

Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung
gegründet 1907

Adolph Lewisohn

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Copper Magnate in the “Gilded Age”



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by Henning Albrecht

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THE PATRONS OF SCIENCE

Publ. by Ekkehard Nümann

Sponsored by

Ambassador John L. Loeb Jr., Oscar Lewisohn, Daniela Chiara,
Daniel L. Kahn, Richard Lewisohn III and Mark Simon

Dedicated to the families who with their generous donations 112 years ago made possible the establishment of the Hamburg Scientific Foundation and were instrumental in ensuring that the foundation can continue to promote research and education.

CONTENTS

Publisher's preface	4
Preface of the English Translation	5
Preface of the German Edition	8
1. PROLOGUE	10
2. YOUTH IN HAMBURG	16
School and Apprenticeship	23
3. ADOLPH LEWISOHN IN NEW YORK – 1867	29
4. COPPER	40
Red Metal	40
Electrolysis	47
Mergers	48
Secretan's Syndicate	52
Copper wars	55
“An afternoons reflection” – Adolph Lewisohn's business philosophy	66
5. ADOLPH LEWISOHN'S PRIVATE LIFE	74
Adolph Lewisohn's attitude toward religion	85
6. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES	94
7. PRISON REFORM	99
8. THE ART COLLECTOR	104
9. ADOLPH LEWISOHN AS BENEFACTOR	III
10. EPILOGUE	128
11. APPENDICES	135
Family tree (excerpts)	136
Adolph Lewisohn: biographical timeline	138
12. SOURCES, LITERATURE AND PHOTO CREDITS	139
13. INDEX	145

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

The Hamburg Scientific Foundation celebrated its centenary in 2007. This is the thirteenth volume in the series "The Patrons of Science" initiated to mark this occasion. The series covers the history of the foundation, and the individual volumes honour the founders and members of the board of trustees.

The creation of this series reflects our gratitude to those who more than 100 years ago had the courage to create the foundation for promoting the sciences and academic research in Hamburg, and who ensured that this city would have a university. It is furthermore our hope and expectation that future generations will take this as an example.

Ambassador John L. Loeb Jr., Oscar Lewisohn, Daniela Chiara, Daniel L. Kahn, Richard Lewisohn III, and Mark Simon lived up to this hope in a most generous fashion, for which we owe them our utmost gratitude and thanks.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Chiara' or 'Nümann', with a large, stylized initial 'C'.

Ekkehard Nümann

PREFACE

OF THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

My mother always said that my great grandfather, Adolph Lewisohn, was the most interesting man in our family – and in many ways he was!

As a child, I believed that Adolph was of royalty. An idea that came from the tremendous to-do my parents and other grown-ups made over him. In latter years, I concluded that this admiration for great grandfather Adolph must have been because he was very rich, gave great parties. He was at the same time an extraordinary philanthropist who, among other things, helped prisoners in the American penitentiary system.

His magnificent mansion on Fifth Avenue from where we watched the St. Patrick's Day parade and his own railroad car which took us to Prospect Point, the Adirondack Lodge where he was reputed to have entertained presidents, including President Calvin Coolidge, laid testament to the grandeur of his lifestyle. He gave New York City an enormous stadium that looked like a Roman Amphitheatre. Known as the Lewisohn Stadium, our family and thousands of New Yorkers went every summer to hear music performed by the New York Philharmonic and other major international orchestras and artists. Sadly, the stadium no longer exists; its property has for many years been part of City College, on the Upper West Side of New York City.

In a chapter of Stephen Birmingham's "Our Crowd", Adolph's father was known as "Der reiche Lewisohn". The family business had started in 1740 and could trace their pedigree back to 1609.

Of the four silver spoons with which I was privileged to be born (Loeb, Lehman, Moses and Lewisohn), my great grandfather, Adolph Lewisohn, was already the wealthiest before his family's arrival to the U.S.A. and probably, at one point, had a bigger fortune than any of the others.

I met Adolph twice as a child: once at his farm in Westchester County, and once on Christmas Eve in the ballroom of his Fifth Avenue Mansion. I remember clearly

the gigantic Christmas tree. My siblings and I received so many presents that our parents had to arrange for a separate station-wagon to take them home.

The heading to my great grandfather Adolph's obituary in the New York Times reads, "Successful and Happy". It goes on to state, "the characteristic which made him beloved by most people with whom he came in contact, was his unflinching cheerfulness." The obituary then quotes a letter Adolph had written, "I love the beautiful. I have always been for flowers, music and art in all its forms."

Much to the delight of his guests on his 82nd birthday, he sang. It was his interest in life and the good and beautiful that he found in life that kept him young. On his 85th birthday, congratulations were received from all over the world. Among the well-wishers was President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Yet, the message which gave him the most pleasure came from the Mutual Welfare League at Sing Sing Prison, which he was a benefactor of for years.

Although I only met him a few times in my childhood, I happened to be at Prospect Point when he died in August 1938. In those days, telephone lines were shared, and often, during thunderstorms, service was interrupted. Such was the case on the day of his death and I, a boy of eight, was dispatched as the sole messenger to tell everyone at Gull Bay (my parents' camp) the news. The captain of Adolph's large motor launch, the Helen B, piloted me across the lake. Puffed up with the importance of this prestigious assignment, I could hardly wait to make the announcement. Nonetheless, I recognized the gravity of my mission. "Grandpa Adolph has just died", I pronounced, with as much dignity as I could muster.

In Paris, in the early 1900s, Adolph started to buy impressionist paintings and by 1930, owned a number of the finest. My grandmother, Adele Lewisohn, and her younger brother, Sam, grew up with these great paintings surrounding them. Sam Lewisohn expanded the buying of French impressionist art and he became a Trustee of the Metropolitan Museum. In 1951, Sam oversaw the dispersal of Adolph's and his own collections, bequeathing them to numerous American museums. To the Metropolitan came Renoir's "In The Meadow", Cezanne's "Apples And Primroses", Gauguin's "Ia Orana Maria", and van Gogh's masterwork, "L'Arlesienne", among others – all are still displayed and being enjoyed by today's visitors at that great New York institution.

All through the Great Depression Adolph had continued to live his lavish life and continued giving away enormous sums of money. Adolph's legacy was a great history and exemplary philanthropy – by the time of his death he had spent or given away everything!

Adolph Lewisohn was often described as a “model humanitarian” and, in my opinion, he was exactly that!

This English translation of the book about Adolph Lewisohn is happily co-sponsored by me, (Ambassador John L. Loeb Jr., Purchase, Westchester, NY), and Adolph Lewisohn’s other direct descendants, Daniela Chiara, Venice, Mark Simon, Connecticut, Daniel L. Kahn, Massachusetts, as well as my cousins and friends Oscar Lewisohn, London and Copenhagen, and Richard Lewisohn III, New York. It was originally published in German by the Hamburg Scientific Foundation, of which Adolph Lewisohn was an early and major sponsor.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "John L. Loeb Jr." with a stylized flourish at the end.

Ambassador John L. Loeb Jr.

March 22, 2019

PREFACE OF THE GERMAN EDITION

In 1901, at the dawn of the new century, the widely esteemed German banker and economic expert Ludwig Max Goldberger (1848–1913) set out to study the economic life in the United States and above all its trust system. It is entirely possible that on this occasion he also met with his contemporary Adolph Lewisohn, who is the subject of this exceedingly informative biography.

*When Goldberger, at the end of his study tour in New York, was asked about his impressions, he answered succinctly: “The United States is the land of unlimited possibilities” – a quote that can be found in the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung of June 3rd, 1902, No. 132. This characterization of the rising economic might of the United States, which expressed both admiration and unease, launched a familiar saying which has lost nothing of its suggestive power to this day. Since 1903, at the latest, when Goldberger published his impressions and visions of the future in book form, Germans have spoken of the United States almost self-evidently as the “land of unlimited possibilities”. Just how potent this fascination with America has remained even today is evident from the title of Wolf von Lojewski’s book *Amerika: Ein Traum vom neuen Leben* [America: A Dream of a New Life] published in 1991.*

This was also the dream of young Adolph Lewisohn, the son of a long-established Jewish merchant family in Hamburg. The place of his yearning was New York. Having just turned eighteen and brimming with ambition, he set out in 1867 for this great melting pot, where people from every corner of the earth came together in the hope of a better future than in their native countries. Here, in Manhattan, is where he would pursue his fortune, and where he found it. He began in the branch of his father’s company, which traded in a great many raw materials for the manufacturing of bristles and brushes as well as other products, with no inkling of the splendid career, both professionally and socially, that awaited him in the New World. His hunger for experiences, his pioneering spirit, and his shrewd conduct in all matters of business spurred him on and allowed him to quickly break free of the constrained conditions in Hamburg.

His fairy-tale rise from a small merchant of no great distinction to one of the world's leading copper manufacturers, his social acclaim, his sense of obligation to society, his private way of life – all this is vividly recounted by Henning Albrecht on the basis of a thorough study of the sources. The author paints a colorful panorama of Lewisohn's life, from his early childhood days to his death in 1938, embedded within the larger history of the entire era. In addition, the biography, which rescues Adolph Lewisohn so impressively from oblivion, offers revealing insights into life in America, and especially economic life in the decades before and after 1900.

Adolph Lewisohn maintained affectionate ties to his native city throughout his life. His attachment is attested by, among other things, his many family visits to the city of his birth, with Hamburg repeatedly benefiting from his generosity. Perhaps most emphatically so at the founding of the Hamburg Scientific Foundation. His contribution placed him among the most generous donors. No mention shall be made here of the exemplary and varied donations that Lewisohn made in his new home of America in the fields of art, education, science, and welfare. The thrust of the philanthropic giving that Adolph Lewisohn pursued throughout his long life links him to one of Hamburg's philanthropists of our times: Johann Max Böttcher (born 1920–2014), who, with ingenuity and energy, built a considerable real estate empire after World War II. Together with his late wife, this engineer and merchant created the Böttcher Foundation in 1980, whose goal is to support science, art, adult education, pedagogy, as well as ecology and the protection of the environment, animals, and plants. One thing that is especially close to Johann Max Böttcher's heart is the awarding of prizes for special achievements to individuals and groups. And so the decision by the Böttcher Foundation to assume the costs for the printing of the German edition of this book may seem especially fitting, and one for which the Hamburg Scientific Foundation is exceedingly grateful. Once again, we can see that the Hamburg tradition of foundations, on a scale both large and small, continues unbroken to this day – in defiance of all current economic crises.

Another lovely demonstration of the generosity of Hamburg's philanthropic foundations is the fact that the ZEIT Foundation Ebelin and Gerd Bucerius also provided substantial support to the success of the Lewisohn project. For that it has most assuredly earned the gratitude of the readers.

Wilhelm Hornbostel

Wilhelm Hornbostel
(Böttcher Foundation)

PROLOGUE

AN anxious Samuel Lewisohn accompanied his eighteen-year-old son Adolph to the jetty on the Elbe River in August 1867. He was very agitated, telling his son that it was only natural if he felt the same way. But his son felt nothing of the sort. And when his father said that he would not cry if he, Adolph, would not either, the latter looked inward and was perturbed to discover that he could not even force himself to shed tears. He felt nothing but the excitement at the beginning of a great journey – and the hope of greater independence from his parents’ home. His father, on the other hand, was deeply worried: after all, he was allowing his youngest son from his first marriage to move to a den of iniquity and the haven of a new, liberal Judaism: New York City.¹

.....
THIS is the first biography of Adolph Lewisohn, a Hamburg Jew and German-American businessman who accumulated an impressive fortune in the New World as an industrialist in the copper industry, rose into the financial aristocracy of the East Coast, and became an important philanthropist and benefactor.

.....
UNTIL now, the name Lewisohn has been part of a second tier, behind the likes of Rockefeller, Carnegie, or Morgan – names which stand for even greater successes in

business and even larger donations to the public good; names of industrialists who have become symbols of the economic rise of the United States, and for the profound transformation of the structure of business in the last third of the nineteenth century – the emergence of “Big Business”.

.....
THE revolutionary progress in transportation and communications technology, the rise of the largest oil and steel industry in the world, and electrification were the pillars for the development of the new and staggeringly productive American industry: around 1900, it was already producing as many goods as the three leading European industrial powers (Great Britain, Germany, and France) combined – one third of global production.² Thirty-five years earlier, one could not be sure whether the young United States might not tear itself apart in a civil war.

.....
THE last third of the nineteenth century saw the rise of famous large enterprises that embodied this process; among them were companies that are still well-known today – the likes of American Tobacco, General Electric, Ford, Eastman Kodak, American Telephone & Telegraph (AT&T), International Harvester, Pullman (railway cars), Philip Armour (meat canning), Singer (sew-

ing machines), or John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company with its quasi-monopoly in the oil industry.

.....

THE work of these industrialists during this founding period, their initiative and deployment of capital, brought tremendous progress to their communities. The enormous sums of their investments and the heightened intensity of the competition demanded tireless personal engagement, first-rate management, and a certain ruthlessness. In some enterprises it promoted the willingness to secure profits with dubious maneuvers. Especially "railway magnates" like James J. Hill, Edward H. Harriman, Collis P. Huntington, Thomas A. Scott, Jay Cooke, Henry Villard, or Cornelius Vanderbilt came in for a lot of criticism, and even more so speculators like Daniel Drew, Jim Fisk, and Jay Gould. "Railroading through" became a common expression for cutthroat conduct.³ In 1880, alone, 115 railway companies vanished through acquisitions and fusion, and by around the turn of the century one third of the competitors had absorbed the other two thirds. Eventually all of six financial groups controlled ninety-five per cent of the railroad network in 1904. More than one thousand originally independent companies had been brought together into these six groups.⁴

.....

IN other sectors, too, an unprecedented wave of fusions and acquisitions swept through the American economy in the last decades of the nineteenth century and created large companies. In 1901, J. P. Morgan acquired Andrew Carnegie's Steel Company for 447 million dollars. In 1904, Morgan set up the United States Steel Corporation: a trust with capital of 1.4 billion dollars – by

far the largest economic enterprise in the world, which controlled sixty per cent of the US steel market.⁵

.....

CRITICS accused these large companies and cartels of enriching themselves at the expense of society at large through keeping prices artificially high by eliminating the competition: cartoons depicted the consumer as circled by sharks in top hats, or as a puny weakling surrounded by the "fat boys", the monopolies, cartels, and trusts, which are pelting him with balls.⁶ Others showed money bags taking up seats in the US Senate, that is to say, money was spilling over into political power and creating the threat of a tyranny of wealth. It is not surprising that questions were raised about who was in fact running the body politic: after all, around the turn of the century J. P. Morgan was accused of directly or indirectly controlling 746 directorial posts in 134 companies, and through them capital to the tune of twenty-four billion dollars – twenty-five times the annual revenue of the US government.⁷

.....

THE enormous transformation in the economic life of the United States was linked to the faces of a few leading industrialists: detractors called some of these men Robber Barons, a term subsequently adopted by a number of historians. To what extent these men and their companies contributed to the unprecedented rise of the American national economy and the building of the nation, or to what extent the development of American society was burdened by the rule of these large companies, has become part of the history of American historiography as a debate strongly colored by ideology.⁸ At its core, this debate revolves around the ques-



Adolph Lewisohn (1849–1938)

tion of whether the benefits of capitalism outweigh its downsides.

.....
THE name Lewisohn is rightly not mentioned in polemics against the Robber Barons: while it is true that the companies built by Lewisohn were incorporated into an enormous copper trust around the turn of the century, other actors were the driving force behind that process.

.....
UNTIL now, details about Lewisohn's life have been known above all through a book that Stephen Birmingham wrote in the 1960s about the German-Jewish upper class in New York. *Our Crowd* became an international bestseller in 1967, spending forty-seven weeks on the New York Times best-seller list, twenty-one weeks as number one; the German translation was published under the title *In unseren Kreisen*. However, Birmingham, whose book is widely regarded as a classic, did not hew all that closely to the truth when it came to Lewisohn (and probably in other regards as well). Not only did he freely invent an astonishing amount of decorative details in his account: for the sake of a dramatic effect, he did not even adhere to the rough framework of facts. For example, he recounts how Adolph Lewisohn, upon his first return visit to Hamburg from America, was welcomed by his father with a slap to the face because he was carrying his suitcases himself and thus violating the laws of the Sabbath. Birmingham's intention was to highlight the father's strict religious character – and he invented other slaps by the father, against which Adolph's glasses were supposedly his sole protection.⁹ Not only is there no evidence that his father expressed his authority in such physical terms, at the time of Adolph's

visit, his father had already been dead for months.¹⁰ In this way Birmingham paints a seemingly colorful picture of his characters, one for which there is no foundation in the sources.¹¹

.....
THE present account of the life of Adolph Lewisohn is based, among other sources, on his unpublished autobiography, which he dictated around 1930.¹² Naturally it contains some blind spots. The document offers hardly any information about his private life, for example, or the family he established. And reconstructing the role that Lewisohn and his brother played in the mergers in the copper industry around 1900 would require research in US archives, something that was not possible during the work on this first sketch of Adolph's life.

.....
ADOLPH Lewisohn dictated his memoirs based entirely on what he remembered, with no recourse to a diary (by his own account he had never kept one) or literature. He also did not claim that he was leaving behind an "autobiography" – a form of writing which he assumed, in any case, could slide all too readily into fiction;¹³ he refused a literary revision for possible publication.¹⁴ What seems to have prompted his decision to leave behind his memoirs was above all the wish to recount what he felt had been a happy life, his work as a businessman, the creation of his wealth, and the way he used it for civic and philanthropic purposes.

.....
STILL, the existing material allows for a first portrait of his unusual man, whom some called "New York's most useful citizen":¹⁵ "He has given princely sums to education and to public service and he has confined his giving by no means to the institutions of

his race ... No man of America has rendered more important aid than he to improve the conditions of unfortunates in prison and secure employment for them after regaining

their freedom ... As Chief Justice Taft once said of him: 'The country is the better for Adolph Lewisohn's coming.'¹⁶

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- 1 *The Citizenship of Adolph Lewisohn. An Autobiography* [ca. 1930], p. 57f. (hereinafter: *Citizenship*)
 - 2 Adams, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, p. 127. For a general account see Porter, *Rise of Big Business*.
 - 3 Sautter, *Geschichte*, p. 247f.
 - 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 248 and 290f.; Adams, *USA vor 1900*, p. 107.
 - 5 Adams, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, p. 164f.; Sautter, *Geschichte*, p. 249.
 - 6 McNeese, *Robber Barons*, jacket illustration and p. 79.
 - 7 Myers, *Vermögen*, p. 745 (this passage is found only in the German edition, hence it is cited here). In the 1870s, all public budgets in the United States comprised only about four per cent of the country's GDP: Adams, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, p. 176.
 - 8 Porter, *Rise of Big Business*, p. 4ff.; Sautter, *Geschichte*, p. 249f.
 - 9 Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, pp. 219, 213f.
 - 10 *Citizenship*, p. 72.
 - 11 Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, p. 219.
 - 12 *Citizenship*, pp. 65 and 211f. – The version of the autobiography used here is in English, the language in which it was probably also dictated, as evidenced, for example, by numerous spelling mistakes for German place names. The autobiography was kindly made available to the author by John L. Loeb, Jr., a descendant of Lewisohn's daughter Adele. Upon completion of the present book, it was handed over to the library of the Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Hamburg.
 - 13 *Ibid.*, p. viii.
 - 14 "I feel that ... this story will be of value only if it is just in my own words", *ibid.*, p. ix.
 - 15 Art. Lewisohn, Adolph, p. 428: "While he was actively identified with these important business enterprises, he was equally interested in civic, cultural, and humanitarian affairs, and he was often referred to as 'New York's most useful citizen'".
 - 16 McCall, *Patriotism*, p. 188.
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Aerial view of Hamburg (1849)

YOUTH IN HAMBURG

ADOLPH Lewisohn was born in turbulent times, on May 27th, 1849. At the time, the bourgeois revolution in Germany was entering its final phase. A mere three days later, the first freely elected all-German parliament, the National Assembly in Frankfurt, would hold its last session in St. Paul's Church, and only a few weeks after that the remaining rump parliament in Stuttgart was dispersed by Württemberg troops. At the end of July, the last armed revolutionaries surrendered in the Rastatt Fortress. The Revolution had been quashed. In Hamburg, too, Prussian occupying forces crushed the last hopes for the implementation of the new constitution on August 17th, 1849. Lewisohn's childhood was surrounded by the deathly quiet of the reaction. During the years of his youth he witnessed the "wars of German unification" against Denmark in 1864 and Austria in 1866. By the time the war against France in 1870/71 led to the creation of the Empire, he was no longer in Germany.

