwäbische Juden: Leben und*

Leistungen aus zwei Jahrhunderten in Selbstzeugnissen Berichten und Bildern [Swabian Jewry: Two Centuries of Life and Achievements Illustrated by Text and Pictures] (Augsburg, 1990), 53.

¹⁴ Raphael Strauss, *Jewish Communities Series: Regensburg and Augsburg* (Philadelphia, 1939), 191–193. Both of these villages are among the nineteen mentioned in an Imperial German government document concerning Jews under the jurisdiction of the Imperial City of Augsburg dated 1603. Barbara Gebhardt and Manfred Hörner, eds., *Bayerisches Hauptsarchiv Reichskammergericht Band 1: Nr. 1–428 (Buchstabe A)* [Bavarian Central Archive, Imperial Chamber Court, 1: 1–428 (Letter A)] (Munich, 1994), 357.

¹⁵ *Lynchburg News*, February 5, 1962.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; Guggenheimer Department Store Program, *Celebration of Seventy-Ninth Anniversary of the House of Guggenheimer*, (Lynchburg, 1921), 2; Malcolm H. Stern, *First American Jewish Families: 600 Genealogies: 1654–1988* (3rd ed.; Baltimore, 1991), 89; Herbert Auer (local historian), Krumbach, Bavaria, to Richard Hawkins, January 16, 1999.

¹⁷ According to an article published in the *Lynchburg News*, Abraham's eldest son, Süsskind, emigrated in the 1830s. He established a trading post in the Shenandoah Valley at Gilmore's Mill, Rockbridge County, Virginia, between Lexington and Buena Vista. He subsequently was joined by his brother Nathaniel in the late 1830s. After Nathaniel had learned English he moved to Lynchburg in 1840 where he founded a dry goods store with an Isidor Untermyer. However, this article is completely untrue. By his own account Isidor did not come to Virginia until 1847. *Lynchburg News*, February 5, 1962; *Lynchburg (VA) Hustings Court, Chancery Court and Law Order Book: Justices: February 1846–August 1849*, 469.

¹⁸ [Http://www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org) U.S. Census, 8 N District, Rockbridge County, State of Virginia, December 5, 1850; Stern, *First American Jewish Families*, 89.

¹⁹ [Http://www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org)

²⁰ Stern, *First American Jewish Families*, 90.

²¹ [Http://www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org)

²² *Lynchburg Virginian*, December 30, 1856.

²³ Salomon was born in Hürben on December 27, 1814. Stern, *First American Jewish Families*, 89.

²⁴ Nathaniel was born in Hürben on June 21, 1817. *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁵ *The Agudath Sholom Story: Breaking Apart and Coming Together: A Centennial History, 1897–1997/5658–5768* (Lynchburg, 1997).

²⁶ Ashkenazi, *Business of Jews*, 3.

²⁷ *Lynchburg Virginian*, October 30, 1848; William Moseley Brown, *Marshall Lodge, No. 39, A .F. & A. M.: The Story of One of Virginia's Most Distinguished Lodges* (Staunton, 1953), 263. Myron Berman has suggested that it was not uncommon for Jews to be members of Masonic Lodges in this period. Berman, *The Last of the Jews?* (Lanham, 1998), 16.

²⁸ *Lynchburg Virginian*, August 4, 1844. If Salomon and Nathaniel had just arrived in the United States, it is unclear how they had acquired such a proficiency in the English language. Perhaps a more established Bavarian Jewish immigrant wrote it for them or the printer may have turned the advertisement into good English. Rudolf Glanz argues that the most common form of German Jewish immigrant business was a partnership involving two or more brothers. Glanz, "The German Jewish Mass Emigration: 1820–1880," *American Jewish Archives* 22 (April 1970): 62–63.

²⁹ *Lynchburg Virginian*, February 16, 1846.

³⁰ Ibid., June 15, 1846.

³¹ Ibid., September 24, 1846.

³² Ibid., April 12, 1847, 3.