BUT Lewisohn was even more the child of another upheaval: the Industrial Revolution. Beginning in England, the Age of the Steam Engine had spread across Europe since the start of the century, and from the 1850s on the fundamental transformation was felt also in Germany. In the decades that

followed, industrialization would profoundly alter society and life, the world of work, and the appearance of cities. And it brought with it enormous opportunities for advancement for those who recognized the opportunities – and had the means to take advantage of them.

ADOLPH's birthday fell on May 27th. For the Lewisohn family, however, it was the first day of Shavuot, the feast that celebrated the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, when Moses received the Torah – the Ten Commandments – for the second time.¹⁷ The Lewisohn's were among the approximately 11,000 Jews living in Hamburg around 1850.¹⁸ They were Levites, and the name of the newborn child that was used within this community was "Abraham, son of Samuel the Levite". "Adolph", meanwhile, was his secular, "Christian" first name used in daily life.

ADOLPH's father, Samuel (Schmuel) Lewisohn,¹⁹ was a successful merchant who traded in raw materials such as wool, bristles, horsehair and human hair, quills, down, feathers for bedding, and ostrich feathers. Bristles, the robust hair of domesticated pigs and wild boars, were used in the making of paintbrushes and other kinds of brushes; quills were used for writing; human hair was

turned into wigs; and ostrich feathers were a sought-after ornament among women.

.....
LEWISOHN'S ancestors had come to Germany from the Netherlands in 1609, and the Hamburg company had been in the hands of the family since 1740.²⁰ Samuel's father, Lion (also Lyon or Leonard, Hebrew Joshua²¹) Phil(l)ip Lewisohn, born around 1783,²² married Fanny Haarblicher (1786–1857),²³ the daughter of Raphael Samuel Haarblicher, one of the religious leaders of the Israelite community,²⁴ and his wife Sara(h), who hailed from a family of London Jews and was herself the daughter of Salomon Goldsmith and his wife Blume (née v. Millingen).²⁵ The Lewisohn's were not only successful merchants, but were also related to families who exercised important functions within the life of the Hamburg community.

.....
FANNY and Lion's oldest son, Samuel (Adolph's father), was born on July 16th, 1809.²⁶ He would have many siblings. His younger brothers Neumann (born 1811) and Sally (1812) were of similar age.²⁷ But while Samuel and Sally – and later even their sons – remained closely connected professionally within their father's business,²⁸ there were no commercial ties with Neumann and his descendants, such as his son and successor Leopold.²⁹ Lion and Fanny had a succession of other children for many more years to come. The youngest known daughter, Klara, was born in 1830, and when Lion died in 1841, he was survived by seven minor children.³⁰

.....
ON September 7th, 1836, Samuel Lewisohn married twenty-four year-old Julie (Guta) Nathan from Braunschweig, the daughter

of Israel Nathan and Nannette (née Cohn).³¹ Adolph was the youngest of seven children from this marriage. Friederike (born 1838) was his oldest sister, the younger ones were Louise (1840), Selly (1841), and Henriette (1844); the oldest son was Julius (1843), followed by Leonhard (1847) and Adolph.³² The children were looked after by a nanny, who stayed in the home until Adolph was thirteen. The octogenarian Adolph still fondly remembered the strong bond and great closeness he had developed with this woman.³³

.....
ADOLPH'S mother was only thirty-four when she died on January 26th, 1856. Her death was seared into the memory of her six-year-old son and shaped his subsequent life. Even seventy years later he remembered that Sunday afternoon in great detail: his mother was receiving visitors, drinks were served, Adolph was sitting in an old armchair with one of his brothers when his mother suddenly said she was feeling dizzy – and died only a few moments later even though she appeared to have been in very good health. This cruel blow out of the blue had a profound impact on the small boy. He was left with only a few memories of his mother.³⁴

.....
ADOLPH was sent to an uncle's family for a few weeks. His father decided that for the entire year of mourning he had to attend synagogue every evening and recite the *Kaddish yatom*.³⁵ Samuel Lewisohn remarried three years later, in 1860, at the age of 50.³⁶ His bride was twenty-two year-old Pauline Jessel from Hamburg, the daughter of Isaac Jessel and his wife Henriette (née Lazarus).³⁷ This marriage gave the Lewisohn children four half-brothers: Philip (born 1861), Ra-

phael (1863–1923), Joseph John (born 1864), and Nachmann Albert (1865–1911), at least three of whom (Philip, Albert, and John) later followed Adolph in emigrating to America.³⁸

.....
SAMUEL Lewisohn was relatively wealthy. His son later remembered that in Hamburg he had been called “the rich Lewisohn”, and had been held in high esteem by his business partners and within the community.³⁹ Adolph Lewisohn described his parents’ home as happy, materially speaking his youth was carefree. He described their house at the time, the rear of which abutted a canal (located either at Herrengraben 30 or at Admiralitätsstrasse 21⁴⁰), as spacious and airy, even if it was not pretty and very plain, without gas light, let alone electric light – an invention of later years.⁴¹

.....
THE newspaper, too, came to the Lewisohn home only on loan. It was delivered at a certain time, remained for one or two hours, and was then picked up again and brought to the next subscriber. The critical tone of the aged Lewisohn is unmistakable when he notes in this regard that the kind of useless amounts of trash that piled up in his day - around 1930 – were not generated back then, and yet people read and learned from the newspapers just as much.⁴²

.....
THE Lewisohns subscribed to the democratic *Freischütz* (published since 1825) and the *Hamburger Nachrichten* (since 1849), along with the *Fremdenliste*, which had been announcing the arrival of private and business travelers in the local hotels since 1828 and was the only paper that remained in the home, where it was subsequently used as wrapping paper “and so forth”. The *Frem-*

denliste was the preferred reading of Adolph and his brother Leonhard, who eagerly perused the titles and connections of the new arrivals at the hotels and who imagined their particular characteristics. Adolph would have certainly noted that a merchant stood at the bottom of the social ladder in the *Fremdenliste*.⁴³

.....
INFLUENCED by his mother, Samuel Lewisohn maintained an English style in dress, behavior, and comportment,⁴⁴ so much so that he was often regarded as an *Englishman* on his many business travels.⁴⁵ From his trips through the German states, Austria, England, France, Spain, and Italy⁴⁶ he brought back not only books, but many stories from London, Paris, and the German spa towns. In this way he contributed to his children’s education and a certain cosmopolitan spirit among them.⁴⁷ Adolph recounts that in 1848 Samuel was on his way to Paris to demand an outstanding payment when the outbreak of the Revolution caught him by surprise. Despite warnings from fellow travelers to turn back, he would not be deterred from his mission. When the revolutionary barricade fighters blocked his way, Samuel Lewisohn supposedly identified himself loudly as “Republicain d’Hambourg” and thus reached his destination safely – Hamburg, we are told, was regarded as a free city.⁴⁸

.....
WITHIN the Hamburg community, Samuel Lewisohn was admired for the way in which he managed his business affairs in harmony with the religious precepts. On his travels, too, he strictly observed the dietary laws, even under the most difficult of circumstances, as in Russia during the Crimean War in 1856, when he was believed to be an English spy and interned.⁴⁹

.....
THE Lewisoohns belonged to the orthodox party among the Hamburg Jews – which could be considered quite conservative even by international standards. When a Jewish man who died in Boston in 1887 provided in his will for the creation of Torah ornaments that should “be given to the most orthodox community and the most pious synagogue” in Europe, the executor of the will, Chief Rabbi Adler in London, handed it over to the Kohlhöfen Synagogue in Hamburg in 1889. Even though bonds of kinship may have also played a role in his decision, it does say something about the spirit of the chosen institution and its continuing influence.⁵⁰
.....

IT was Adolph’s father, Samuel, who kept watch over a strict adherence to the religious laws, and it was he who set the terms of religious practice at home, not his mother, who hailed from a Reform Jewish family.⁵¹ His father’s religious devotion was a dominant factor in Adolph’s childhood and youth. It influenced every hour at home, in school, or while traveling:⁵² “[M]y father and my uncle were firm and honest believers in the faith of their fathers and were loyally rigid in their observance of every form, every ritual, every rule of their lives and action laid down in the Old Testament and Talmud. Their sincerity, the righteousness and honor of their lives and dealings, their kindness of heart and spirit, their benevolence and good deeds, filled me with respect and goodwill towards the orthodoxy, but, personally, in my innermost heart and soul, I could not believe in it. Such service as I rendered man was inspired only by a sense of duty and not by my spontaneous natural impulse.”⁵³ Adolph Lewisoohn described his

family tree on his father’s side as an unbroken line of pious, God-fearing Jews “of the strictest orthodoxy in the matter of old traditional ritualistic customs” – “with the exception of myself”.⁵⁴
.....

ADOLPH’S father placed his religion and adherence to its commandments above all else.⁵⁵ Later on, after his sons in New York had acquired a shipment of lard in order to send it to Hamburg, their father promptly ordered them to sell it again immediately: *he* would not do any business with it. (Pig bristles were another matter, since they were not edible.) And when a rumor reached him that his sons were planning to open the New York office on Saturday, he even threatened to close down the branch – even though the rumor was unfounded. For him, religion came first, and only then business.⁵⁶
.....

SAMUEL Lewisoohn was a keen opponent of Reform Judaism. He avoided the “Temple”, which is what the Hamburg reformers called their house of worship, even though the services there were, as Adolph Lewisoohn noted looking back in his eighties, much more conservative than those in “uptown” New York. Meanwhile, Samuel Lewisoohn had no objections when his children attended music performances in Christian churches.⁵⁷
.....

THE Lewisoohns attended an orthodox synagogue, most likely the spaces of the Alte und Neue Klaus Vereinigung on Peterstraße.⁵⁸ There men and women still sat strictly separated, men wore hats, and the only singing was in the form of Torah cantillation, that is, the melodic chanting of the Torah text by the cantor. Instrumental accompaniment (e.g., from an organ) or choral singing were not allowed in orthodox



The new Hamburg Community Synagogue at Kohlhöfen

synagogues. An exception was made in 1859 at the festivities celebrating the opening of the new community synagogue located at the Kohlhöfen: on this occasion, Adolph Lewisohn sang in a choir.⁵⁹

.....
HOWEVER, that breach of tradition did not establish a permanent change in the nature

of services. Only the choir lasted, even if it remained controversial. The sixteen boys who made up the choir were each given a monthly reward of 10 (!) Marks.⁶⁰ As Adolph would recall, it were his uncle Sally⁶¹ and the textile wholesaler Simon May⁶² (from the well-known family of registrars of the Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeinde [Ger-

man-Israelite Community] Hamburg) who pushed through choral singing as a permanent feature of services in the (modern) orthodox synagogue – even if polyphonic performances remained off the table.⁶³ But more extreme orthodox Jews, Old Orthodox of strict observance, continued to avoid services that included newfangled singing, preferring to attend the small, in part private houses of prayer in the city where only chanting in the old style was done.⁶⁴

.....
ANY day that Samuel Lewisohn was in Hamburg, he attended one of its synagogues: in the summer at six, in the winter at seven in the morning. And he expected his children to do likewise. But at the very least they were to attend synagogue on Mondays and Thursdays. And on the first day of the month. Of course also on Friday evening and Saturday. And naturally also on holidays. To that end he enjoyed chasing his children out of bed in the morning with the words that one should rise “like a lion awakening”. The eighty year-old Adolph Lewisohn remembered that the young people were not ready for such activity every morning.⁶⁵

.....
SAMUEL Lewisohn expected his children to recite their Shabbat prayers in the synagogue – those long prayers that had barely changed in hundreds of years. The aged Adolph Lewisohn remembered how he had spent much of the time day-dreaming, far away in his thoughts from his surroundings.⁶⁶ Yet despite some nascent doubts, he submitted to the religious practices at home, for his father’s sake. On the occasion of his Bar-Mitzvah, he expected and received a small gold pocket watch on a gold chain.⁶⁷

RELIGIOUS prescriptions determined life in the Lewisohn home.⁶⁸ Seared into Adolph Lewisohn’s memory was especially his father’s strict observance of Shabbat. All work rested from sundown on Friday until sundown of the following day. Only then did work resume, and for that purpose the family’s home, which was located next to the warehouse, was transformed into a kind of office where the employees showed up to discuss business matters.⁶⁹ It was not only work that had to cease during that time, so did the children’s play and all other activities. Samuel Lewisohn was very careful not to carry anything on Shabbat himself – something that was considered work (*mela-cha*) and was thus forbidden. Extremely orthodox Jews even tied a handkerchief to the outside of their sleeve, as that made it part of their clothing and it did not have to be carried. Samuel, for example, placed the house key beside the door on Shabbat so that he did not have to carry it with him and was not forced to ring the bell when he returned home.⁷⁰ Saturday was the traditional day for visiting grandmother, and since it was not permitted to use the train on Shabbat, the family walked the entire way on foot, even though Nanette Nathan (Adolph’s maternal grandmother) lived in a suburb of Hamburg.⁷¹

.....
WHILE meals in the Lewisohn home were generally devoid of luxury, the food on Shabbat was more refined. The kitchen was strictly kosher, that is, it followed the religious precepts for the preparation and consumption of food. Before the beginning of the meal, Samuel Lewisohn blessed each of his children by placing his hand on their head. The man of the house performed a ritual washing of the hands while reciting

“Baruch atah Adonai, Eloheinu Melech ha’olam, asher kidshanu b’mitzvotav, vetzivanu al netilat yadayim” (“Blessed are you, O Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who has sanctified us through His commandments and has commanded us concerning the washing of hands”). After that the bread was blessed with the words “Baruch atah Adonai, Eloheinu Melech ha’olam, hamotzi lechem min ha’aretz” (“Blessed are You, O Lord, our God, King of the Universe, Who brings forth bread from the earth”). After the meal there was singing and the obligatory prayer Birkat hamazon was recited.⁷²

.....
No fire could be lit in the home of a strictly observant Jew between Friday evening and Saturday evening. In the winter that affected the heat, and throughout the year the preparation of hot food. The Lewisohns probably did as their neighbors and kept the dishes that were cooked ahead on Friday warm in a community oven until Saturday, and had them brought to the house by a Christian Shabbat servant (since one could not carry them oneself).⁷³

.....
FOLLOWING ancient tradition, holidays were celebrated for two days, with the first considered just as important as the second.⁷⁴ On Pesach, celebrants tasted bitter herbs and something sweet – symbols for what life had in store. Following the blessings and before the meal, the father divided an *afikoman*, a special piece of matzah, telling his children with sober seriousness that it had special qualities: for example, if tossed into a stormy sea, it would calm the waves – he himself had tried this successfully. Since even the eighty year-old Adolph did not assume his father had told his children a lie,

he drily attributed it to coincidence. In all likelihood, however, Samuel Lewisohn’s chief intent in telling the story was to indirectly imbue his children with faith – much the same way, for example, in which Christian children are told about Santa Claus.⁷⁵

.....
ADOLPH’S oldest sister Friederike married already a year after the mother’s death. The traditional wedding took place in her uncle’s house. The bride and groom stood underneath a canopy and drank wine from the same glass, which the groom then placed on the ground and shattered it by stepping on it. The men and boys wore hats, the blessings, prayers, and songs followed tradition. And during the festivities, a man walked around with a box and collected alms for the poor by reminding celebrants of the commandment of charity with the word *tzedakah*. The donations were generous, as was customary, even if otherwise people were very parsimonious in their thinking and practiced rigorous frugality.⁷⁶

.....
ON holidays, Adolph’s father sent gifts to the needy, especially to the elderly or those who taught or were active at the synagogue. He often handed Adolph a gold coin in an envelope to have it delivered to someone. The envelope was to spare the recipient the feeling that he was accepting alms. Many of these people were Orthodox Jews who came from Eastern Europe, dressed in long coats and sporting sidelocks and beards.⁷⁷ And “naturally” enough, Adolph’s father also wore a beard; however, he trimmed it in the English manner – contrary to the literal commandment.⁷⁸ In other ways, too, the Hamburg merchant dressed in the modern European fashion.

“POLISH Jews” were also frequent guests in the Lewisohn home.⁷⁹ The father would bring them home for a meal on Shabbat following services. In this way Adolph early on had contact with these fellow Jews, many of whom he remembered as keen and interesting people, who would have known a good deal about Jewish laws and the Talmud.⁸⁰ Later on in New York he supposedly also cultivated contacts with poorer Jews from Eastern Europe, something that violated the unwritten laws of the German-Jewish upper class of which he had become a member.⁸¹

SCHOOL AND APPRENTICESHIP

ADOLPH Lewisohn had been given lessons in Hebrew already from the age of five. From the ages of six to eleven, he attended one of the many private schools in Hamburg, where the teachers were Christian and the curriculum was oriented towards the Christian religion. This caused problems for Adolph and his older brother Leonhard, who went to the same school, since their father did not allow attendance on Saturday, which was a regular school day at that time.⁸²

WHEN Adolph turned eleven (in 1860) he switched to a new private school, which, though not exclusively intended for Jews, was oriented toward Jewish religious precepts and was financially supported by his uncle Sally and Simon May. This was the secondary *Bürgerschule* founded by Dr. Placzek in the summer of 1858; beginning in October 1860 it was run by Dr. Koref and Dr. Fels and it existed until around 1870.⁸³ As an institution supported by orthodox Jews, it stood in a certain kind of rivalry with the more liberal-minded Talmud Tora

Bürgerschule.⁸⁴ All usual subjects were taught at the school, but in addition also Hebrew as well as Jewish religion and literature. Adolph Lewisohn recalled that the directors had recruited very distinguished men as teachers. Some are said to have become rabbis, one being Dr. Solomon H. Sonnenschein, who had previously been “resident teacher” in the home of his uncle Sally and who was subsequently active in America in New York and St. Louis. In Hamburg, we are told, Sonnenschein had been very orthodox in his conduct, but switched to the liberal side in America.⁸⁵

ADOLPH Lewisohn claimed to have been a good student – except in sports.⁸⁶ Even in old age he still praised the challenging and routine-avoiding classes at his new school. Lessons were taught from eight in the morning until three in the afternoon, on some days until four. During the six-week summer vacation, each student had to write an essay and learn a specific lesson in each subject, which consumed about one of the vacation weeks. When school resumed there was a special exam in each subject: German grammar and literature, French, English, History, Geography, Physics, Chemistry, and Math. By his own account, Adolph was especially good at writing essays, and was intensely engaged in the classes on Jewish religion, literature, and history. Looking back, he felt that his school years had given him solid preparation for his time in America.⁸⁷

DURING vacation, students went on excursions with their teacher, during which they botanized in the countryside surrounding Hamburg, something that Adolph particularly enjoyed. By the time he was eighteen,

he had assembled an impressive herbarium. Throughout his life Lewisohn retained a love of nature, and especially an interest in plants. And there was a lot of singing during these outings – perhaps the foundation for another lifelong love: vocal music.⁸⁸

.....

THE length and intensity of the recollections that Adolph Lewisohn dictated about his childhood and youth in Hamburg attest to a strong bond with the “beautiful city” of his birth.⁸⁹ He had a precise memory of the topography and cityscape, details of its history, and many particulars from daily life,⁹⁰ the warehouses and canals, and how one could see even well-known merchants hurrying to the exchange to save the four shillings entry fee that was charged starting at two o’clock, and which was, after all, intended to benefit the widows of merchants.⁹¹ Or of his first train trip that took him to Bergedorf, and of the excitement and skepticism of people in the face of this technological achievement.⁹² In the summer, they would drink coffee in the “Berliner Garten” and watch the Hamburg citizen militia drilling.⁹³ In the evening one would accompany the watch back into the city, one attraction being the music that was played along the way.⁹⁴ Adolph also remembered the traditional costumes of the peasants which he saw during Sunday outings into the Vierlande area.

.....

AT the age of fifteen-and-a-half (1865), Adolph Lewisohn began working in his father’s business. The rear of the commercial premises bordered a canal, on which the goods were brought in – under sail power, poled, and lately also by steam power.⁹⁵ After a year, Adolph went on his first longer trip, to Switzerland – which left a special impression on this German from the northern flatlands.⁹⁶ His journey took him to Lucerne and Zurich, where his sister Louise lived with her husband Louis Bernays (born 1838), one of the sons of the famous Hamburg rabbi Isaac Bernays.⁹⁷ This was followed by his first business trips, initially to the region around Hamburg, to Schleswig-Holstein, Hannover, and Braunschweig. There was also a first sea journey that had to be managed, and with it the sea sickness the young merchant fortunately had to deal with only one more time.⁹⁸

.....

IN 1867, finally, Adolph Lewisohn was able to persuade his father to let him move to America, to the branch office his brothers Julius and Leonhard were operating in New York under the name “Lewisohn Brothers.”⁹⁹ But the emotional bond to Hamburg and his family that he preserved was attested in years to come by numerous visits as well as the charitable gifts he would bestow on his native city.

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- 17 *Citizenship*, p. 1.
- 18 *The estimate is based on the figures in Lorenz, Gemeinde*, p. 80.
- 19 *Citizenship*, p. 47.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 2. *The firm was mentioned for the first time in the Hamburg address book in 1807.*
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- 22 *Hauschild-Thiessen, Adolph Lewisohn*, p. 233. *Lion's father (Adolph's grandfather) was Philip Joachim Levy, who was married to Fanny Samuel, see StA Hbg., 522-1 Jüdische Gemeinden, Nr. 725e, 1841, Nr. 65. Citizenship, p. 2, gives the name of the grandfather of Lion Philip Lewisohn (i. e., Adolph's great-grandfather [and presumably the father of Philip Joachim Levy] as Nachmann Levy from "Bembsburg" (Bensberg?).*
- 23 *StA Hbg., 522-1 Jüdische Gemeinden, 62b, Jüdische Geburten 1769–1812, Alphabetische Kartei nach den Registern Nr. 62–64, aufgestellt von Dr. Jacob Jacobson; ibid., Jüdische Gemeinden, 725h, 1857, Nr. 239.*
- 24 *Randt, Talmud Tora Schule*, p. 39.
- 25 *StA Hbg., 522-1 Jüdische Gemeinden, 725c, 1833, Nr. 145. – The kinship connection to Glikl von Hameln asserted in Citizenship, p. 2, could not be verified.*
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

- 27 *Sta Hbg.*, 332-7 *Staatsangehörigkeitsaufsicht*, B I a 1851, Nr. 37 and 253. – Neumann did not have an easy life: his first two wives, Diana Magnus and Therese Lipmann, whom he married in 1838 and 1841, respectively, died, as did his first two sons, both of whom had been given the name Ferdinand. With his third wife, Helena Getting, whom he married in 1843, Neumann had eight children: alongside Leopold also Friederika, Pauline, Emil, Robert, Bernhard, Cecilie, and Mathilde, whereby the last-named, born in 1855, did not live to see her fourth birthday. Neumann, dealt such a rough hand by fate, worked as a lottery collector and insurance agent, *ibid.*, 522-2, *Jüdische Gemeinden*, 696c, 1838, Nr. 222; 696d, 1844, Nr. 154; 696d, 1845, Nr. 147; 696d, 1848, Nr. 65; 696d, 1849, Nr. 215; 696d, 1850, Nr. 184; 696e, 1853, Nr. 130; 696e, 1855, Nr. 185; 725e, 1839, Nr. 2; 725e, 1841, Nr. 21; 725e, 1841, Nr. 186; 725i, 1859, Nr. 138; 725k, 1863, Nr. 68.
- 28 Beginning in 1848, the two formed a “*Geschäfts-Societät*”, *ibid.*, 231-3 *Handelsregister*, B 12677, *Acta betr. die Firma S. Lewisohn jr.*
- 29 *Ibid.*, B 13158, *Acta betr. die Firma Neumann Lewisohn, nunmehr Leopold Lewisohn.*
- 30 *Ibid.*, 522-1 *Jüdische Gemeinden*, 696b, 1823, Nr. 49 (*Ranette*); 696b, 1826, Nr. 29 (*Calme*); 696b, 1827, Nr. 30 (*Jacob*); 696c, 1830, Nr. 2 (*Klara*); 725a, 1823, Nr. 72 (*Blüme*); 725e, 1841, Nr. 65 (*Lion*). On Klara Lewisohn see also Wolff, *Leben*, p. 19.
- 31 *Citizenship*, pp. 2 f. (there with the wrong date of September 17th, 1836, and the name Julia) and 8; *Hauschild-Thiessen, Adolph Lewisohn*, p. 233 f. – Her brother’s name was Eduard Nathan, *Citizenship*, p. 42.
- 32 *StA Hbg.*, 522-1 *Jüdische Gemeinden*, 696c, 1838, Nr. 111; 696c, 1840, Nr. 30; 696d, 1841, Nr. 191; 696d, 1843, Nr. 21; 696d, 1844, Nr. 229; 696d, 1847, Nr. 167; 696d, 1848, Nr. 239. – According to the *New York Times* (September 13, 1904), Sally Raunheim, the husband of Selly Raunheim (née Lewisohn) died on September 9, 1904. This was Adolph Lewisohn’s older sister, see also *StA Hbg.*, 232-1 *Vormundschaftssachen, Serie II 4766, Samuel Lewisohn, Erbschafts-Abrechnung*. That would mean that it was not only the sons of the Lewisohn family who emigrated to America. Their children were Julia (Julie) (married name Drachman), Matthilde (married name Arnstein), Fannie (Fanny Florence) (married name Jarmulowsky), Leon, Maurice (Moritz), Emanuel, Nellie (married name Henschel), Arnold, and Julius. Initially, the Raunheim family had still lived in Frankfurt am Main.
- 33 *Citizenship*, p. 8.
- 34 *Ibid.*, pp. 5 and 7 f.
- 35 *Ibid.*, pp. 7 and 26.
- 36 *Hauschild-Thiessen, Lewisohn, Samuel*, p. 213. According to Lewisohn’s memoirs, *Citizenship*, p. 3, there were six years between the death of the first wife and of the second.
- 37 *Hauschild-Thiessen, Adolph Lewisohn*, p. 233.
- 38 *StA Hbg.*, 522-1 *Jüdische Gemeinden*, 696f., 1861, Nr. 39; 696f., 1862, Nr. 18; 696f., 1863, Nr. 101; 696f., 1864, Nr. 303; 696f., 1865, Nr. 170; *Hauschild-Thiessen, Adolph Lewisohn*, pp. 233 and 236; *Hauschild-Lewisohn, Samuel, S.*, p. 213; *Citizenship*, p. 3. According to Adolph Lewisohn’s memoirs, his half-brother John was still alive when he dictated them. – Another sister, Gitel Jette (born 1862), died already at the age of four.
- 39 *Citizenship*, p. 3.
- 40 This can be deduced from the information in the register of births.
- 41 *Citizenship*, p. 9.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 10. Elsewhere, too, a tone critical of the times shines through: “It has been an era of extraordinary change, but as I look back, I cannot help wondering if we ourselves have improved ... We certainly have less leisure and less peace, for restlessness is everywhere ... Science and intervention have made the world smaller but the distance between human hearts seems greater than in the old days”, *ibid.*, p. 231 f.
- 43 *Citizenship*, p. 10 f.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 11 f.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 47 In 1855, he then took Adolph's oldest sister, Friederike, with him to Paris to the World's Fair, *ibid.*, p. 4 (in the text erroneously 1856).
- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 49 *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 5, and 25.
- 50 Krohn, *Juden*, p. 128.
- 51 *Citizenship*, pp. 1 and 21.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 55 *Ibid.*
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 57 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 58 See the provisions in Samuel Lewisohn's last will, Hauschild-Thiessen, *Adolph Lewisohn*, p. 233. On the synagogue: *Das Jüdische Hamburg*, p. 249f.
- 59 *Citizenship*, p. 21. On how the ceremony and festivities unfolded see also Lehmann, *Gemeinde-Synagoge*, pp. 23–25.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 61 In 1843, Sally Lewisohn married 23 year-old Hannchen Schloss from Frankfurt am Main, the daughter of Lyon Philip Schloss and Babette (née Doctor). After that he lived many years as a merchant in Frankfurt/Bockenheim – even though a Hamburg address for him existed since 1847 and Sally acquired the Hamburg citizenship right already in 1851, see StA Hbg., 332-7 Staatsangehörigkeitsaufsicht, B I a 1851, Nr. 37 – apparently until 1859, for that year the last daughter we know about, Speranza Rebecca Fanny, was born there. Sally and Hannchen had at least seven children: in addition to Speranza, also Breina Bertha (1846), Frommaid Franziska (1847), Ida (1848), Jehuda Lion (1849), Elieser Lassar (1851), and Raphael (1854), *ibid.*, 522-1 Jüdische Gemeinden, 696d, 1846, Nr. 63; 696d, 1847, Nr. 181; 696d, 1848, Nr. 224; 696d, 1849, Nr. 182; 696d, 1851, Nr. 126; 696e, 1854, Nr. 40; 696e, 1859, Nr. 116. In Hamburg, in 1867/68, he became a member of the provisional board of the synagogue and of the founding commission of the “Deutsch-Israelitische Synagogen-Verband” [Association of German-Israelite Synagogues], subsequently becoming its chairman from 1880 to 1885; see Lehmann, *Gemeinde-Synagoge*, pp. 29f. and 41. In addition, he was a member of the board of the Talmud-Tora-Realschule, see Goldschmidt, *Talmud Tora*, p. 98. In 1872, his son Elieser Lassar Lewisohn founded a banking and commission business, which his father joined as a “limited partner”, but the business shut down already in 1874, likely a victim of the Gründerkrise (Financial Crisis) of 1873, StA Hbg., 231-3 Handelsregister, B 10441, Acta betr. die Firma Lassar Lewisohn & Co. Subsequently, Sally, in his last will, imposed the strictest requirements on Elieser's portion of the inheritance, *ibid.*, 232-2 Testamentsbehörden, H 17369, Sally Lewisohn 1869, pp. 17–20. One of Sally's daughters, Fanny, married Ludwig Schames (the Frankfurt art dealer), and had two daughters with him, Martha and Leon, *ibid.*, p. 16. Another son must have gone to Berlin where he ran a business, which was inherited by his wife, *ibid.*, p. 5.
- 62 Born on October 28, 1816, as the son of the registrar of the “Deutsch-Israelitische Gemeinde” [German-Israelite Community], Heyman Sander May and his wife Therese (née Hirsch), *ibid.*, 522-1 Jüdische Gemeinden, 696b, 1816, Nr. 107. Simon was the youngest brother of Zebi Hirsch (see May, *Registratoren*, pp. 1164–1167), and in 1844 he married Julie Meyerhof from Hildesheim, StA HH, 522-1 Jüdische Gemeinden, 702b, 1844, Nr. 35. Later he was a member of the board of the Talmud Tora-Realschule, see Goldschmidt, *Talmud Tora*, p. 99.
- 63 *Citizenship*, p. 22f. – Lewisohn called them “chevras”; Lehmann, *Gemeinde-Synagoge*, p. 50.
- 64 See also Krohn, *Juden*, p. 127f.
- 65 *Citizenship*, p. 26f.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 18f.

- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. i.
- 69 *Ibid.*, pp. 9 and 17.
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 71 *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- 73 Unfortunately, the relevant page in the version of the *Memoirs* used here was missing, see *ibid.*, p. 19 f.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 1. The reason for this was that in the old days, when there was no fixed calendar, the beginning of a holiday was indicated by a signal or a messenger going from place to place. Since the date of holidays was not exactly specified, the tradition took shape in the Jewish diaspora to observe holidays for two days.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 13 f.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 25 f.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 15. Lewisohn's designation "Polish Jews" for Jews from Eastern Europe – like the collective term "Russian Jews" circulating in the United States – is likely to have been geographically inexact, for the reason alone that Poland did not exist as a state during Lewisohn's childhood and youth.
- 80 *Citizenship*, p. 14.
- 81 *Birmingham, Our Crowd*, p. 296.
- 82 *Citizenship*, p. 37 f.
- 83 Goldschmidt, *Talmud Tora*, pp. 94 and 109; Randt, *Talmud Tora Schule*, p. 56. See Rüdiger, *Geschichte*, p. 169: "In touch with strict Israelite circles, Dr. Placzek opened such a higher *Bürgerschule* in 1858 [sic!], which Dr. Koreff and Dr. Fels continued running into the 70s."
- 84 Goldschmidt, *Talmud Tora*, p. 94.
- 85 *Citizenship*, p. 36 f.
- 86 *Ibid.*, p. 35 f.
- 87 *Ibid.*, pp. 37 ff. and 40.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- 89 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- 91 *Ibid.*, p. 30; Gelder; Fischer, *Börse*, esp. p. 75.
- 92 *Citizenship*, p. 43.
- 93 I was unable to locate the "Berliner Garten", even though I consulted pertinent Hamburg topographical maps. "Summer" as an indicator of time is probably imprecise: according to Fahl, *Bürgermilitär*, p. 127, the citizen militia drilled "from May to June on the open fields outside the gates, especially in the area in front of the *Dammtor*". The season of drilling had the "character of a fair", p. 133. The high point was the concluding maneuver, p. 134 ff.
- 94 *Citizenship*, p. 33 f.
- 95 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- 96 *Ibid.*, p. 53 ff.
- 97 *Ibid.*, p. 61; *StA Hbg.*, 232-1 *Vormundschaftssachen*, Serie II 4766, *Samuel Lewisohn, Erbschafts-Abrechnung*; *ibid.*, 522-1 *Jüdische Gemeinde*, 696c, 1838, Nr. 52. Her living children in 1873 were called Isaac, Julius, Sara, Felix Philipp, and Georg Jacob Bernays. In 1859, Isaak Bernays was among the founders of the Jewish community in Baden (Canton Aargau, CH). He and one Daniel Guggenheim were the first leaders of the community, see Baden (Canton Aargau, CH) (http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/baden_synagoge.htm, accessed April 13th, 2011).
- 98 *Citizenship*, pp. 55 and 58.
- 99 *Ibid.*, p. 56; *StA Hbg.*, 231-3 *Handelsregister*, B 12677, *Acta betr. die Firma S. Lewisohn jr.*, 4.
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ADOLPH LEWISOHN IN NEW YORK – 1867

THE country in which Adolph Lewisohn set foot in 1867 was witnessing a period of seething development. The terrible Civil War, which had cost the lives of 600,000 Americans, had ended only two years earlier. The post-war period ushered in an era in American history which Mark Twain called the “Gilded Age”.

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 THE era was characterized by a dizzying pace of industrialization, which manifested itself especially in a revolution of the transportation system. By 1900, the railway network had grown to more than 300,000 miles of track – more than five times what had existed at the end of the Civil War.¹⁰⁰ The first transcontinental link was completed as early as 1869. The railway lines connected the production sites of raw materials – mines and oil fields – to the industrial centers and the ports. Building and maintaining the network of rail lines created a tremendous demand for steel, coke, coal, carriages, and steam engines.

.....
 THE unprecedented economic growth of these years was fostered above all by the fact that all essential raw materials were found in the United States: iron ore, coal, oil, and gold. Between 1860 and 1900, the production of coal grew twenty-three fold, of oil ninety-fold, and of steel no less than one

hundred-and-ten-fold.¹⁰¹ In addition, there was a domestic market which, thanks to a population growth the likes of which had never been seen before, was seemingly insatiable. The population of the United States more than doubled between 1860 and 1900, from 31 to 76 million.¹⁰² Fourteen million had come as immigrants.¹⁰³ And the annual rate of immigration kept setting new records: while a mere 60,000 had arrived in 1832 and 100,000 in 1842,¹⁰⁴ by 1850 the number was already up to 300,000; in 1882 it would be 789,000,¹⁰⁵ of which 250,000 were Germans. In the 1880s, more than five million sought a better future in the New World, among them a growing number from Eastern and Southern Europe.¹⁰⁶ In 1913, the United States already had a population of 98 million. The years 1905, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1913, and 1914 each witnessed the arrival of more than one million newcomers, and not a single year between 1904 and 1914 welcomed fewer than 750,000.¹⁰⁷ More than four million Germans made their way to the United States between 1840 and 1890; in the 1880s, Germans accounted for more than 27% of all immigrants.¹⁰⁸

.....
 NOT only industry, agriculture, too, experienced enormous growth; after all, all these people had to be fed. And the land that could be used for this purpose also seemed

inexhaustible. The settlement boundary, the myth-enshrouded “frontier”, was being pushed further and further westward. However, the end was reached in 1890. The country did not need more settlers. The “Homestead” law of 1862 had made it possible for them to acquire federal land for a small fee. Now immigrants were needed above all as workers in the factories – and to keep down the level of wages.¹⁰⁹

AN astounding amount of prosperity was generated during these years, but its distribution was extremely unequal. In 1892, the United States already counted 4,047 millionaires; only 84 of them were farmers (mostly cattle ranchers), the others had grown wealthy with railroads, commerce, and industry.¹¹⁰ But what did “rich” mean? According to Ward McAllister, the right hand man of Mrs. Astor on social matters, a fortune of one million dollars was merely “respectable poverty”.¹¹¹ In the “ball war” between Alva Vanderbilt and Caroline Astor for the leading position in New York Society, the challenger Vanderbilt spent 250,000 dollars just on the legendary evening ball on March 26th, 1883, with which she launched her offensive that would lead her to social triumph.¹¹² In 1910, one percent of the population owned forty-seven percent of all the wealth and consumed fifteen percent of the GNP.¹¹³ The proverbially rich Rockefeller alone had more than two hundred million dollars in 1901, and Andrew Carnegie sold his steel works to J. P. Morgan for nearly half a billion dollars. At the time, one dollar was equivalent to four German goldmarks. One goldmark, however, was equivalent to ten euros today. Two hundred million dollars was thus eight billion euros: this was an entirely new dimension of private wealth.

THE New York branch office of Samuel Lewisohn’s business had been set up in 1858 by two of his employees, Mr. Magnus and Mr. Israel, who also operated it under their names. In 1865, following the end of the Civil War, Leonhard Lewisohn followed his brother Julius to New York,¹¹⁴ and early in 1866 the two took over management of the branch. They engaged in the import and export of the same raw materials as their father’s company in Hamburg, but additionally also of metals, especially lead and copper, which would prove important to the subsequent development of the business.¹¹⁵

ADOLPH’S father had hesitated to allow his youngest son to go to America, as he was well aware of its liberal religious tendencies. Eventually, though, he gave in to his son’s pleadings. When Leonhard had left two years earlier, two aunts had still shown up to say goodbye and express their emphatic opinion that it was wrong to allow a son to go to America if one was not compelled to do so.¹¹⁶ After all, for most people “going to America” meant embarking on a journey into uncertainty, since they usually left their homeland for political reasons or driven by economic necessity.

WE do not know anything about the original plans for the duration of Adolph Lewisohn’s stay, but he was not an emigrant in the conventional sense. He was going from secure circumstances to secure circumstances, not out of hardship and in the knowledge that he was leaving his homeland behind forever. Nor did he cross the Atlantic like most emigrants since the middle of the nineteenth century, crammed together in



The sailing steamer "Hammonia II" of the Hamburg HAPAG shipping line

steerage or even the orlop deck under arduous and unhygienic conditions; instead, he traveled as a passenger "in the first cabin".¹¹⁷ Here there were upscale meals, fresh towels, and bedding. During the day, the passengers could spend time in a salon. The price for a crossing from Hamburg to New York in 1866 was about 100 Talers, but in steerage only 30–40 Talers.¹¹⁸

.....
LEWISOHN was on board a ship of the HAPAG, the "Hammonia". As it was passing the English Channel, he became seasick for the last time in his life. During the rest of the crossing, the sea was as "smooth as the Alster [a lake in the center of Hamburg, HA]".¹¹⁹ Lewisohn had nothing to report about any inconveniences, either about his accommodations or the food, though meals on emigrant ships were often a big problem for or-

thodox Jews, since the dietary laws could not be observed. Evidently that was not the case for Adolph. He did not feel homesick or lonely, as he later recalled, all fellow travelers were pleasant and he was able to make acquaintances very quickly. The passengers whiled away the time playing cards in the salon, especially Poker and Sixty-six – "and young as I was, tried to fit in as well as I could into the general party".¹²⁰ We may doubt whether the card games were played without betting, also whether Adolph's strict father would have been at ease knowing his son was engaging in this kind of pastime. Adolph's emancipation was taking exactly the strides he had worried about.

.....
WHEN the ship tied up in Hoboken in the middle of August,¹²¹ nobody showed up to meet Adolph. He had to find his way

through the hustle and bustle of the enormous city on his own.