³³ Staatsarchiv Augsburg Bezirksamt Krumbach 2829, *Acta des königl. Landgesgerichts Krumbach Betreff: Guggenheimer Salomon Kaufmann von Lynchburgh in Nordamerica, dessen Verehelichung mit Landauer Therese von Hürben 1847* [State Archive Augsburg, District Office Krumbach 2829, File of the Royal District Court Regarding: Salomon Guggenheimer, merchant of Lynchburg in North America, his marriage to Therese Landauer from Hürben], (hereafter cited as Augsburg Archives: Guggenheimer/Landauer marriage), 2.

³⁴ Ibid., 2.

³⁵ Auer letter.

³⁶ Carl Obermayer was a member of a prominent Augsburg Jewish bank. Römer, *Schwäbische Juden*, 243–244; Peter Fassl, *Konfession, Wirtschaft und Politik: Von der Reichstadt zur Industriestadt, Augsburg, 1750–1850* [Religion, Economy and Politics: From Imperial City to Industrial City, Augsburg, 1750–1850] (Sigmaringen, 1988), 214, 218, 227.

³⁷ Augsburg Archives: Guggenheimer/Landauer marriage, 5.

³⁸ Ibid., 2; Auer letter. The conversion from gulden into dollars is based on the following exchange rates: 1 gulden = FrF2.14; FrF25.45 = £1; £1 = \$4.8666. Wolfgang Knabe, *Aufbruch in die Ferne: Deutsche Auswanderungen nach Amerika, Afrika, Asien und Australien zwischen 1803 and 1814 am Beispiel Bayerisch-Schwaben* [Faraway Departure: German Emigration from Bavarian Swabia to America, Africa, Asia and Australia between 1803 and 1814] (Augsburg, 1990), 303; *The Economist*, June 19, 1847; Lawrence H. Officer, "Dollar-Sterling Mint Parity and Exchange Rates, 1791–1834," *Journal of Economic History* 43 (1983): 591–592.

³⁹ *Who's Who in New York City and State* (New York, 1904), 274.

⁴⁰ Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917* (Richmond, 1917), 293; *Lynchburg Virginian*, October 30, 1848. The Hebrew Cemetery was the only Jewish burial ground in Virginia for a long time. It was jointly maintained by congregations Beth Shalome and Beth Ahabah.

⁴¹ *Lynchburg (VA) Hustings Court, Law Order Book No. 5, November 1848–September 1852*, 39.

⁴² He was born on December 22, 1826. *Lynchburg Virginian*, December 7, 1848; *Lynchburg (VA) Hustings Court, Law Order Book No. 5, November 1848–September 1852*, 363. He later moved to Richmond where he became the proprietor of a liquor store. First Ward, Richmond City, Henrico County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, July 10, 1860.

⁴³ Phillip W. Rhodes, Research Librarian, Jones Memorial Library, to Frank Untermyer, great-grandson of Isidor Untermyer, September 21, 1990; "Tombstone," *Lynchburg Virginian*, April 4, 1850; *Lynchburg Corporation Court, Chancery File No. 452 (1867–1885)*, Untermyer v. Shelton Case, 17.

⁴⁴ *Lynchburg (VA) Hustings Court, Chancery Court and Law Order Book: Justices: February 1846–August 1849*, May 4, 1847, 184.

⁴⁵ Aaron Joseph Guggenheimer was born in 1793 in the mid-Franconian village of Dittenheim near Weissenburg, some 70 km north of Augsburg. From 1819 until his death in 1860 he was rabbi for the Kriegshaber district.

⁴⁶ Auer letter.

⁴⁷ Rabbi Guggenheimer later certified that Jette died on April 6, 1839 at age 68. Isaak appears to have died in the same year. Under the Matrikel system a family business was

normally inherited by the eldest son. Younger sons were not normally permitted to establish their own business or to marry. Isidor's elder brother, Max, acquired the family business from his father on November 26, 1839. So there was no future for Isidor in Bavaria. Isidor immigrated to the United States in 1844. He probably lived first in New York City. After three years he moved to Virginia and became a United States citizen on May 7, 1849. Staatsarchiv Augsburg LGäO Krumbach, NA, Hürben Nr. 156, *Acta des königl. Landgerichts. Krumbach, Verlassenschaft des Handelsmannes Josef Guggenheimer zue Hürben 1852* [State Archives Augsburg, District Office Krumbach, NA Hürben no. 156, File of the Royal District Court: Krumbach Estate of the merchant Josef Guggenheimer of Hürben 1852], 23; Staatsarchiv Augsburg NA Augsburg LG 272/1874 (hereafter cited as Augsburg Archive: J. Guggenheimer estate); *Lynchburg (VA) Hustings Court, Chancery Court and Law Order Book: Justices: February 1846–August 1849*, 469.

⁴⁸ Adelheid was born in Kriegshaber between 1816 and 1818. Tenth Ward New York City, County of New York, State of New York, U.S. Census, May 2, 1850; Fourth District, Tenth Ward, County of New York, State of New York, U.S. Census, June 15, 1860.

⁴⁹ Augsburg Archive: J. Guggenheimer estate, 54, 75.

⁵⁰ Lucinda Marshall, *The Marshall Family Tree* (Phoenix, c. 1979); Fourth District, Tenth Ward, County of New York, State of New York, U.S. Census, June 15, 1860; H. Wilson (ed.), *Trow's New York City Directory, For The Year Ending May 1, 1862* (New York, 1862), 588.

⁵¹ Ashkenazi, *Business of Jews*, 19; Ashkenazi, "Jewish Commercial Interests," 25–26.

⁵² Entry No. 20: Marriage Register, Congregation Beth Ahabah Museum and Archives.

⁵³ Michelbacher had immigrated to Philadelphia in 1844 and was invited by Beth Ahabah to Richmond where he was elected their minister in 1846. He served as their unordained rabbi and schoolteacher for over thirty years. Richmond, Henrico County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, July 28, 1860; *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, January 28, 1879; Myron Berman, *Richmond's Jewry, 1769–1976: Shabbat in Shockoe* (Charlottesville, 1979), 139.

⁵⁴ Account Book, c. 1848–1855, Congregation Beth Ahabah Museum and Archives.

⁵⁵ List of Members as of 1851, Congregation Beth Ahabah Museum and Archives.

⁵⁶ *The Occident*, founded in 1843, was the first stable Jewish monthly journal in the United States. Morris U. Schappes, *A Pictorial History of the Jews in the United States* (rev. ed.: New York, 1965), 73–74. A history of the early *Occident* can be found in Lance J. Sussman, *Isaac Leeser and the Making of American Judaism* (Detroit, 1995), 136–149.

⁵⁷ *The Occident* 11 (May 1853): 123; *The Occident* 17 (March 31, 1859): 5–6; Robert D. Gardner, M.D., an historian of the Lynchburg Jewish community, to Richard Hawkins, April 23, 1998.

⁵⁸ *Lynchburg Virginian*, March 27, 1866.

⁵⁹ Iva (born 1849); Ellen (Helen) (born 1852), Isaac (born June 23, 1853), Samuel (born 1858); Morris (Maurice) (born 1860) and Adelaide (Addie) (born 1866). Iva appears to have died in March 1855. The Diuguid Funeral Home accounts show that the Untermeyers buried another infant child in November 1861. This child must have been born after June 25, 1860, because it is not listed in the 1860 Census. *New York Times*, September 1, 1926 (for Isaac); *Account Books*, Diuguid Funeral Home, Lynchburg, Virginia, March 4, 1855 (for Iva); November 7, 1861; Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, June 27, 1860 (for unknown infant).

⁶⁰ *New York Times*, October 2, 1921.

⁶¹ Berman, *Richmond's Jewry*, 139, 141; D. J. Greenberg, *Through The Years* (Richmond, 1955), 22.

⁶² Heinrich was born in Hürben on January 13, 1839 and Joachim in Hürben on April 9, 1840. Auer letter.

⁶³ Town of Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, September 23, 1850.