.....
For some decades already, New York had been by far the largest city in the United States. In 1800 it had a mere 64,000 inhabitants, in 1850 already 612,000. By 1900 there would be 3.4 million. Only the industrial center of Chicago was growing at an even faster pace on this level.¹²²

.....
NEW YORK – at that time it was above all Manhattan: in 1865 home to 900,000 people, in 1870 already more than 942,000, among them more than 130,000 who had been born in Germany. In 1880 that number stood at more than 160,000, in 1900 at more than 320,000.¹²³ Back then Brooklyn was still a separate city with nearly another 420,000 inhabitants of its own, linked to Manhattan only by ferries. In 1868, the six ferries transported 48 million passengers over the East River.¹²⁴ The Brooklyn Bridge, construction of which began in 1870, was not opened until 1883.

.....
MANHATTAN was an island still covered by apartment blocks of four to six storeys. The era of the “skyscrapers” began only in 1885 in the other large metropolis of the United States, in Chicago – followed by New York in 1888. Alongside the apartment blocks stood office buildings and factories, along perfectly straight streets at right angles to one another: since 1811, the urban development of New York had followed a plan called “The Grid”. At the southern tip of the island was the forest of masts of the country’s most important immigration port. As of yet, churches were still the tallest structures.¹²⁵ Trinity Church rose to a height of just over 280 feet. The new great center of

Jewish religious life, the synagogue Emanu-El built in a Neo-Byzantine style, did not open until 1870, three years after Adolph Lewisohn arrived.

.....
BETWEEN 1865 and 1890, the area encompassed by New York would expand ten-fold. But at the time of Adolph’s arrival, eighty-five percent of its inhabitants were living within a two-mile radius around the center of the city (Union Square). There was neither street cleaning nor a functioning sewage system. It took no more than a heavy shower for a wide avenue like Broadway to be covered in rubbish and mud. Lower Manhattan was infamous for its crime, 12,000 women in the city were living from prostitution.¹²⁶ The metropolis was growing incessantly and rapidly; internally, however, since the end of the 1860s it was groaning under the corrupt system of the Democratic Party; under the leadership of William “Boss” Tweed, it would drive the city to the brink of bankruptcy in 1872.¹²⁷

.....
TRYING to make his way to his brothers’ office, Adolph asked about John Street and was directed to an “uptown ferry”. Having arrived in uptown, he made his way via a circuitous route to Broadway, where things didn’t seem right to him and he asked again for directions. A passerby asked to see the piece of paper on which the address had been written: because of his faulty pronunciation, he had been directed to *Jones* Street. And so he walked back down Broadway until he finally reached his brothers. For more than seven decades, New York would be his home.¹²⁸

.....
THE three brothers, Adolph, Julius, and Leonard (as he now spelled his name), were

living on Broadway near Bleecker Street – with a Jewish family, where they were served strictly kosher meals. Adolph later emphasized that this section of the city was not as far “uptown” as it might appear. Still, their housing situation did not seem inexpensive to the brothers: after all, they were paying 55 dollars a week for lodging and food. But it was not far from the apartment to the office at 100 John Street.¹²⁹ Adolph always walked there, and it had a pleasant side effect: upon his arrival in America he had still been quite portly, and on board the “Hammonia” his fellow passengers had called the young man with the grey-blue eyes “Fat Boy.” During his first year in American he dropped forty pounds.¹³⁰ One reason why Adolph chose to walk was probably also the catastrophic conditions of the public transportation system. In the year before he arrived, the *Evening Post* had still described New York as the “most inconveniently arranged commercial city in the world”.¹³¹

IT did not take long after his arrival for Adolph to be fully absorbed in the business. Office hours were from eight in the morning to six-thirty in the evening, without a break, though the evenings were free. Adolph used his free time to further his education by attending lectures and reading. However, his most important progress now was the new acquaintances he made, professionally as well as socially, and what he learned from other people.¹³²

IN a letter to his sister Louise, Adolph showed himself very impressed by the city, especially Central Park, the first sections of which had been opened to the public in 1859,¹³³ and which he estimated at “six or eight times larger” than the Zoological Gar-

den in Hamburg: “Everything is a[s] grandiose and animated as possible. Life here not only corresponds to my expectations but even exceeds them.” The only thing he was soon missing was the Jungfernstieg [Hamburg’s most prominent boulevard].¹³⁴

AFTER 1869, the company experienced a significant upswing in the trade with bristles. The Lewisohns began to cooperate with meat-processing enterprises, specifically Philip Armour (Armour & Co.). The newly emerging factories in which the processing of animals took place on an industrial scale treated bristles as waste. The Lewisohns, as well as other keen businessmen, took note of this and organized the utilization of bristles as a side product: “My brother and I ... made an important industry of American bristles.”¹³⁵

THE Lewisohns also pushed ahead with the processing of horsehair. Soon after Adolph’s arrival, the New Yorkers acquired a stake in the Littlefield family’s Pawtucket Hair-Cloth Company, which had already been a customer of the Hamburg firm. Here, technological innovation – the mechanization of production – led to a high level of rationalization and a boost in productivity while retaining the same high quality of the product. A protective tariff made it even more competitive against European products. And since the Lewisohns held the patent for their novel machines, there was an additional stream of income when they were used in England.¹³⁶ In addition, once again jointly with the Littlefields, they processed short horsehair into mattress fillings and the like in a new factory – the American Curled Hair Cloth Company. In both business areas, bristles as well as horsehair, the activities

of the Lewisohns were part of the general trend away from imports from Europe and toward production in America.¹³⁷

.....
WHEN their father died on December 27th, 1872, at the age of sixty-three, the oldest brother, Julius, returned to Hamburg to take over the running of the firm there, in which he had already been a partner since 1865. The generational change was completed when Sally Lewisohn left the firm after his brother's death and his place was taken by his son Jehuda Leon.¹³⁸

.....
AT this time, the children born to Samuel after 1861 from his second marriage were still minors. However, they and their mother were financially taken care of in Samuel's last will.¹³⁹ At his death, Samuel owned a house at Rothenbaumchaussee 71 and a property jointly with his brother Sally at Admiralitätsstraße 66.¹⁴⁰ He left the house on Rothenbaum to his wife Pauline, along with all the furniture and furnishings, gold and silver utensils, in addition 80,000 Marks Banco.¹⁴¹ Samuel had only the diamonds that decorated his tie pin divided among his surviving family: one diamond each went to his widow and every child, whether from the first or second marriage.¹⁴²

.....
ALL children received the same portion of the inheritance, only Julius received a double share "in recognition of his exemplary conduct" – but that also came with the obligation to look after the minor children from his second marriage. Their mother Pauline became the administrator of their assets. The children from the first marriage had already each received 32,000 Marks from Samuel during his lifetime, which was now

factored into the inheritance. In addition, they were to jointly receive 80,000 Marks from their mother's estate¹⁴³ – all told solid seed capital for business ventures, but not a fortune.

.....
HE also bequeathed something to the daughters of his brother Neumann, Cäcilie and Pauline (married name Norden), 4,000 and 2,000 Marks, respectively, and to the daughter of his brother Philip in Copenhagen (10,000 Marks) and of his brother Isaac (3,000 Marks). Samuel's oldest sister, Friederike (married name Jacobson), received 5,000 Marks. Five hundred Marks Courant went to Heinrich Pfeiffer, a worker in his firm.¹⁴⁴

.....
WHILE his brother Sally was involved in a lot of charitable activities, Samuel had been restrained in this area throughout his life, perhaps because of his frequent business trips.¹⁴⁵ But now he remembered not only his family and numerous relatives in his last will. Following a Jewish tradition, he set aside 3,000 Marks for Chief Rabbi Anshel Stern (1829–1888); the former teacher Elias Munk (1818–1899),¹⁴⁶ rabbi and dayan (rabbinic judge) in Altona, received 2,000 Marks, and the same sum went (jointly) to the two rabbis of the Alte and Neue Klaus synagogue.¹⁴⁷

.....
IN addition, Samuel arranged for the payment of several annuities from his estate.¹⁴⁸ Seven hundred and fifty Marks Courant each would go to his brothers Isaac and Carl, 500 Marks Courant to his brother Jacob; 250 Marks Courant were paid out annually to his aunt Hannchen Oppermann (née Haarbleicher), and to Charlotte Embden (1803–1899), the only sister of the poet

Heinrich Heine, who had been the lady's companion to Samuel's deceased mother-in-law for more than thirty years and was almost considered a member of the family.¹⁴⁹

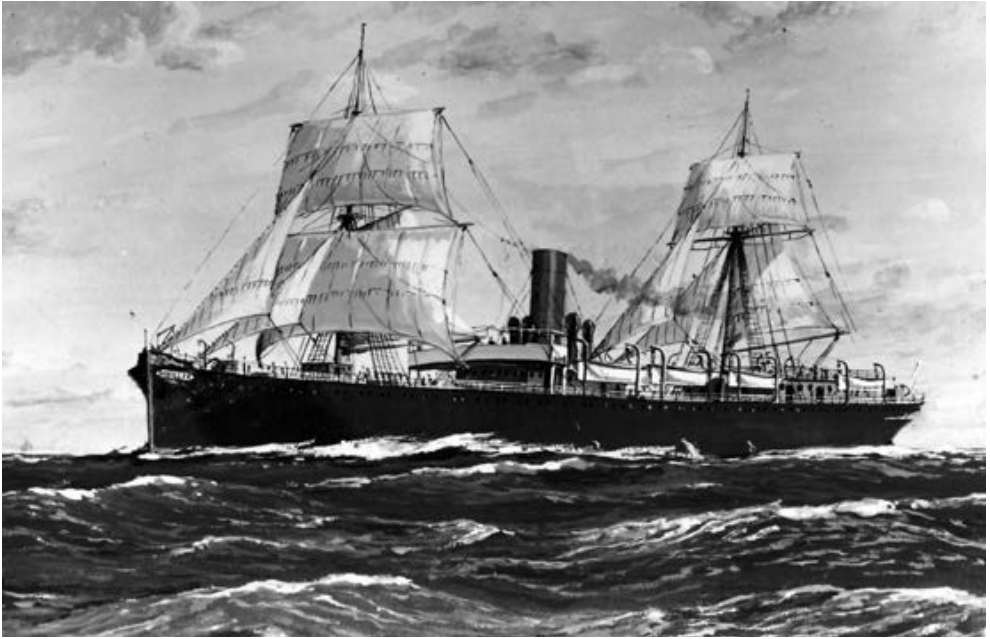
.....
A number of charitable institutions also received bequests from Samuel Lewisohn – and not only those concerned with the welfare of members of the Israelite community. For example, 2,000 Marks went to the Allgemeine Krankenhaus in Lohmühlenstraße, as well as to the “Armenanstalt der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde” [Poorhouse of the German-Israelite Community], the “Israelitische Miethe-Verein von 1828” [Israelite Rent Association of 1828], the “Feuerungs-Verein von 1855” [Heating Association of 1855], and the “Verein der jungen israelitischen Armenfreunde zur Vertheilung von Brot und Suppe” [Association of the Young Israelite Friends to Paupers for the Distribution of Bread and Soup].¹⁵⁰ Previously, Samuel Lewisohn had already contributed to the rebuilding of the Nikolai Church. Asked by Adolph why he had done that, he simply responded that the church was an ornament of the city and he wanted to contribute to making his city more beautiful.¹⁵¹

.....
ADOLPH'S first trip to Europe in 1873 also brought him back to Hamburg for the first time, where he arrived only a few months after his father's death, probably also to settle the estate matters. Once again he crossed on a HAPAG ship with the name “Hammonia” – though according to Lewisohn not the same one that had brought him to America in 1867.¹⁵² From Plymouth he journeyed on to London and from there to Hamburg. Because of unforeseen expenses, Lewisohn ended up in the unpleasant situ-

ation of not having enough money to pay for his meals during his journey. He recounted, not without pride, how in the vicinity of Brussels he had sold a pair of leather gloves from the wares he had with him to one of his fellow travelers, which solved his money problem.¹⁵³

.....
HAVING arrived in Hamburg, he attended the wedding festivities for his brother Julius, a ceremony that was, to Adolph's taste, very orthodox. Julius married Selly Ruben (born 1851), the daughter of Elias Levy Ruben and Rosa (née Salinger). The nuptials took place on June 11th, 1873, and were performed by Chief Rabbi Stern.¹⁵⁴ Julius, who had acquired the Hamburg citizenship right in 1873, initially lived at Holzdam 44, later Colonnaden 5 and Rothenbaumchaussee 23. In 1880/81 he was one of the provosts of the Deutsch-Israelitischer Synagogen-Verband [German-Israelite Synagogue Association].¹⁵⁵ But the business with feathers and bristles seems to have gotten increasingly worse. The firm “Sam. Lewisohn jr.” continued operating only until 1889/90,¹⁵⁶ and as far as we know, none of Julius' children chose a commercial occupation.¹⁵⁷ Already before the firm closed its doors, Samuel's widow moved to the Grindelhof in 1885/86, later to the Grindelallee, presumably in rented accommodations.¹⁵⁸ She traveled to New York in May 1894¹⁵⁹ – it is possible that her sons there now took care of her.

.....
FROM Hamburg, Adolph journeyed onward, via several stages, to Vienna, where he enjoyed the cultural offerings – opera, theater, galleries, exhibits. From there he went to Paris, and then via London back to New York. A second trip to Europe in 1875 took him again to London, this time the occasion



On board the “Schiller”, Adolph Lewisohn’s life would have likely come to a tragic early end

was his cousin Leon’s wedding. As young men they had worked together in the Hamburg firm, now Leon was running the London branch. Adolph managed it during the the couple’s honeymoon, another instructive period.¹⁶⁰ Originally, Lewisohn had planned to travel on the “Schiller”, a new, better appointed and faster ship, which the HAPAG had acquired in 1872 from the “Deutsche Transatlantische Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft”.¹⁶¹ But friends talked him into taking a different ship. A fortunate stroke of fate to which Lewisohn owed not only his acquaintance with Carl Schurz, a fellow passenger, but likely also his life. When the “Hammonia” arrived in Plymouth, they found out that the “Schiller” had sunk: 335 passengers and crew had perished, a mere 37 could be rescued¹⁶² – one of the countless maritime catastrophes of

the time, which also befell emigrant ships time and again.

.....
IN 1879, Leon and his wife paid a return visit to New York. Together with Adolph they attended an event in Boston at which Thomas Edison presented his newest invention – the phonograph: “He made us speak into it and to hear our own voices coming out, was amazing! We could not imagine then that we would be heard, not only by wire, but by radio, thousands of miles away. That would have been looked upon as a ‘miracle’ in those days and if a man had claimed that this would come to pass, he would have been laughed at or pitied as insane.”¹⁶³ Contrary to what has often been asserted, the encounter with Edison was thus not responsible for the Lewisohns turning to the copper business.¹⁶⁴

100 Sautter, *Geschichte*, p. 247; Adams, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, p. 131: the network grew from 3,200 kilometers of track in the 1850s to 56,000 in 1865, and further to 85,000 in 1870, 149,000 in 1880, 266,000 in 1890, 309,000 in 1900, and 385,000 in 1910.

101 For the percentages see Cashman, *America*, p. 13.

- 102 *The population figure for the German Reich rose from 36 million in 1870 to 61 million in 1913; Great Britain had 29 million in 1870, and 43 million in 1913.*
- 103 Sautter, *Geschichte*, p. 257.
- 104 Adams, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, p. 191.
- 105 *Ibid.*, pp. 190 and 194.
- 106 *Ibid.*, p. 190.
- 107 *Ibid.*, pp. 155 and 194 f.
- 108 Depkat, *Geschichte*, p. 84; Burrows; Wallace, *Gotham*, p. iii.
- 109 Adams, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, p. 152; Sautter, *Geschichte*, pp. 258 f. and 293.
- 110 *Ibid.*, p. 250.
- 111 See Albig, *Mrs. Astors Himmelreich*, p. 89.
- 112 See in general Homberger, *Mrs. Astor New York*.
- 113 Sautter, *Geschichte*, p. 291.
- 114 *Citizenship*, p. 64. According to the *New York Times* of September 21, 1865, Leonard arrived the day before.
- 115 *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- 116 *Ibid.*, p. 56 f.
- 117 *StA Hbg.*, 741-4 Fotoarchiv, Film-Nr. K1712 (*Passagierliste der "Hammonia, 3. August 1867"*). On this passage, the "Hammonia" had 490 passengers in steerage, 111 in Second Cabin, and 44 in First Cabin – Adolph Lewisohn was listed as No. 42.
- 118 Gelberg, *Auswanderung*, pp. 40 ff. and 44.
- 119 *Citizenship*, pp. 58 and 61.
- 120 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 121 See *ibid.*, p. 60 f. – About ten days after his arrival, Adolph wrote a letter to his sister Louise, dated August 27, 1867.
- 122 Adams, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, p. 138.
- 123 Cashman, *America*, p. 113; Lankevich, *Metropolis*, p. 116; Burrows; Wallace, *Gotham*, p. 1111.
- 124 Cashman, *America*, p. 113.
- 125 *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- 126 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 127 Sautter, *Geschichte*, p. 260.
- 128 *Citizenship*, p. 59 f.
- 129 *Ibid.*, p. 60 f.
- 130 *StA Hbg.*, 332-8 Meldewesen, A 24, Bd. 39, *Reisepaßkontrolle 1867/68*, Nr. 803; *Citizenship*, pp. 58 and 60.
- 131 Cashman, *America*, p. 113.
- 132 *Citizenship*, pp. 61 and 71.
- 133 Lankevich, *Metropolis*, p. 117.
- 134 *Citizenship*, p. 61, letter of August 27, 1867.
- 135 *Ibid.*, p. 91 f., also p. 93: "bristles grew to be a very large business."
- 136 *Ibid.*, p. 93 f.
- 137 *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- 138 *StA Hbg.*, 231-3 *Handelsregister*, B 12677, *Acta betr. die Firma S. Lewisohn jr.*, 3 f.
- 139 *Ibid.*, 232-3 *estamentsbehörden*, H 4010, *Samuel Lewisohn 1873*.
- 140 *Hauschild-Thiessen, Adolph Lewisohn*, p. 233; *StA Hbg.*, 232-1 *Vormundschaftssachen, Serie II 4766, Samuel Lewisohn, Nachtrag zur Erbschafts-Abrechnung*.
- 141 In what follows the reference is always to *Mark Banco* – if *Mark Courant* is meant, it is identified as such.
- 142 *Ibid.*, 232-3 *Testamentsbehörden*, H 4010, *Samuel Lewisohn 1873*, § 2.

- 143 *Ibid.*, §§ 1 and 3. – Following the settling of the estate, they were paid 60,141.06, 17,142.86, and another 5,258.57 Marks, see *ibid.*, 232-1 Vormundschafftssachen, Serie II 4766, Samuel Lewisohn, Erbschafts-Abrechnung und Nachtrag zur Erbschafts-Abrechnung. The sums that were paid out stood at a ratio of 1.5:1 to those stipulated in the law will. Thus, instead of the 80,000 Marks intended for them, the children were now paid 120,000, deducted from the children of the first marriage were now 48,000 instead of 32,000 Marks.
- 144 *Ibid.*, §§ 6–8, 9 and 12.
- 145 *Citizenship*, p. 28.
- 146 One Herr Munk later also worked as a “business representative” for Adolph Lewisohn in Cologne, *Citizenship*, p. 158. This could have been a son of Joseph Munk and his wife Friederike, Adolph’s oldest sister, see StA Hbg., 232-1 Vormundschafftssachen, Serie II 4766, Samuel Lewisohn, Erbschafts-Abrechnung. Their children were Anna, Julie, Louis, Fanny, Matthias Max, Julius, Olga, Nanny, Ernst, and Selma Munk. One of their descendants was the German-American aeronautics engineer and physicist Max Michael Munk (1890–1986).
- 147 *Ibid.*, 232-3 Testamentsbehörden, H 4010, Samuel Lewisohn 1873, § 10.
- 148 *Ibid.*, § 11.
- 149 *Ibid.*, § 10; Nanette Nathan’s husband had died early on. She herself reached the age of 87, see *Citizenship*, p. 42.
- 150 StA Hbg., 232-2 Testamentsbehörden, H 4010, Samuel Lewisohn 1873, § 10.
- 151 *Citizenship*, p. 27.
- 152 *Ibid.*, p. 72. HAPAG’s new “Hammonia” – the second vessel of that name – had already been put into service in 1867, though, that is, the year before Lewisohn’s emigration (and it remained in service until 1878). The first “Hammonia,” which went into service in May 1856, was sold to Liverpool in 1864, see Kludas, *Geschichte*, pp. 21 and 28. It is thus likely that Lewisohn undertook his second voyage on one of the many sister ships, all which bore similar names, perhaps on the “Holsatia”.
- 153 *Citizenship*, p. 73f.
- 154 *Ibid.*, p. 74; StA Hbg., 332-3 Zivilstandsregister, B 57, Nr. 1052.
- 155 *Ibid.*, 332-7 Staatsangehörigkeitsaufsicht, A I f 150, Nr. 3858, 17. Feb. 1873. See the Hamburg address books [Adressbücher] 1874 ff.; Lehman, *Gemeinde-Synagoge*, p. 41.
- 156 StA Hbg., 231-3, Handelsregister, B 12677, Acta betr. die Firma S. Lewisohn jr., 6.
- 157 The following children of Julius are attested: Sam, born May 5, 1874, *ibid.*, 332-3 Zivilstandesamt, Geburtenregister 1874, A 176, Nr. 3121; Richard, born July 12, 1875, later became a doctor at the Mount Sinai Hospital in New York City, *ibid.*, Geburtenregister 1875, A 206, Nr. 5102 and *ibid.*, 332-8 Meldewesen, A 30, Alphabetische Meldekartei 1892–1925 (K 6509); Julius, born February 29, 1876, 332-8, *ibid.*; Alfred, born October 18, 1880, *ibid.*; Karl (Charles), born December 22, 1886, became a teacher, *ibid.* The names of two additional children cannot be deciphered, *ibid.*
- 158 See the Hamburg Address Books [Adressbücher] 1885–1894.
- 159 StA Hbg., 332-8, Meldewesen, A 30, Alphabetische Meldekartei 1892–1925 (K 6509). After that, the Hamburg address books no longer list her after that.
- 160 *Citizenship*, p. 75f.
- 161 Hieke, *Slovan*, p. 144.
- 162 *Citizenship*, p. 73; Kludas, *Geschichte*, p. 50. – Lewisohn connects this event with his first Europe trip in 1873. But the “Schiller” sank on May 7, 1875. The fact that Lewisohn, in connection with his first Europe trip, used the date 1875 on one occasion also points to an error.
- 163 *Citizenship*, p. 76.
- 164 For example, Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, p. 220, or Hauschild-Thiessen, *Adolph Lewisohn*, p. 234 f. – Leon left the firm S. Lewisohn jr. in December 1882, StA Hbg., 231-3, Handelsregister, B 12677, Acta betr. die Firma S. Lewisohn jr., 5.