⁶⁴ He was born in Illertissen in 1825 and immigrated to the United States in 1848. *Lynchburg (VA) Hustings Court, Chancery and Law Order Book, Justices, August 1852–February 1855*, 292; Augsburg Archive: J. Guggenheimer estate, 62, 69.

⁶⁵ Town of Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, September 23, 1850.

⁶⁶ Schedule 2—Slave Inhabitants, Town of Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, September 23, 1850.

⁶⁷ Hasia R. Diner, *The Jewish People in America, A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820–1880* (Baltimore, 1992), 81.

⁶⁸ Bertram W. Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War* (2nd ed.: Cleveland and New York, 1961), 29.

⁶⁹ Richard Edwards, ed., *Statistical Gazetteer of the State of Virginia*, (Richmond, 1855), 299.

⁷⁰ *Lynchburg (VA) Hustings Court, Chancery and Law Order Book, Justices, August 1852–February 1855*, 287.

⁷¹ *Lynchburg Virginian*, May 16, 1866.

⁷² Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, June 25, 1860.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, June 29, 1860.

⁷⁴ Augsburg Archive: J. Guggenheimer estate, 75.

⁷⁵ On January 14, 1863 he married Fredrica Lowenberg in Richmond. Stern, *First American Jewish Families*, 89; <http://www.familysearch.org>

⁷⁶ Phillip W. Rhodes, Research Librarian, Jones Memorial Library to Frank Untermyer, September 21, 1990; Untermyer v. Shelton, 9, 13; Ashkenazi, *Business of Jews*, 74.

⁷⁷ *Lynchburg Virginian*, March 16, 1866.

⁷⁸ Staatsarchiv Augsburg KB25 Krumbach 66, Hürben Births, Marriages and Deaths Register, c. 1834–c. 1875. Cilli was the eldest child of Abraham Guggenheimer's nephew, Seligmann Guggenheimer, and Klara Landauer. Her brother Max later joined her in Lynchburg. Auer letter; Stern, *First American Jewish Families.*, 89.

⁷⁹ Staatsarchiv Augsburg Bezirksamt Krumbach 3317, *Acten des koeniglichen landgerichts Krumbach, Ein Auswanderung der minvorennen Zilli Guggenheimer zu Hürben und deren Verehelichung betr.* [State Archive Augsburg, District Office Krumbach 3317, File of the Royal District Court Krumbach, regarding the emigration of Miss Zilli Guggenheimer of Hürben and her marriage], 4.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸¹ First Ward Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, July 5, 1870.

⁸² Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, June 27, 1860; Steven Elliott Tripp, *Yankee Town, Southern City: Race and Class Relations in Civil War Lynchburg* (New York, 1997), 8.

⁸³ Schedule 2—Slave Inhabitants, Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, June 18, 1860.

⁸⁴ *Lynchburg Virginian*, June 12, 1865.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, January 25, 1866; "Obituary," *Lynchburg News*, January 25, 1866.

⁸⁶ This may have been the same Marx Myers who died at Manassas fighting for the Confederacy. Berman, *Richmond's Jewry*, 202; Herbert T. Ezekiel, "The Jews of Richmond During the Civil War," *American Israelite*, June 17, 1915.

⁸⁷ Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, June 27, 1860.

⁸⁸ Schedule 2—Slave Inhabitants, Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, June 18, 1860.

⁸⁹ Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, June 27, 1860; *New York Daily Tribune*, January 19, 1901.

⁹⁰ However, Randolph is also not listed in the 1860 Census as a member of the Mendelsohn household. Perhaps he lived first with Adolph Levinger, a New York City lawyer since the mid-1850s. Levinger was probably a relative of Bernhard Levinger, the husband of Therese's older sister, Friderike Landauer. Fourth District, Tenth Ward, County of New York, State of New York, U.S. Census, June 15, 1860; H. Wilson (ed.), *Trow's New York City Directory, For The Year Ending May 1, 1862* (New York, 1862) 588; Augsburg Staatsarchiv Neuburg/D Bezirksamt Krumbach No. 2759, Levinger 1826–1831; *Wilson's Business Directory of New York City* (New York, 1855), 235; *Untermeyer v. Shelton*, 172.