COPPER

ALREADY during the founding years of the New York branch, the brothers came to believe that there were more and better business opportunities in America than the trade in bristles, feathers, and camel's hair.¹⁶⁵ Above all, however, it became clear to them that there was growing competition in processing the by-products of the meat industry, and that the consumption of some products they dealt with depended on the vagaries of fashion or were in the process of being replaced by other materials. And so their attention shifted to what had originally been a sideline of their father's company – the trade in metals: lead, zinc, and copper.¹⁶⁶

RED METAL

THE Lewisohns were already experienced merchants when they turned to the trade in copper. However, the extraction and processing of metals was new territory for them. In discovering these areas for themselves, they demonstrated the kind of flexibility that would be of crucial importance to their careers and the amassing of their fortune: "We found ourselves expanding in that direction, cautiously at first, going into mining, refining combinations, financing, and, at last, into the issuing, buying and selling of securities, particularly of those of 'mines' and 'coppers'."¹⁶⁷ If Adolph Lewisohn had

been anything but a slacker in the family's old field of business, there now began in his life a period in which work would absorb more of his time than ever before.¹⁶⁸

FOR a long time, copper was considered a utilitarian metal of no great value. Deposits were dispersed and the smelting was expensive. Copper was a metal that was turned into cheap coins and articles of everyday use, but it was not an investment object. That changed with the dawn of the "electric age". What was sought after now were materials that would allow for the transmission of electrical energy over medium and long distances. Iron was also conductive, but it had serious downsides compared to copper: it rusts, its conductivity is less, and it is not as flexible as copper and therefore harder to process. As a result, the market for copper reached entirely new dimensions. Although it did remain a utilitarian metal of comparatively little value, the demand for it grew so enormously that tremendous sums of money could now be earned with the "poor man's metal".

COPPER was used for products involved in the generation of energy (dynamos and electric motors) and its transmission (cables and wires), which were now employed in all the areas that are commonplace and self-evident

today: the generation of electric light in the home and in public spaces (beginning in 1879, there was electric street lighting in Cleveland and San Francisco); electric appliances (though electric cooking or heating were still a ways off); but above all in the electrification of transportation and public transportation systems, for example, in the booming building of streetcars (the first electric streetcar ran in Richmond, Virginia, in 1878; the first electric subway ran in Boston in 1897), and in the buildout of telegraphy and telephony. By around 1900, 364,000 kilometers of telegraphic lines had already been laid in the US. Where there had been half a million phones around 1890, more than one million were already in use by 1900, and more than nine million in 1915.¹⁶⁹ The foundation for the success of the Lewisohns in the copper business was chiefly the pronounced rise in demand.

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DURING the years when Adolph Lewisohn was still living in Hamburg, very little copper was being produced in the US: in 1845, all of twelve tons were extracted from the most important mines on Lake Superior. Around the time the Lewisohns got into the copper business, however, Calumet & Hecla in Michigan already owned the mine with the single largest output in the world.¹⁷⁰ Beginning in 1873, a deep and extended economic depression initially hampered the re-orientation of the business. But in 1878, the Lewisohns had their first opportunity to earn a substantial amount of money with copper, namely by reimporting it. Right up to that time, the price of the metal had declined sharply, and copper had been exported to Europe to take pressure off the American market. When the price began to rise again, it became attractive to reimport

copper, despite the freight costs.¹⁷¹ However, there were a few problematic requirements: copper had to be reimported in the “original casks”, and the original importer of the commodity in Europe had to issue a certificate to the reimporter. Even if the original containers had already been destroyed, and a certificate could not be procured from the business partner, the Lewisohns decided to take the risk and trust that the American custom officials would not be too strict about the matter. They were right and were able to sell their copper for a profit of three to four cents per pound.¹⁷²

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IN 1879, the Lewisohns were then offered their first copper mine, in Butte (Montana). Adolph Lewisohn set out from New York on the long journey to the other end of the continent, to the Rocky Mountains, to inspect the mine. At that time Butte was still in its infancy and was a city at the “frontier”. Montana did not exist yet as a state; after 1864 it was a “territory” at the border with Canada. Explored by French fur trappers and acquired by the United States in 1803 as part of the French colony of Louisiana, it was settled by whites only after the discovery of gold in 1862. The native Americans put up stiff but eventually futile resistance. Montana was admitted into the Union in 1889 as the 41st state.

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ANYBODY could take possession of “mining claims” anywhere no one else had already done so. One simply had to invest one hundred dollars worth of labor in the claim and could then have the US government confirm possession after a certain period of time had passed. The result was ongoing disputes about claims, the date they were staked, rights of ownership, and boundaries.¹⁷³



Butte (Montana) in the early years

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BUTTE, which had begun as a small settlement of gold prospectors, soon turned out to be a place that also had silver. But above all it had copper – and in such enormous quantities that in the next few decades it would virtually flood the US market with it: “the richest hill on earth”.¹⁷⁴
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AFTER the Lewisohns had sent experts ahead, Adolph undertook two additional trips into the wilderness in the early 1880s and spent two or three months in Butte on each occasion.¹⁷⁵ A direct rail line to Butte did not exist yet, as the global economic crisis of 1873 had put a stop to all ongoing construction projects.¹⁷⁶ Lewisohn therefore had to cover the final one hundred miles

each time in a buckboard, the simplest kind of one-horse carriage. As few years earlier, Butte had still consisted of a few scattered houses on the prairie. In 1880 it was already home to 3,000 people, by 1885 there were 14,000. A post office began operating in 1878.¹⁷⁷
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THE first claim the Lewisohns acquired was called “Colusa”, previously held by Charles T. Meader. To exploit the ore deposits, the Lewisohns created the Montana Copper Company, with a capital of \$75,000: “This, a small capital, was afterwards expanded greatly”.¹⁷⁸ Nearby was the Anaconda Mine, which at that time was still considered a silver mine and was largely dormant. Two and-a-half years later, the “Chamber Syndicate”



The Lewisohns' first copper mine: "Colusa" in Butte (Montana)

(Haggin, Travers, and Hearst) sent a new overseer, Marcus Daly, who was tasked to examine the mine. It was Daly who discovered the vast copper deposits in Anaconda, began its exploitation and for that purpose set up the Anaconda Copper Company – soon the largest copper producer in the world and the great competitor of the Lewisohns. The Anaconda started off with the backing of substantial capital, which came from the silver and gold mining in California and Nevada.¹⁷⁹

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THE purchase price for the Lewisohns' claim was attractively low. The business risks lay elsewhere. First, Butte had no railway connection: the closest, that of the Union Pacific Railroad, was in Ogden (Utah), two hundred and fifty miles away. That made bringing in materials and hauling away the ore with ox-drawn carts so time-consuming and expensive that it was profitable only for ore with an exceptionally high copper content.¹⁸⁰ Second, experts believed that the arsenic in the ore from Montana made it too brittle for processing outside of casting, and that it was unsuitable for use in the electric industry, which used above all the purer ore from the Lake Superior region.¹⁸¹

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THE Lewisohns had a difficult start in this business. The newcomers were at pains to avoid unnecessary risks and overextending themselves financially. When prices slumped and production costs could no longer be covered, they faced the question of whether to suspend production or continue in the confident hope that demand and prices would rise again. From the beginning, the Lewisohns placed special emphasis on conducting all business "according to the highest legal and ethical standards". Depend-

ability was paramount. During these years, Adolph formulated a motto which, by his own account, determined his business life: "Before the word is spoken, you must govern it; after it is spoken, it must govern you."¹⁸² Later, he recalled, with a measure of pride but also gratitude, that he had been able to reign in his business visions: "[I]n a word, that my father's business prudence governed the more adventurous side of us".¹⁸³

.....
THE trip to Butte was not the most trying part about their Montana venture. Much more difficult was finding a suitable manager for the mine, something that succeeded after many changes only in the person of "Captain" Thomas Couch. On his first two trips to Butte, Lewisohn had already taken along experts to solicit their advice: first James Douglas, and then August Raht, who would later work very successfully for the Guggenheims.¹⁸⁴ According to Adolph Lewisohn, success in mining depended less so than in other industries on one's personal contribution, and much more on the character and abilities of the experts one employed: "experts who not only have the necessary skill, judgment and knowledge, but even more than that – those who are reliable in character". The ability of the entrepreneur thus revealed itself in the choice of the people working with him. Finding people with skills was one thing; finding people of reliable character was quite another. The successful entrepreneur combined both qualities: "[H]e must win his man over to him by showing him that he trusts him, giving him full discretion and authority, loyally standing behind him within the scope of his authority and letting him know that his employer expects and deserves absolute and

loyal responsibility for his work entrusted to him.”¹⁸⁵

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EXPERTS were needed in the most diverse fields: geologists to study soil conditions and present analyses to locate a successful claim; men skilled at drafting plans for the exploitation of the deposits; engineers to drill shafts, assess the discovered ore, and decide how its processing was possible practically and profitably. The selection of personnel and the analysis of rock samples were followed by the decision on how to proceed, the legal “securing of the property”, the provisioning of machines, material, and labor, the transport and processing of the ore, and the marketing of the products.¹⁸⁶

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SINCE the lack of a railway connection made transportation costs one of the biggest challenges for a profitable production in Butte, Adolph Lewisohn set his mind to devising a solution. In his memoirs, he claimed it as his personal achievement that he persuaded Sidney Dillon, the president of Union Pacific, to build a line from Ogden in Utah to Butte – supposedly doing so by arguing that the building of the railroad would boost the development of the mines and thus ensure that the line would be fully utilized.¹⁸⁷ But surely there must have been others who were involved in the decision by Union Pacific, since the Lewisohns were at that time comparatively small players in the copper business.

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THE first train finally reached Butte at the end of December 1881. But it was not a solution to the cost problems confronting the mine owners: Union Pacific made full use of its monopoly and kept freight rates high. Of importance was therefore the building of a

second railway line in 1884 by Northern Pacific, coming from the west, from Helena, to be exact.¹⁸⁸ Not only did this create competition, but it allowed the mine owners above all to reach San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland (Oregon). Lewisohn used the competition to negotiate a more favorable rate with Northern Pacific, but in return he had to guarantee a high volume of freight.¹⁸⁹

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FACED with this situation, Lewisohn had a business idea: he could achieve the necessary freight rates if he created use for the less rich ore that was found in large quantities in his mine. The decisive step came when the Lewisohns were able to persuade the railway magnate James Hill to build a line of the Great Northern to Butte, which reached the town in 1888. The freight rates plunged dramatically, from 17 to 10 dollars per ton.¹⁹⁰ But in return Hill, too, extracted contractual guarantees of large volumes of freight. That condition was not a problem for the Lewisohns, though, since they had large piles of lesser-quality ore that they could transport on the new line. The Great Northern route ran past the Great Falls on the Missouri, about 180 kilometers as the crow flies from Butte, and the Lewisohns used the immense amount of hydroelectric power that was available there to build a large and modern smelting works – their first, small smelter had been operating in Butte since 1880. The Lewisohns had long planned a site on the Missouri near Helena. But Hill, who owned a lot of land in Great Falls, pushed their decision to pick that location by transferring to them 1,500 shares in the Great Falls Townsite Company.¹⁹¹

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FOR one, it was this smelting works which allowed the Lewisohns to process their

lower-quality ore, and in so doing achieve prices that were competitive with those set by the Anaconda Copper Company and the mines on Lake Superior (with their larger and higher-quality output).¹⁹² Earlier attempts to improve the extraction of copper from the ore of the mine – which the Lewisohns had commissioned, for example, from James Douglas, Jr., in Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, with the Baltimore Copper Works, or even in England – had not produced any satisfactory results. The competition (Anaconda), meanwhile, with the backing of substantial capital, made significant progress in this area by building a large smelting works.¹⁹³

FOR another, the globally rising demand was creating a market also for lower-quality ore, especially in England. The construction of the second and third railway line made it possible to transport large quantities of it, at favorable rates, to the ports on the West Coast, and from there, at low costs, as ballast on freighters around Cape Hoorn via New York to Liverpool. The reduced freight rates resulting from the larger volumes made it possible to work profitably in spite of the long transportation distances.¹⁹⁴ The foundation for the considerable fortune of the Lewisohns had been laid.

IT was not only the enterprises of the Lewisohns that were flourishing. The rampantly growing Butte was disappearing under a dome of smoke from the chimneys of the copper-processing plants. Flowers and grass died; the few trees not consumed by the building of the mines died; cats, which licked off the omnipresent arsenic-containing dust, died; even the cattle had copper-colored teeth. The “richest hill on earth”

looked more like the devil’s throne. And it smelled like it, too.¹⁹⁵

IN the years before 1880, the mines on Lake Superior still had a market share of eighty percent, but by 1883 that share had dropped below fifty-two percent. Butte was already supplying twenty-one percent, and the Camps in Arizona twenty.¹⁹⁶

IN September 1887, Adolph and Leonard cut ties with the Hamburg mother house and the London offshoot and took over the New York branch – that is, fifteen years after the death of their father and Julius’ return to Hamburg, and nine years after the acquisition of the “Colusa” mine. The New Yorkers took over the American business, and the Hamburgers the European business.¹⁹⁷ The initial consequence was that the New Yorkers had to establish their own supply and sales contacts in Europe (for the sale of copper – there was no competition with the European activities of the European house – and for the purchase of raw materials like wool or horsehair).¹⁹⁸ To that end, Adolph undertook another business trip through several European countries that same year, which lasted five months.¹⁹⁹ Trips like this one became routine for Adolph in the years that followed. In 1887 he visited, among other places, Russia in search of suppliers for long boar bristles, camel hair, sheep wool from the banks of the Don and Volga (for the production of rugs), and for the hair of wild Siberian horses. His journey took him to St. Petersburg, Moscow, and the markets of Nizhny Novgorod. His contacts with dealers gave him many impressions of conditions in Czarist Russia. What stuck in his mind was especially the climate of ubiquitous spying.²⁰⁰

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ELECTROLYSIS
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EVEN if the transportation issue had been resolved, the Lewisohns clearly understood that in the long run the market for copper lay in the electrical industry.²⁰¹ And for that, the arsenic content of the ore from Butte remained a problem. Finding copper, mining, transporting, and processing it, and bringing it to market: that was one thing, and all this the Lewisohns had managed successfully with their energy and their business vision, their determination to embrace innovations, and a willingness – restrained by rationality – to take risk. But the challenge of the future lay in producing copper that possessed the requisite electrical conductivity.²⁰² And this had to be achieved in conditions under which the product remained competitive with the naturally higher-quality ores from Lake Superior.

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THIS situation pushed the Lewisohns into another field: metallurgy.²⁰³ They still had no larger capital resources available to finance experiments: “[W]e ... could not afford to invest heavily and had to limit our risk and await opportunity. We were trying to proceed cautiously but we were alert in every direction, ready to set our sails for any breeze.”²⁰⁴ While Adolph Lewisohn had asserted that he was a real expert in his original field of business, he was well aware that he was a true amateur in the areas into which he was becoming ever more deeply involved, that he was no Andrew Carnegie or Charles M. Schwab with their technical knowledge.²⁰⁵

.....
THE Lewisohns operated a conventional refinery in Ansonia (Connecticut), the Anso-

nia Copper Refining Company.²⁰⁶ However, it was unable to solve their problem. A solution was offered only by the method of extracting pure copper through electrolysis. In the electrolysis process, impure copper is cast into plates and leached from the ore as copper sulfate in a solution of diluted sulfuric acid, and then precipitated as pure copper from this solution electro-chemically. The impure copper plate is connected to the positive pole of a source of electricity and suspended across from thin sheets of pure copper, which are connected to the negative pole. The pure copper migrates from the anode plates and is deposited on the cathode. The impure elements sink to the bottom. And since the copper from Montana often contained also gold and silver, these valuable metallic “impurities” could be extracted in a separate step; indeed, this was the original reason for the use of this expensive process. It was not the degree of effort required that was so cost-intensive, but producing the necessary amount of electrical energy. The remedy came from a fortuitous historical convergence: while in the beginning the lack of development in generator technology was the chief obstacle to the application of a process that had long been known in theory, it was the development of the electrical industry driven by the mining and processing of copper which in turn solved the generator problem.²⁰⁷

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SINCE no experts in the electrolysis process were to be found in America, Lewisohn recruited for the task a young man who, while he did not possess specialized knowledge, was sufficiently energetic and talented to learn what was needed: J. C. McCoy, the son-in-law of his friend Daniel Littlefield.

THE first small electrolysis refinery was set up in Pawtucket, the site of Littlefield's factory, the New England Electrolytic Copper Refining Company in Central Falls (Rhode Island).²⁰⁸ Before expanding beyond Pawtucket, Lewisohn, on one of his trips to Europe, made a side trip to Goslar in the Harz Mountains to learn about the extraction of arsenic from ore: "The Germans were the leaders of the world in chemical research as applied to manufacturing, but they had not the American genius for replacing hand labor with machinery or for large scale production."²⁰⁹ In a state-run enterprise in Goslar, he was shown pure arsenic in powder form which had been derived from copper ore and copper of much better quality than what was produced in the conventional way. What he saw confirmed Lewisohn in his belief that they were on the right track: "Later on we achieved great success in this enterprise", as Lewisohn emphasized, "not by following other people who we engaged in that kind of work, but by breaking the path for ourselves". Success had not been served them on a silver platter.²¹⁰

THE next step was the erection of a large electrolytic refinery in Perth Amboy (New Jersey), which was run by McCoy. The Lewisohns invested one-and-a-half million dollars in this refinery. Later, the Raritan Copper Works was expanded further and turned into one of the largest refineries in the world.²¹¹ When the works in Perth Amboy began to operate with great success, it was a quiet triumph for Adolph Lewisohn to show all its details to representatives of the Norddeutsche Raffinerie from his hometown, who had asked for a tour of the facility. Years earlier, when Adolph had been gathering information in Europe before

venturing into electrolysis, the management of that refinery (which had been among the pioneers in this area since 1876), had turned down his request for a tour.²¹²

FOLLOWING the model of Perth Amboy, the works in Great Falls were also modernized by 1893 and - as the second facility in all of Montana - converted to the electrolysis process, with many technical improvements based on the experiences from Pawtucket and Perth Amboy. Thanks to a hydropower plant, Great Falls provided the necessary electricity in unlimited quantities. That made it possible for the Lewisohns "to compete with the world": with the new plant, one could process even ore containing only 0.75 percent copper profitably and with the quality desired by the customers. Production costs plummeted to five cents per pound. Added to this were nice earnings from the silver and gold that were extracted as secondary products.²¹³

MERGERS

THE Lewisohns had success not only as copper producers, but also and primarily as copper traders. All three business areas - extraction, processing, and trade - developed in parallel. Beginning already in 1885, the Lewisohns were sales agents for the "Tamarack", "Osceola", and "Kearage" mines on Lake Superior. In 1887, their owners, Joseph W. Clark and Albert S. Bigelow from Boston,²¹⁴ were offered the undeveloped "Mountain View" mine in Montana, which was situated close to "Colusa". Copper mining on Lake Superior had turned Boston into a center of copper investments. Adolph Lewisohn recommended to Bigelow and Clark that they bring along Thomas Couch

for the inspection. And he offered to also inspect “Colusa” on this trip and to think about a possible cooperation.

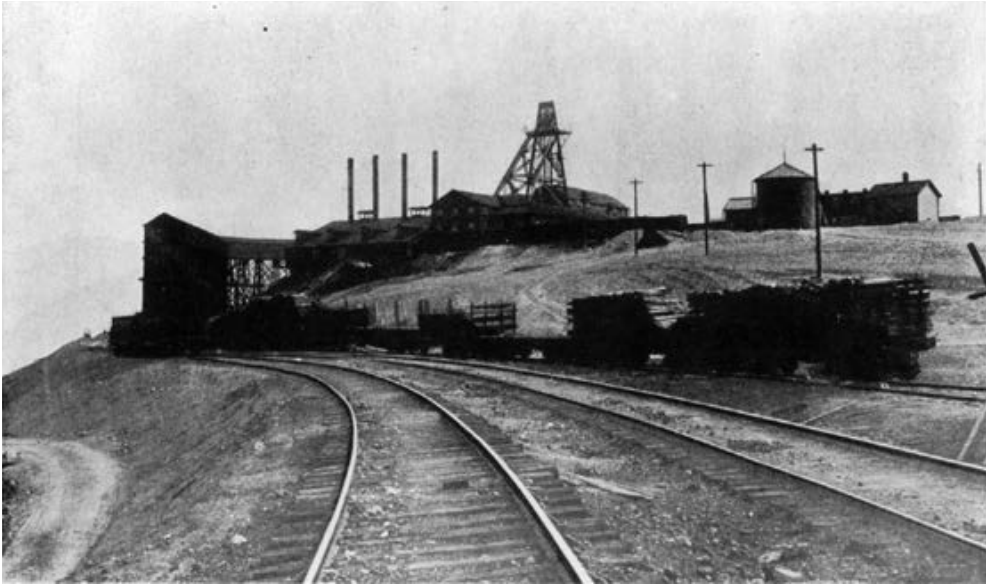
BIGELOW and Clark must have been persuaded by what they saw. For the Lewisohns, a partnership with them offered new financial securities, for example, for the construction of their large smelting works on the Great Falls.²¹⁵ The result was the Boston & Montana Consolidated Copper and Silver Mining Company, and its smaller subsidiary, the Butte & Boston Consolidated Mining Company. One of the Lewisohns was active in these two companies, either Leonard, Adolph, or their half-brother Philip. But over time it was Leonard, “cultivated, domineering, exceptionally shrewd and tough”, who became the dominant personality in both.²¹⁶

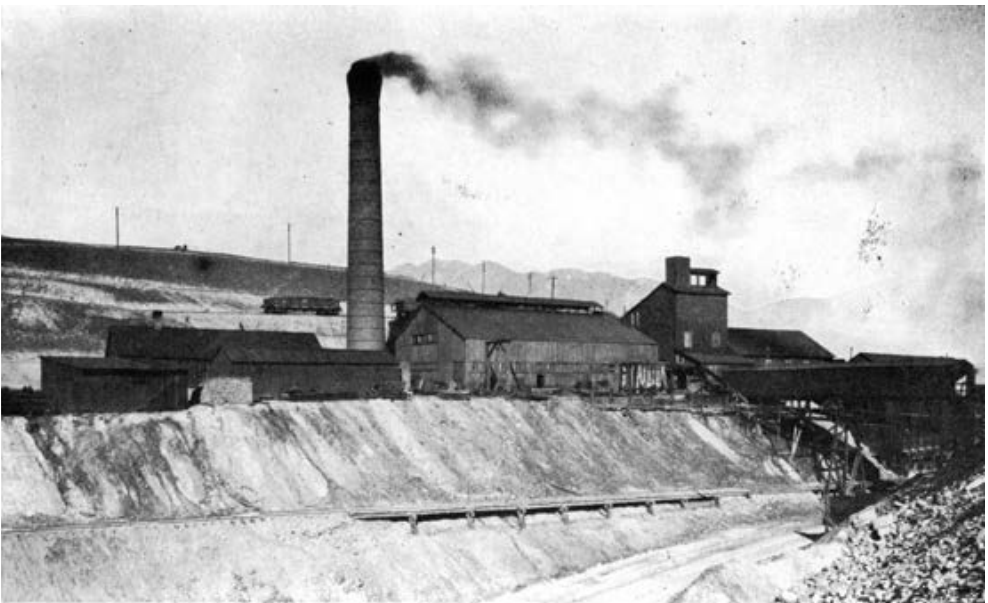
BOSTON & Montana (or B&M for short) developed into the larger of the two enterprises. Indeed, thanks to its outstanding management and good financial reserves, it became one of the world’s largest copper companies; above all, it achieved the highest profits per pound of produced copper. That is why the authoritative *Copper Handbook* considered it the best enterprise in Montana in 1902, “despite the greater development and production of Anaconda”. Under the long-time superintendent Thomas Couch, B&M also managed the “Colusa” mine – added were “Mountain View”, “West Colusa”, “Pennsylvania”, “Leonard”, “Liquidator”, “Comanche”, “Wandering Jew”, “Badger State”, and others. The smaller subsidiary Butte & Boston (B&B) brought together the mines “Mountain Chief”, “Silver Bow”, “Grey Cliff”, “La Plata”, “Blue Jay”, and “Belle of Butte”.²¹⁷

THE Lewisohns’ collaboration with Bigelow and Clark proved exceedingly fruitful. Alongside Anaconda, B&M became the largest enterprise in Butte, a real factor in the emergence of the town as the most important copper producer in the United States. In 1895, B&M and B&B were already producing 86 million pounds of refined copper annually, twenty-three percent of US production; in 1899, they were up to nearly 109 million pounds.²¹⁸

BY bringing their Montana Copper Company into the B&M, the Lewisohns became not only shareholders in the latter and Leonard one of its directors. More importantly, it was agreed that while production would be managed from Boston, the marketing of the copper (from both the B&M and B&B mines)²¹⁹ would be handed entirely to the Lewisohns: “They turned over their copper to us and we loaned them 80% of the value of all copper in our hands. In other words, we were their factors and all the sales contracts were made to us.” Before long, a large part of all copper passed through the hands of the Lewisohns in one way or another,²²⁰ in 1889 already about 55% of all the copper produced in the United States.²²¹ Against this background it is no surprise how quickly the Lewisohns amassed their considerable fortune in the few short years between 1887 and the turn of the century.

IN his memoirs, however, Adolph Lewisohn leaves us completely in the dark about the contribution made by his brother Leonard. The literature on the copper industry consistently depicts Leonard as the leading member of the company; after all, he was





The foundation of Lewisohn's fortune: copper mines like Mountain View, Leonard, Pennsylvania, and Silver Bow

the senior head of whom it was said: “[U]nder his management, Lewisohn Bros. developed into the largest firm in the United States engaged in supplying the markets of the world with American Copper.”²²² There seems to have been a division of tasks between the two brothers: “Of the two brothers, [Leonard] had concerned himself largely with the initiation of projects and their financing, while Adolph, more cautious, was the business-getter who carried ideas into actual operation.”²²³ It would appear, though, that Adolph succumbed in his memoirs to the temptation to present himself in a somewhat more favorable light than would have been appropriate. But at the time his brother could not have raised any objections, as he had been dead for nearly thirty years.

SECRETAN’S SYNDICATE

ALREADY at the time when the Lewisohns got into the copper business, the copper price had begun to suffer from overproduction, as well as from the enormous growth in the Butte region.²²⁴ Around 1885, the Lewisohns suggested to its competitor, the Anaconda Copper Company, that it reduce the output to keep the price stable. To no avail. The result was that the price declined from 20–25 cents in 1880 to 18, 12, and even 10 cents per pound in 1886, which drove the Lewisohns to the brink of giving up their business.²²⁵

ON a trip to Europe in 1887, which took him also to Russia, Adolph tried to sell 400 tons of copper. He was able to unload only 25 tons, since his potential customers were expecting prices to drop further.²²⁶ But that same year, the value of copper rose again ro-

bustly, after fires in the mines of Calumet & Hecla in July and November had led to a loss of production of about ten million pounds.²²⁷ “Those who had speculated or dealt short in ‘Chili Bars’ [copper ingots from Chile, the only copper that was traded at the London Metal Exchange until the end of the 1880s] were ‘caught’ and ‘Chili Bars’ advanced within a year or two from forty pounds to about one hundred and twenty pounds sterling a ton.”²²⁸ Lewisohn was now able to sell his copper at a good price and pocket a difference of 30,000 pounds.

BUT the price slump had previously compelled other actors to get involved. The Société Industrielle et Commerciale des Métaux had existed in Paris since the 1860s.²²⁹ Originally begun as a small industrial enterprise, it had grown in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870/71 through the production of cartridges. By 1887, the Société was among the largest copper customers in Europe.

HYACINTHE Secretan was “secretary” of the Société and a man of great vision. Like the Lewisohns, Secretan had realized that copper was bound to become a far more important commodity than it had been – and that it would be used not only in the production of kitchen utensils, bath tubs, water pipes, or roofing material, as was already the case in his Société, but above all in the electrical industry.²³⁰

IN February of 1887, Secretan set up the “French Syndicate” (also called “Secretan Syndicate” after its founder), with the goal of securing for itself the global copper production over the next three years. This ambitious monopoly campaign was financially



One of the smelting works of Butte & Boston

supported by both the London and Paris Rothschilds (who already owned the Rio Tinto Mine in Spain, as well as mines in southern California), and by the banks Crédit Lyonnais, Comptoir d'Escompte, and Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas.²³¹

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By the middle of 1888, agreements had already been procured from thirty-seven leading copper producers, who together accounted for 80–85% of global production:²³² “To tempt them to enter th[e] agreement, the price of thirteen cents for ‘matte’ (which graded 50% to 60% pure copper), was fixed. This was equal to about fourteen and a half cents for refined copper, about three cents above market price at that time. As an additional inducement, the producers were promised a certain share of the profit to be realized above thirteen cents. In consideration of these advantages each producer had to agree to limit his production

during the three years to a stipulated amount.”²³³ Since these contracts required enormous sums of money, it was necessary for the buyer to offer the producers a guarantee of payment. To that end, Secretan enlisted the largest private bank in France, Comptoir d'Escompte, which was second only to the Banque de France in terms of resources.²³⁴

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STILL, the overall plan failed.²³⁵ Secretan had underestimated the difficulties in creating a world monopoly for a product. First of all, around 1889 the London Metal Exchange changed “its requirements as to standard deliveries and, instead of limiting Exchange transactions to the so-called ‘Chili Bars’, ruled that any kind of copper could be delivered on Metal Exchange contracts calling for G.M.B.’s ‘good merchantable brands’. This, of course, made the proposed corner or control of the world’s supply a

much more gigantic and difficult operation – practically an impossible one”.²³⁶ Second, it took the Syndicate too long to sign the contracts, which meant that prices had in the meantime risen again to thirteen – indeed, seventeen – centers per pound (further boosted by the changes at the London Metal Exchange and the accident at Calumet & Hecla).²³⁷ Third, consumers realized that the price for copper was to be raised artificially, and held back with their purchases. At the same time, fourth, too many producers around the world were unwilling to sign agreements with the Syndicate and drove up their production come hell or high water. And, fifth, there emerged an enormously abundant market for the large amount of scrap copper that was already in circulation in all kinds of objects of everyday use.²³⁸

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EVENTUALLY, the Rothschilds cancelled the credit to Secretan. The Société as well as Comptoir d’Escompte fell into the hands of liquidators. The director of the bank committed suicide; Secretan lost his fortune, was arrested, put on trial, and sentenced. Still, his efforts had one important effect for the business and reputation of the Lewisohns. All American producers had been satisfied with the guarantee of Comptoir d’Escompte. Adolph, however, had demanded the guarantee of a second bank, a financially strong American or English institution. Secretan’s plan struck him from the outset as “abnormally large”, and he believed that failure was a definite possibility. In the fall of 1887, he received an additional guarantee from the private bank Baring Brothers (London) to the tune of one million pounds Sterling, about five million dollars.²³⁹ Not only did Baring Brothers stand by its guarantee when the time came, it also commissioned

the Lewisohns to sell the 14,000 tons of copper it had in turn accepted as collateral. The Lewisohns emerged from Secretan’s activities with a profit of 1.5 million dollars.²⁴⁰

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HOWEVER, the banks which had backed the Syndicate were sitting on a gigantic amount of copper. One hundred and seventy-nine thousand tons had accumulated in France and England, “held as collateral by the banking interests which had been backing the speculators” – 60,000 at the Banque de France, 40,000 with the Rothschilds, 25,000 with Baron de Hirsch, and 25,000 at the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas.

.....

ONE thing was clear: if these volumes came onto the market in an unregulated fashion, a catastrophic price slump was a certainty. It therefore made sense to reach an agreement about their sale, one that also had to include the copper producers.²⁴¹ Especially the banks had a special interest in once again freeing up the money they had invested by selling the copper as quickly as possible (and if necessary, by accepting losses). The large producers, meanwhile, the likes of Calumet & Hecla and Anaconda, were pushing the banks toward a more moderate pace of selling to keep the price stable, and threatened that if the banks went ahead unilaterally, they would drive the price of copper down to five cents per pound by boosting their output.²⁴²

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PREVIOUSLY already, Adolph Lewisohn (as the representative of Boston & Montana) had traveled to Europe together with the president of Calumet & Hecla (Livermore) and the agent of Anaconda (James Haggin) to represent the interests of the US copper

industry in the disaster. Now he hurried back and forth between Paris and London for months to work on the agreement. But especially the Lewisohns were unwilling to agree to a cut in production at any price – out of respect for the shareholders in their company, as they emphasized.²⁴³ As a result, the price of copper had to settle at its own level over a longer period of time. Thanks to the growing needs of the electrical industry, the market was then in fact able to absorb these volumes fairly quickly.²⁴⁴

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STILL, having been asked to get involved in these negotiations amounted to a substantial gain in prestige. After this affair, word spread that the Lewisohns were the only ones to have insisted on a double guarantee: “I became known as ‘the Lewisohn who held the Baring guarantee’.” The brothers were now among the grandees in this field, who were negotiating directly with Baron de Hirsch or the Rothschilds.²⁴⁵ Leonard and Adolph soon left the business with bristles, feathers, and hair to their younger half-brothers Philip and Albert, who continued it under the name Lewisohn Importing & Trading Co. Ltd.²⁴⁶ Lewisohn Bros., meanwhile, remained the name of Adolph and Leonard’s company.

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COPPER WARS

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THE Lewisohns had invested in the copper business not only in Montana, but also in Tennessee,²⁴⁷ where they set up the Tennessee Copper Mining Company. Copper had been mined early on in Tennessee, later than at Lake Superior, to be sure, but earlier than Montana. The technological problems that had to be overcome here were different from those in Montana. The ore in Ten-

nessee was very sulfurous. Initially, there were attempts to burn off the sulfur, but the emissions polluted the fields of the adjacent farmers. The result was court battles. The choice fell on the “wet method”, and in this way sulfuric acid was produced as a secondary product, and that business was soon more profitable than the copper production itself. After the First World War, the Lewisohns also got into the production of fertilizer, and the company became the Tennessee Copper & Chemical Company. Adolph Lewisohn tells us that he himself left the copper business in Tennessee around 1900. But in 1920 he rejoined the management of the company and made sure, as president, that it became profitable again.²⁴⁸

.....

ANOTHER field of activity for the Lewisohns was in Arizona, where they held a stake in the Old Dominion Copper Mining & Smelting Company since 1888. They had acquired their shares from the Keyzers of Baltimore and operated henceforth as the mine’s commercial agent.²⁴⁹ In addition, in 1906 Adolph Lewisohn founded the General Development Company, which was supposed to locate new ore deposits and invest in their exploitation. Although the name was based on that of the flourishing company of the Guggenheim family, the Guggenheim Exploration Company, Lewisohn’s business was far less successful, and was only able to acquire two meaningful deposits. One of them, a mine called “Bagdad”, was soon sold again. But not far from Globe (Arizona), Lewisohn, in 1907 at the recommendation of J. Parke Channing, a graduate of the Columbia School of Mines, acquired a claim for \$100,000, for the exploitation of which the Miami Copper Company was created. Five million dollars

was invested in the mine's development and in infrastructure, a sum that was raised through the sales of "treasury shares". After initial difficulties, the mine produced good earnings: over the next twenty-five years, the Company, according to Lewisohn's account, paid out more than thirty-five million dollars in dividends.²⁵⁰ In addition, the Lewisohns had a stake in the Isle Royale Consolidated Mining Company on Lake Superior (the only profitable of six new ventures there around the turn of the century) and in the Santa Fe Gold & Copper Mining Company. Adolph was also president of the South American Gold & Platinum Company, which owned mines in Colombia.²⁵¹

.....
THE unprecedented wave of mergers in the US economy around the turn of the century also prompted plans to realize larger conglomerations in both the production and sale of copper. At this time the economy had begun to recover from the stock market panic of 1893, and the price of copper had also started to rise again in 1896.²⁵² The victory against Spain in 1898 and the awakening imperialism contributed their share to fuel the economy and the plans for consolidation and large-scale mergers. And the progressive development of a national market also supported this trend: the underlying expansion of the communication and transportation systems set in motion an enormous predatory competition, further intensified by the technological innovations of those years and the economic crisis after 1893, which eliminated smaller competitors.

.....
ANOTHER factor was the legislation of the individual states with respect to the creation of joint-stock companies, which made the

legal form of the *corporation* more attractive than any other kind of partnership. The previously customary *pools* were replaced by *trusts* (a legal form that allowed placing several companies under one centralized management), and those in turn by *holding companies* (a further development of trusts: a parent company into which all participants could place their stock holdings).²⁵³ Between 1897 and 1904, more than 4,200 companies merged into 257 conglomerates. On average, the one hundred largest enterprises increased their size four-fold. In 1904, four percent of all American companies were producing more than half of all industrial goods in the US. At the beginning of the 1890s, the US had 86 industrial enterprises with total capital of 1.5 billion dollars; in 1904, there were already 318 with capital of 7 billion.²⁵⁴ Entire areas of production were merged horizontally, as were entire branches of the economy vertically: extending from the extraction of raw materials, to their processing, all the way to the marketing of the final products.

.....
OLDER industrial behemoths like John D. Rockefeller's exemplary Standard Oil Company, which had held a quasi-monopoly in the petroleum business since 1879, were joined by new giants. The most impressive was surely J. P. Morgan's United States Steel Corporation, a model of vertical concentration,²⁵⁵ which also gave its name to the current of the times: "Morganization" – organization in the manner of Morgan.

.....
WHEN the large corporations were accused of keeping prices artificially high and enriching themselves at the expense of the community at large, legislation in response did not go beyond initial steps. To be sure,

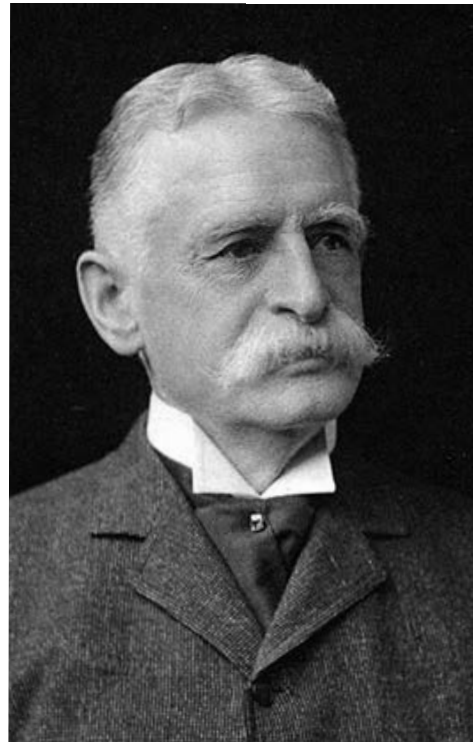
in 1890 a law was passed in the American Congress that prohibited companies from cooperating if it impeded competition. But the Supreme Court was favorable to an interpretation that actually exacerbated the existing problems: what was sanctioned was informal price fixing, while US courts did not object to the merger of diverse companies into new corporate enterprises. Holding companies that spanned states now enjoyed growing popularity. Especially the laws in New Jersey were such that many corporations were headquartered there. New Jersey became the “Mother of Trusts”.²⁵⁶

.....