⁹¹ *London Times Higher Education Supplement*, January 21, 2000.

⁹² Diner, *Jewish People* 65.

⁹³ Born on September 29, 1839, Siesfeld was the son of Lazarus and Eliza Siesfeld. Grave marker, Salem Fields, New York City, transcribed by Frank Untermeyer; Lynchburg, VA, Marriage Register No. 2 (1853–1881), 47.

⁹⁴ Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Louisiana, Co. D, 5 Louisiana Infantry. (*Confederate.*), 1810 Siesfeld Max.

⁹⁵ *Lynchburg Corporation Court, Deedbook W: December 1859 to January 1863*, 384.

⁹⁶ Diner, *Jewish People*, 89.

⁹⁷ *Lynchburg Corporation Court, Deedbook W: December 1859 to January 1863*, 479–480.

⁹⁸ The dropping of the 'ugh' from the end of Jonesboro began in the early 1860s. For a few years it was spelled sometimes Jonesborough and sometimes the modern Jonesboro. By the early 1870s the spelling Jonesboro had become uniform in documents and publications. Ned Irwin, East Tennessee State University Archivist, Johnson City, to Richard Hawkins, May 9, 2000.

⁹⁹ According to the Mormon web site, Max L. Mayer was born in Campbell County, Virginia, in 1838. Yet this may be the same Marx Myers identified in the 1860 census as residing at Isidor Untermeyer's clothing store along with George Myers both from Wurttemberg. The witness to the deed for the land sale to Max Siesfeld was I. George Mayer. <http://www.familysearch.org>. I greatly appreciate the research assistance of James Welsh in identifying this likely tie.

¹⁰⁰ One of Süsskind Guggenheimer's daughters, Ellen, married a merchant from Jonesborough, Tennessee, Herman Cone (Herrman Cohen/ Hermann Kahn), on September 25, 1856, and Isidor was one of the two witnesses. Herman was born in Altenstadt, Swabia, Bavaria, immigrated to Richmond in 1845, and subsequently settled in Jonesboro with his sister, Sophie, and her husband, Jakob Adler. From the 1840s the small community of Jonesborough was importing merchandise direct from Baltimore through the Lynchburg market. His sons later founded the Cone Mills in Asheville and the Proximity

Manufacturing Company in Greensboro. When they constructed their mill in Greensboro in 1895, it was the largest in the South at the time. *Ibid.*; Jonesboro District, Washington County, State of Tennessee, U.S. Census, August 15, 1860; *Entry No. 69, Marriage Register*, Congregation Beth Ahabah Museum and Archives; "A Letter from Bavaria: 1846," *American Jewish Archives* 15 (April 1963): 17; Römer, *Schwäbische Juden.*, 218; Wilma A. Dunaway, *The First American Frontier: Transition to Capitalism in Southern Appalachia, 1700-1860* (Chapel Hill, 1996), 198.

¹⁰¹ *Washington County Deed Book*, 38: 572-573, Sherrod Library, East Tennessee State University, Johnston City.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 572.

¹⁰³ *Lynchburg Virginian*, January 18, 1868; Lynchburg, VA, Marriage Register No. 2 (1853-1881), 47.

¹⁰⁴ Suzanne Lebsack, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860* (New York, 1984), 176-181, 247.

¹⁰⁵ *Lynchburg Virginian*, September 27, 1859. It is not clear when he had established his factory. In January 1860 he claimed he had established it in 1848 but in April of the same year he identified the date as 1845, although at that time he was not resident in Virginia. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1860, April 16, 1860.

¹⁰⁶ *Lynchburg Virginian*, November 3, 1859.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, December 3, 1859.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, January 19, 1860.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, April 16, 1860, May 11, 1860, June 15, 1860, October 4, 1860.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, June 25, 1860.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1861. This particular advertisement last appeared on December 7, 1862.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, December 9, 1862.