THE companies of the Lewisohn brothers were also drawn into the breathtaking concentration processes of the times. This involved, for one, the production of copper. Here the establishment of the Amalgamated Copper Company was a renewed attempt to create a monopoly.²⁵⁷ Couched in positive terms, one could see it as an attempt to protect the copper industry from an erosion of the price from overproduction.²⁵⁸ From a negative perspective, the business dealings involving the Amalgamated shares offer insight into the dark abysses of the laws of Wall Street in 1900.

.....

We cannot say with certainty who had the idea of bringing together the largest copper producers in the US and Europe.²⁵⁹ But the driving forces behind its realization were William G. Rockefeller (1844–1922) and Henry Huttleston Rogers (1840–1909), with the financial backing of James Stillman (1850–1918) from National City Bank.²⁶⁰ Rogers, a financier who had grown rich in the oil industry (more precisely, at Standard Oil, where he was vice-president), was one of the most ruthless and influential of the



*“Hell hound” – Henry Huttleston Rogers
(1840–1909)*

Robber Barons, and around the turn of the century he held leading positions in a number of large enterprises: “With a grudging respect, Wall Street insiders referred to him as the ‘Hell Hound’ because of his piratical attacks.”²⁶¹ He was president of Amalgamated from its founding in 1899 until his death.²⁶²

.....

WILLIAM Rockefeller was the younger sibling of the famous John D. Rockefeller, who assisted his brother with his negotiation skills when it came to strong-arming independent producers into joining the Standard Oil Trust. Later he made a name for himself as a financier and “promoter” of ex-

ceptional abilities. Unlike his more famous brother (who preferred to employ rank blackmail), William was not averse to speculation. When John D. withdrew from the business to enjoy and give away his millions, his “lieutenants” did not have enough yet: the group that became known as the “Standard Oil Gang”, which was recruited from the leading management personnel of Standard Oil but was organizationally not identical with the latter, had already invested its money successfully in numerous campaigns before it set out to monopolize the copper industry on the model of Standard Oil.²⁶³

AMALGAMATED Copper was not a copper producer (a “mining company”), since the company itself did not operate any mines. Rather, it was a “security-holding corporation,” whose “assets” consisted “entirely of stocks of other operation corporations.”²⁶⁴ Especially its financing became the target of harsh criticism: “In 1899 [Rogers] formed ... the gigantic trust, Amalgamated Copper, which was the subject of such acrid criticism then and for years after. In the building of this great trust, some of the most ruthless strokes in modern business history were dealt – the \$ 38,000,000 ‘watering’ of the stock of the first corporation, its subsequent manipulation, the seizure of the copper property of the Butte & Boston Consolidated Mining Company, the using it as a weapon against Boston & Montana Consolidated Copper and Silver Mining Company, the guerilla warfare against certain private interests, the wrecking of the Globe Bank of Boston.”²⁶⁵ The “numerous adventurous and audacious promotions” of the “Standard Oil Gang” were described in 1905 in the muckraking classic *Frenzied Finance* by Thomas W. Lawson, who had previously

been involved in the business as its “chief broker”. With the publication of his book he broke with his old circles and later died in poverty.²⁶⁶

BUT first things first: the Rogers-Rockefeller group had discovered the copper business as a profitable field for concentrations and began by investing massively in stocks of copper companies, on Lake Superior, in Utah, and in Butte. However, since the shares of Calumet & Hecla were kept under tight control, the Rogers Group soon focused on Butte. One important victory for them was winning over Marcus Daly and James Ben Ali Haggin from Anaconda for their project. Both men were getting older and believed that consolidation in the copper business was necessary. But while Haggin liquidated his shares in Anaconda for 15 million dollars in cash, Daly could be per-



William Rockefeller (1844–1922)

sueded to take a stake in the new corporation.²⁶⁷

.....

WE do not know how exactly Anaconda ended up in the conglomerate.²⁶⁸ The Group had agreed on a total price of thirty-nine million dollars with Daly – and had arranged that the check (drawn on National City Bank) should be deposited uncashed for some time. Next, Amalgamated was established, with a number of Standard Oil employees as straw men in the directors' chairs. They transferred the property of Anaconda into the Amalgamated for seventy-five million dollars in share certificates. The Standard Oil Group in turn presented them to National City Bank, borrowed thirty-nine million dollars against them – and used that to pay Daly's check.

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THE next step was to offer the shares of the newly created corporation to the public. The money that was raised was then used to pay off the debt to the bank.

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THIS is where Lawson came into play, who had excellent contacts to Wall Street, wealthy investors, and the press. He prepared the market for the share certificates. With virtuosic skill, he developed a campaign that extolled them as a safe and above all profitable investment: the assets of Amalgamated were said to be substantial more than the founding capital, and the yield would not be less than eight percent under any circumstances. Time and again he argued not only that the concentration would make it possible to streamline many processes and lower costs, but above all that this would allow the corporation to set prices in a way that would boost profits. For the public, the fact that Daly was on board was

proof that one could count on highly efficient management.²⁶⁹

.....

THE smooth-talking Lawson was spectacularly successful. When the shares of Amalgamated Copper were brought to market in April of 1899, they were oversubscribed within days.²⁷⁰ In essence, initially it was only the real assets of Anaconda that were offered to the public under the name of the new company, along with the Washoe Copper Company, the Parrot Silver & Copper Company, and the Colorado Smelting & Mining Company.²⁷¹

.....

“EVEN after the rejecting of many millions of improperly submitted and late purchased orders, the subscription of Amalgamated stock ran to \$130,000,000 – the largest stock subscription Wall Street had ever seen ... The public would soon regret it, for the Amalgamated was a pawn which was being cynically manipulated by insiders. The Rogers-Rockefeller team acquired their 'first section' of Butte holdings for a total of \$39,000,000 ... The 'Crime of the Amalgamated ... came when they flagrantly over-capitalized their holding company at \$75,000,000, or nearly twice its proven assets. In what can only be termed a callous fleecing of the public, Rogers and friends now coolly issued the subscribers one share for each five shares solicited in the oversubscription. This brought in \$26,000,000. Measured against the \$39,000,000 purchase price, this meant that the investing public was paying for two-thirds of the real cost of Amalgamated's properties. But the investors thereby acquired with their \$26,000,000 only slightly more than one third of the heavily watered shares of Amalgamated stock. All of which meant, of course,

that the Standard Oil gang, having really invested only \$13,000,000 of their own dollars, now held nearly 500,000 shares of Amalgamated worth roughly \$50,000,000.²⁷²

.....
WITHIN a few weeks after the emission, the price of the dubious shares rose to \$130. But this surge would be short-lived. For the Rogers Group now began to go after its own investors: "The inner group had thus cashed their profits, the market was allowed to break."²⁷³ The Rogers Group had secured the first tranche of the planned profits, and it now began to sell. The price slumped to \$75. Many investors rushed to unload the shares at a loss. Not so the Rogers Group: it changed course again and scooped up as many shares it could lay its hands on.²⁷⁴ The price rose again.

.....
THEN came the next coup, the incorporation of Boston & Montana. Exactly how the Lewisohns ended up in Amalgamated is also not known. A sale as in the case of Anaconda is not documented. In all likelihood, the Rogers people let it be known to the brothers, who were generating a substantial portion of their profits from their refineries and the trade in copper, that Amalgamated, which had begun to absorb the client mines of Lewisohn Bros., could cut them off from copper deliveries if they refused to join.²⁷⁵

When Boston & Montana became part of Amalgamated Copper in 1901, the capital of the company was raised to \$155 million and the value of a share was raised from \$100 to \$130, irrespective of the true value of the incorporated companies.²⁷⁶ And Amalgamated was now in fact "one of the major industrial combinations of that period. This corporation purchased the assets of the Ana-

conda Copper Mining Company, Boston and Montana Copper and Silver Mining Company, Butte and Boston Consolidated Copper Mining Company, Parrot Silver and Copper Company, Washoe Copper Company and Colorado Smelting and Mining Company."²⁷⁷

.....
LAWSON launched another campaign, and once again he was successful: "Again it was a simple matter to pay for the Boston properties out of the proceeds of that flotation, and without taking a cash dollar out of the pockets of the promoters."²⁷⁸ Once more, countless greedy investors paid substantially more for the shares than they were worth and financed the business for Rogers and his people; then the Group unloaded vast amounts of shares on the market and drove the price of the stock down to \$33.²⁷⁹ That spelled ruin for many small investors, and a wave of suicides followed.

.....
THE Lewisohns, deeply disappointed and embarrassed by these dealings, had only 125 shares of Amalgamated left in 1904.²⁸⁰ The company, which controlled all of Butte, also took over the United Mining Company in 1906, which made it the largest copper producer in the world.²⁸¹ Later, the company once again bore the more appropriate name Anaconda.²⁸²

.....
THE enterprises of the Lewisohns fell victim to consolidations also in the area of the processing of metals. The year 1899 saw the creation of the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO), initially largely at the instigation of Leonard Lewisohn. ASARCO combined under one roof many previously independent smelting works and refineries, most of which were located in the

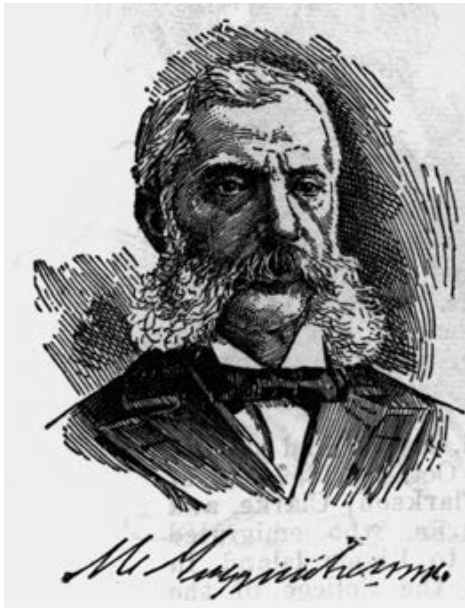
western United States, once again in an effort to solve the problem of competition. In this instance it was at first mostly companies that were processing silver and lead, only later joined by those that were doing the same with copper.²⁸³

As effusive as Adolph Lewisohn was in his memoirs recounting the successes in the creation of his company, he was equally as terse about his business failures – failures which took from the Lewisohns large portions of what they had built up. For after two years and a bitter struggle, the Lewisohns lost control of their companies, namely to the Guggenheims²⁸⁴ – in the words of Adolph: “I built up the American Smelting and Refining Company” until “the Guggenheims joined the enterprise and took control of it”.²⁸⁵

AFTER the consolidation of the mines into the Amalgamated, Rogers planned a trust also in copper processing, in all likelihood even at the suggestion of Lewisohns, who, to promote their copper trade, were interested in consolidated structures also in processing – under their influence.²⁸⁶ To secure the emission of the shares, Rogers brought the company of John Moore and Grant Schley (Moore & Schley) into the project, the preferred “brokerage house” of Morgan and the Rockefellers. Rogers, the Lewisohns, and the agents of Moore & Schley were able to bring together a large number of smelting works and refineries in Colorado, Kansas, Montana, Utah, Illinois, and Pennsylvania, but not those of the Guggenheims. That family considered the smelting works the heart of its enterprise and was unwilling to sell, in spite of an offer of eleven million dollars in shares in the planned trust. Very

much to the chagrin of the Lewisohns: the brothers took a special interest precisely in these smelting works, since they allowed the Guggenheims to export independently to the European market.²⁸⁷

IN spite of doubts that had begun to be voiced whether the real assets were anywhere close to it, ASARCO was brought to market with a founding capital of sixty-five million dollars on March 7, 1899 (“half in 7 per cent preferred, half in common, a total of 650,000 shares”).²⁸⁸ Rogers, Moore, and Lewisohn, who sat on the board, were each given 19,000 certificates as “promoters share”.²⁸⁹ The promotion for ASARCO, too, was a resounding success, and after two weeks all shares were sold. But the crisis was not long in coming. In part it was the result of internal causes. The many, formerly independent smelting works did not work together smoothly (the management in the Guggenheim smelting works, in contrast, proved more efficient). Second, the Guggenheims expanded into Mexico, boosted their lead production there, and began to compete with the trust. Subsequently, the trust’s shares lost their speculative attractiveness: since the trust did not dominate the prices, as the investors had expected, the share price came under pressure. Third, and this became crucial, there were problems with the workers, who had long – and unsuccessfully – been demanding shorter working hours. But when an eight-hour day was prescribed in Colorado by law in June 1899 and anything over that had to be compensated as overtime, the ASARCO companies there refused to comply. The result was a strike that spilled over to the ASARCO enterprises elsewhere and lasted until the middle of August. The Guggenheims, mean-



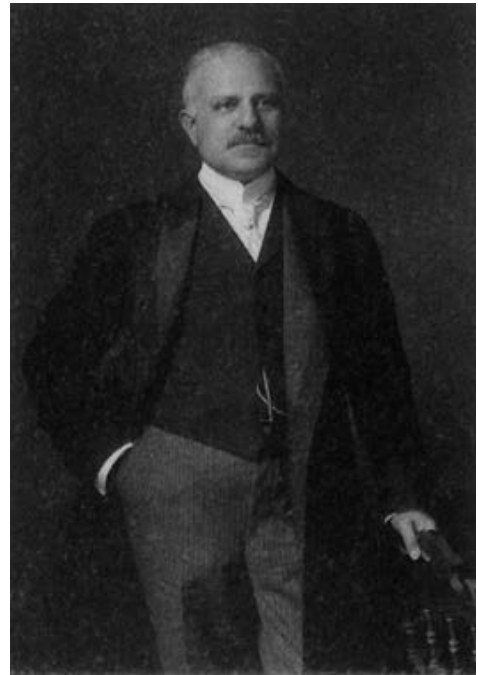
Meyer Guggenheim (1828–1905)

while, accepted the new working hours – and for months had the only smelting works that were able to process the ore extracted from the mines. Their works were running twenty-four hours a day. The Guggenheims flooded the market with cheap lead and silver and drove prices down.

At the end of the year, they presented a better year-end result than the trust: while ASARCO reported a profit of \$3.5 million, the Guggenheims posted \$3.6 million – one hundred thousand more for a company which possessed only a quarter of the mines and smelting works controlled by the trust.²⁹⁰

THE response by the stock market was swift, and the price of ASARCO slumped. By December of 1900, the company was in such dire financial straits that another round of talks was begun with the Guggenheims

about having them join. But the latter once again turned down the offer that was made. And they presented their own. The result of the negotiations in April 1901 was that the Guggenheims – on the basis of their annual profit of \$3.6 million – declared themselves willing to sell their smelting works and refineries for \$45.2 million (!) in ASARCO shares,²⁹¹ while being able, in the process, to keep important parts out of ASARCO. In addition, the seven Guggenheim sons secured decisive positions for themselves: Daniel became chairman of the board of directors of ASARCO (and remained so until 1919), Solomon became chief financial officer, Isaac, Murry, and Simon became members of the supervisory board. The Guggenheims and their allies held 51% of the stocks



*Daniel Guggenheim (1856–1930),
Meyer's son (ca. 1912)*

and had a firm grip on mines and smelting works. They had captured control of ASARCO – and had arrived within the financial high nobility of the US.²⁹²

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THE Lewisohns trade in copper was very nearly also affected by the unexpected developments in the smelting trusts. It was precisely the highly profitable sale of the metal which had originally drawn the attention of Rogers to the copper industry. Based on information from Thomas Lawson, he estimated that the Lewisohns had earned about fifty million dollars in the ten or twelve years before the creation of Amalgamated with the production and especially the sale of copper.²⁹³ From that point on, Rogers was determined to gain control over their companies. Even though he was aware that the brothers had good capital reserves, excellent connections, and a loyal stable of customers, he was convinced from the outset that they would shy away from competing with him and Standard Oil. And with the tried-and-true mix of pressure and tactical (or only feigned) concessions, more precisely with the offer to reinvest the money paid by the Group for Lewisohn Bros. into the new company, he was able to prevail upon him (Lawson speaks exclusively of Leonard) to relent, at the conditions offered by Rogers: 51% of the shares would be with Rogers and the members of the consortium, only 49% with the Lewisohns.²⁹⁴

.....

HERE is how Adolph Lewisohn tells the story: “In January 1900 the same interest [Amalgamated] organized the United Metals Selling Company, which took over the copper and metal selling agency of Lewisohn Bros., which operated as a separate

corporation, and the Raritan Copper Company, operating the Perth Amboy refinery, and became the selling agent of the Amalgamated Copper Company, and other producers, refining the products of the Amalgamated and various independent companies.”²⁹⁵ The founding capital came to five million dollars, and the directors were William Rockefeller, Henry Rogers, Leonard and Adolph Lewisohn, as well as Charles C. Seaman (of Evarts, Choate and Seaman).²⁹⁶ The UMSC as the distribution branch of ASARCO traded 95,000 tons of copper a year, seventy per cent of US production.²⁹⁷

.....

PERHAPS Rogers and Lewisohn, for whatever reason, had not been involved enough in the negotiations, Rogers may possibly have been too preoccupied with the United States Steel Corporation at the time, or they did not catch on to what was happening. In any case, once they had attained control over ASARCO, the Guggenheims demanded that the products of the trust would now be distributed through its own trading company, and no longer through the United Metals Selling Company – with the good argument that one could lower costs this way. The result was a bitter legal battle and a stock market fight between the two parties, which was settled only months later with a compromise agreement: Leonard Lewisohn and Rogers left the board of ASARCO, but sales continued to go through the United Metals Selling Company.²⁹⁸ Later, UMSC was taken over by the new Anaconda for twelve million in cash.²⁹⁹

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IN his memoirs, Adolph Lewisohn either does not recount any of this at all or does so only in passing; just as he does not describe

how he fared professionally after these bitter defeats.

.....

WHILE the Lewisohns were largely pushed out of copper production, they were able to save at least part of the copper trade for themselves, and Adolph Lewisohn remained president of the UMSC until 1913. In addition, he was president of the General Development Corporation he founded, as well as vice-president of the Utah Consolidated Mining Company. The enterprises in Tennessee and Arizona remained in their hands. Lewisohn was one of the directors of the Crocker Wheeler Company, the Importers & Traders National Bank, the Lawyers Title Insurance & Trust Company, and of the International Smelting & Refining Company.³⁰⁰ In addition, until 1907 he was vice-president of the New York Metal Exchange.³⁰¹ As a copper expert, his assessments were also sought after by the daily press.³⁰² This list reveals that Lewisohn had long ceased to limit himself to the copper industry. After 1903, he seems to have invested more heavily especially in New York real estate.³⁰³ The Lewisohn trading house continued at least until 1974 and continued to operate as an agent for the products of the companies in Tennessee and Arizona, which had merged in 1960. The seat of the “Sales Agency” was at 61 Broadway.³⁰⁴

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LEONARD Lewisohn, however, died already on March 5, 1902, from pneumonia, in the house of his son-in-law, Charles S. Henry, who worked for the London branch of the Lewisohns. In his book about the Amalgamated, Thomas Lawson passed down a portrait of Leonard Lewisohn: the picture of a forceful businessman of exemplary honesty. As Lawson describes it, Lewisohn, who has



Leonard Lewisohn (lower left)

hoping he could save his family business, had been pushed by Rogers and his Group into a venture the implementation of which went against all of the business principles that Leonard as well as Adolph stood for. It was said that he was deeply affected by the scandal surrounding Amalgamated, especially the ruination of the many smaller investors, and that it completely changed his demeanor.³⁰⁵ It is not reported that all of this affected his health, though that is not unlikely.

.....