¹¹³ *Untermeyer v. Shelton*.

¹¹⁴ Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, July 23, 1860.

¹¹⁵ *Untermeyer v. Shelton*, 168-171

¹¹⁶ *Lynchburg Virginian*, October 25, 1847.

¹¹⁷ Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, July 23, 1860; Schedule 2—Slave Inhabitants, Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, June 18, 1860.

¹¹⁸ *Untermeyer v. Shelton*, 168-171.

¹¹⁹ Tripp, *Yankee Town*, 165.

¹²⁰ *Untermeyer v. Shelton*, 168-171.

¹²¹ Dianne Ashton, *Rebecca Gratz: Women and Judaism in Antebellum America* (Detroit, 1997), 202.

¹²² Frank Untermeyer, great-grandson of Isidor, interview conducted by Richard Hawkins, March 12, 2000. These stories have also been published in various forms. See "Death of Maurice Untermeyer," *American Hebrew* 74 (January 1, 1909) 242; *New York Herald Tribune*, March 17, 1940; Henry F. Pringle, "Front Page Stuff," *American Mercury* (February 1927) 160.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Frank Untermeyer interview; Beatrice (Lowenstein) Magnes to Louise Frankel, December 14, 1965 [copy owned by Frank Untermeyer]. Beatrice Magnes was the

granddaughter of Adelheid Untermayer, and Louise Frankel was Samuel Untermayer's brother Maurice's granddaughter.

¹²⁵ Magnes letter.

¹²⁶ Frank Untermayer interview.

¹²⁷ Clement Eaton, *A History of the Old South: The Emergence of a Reluctant Nation* (3rd ed.: New York, 1975), 389.

¹²⁸ Berman, *Last of the Jews?*, x.

¹²⁹ Given the fact that there was a significant community of Jews in Lynchburg, particularly in the realm of commerce, and that some of them owned slaves, it seems odd that Steven Elliott Tripp in a recent monograph about Civil War Lynchburg completely ignored them. Tripp, *Yankee Town*.

¹³⁰ Max Guggenheimer (born Hürben, May 19, 1842) was the son of Abraham Guggenheimer's nephew Seligmann. Stern, *First American Jewish Families*, 89; Auer letter.

¹³¹ Charles M. Blackford, *Annals of the Lynchburg Home Guard* (Lynchburg, 1891), 14-15.

¹³² W. A. Christian, *Lynchburg and Its People* (Lynchburg, 1900), 194.

¹³³ *Lynchburg News*, January 25, 1866.

¹³⁴ Gary L. Bunker and John Appel, "'Shoddy,' Anti-Semitism and the Civil War," *American Jewish History* 82 (1995): 43-71; Richard M. McMurray, "Rebels, Extortioners and Counterfeiters: A Note on Confederate Judaeophobia," *Atlanta Historical Journal* (Fall/Winter 1978): 45-52; Louis Schmier, "Notes and Documents on the Expulsion of the Jews from Thomasville, Georgia," *American Jewish Archives* 32 (April 1980): 9-22; Mark I. Greenberg, "Ambivalent Relations: Acceptance and Anti-Semitism in Confederate Thomasville," *ibid.*, 45 (Spring/Summer 1993): 13-29; Berman, *Richmond's Jewry*, 184-188; Korn, *Civil War*, 156-188.

¹³⁵ *Lynchburg Daily News*, March 28, 1866.

¹³⁶ Augsburg Archive: J. Guggenheimer estate, 62, 69.

¹³⁷ *Lynchburg (VA) Hustings Court, Chancery and Law Order Book, Justices, August 1852-February 1855*, 5, 155.

¹³⁸ Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, June 27, 1860.

¹³⁹ Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Virginia, *59th Infantry (2d Regiment, Infantry, Wise Legion), A-Bi: 104-a Bacharach, Myer*.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Lynchburg, Campbell County, State of Virginia, U.S. Census, June 27, 1860, 343.

¹⁴² Records of Confederate Soldiers, *Bacharach, Myer*.

¹⁴³ Diuguid Funeral Home, Lynchburg, Virginia, *Account Books*, May 8-9, 1864.

¹⁴⁴ The soldier's section was the first Jewish military cemetery in North America. Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *Jews of Richmond*, 194-195.

¹⁴⁵ Tripp, *Yankee Town*, 165-166.

¹⁴⁶ *Lynchburg News*, March 28, 1866.

¹⁴⁷ *Lynchburg Virginian*, March 27, 1866.

¹⁴⁸ *Lynchburg Hustings Court, Chancery and Law Order Book, January 1864-August 1866, June 4, 1866*, 290.

¹⁴⁹ *Lynchburg Virginian*, September 4, 1866.

¹⁵⁰ Rhodes letter.

¹⁵¹ Untermayer v. Shelton, 1-2, 63.

¹⁵² Glanz, *Mass Emigration*, 63.

¹⁵³ *Untermyer v. Shelton*, 209; "An Act staying the Collection of Debts for a Limited Period Passed December 19, 1865," in *State of Virginia, Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, Passed in 1865-1866, in the Eighty-Ninth Year of the Commonwealth* (Richmond, 1866), 179-180; "An Act to stay the Collection of Debts for a limited period Passed March 2, 1866," in *ibid.*, 180-184.

¹⁵⁴ *Lynchburg Corporation Court Deed Book Aug. 1866 to Jan. 1870*, 142.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 321.

¹⁵⁶ *Untermyer v. Shelton*, 63.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 209-211.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 9-15.

¹⁵⁹ *Lynchburg Virginian*, March 16, 1866, 1.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 55-56.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 209-211.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 42, 110, 122.

¹⁶³ *Lynchburg Virginian*, September 21, 1867, 2; *Lynchburg Virginian*, January 1, 1868, 3.

¹⁶⁴ *Lynchburg Corporation Court Deed Book Aug. 1866 to Jan. 1870*, 342. The obituary of Isaac Untermyer notes that he moved to New York City in 1868. *New York Times*, September 1, 1926.

¹⁶⁵ *Lynchburg Corporation Court Deed Book Aug. 1866 to Jan. 1870*, 561-563.

¹⁶⁶ Siesfeld lived with her for about a year at 2 Livingston Place. He then disappeared. According to Untermyer family tradition, he went to Texas to seek his fortune. He subsequently returned to New York City about 1883 and once again became a member of Therese Untermyer's household. He established a cooper's business at a separate address about 1884. He died on February 20, 1920.

Frank Untermyer, interview conducted by Richard Hawkins, September 30, 1999; H. Wilson (ed.), *Trow's New York City Directory, For The Year Ending May 1, 1870* (New York, 1870), 1015; *Trow's New York City Directory, For The Year Ending May 1, 1885* (New York, 1885), 1620; *Trow's New York City Directory, For The Year Ending May 1, 1886* (New York, 1886), 1772.

¹⁶⁷ *Untermyer v. Shelton*, 202-208; U.S. Census, Ninth District Eighteenth Ward New York, New York, June 22, 1870.

¹⁶⁸ Eaton, *Old South*, 413.

¹⁶⁹ Ashkenazi, *Business of Jews*, 7-8.

¹⁷⁰ Ashkenazi, "Jewish Commercial Interests," 24-39.

¹⁷¹ Mordechai Breuer and Michael Graetz, *German-Jewish History in Modern Times: volume 1: Tradition and Enlightenment* (New York, 1996), 132-134.

¹⁷² Glanz, *Mass Emigration*, 49-61.

¹⁷³ Guggenheimer Department Store Program, *Celebration of Seventy-Ninth Anniversary of the House of Guggenheimer*, (Lynchburg, 1921).

¹⁷⁴ Carolyn Lipson-Walker, "Shalom Y'all: The Folklore and Culture of Southern Jews," (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1986).

¹⁷⁵ See Berman, *Last of the Jews?*; Sussman, *Leeser*; Ashton, *Gratz*.

¹⁷⁶ For a discussion of Lost Cause mythology see for example the preface to Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics & Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), vii-xix.