HAVING left the company Lewisohn Bros. already in 1901, Leonard Lewisohn still held a significant stake in it at his death.³⁰⁶ In addition, he was a director at a host of companies: the Osceola Mining Company, the

Tamarack Mining Company, the Santa Fé Gold & Copper Mining Company, the Tennessee Copper Company, the Feather River Exploration Company, the New York Dock Company, the Detroit Southern Railroad Company, the National Bank of North America, the Congress Brewing Company, the International Banking Company, the Raritan Traction Company, and the United Metals Selling Company. He was a member of the New York Metal Exchange and of the Coffee Exchange. Leonard Lewisohn had been actively involved in the coffee exchange for so long that his death threatened to trigger a price slump; the price of Amalgamated Copper also declined.³⁰⁷ With his last residence at 14 East Fifty-Seventh Street, he held a membership at “Engineers”, “Harmonie”, “Criterion”, “Fulton”, and the “Midday Club”. He left an estate valued at twelve million dollars.³⁰⁸

.....
LEONARD had married Rosalie Jacobs, the daughter of the banker Aaron Jacobs of New York, on June 29, 1870.³⁰⁹ The couple had nine children. The oldest son, Jesse (born in 1872), was later vice-president of the United Metals Selling Company, though he soon had to withdraw from the business because of his deteriorating health. In 1910 he married the actress Edna McCauley, but he died already in 1918 from the Spanish Flu at the age of 46.³¹⁰ His sister Julia, the second-oldest child, later married Sir Charles S. Henry of London.³¹¹ Oscar, born in 1885, “sportsman and financier”, was also married to an actress, the famous Edna May (1878–1948). He, too, died young, in 1917, and the marriage produced no children.³¹² The daughter Lillie married Albert Lewisohn in 1905, her half-uncle, but he died soon after, in 1911. She married again in 1914, Martin Vogel,

later the Assistant Treasurer of the United States. She eventually died in 1976, at the age of 100.³¹³ Leonard’s son Walter (born 1880) – graduate of Yale, banker and stock broker – had married Selma Kraus in 1909, the daughter of Maurice J. Kraus (New York) and his wife Jennie Homberger (daughter of Meyer Homberger). The wedding was a small affair, however, without the participation of the parents: the bride’s first marriage in 1906 had been to L. S. Bernheimer.³¹⁴ Frederick (born 1881) was a banker, director of the Congress Brewing Company, the Feather River Exploration Company, the Lewisohn Exploration & Mining Company – in many ways his father’s successor. In 1907 he married Rhoda Seligman, the daughter of the banker Henry Max Seligman (the second son of Jesse Seligman). The couple had two daughters, Audrey (ca. 1909) and Evelyn (ca. 1912), but divorced in 1937. Frederick died in 1959 at the age of seventy-seven, in Monte Carlo.³¹⁵ Greater practical proximity to the theater than Jesse and Oscar was shown by the sisters Alice (1883–1972, married Herbert E. Crowley), and Irene (1892–1944): in 1915, the two founded the Neighborhood Playhouse in the Henry Street Settlement (466 Grand Street), which made a name for itself by putting on experimental theater and it operated until 1927.³¹⁶ In his autobiography, Adolph Lewisohn recalled the joy it had given him and his siblings to imitate theater performances³¹⁷ – maybe it was Leonard who had passed the love of theater on to his children. Florine, the sixth child, had been married to the coffee merchant Philip S. Henry since 1897. She had two children with him. But she, too, died young and also under tragic circumstances when her house burned down in 1903.³¹⁸

.....
"AN AFTERNOON'S REFLECTION" –
ADOLPH LEWISOHN'S BUSINESS
PHILOSOPHY
.....

MAGAZINES have always liked to ask successful people for the "secret of their success." Adolph Lewisohn, too, was repeatedly asked, and sometimes he reluctantly relented and tried to put it into words, though he was never satisfied with the result. He felt that nobody could lay down truly infallible rules for personal success³¹⁹ – otherwise, since that had been tried many times before, every reader could have or should have been successful. That was obviously not the case. But perhaps, Lewisohn remarked drily, the fault had been with the students rather than the teachers³²⁰ – in other words, the eager readers had failed precisely because they had relied too much on the judgment of others, rather than seeking success in their own thoughts and initiative. After this preliminary warning, Lewisohn formulated seven principles of action that he considered indispensable for professional success, though without seeing mere adherence to them as a guarantee:

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1. Give the business your constant and deliberate attention.
.....
 2. Place character and honesty above all else.
.....
 3. Decisions about *whether* and *how* must be preceded by "careful consideration and thorough study".
.....
 4. If an opportunity offers itself, it takes "vision and courage", though these must be constantly kept in check by caution. The latter is of the utmost importance, since ev-

erything that can be won by vision and courage could be lost by a lack of caution ("by speculation beyond one's means").
.....

5. As far as possible, all difficulties that could occur along a chosen path must be anticipated or imagined, in order to be prepared in case they actually materialize. Many a general wins a battle but fails in the overall campaign because he is not prepared for the unexpected.
.....

6. Great and lasting success cannot be achieved if one makes it dependent entirely on one's own abilities. It is of absolute necessity for the work to find the right "associates", from the top of the company down to the bottom. Men who will work for you and together with you. A good understanding of human nature ("judgment and character") is of the utmost importance in selecting them.³²¹
.....

7. Once you have found the right people, you must treat them such that they remain "happy and contented" in their work. You should give them the appropriate opportunity to make full use of their mind and abilities. Great success is achieved only if one possesses the confidence and enthusiasm of those who work for and with you. "And gradually the fruit of united effort will win the confidence of the master for whom we all work – the Public."
.....

LEWISOHN said about these rules that they would surely seem too simplistic or obvious. However, he points out that failing to observe a single one of these rules was usually the reason for failure in business.³²²
.....

THERE are two other maxims Lewisohn for-



"Give the business your constant and deliberate attention"

mulated in his memoirs that stand out: “If possible, it is desirable that all people connected with the enterprise should benefit from it.” And: “In order to bring it [the business] to success, everybody in any way connected with the enterprise, should be treated fairly. In other words, honesty, loyalty, fairness and cooperation must all go together.” Or in other words: “The business head must ... be honest, fair and liberal to the people who work for and with him.”³²³ Lewisohn thus emphasizes the team character within the hierarchy, and he calls for a harmonious relationship between the head of the business and the employees. He urges that employees not be seen as “cogs in the machine”, but that they are given space to use their intelligence, which, according to Lewisohn’s model, they will happily invest in return for the confidence placed in them: “From the very beginning of my business

life, I believed in and succeeded in establishing loyal and friendly relations between myself and my employees by letting them know that I had confidence in them and wanted them to succeed with me; that by helping me they were also helping themselves.”³²⁴

.....
LATER, Adolph’s son Sam, in his book about modern business management, picked up his father’s concepts and developed them further. Whether, and if so to what extent, Lewisohn’s modern conception about cooperation with business partners and employees also shaped his business policies, whom it included and how far it extended, that is something one could discover only from an analysis of business correspondence, where that has survived. Also, whether his employees benefitted from it would be worth a separate study.

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- 165 *Citizenship*, p. 90.
166 *Ibid.*, p. 97f.
167 *Ibid.*, pp. 99 and 101.
168 *Ibid.*, p. 103.
169 *Copper Handbook*, p. 122 ff.; Sautter, *Geschichte*, p. 257; Adams, *USA vor 1900*, p. 103.
170 *Citizenship*, pp. 101 and 105. See also Benedict, *Red Metal*, esp. p. 80.
171 *Citizenship*, p. 106: *The import duty on foreign copper at that time was five cents a pound, but American copper which had been shipped to Europe could be reimported without payment of duty if certain customs regulations were complied with.*"
172 *Ibid.*
173 *Ibid.*, p. 108f.
174 See Malone, *Battle*, pp. 3f. and 34 ff.
175 *Citizenship*, p. 111.
176 Malone, *Battle*, p. 21.
177 Freeman, *Brief History*, pp. 15f. and 19.
178 *Citizenship*, p. 109f.; art. Lewisohn, Leonard, p. 464. In Malone, *Battle*, p. 22, Meader is mentioned as the man sent out by the Lewisohns. According to Lewisohn's memoirs, that was not the case.
179 Mercier, *Anaconda*, p. 10; *Copper Handbook*, p. 19; *Citizenship*, p. 109.
180 *Citizenship*, pp. 110 f. and 115.
181 *Ibid.*, p. 110f.
182 *Ibid.*, pp. 98 and 102.
183 *Ibid.*, p. 133.
184 *Ibid.*, p. 111 ff.; on the spelling see also Holbrook, *Age*, p. 286.
185 *Citizenship*, p. 100f.
186 *Ibid.*, pp. 101f. and 109.
187 *Ibid.*, p. 115f.
188 Malone, *Battle*, pp. 23 and 29.
189 *Citizenship*, p. 116f.
190 Malone, *Battle*, p. 40.

- 191 *Ibid.*, pp. 22 and 49.
- 192 See Benedict, *Red Metal*, pp. 61 and 80.
- 193 *Citizenship*, p. 124.
- 194 *Ibid.*, p. 116f.
- 195 Glasscock, *War*, pp. 69–71.
- 196 Malone, *Battle*, p. 36.
- 197 *Citizenship*, p. 83.
- 198 *Citizenship*, p. 86. See also *The London Gazette*, December 6, 1887: according to this paper, Leonard and Adolph operated in New York henceforth under the name Lewisohn Bros., Julius Lewisohn and Louis Bernays in London under the name Lewisohn Brothers & Co., and Julius in Hamburg under the name S. Lewisohn, jun. Almost five years earlier, on December 11, 1882, the partnership with Leon Lewisohn in London had already been terminated, which had existed until then between Julius, Adolph, Leonard, and Leon under the name Lewisohn & Co.: see *The London Gazette*, February 2, 1883. Initially, Sally's sons Raphael and Leon were joint owners after Lewisohn & Co. in London, then Raphael alone, StA Hbg., 232-3 Testamentsbehörden, H 17369, Sally Lewisohn 1896, p. 9. Raphael also ran a company in New York under the name Lewisohn & Co., though it was liquidated in 1893, likely in the wake of the economic crisis. In the aftermath, he borrowed several hundred thousand Marks from his father, of which 300,000 were still outstanding at the time of his death in 1896, *ibid.*, p. 14.
- 199 *Citizenship*, p. 103.
- 200 *Ibid.*, pp. 83f., 86 and 87f.
- 201 *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- 202 *Ibid.*, p. 120: "we knew that ... we must produce ... a ... type of copper that could be rolled into plates or draun into wires, as only pure copper has the proper conductivity to do for electrical appliances."
- 203 *Ibid.*, p. 119f.: "The early battles for production and transportation had been won only to present us with a vital problem in metallurgy."
- 204 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 205 *Ibid.*, p. 125.
- 206 Art. Lewisohn, Leonard, p. 464. – On the development of the refining process since 1875 see Navin, *Copper*, p. 61ff.
- 207 *Ibid.*, p. 62f.
- 208 *Citizenship*, p. 125f.; art. Lewisohn, Leonard, p. 464.
- 209 *Citizenship*, p. 126.
- 210 *Ibid.*, p. 126f.
- 211 *Ibid.*, pp. 126 and 128; art. Lewisohn, Leonard, p. 464. – In connection with Perth Amboy, the Lewisohns had a stake in the Raritan Terminal and Transportation Company (Leonard as president), "a short terminal railroad, a trolley car company and the Perth Amboy Trust Company", *ibid.*
- 212 *Citizenship*, p. 129; Navin, *Copper*, p. 62.
- 213 *Citizenship*, pp. 129f., 131, and 137; art. Lewisohn, Leonard, p. 464.
- 214 Malone, *Battle*, p. 23 – in the art. Lewisohn, Leonard, p. 484, already in 1886.
- 215 *Citizenship*, p. 137. – That Lewisohn connects this also to the negotiations with Northern Pacific and Great Northern about the construction of lines to Butte remains mystifying, since that construction took place prior to 1886/87.
- 216 *Citizenship*, p. 136; Gates, *Michigan Copper*, p. 71; Malone, *Battle*, p. 48.
- 217 *Ibid.*, p. 48f.
- 218 Gates, *Michigan Copper*, pp. 71 and 86.
- 219 Malone, *Battle*, p. 49.
- 220 *Citizenship*, p. 136f. – On a trip to Europe in 1889, Lewisohn met the president of the Arizona Copper Company, Jameson. A Scottish interest group headquartered in Edinburgh had acquired the majority stake in this company. Jameson was planning to make the Lewisohns the company's general representatives

- in America. Previously, the Arizona Copper Company had its copper traded through Kennedy, Todd & Co., a New York Bank which had no special interest in this product. Lewisohn was able to obtain the agreement from Kennedy, Todd & Co. for Jameson's plan, and henceforth the Lewisohns operated as the "general American selling agents of the Arizona Copper Company", *ibid.*, p. 107
- 221 *Ibid.*, p. 160.
- 222 *Art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 464.
- 223 *Hellman, Lewisohn*, p. 383.
- 224 *Thus according to Benedict, Red Metal*, p. 105. Production had also not stagnated on Lake Superior, but had risen at Calumet & Hecla from more than 25 million pounds in 1878 to more than 51 million pounds in 1886, *ibid.*, p. 80.
- 225 *Citizenship*, p. 134.; *Benedict, Red Metal*, p. 80.
- 226 *Citizenship*, p. 144.
- 227 *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 140, and 144; *Benedict, Red Metal*, p. 87. Similar accidents occurred again in 1884 and 1888.
- 228 *Citizenship*, p. 144.
- 229 *Ibid.*, p. 142; *Benedict, Red Metal*, p. 106; *Gates, Michigan Copper*, p. 78.
- 230 *Citizenship*, pp. 131f. and 142.
- 231 *Ibid.*, p. 142; *Benedict, Red Metal*, p. 106; *Gates, Michigan Copper*, p. 79.
- 232 *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- 233 *Citizenship*, p. 145; *Benedict, Red Metal*, p. 106.
- 234 *Copper-Handbook*, p. 19; *Benedict, Red Metal*, p. 107; *Gates, Michigan Copper*, p. 78.
- 235 *Citizenship*, p. 131f.
- 236 *Ibid.*, p. 145.
- 237 *Ibid.*, p. 146; *Benedict, Red Metal*, p. 106.
- 238 *Citizenship*, p. 149; *Benedict, Red Metal*, p. 107; *Copper-Handbook*, p. 19f.
- 239 *Citizenship*, pp. 146ff. and 149; *Benedict, Red Metal*, p. 107 – according to *Gates, Michigan Copper*, p. 80, it was Secretan who committed suicide.
- 240 *Citizenship*, p. 152.
- 241 *Ibid.*, p. 153.
- 242 *Copper-Handbook*, p. 20.
- 243 *Citizenship*, pp. 151 and 155; *Gates, Michigan Copper*, p. 80; *Malone, Battle*, p. 39.
- 244 *Benedict, Red Metal*, p. 106f.
- 245 *Ibid.*, pp. 154 and 157f.
- 246 *Citizenship*, p. 160.
- 247 *According to Navin, Copper*, p. 306, not until 1899.
- 248 *Citizenship*, p. 161f., *art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 46; *art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 428; *Hellman, Lewisohn*, p. 348; *Navin, Copper*, p. 306; *NYT June 13, 1919*.
- 249 *Art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 464; *Navin, Copper*, p. 239.
- 250 *Citizenship*, p. 162f.; *art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 428; *Navin, Copper*, p. 306f.
- 251 *Gates, Michigan Copper*, p. 71; *art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 464; *art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 428; *Hellman, Lewisohn*, p. 384; *NYT June 13, 1919*.
- 252 *Malone, Battle*, p. 132.
- 253 *Heideking; Mauch, Geschichte*, p. 173.
- 254 *Sautter, Geschichte*, p. 290.
- 255 *Adams, Die Vereinigten Staaten*, p. 164f.; *Sautter, Geschichte*, p. 249.
- 256 *Marcosson, Metal Magic*, p. 58.
- 257 *On the founding of Amalgamated see Holbrook, Age*, pp. 168ff.
- 258 *Art. Rogers, Henry Huddleston*, p. 66.
- 259 *Holbrook, Age*, p. 169f.
- 260 *Flynn, Rockefeller*, p. 65; *Holbrook, Age*, p. 169.

- 261 Malone, *Battle*, p. 134.
- 262 Art. Rogers, Henry Huddleston, p. 66.
- 263 Malone, *Battle*, p. 134 f.; Flynn, *Rockefeller*, p. 65.
- 264 Moody, *Truth*, p. 3; Malone, *Battle*, p. 137.
- 265 Harlow, Rogers, p. 95 f.
- 266 Harlow, Lawson, p. 60. On Lawson: *ibid.*, and Holbrook, *Age*, p. 173 f.
- 267 Malone, *Battle*, pp. 135 and 137; Lawson, *Finance*, p. 245 ff.
- 268 *Ibid.*, p. 135.
- 269 Some of the ads are reproduced in Lawson, *Finance*, p. 336.
- 270 Glasscock, *War*, p. 195.
- 271 Malone, *Battle*, p. 137.
- 272 *Ibid.*, p. 138; Glasscock, *War*, p. 196 f.: "So an arbitrary allotment of one share for each five sought was decided upon. This gave to the promoters some twenty-six million dollars, cash, and left them five hundred thousand shares in the company. In other words, they had obtained two-thirds of the specified cost from the public, and given that public only one-third of the stock. They retained the two-thirds, valued on the day after the books closed, at approximately seventy million dollars."
- 273 Moody, *Truth*, p. 32 f. (chart); Malone, *Battle*, p. 139; Glasscock, *War*, p. 197 f.
- 274 Malone, *Battle*, p. 139.
- 275 *Ibid.*, p. 139; Navin, *Copper*, p. 305.
- 276 Malone, *Battle*, p. 139; art. Rogers, Henry Huddleston, p. 66. According to Lewisohn, at the takeover, four Amalgamated shares were given for one Boston & Montana share, whose price rose to \$520, *Citizenship*, p. 139 f.
- 277 Art. Lewisohn, Leonard, p. 464.
- 278 Glasscock, *War*, p. 199.
- 279 *Ibid.*, p. 199 f.; Malone, *Battle*, p. 139.
- 280 According to the NYT April 7, 1904.
- 281 Malone, *Battle*, p. 210; art. Rogers, Henry Huddleston, p. 66. On the subsequent development of the business and stock price of Amalgamated and to its echo in the public, see Moody, *Truth*, pp. 3–38 and 42–44.
- 282 On this process see Malone, *Battle*, p. 205 f.
- 283 Art. Lewisohn, Leonard, p. 464; Marcossou, *Metal Magic*, p. 61 f.; art. Guggenheim, Daniel, p. 8.
- 284 *Citizenship*, pp. 140 and 163 f.
- 285 *Ibid.*, p. 164 f. More matter-of-fact, p. 165: "In 1898 I brought about the formation of a trust out of what then existed – 23 different smelting concerns. I figured out that if these concerns combined into one concern better results could be obtained, and so the American Smelting and Refining Company was formed with a capital of \$100,000,000, \$50,000,000 as common shares, \$50,000,000 as preferred shares. The Guggenheims did not join in forming this combination, but were not opposed to it and rather acted in harmony. About two and one-half years later, the Guggenheims joined the enterprise, putting in their concern and they obtained the management and control."
- 286 Holbrook, *Age*, p. 286. For the creation of ASARCO: *ibid.*, p. 286 ff.; O'Connor, Guggenheims, p. 101 ff.; Unger and Unger, Guggenheims, p. 69 ff.; Marcossou, *Metal Magic*, p. 57 ff.
- 287 Holbrook, *Age*, p. 287; O'Connor, Guggenheims, pp. 105 and 108; Marcossou, *Metal Magic*, p. 64.
- 288 O'Connor, Guggenheims, p. 106.
- 289 See Marcossou, *Metal Magic*, p. 64 f., also on the composition of the Board of Directors.
- 290 Davis, Guggenheims, p. 59; O'Connor, Guggenheims, p. 116.
- 291 To finance this, it was necessary to boost the capital to one hundred million dollars.
- 292 Unger and Unger, Guggenheims, p. 77; art. Guggenheim, Daniel, p. 8; Davis, Guggenheims, p. 59; O'Connor, Guggenheims, p. 117. On the subsequent development of the business and stock price of ASARCO and on its echo in the public see Moody, *Truth*, pp. 45–53.

- 293 *Lawson, Finance*, p. 292.
- 294 *Ibid.*, pp. 295–297 and 307.
- 295 *Art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 464 f.; see also *Moody, Truth*, p. 12. – *The wrong founding date of 1898 is found in the art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 428, and in *Hellman, Lewisohn*, p. 383.
- 296 *Citizenship*, pp. 163 and 140; *Moody, Truth*, p. 12. *Seaman was succeeded by the president of the Central Trust Company, Olcott, and later by a Mr. Wallace*, p. 163 f.
- 297 *Gates, Michigan Copper*, p. 86 f.
- 298 *Unger and Unger, Guggenheims*, p. 69; *O'Connor, Guggenheims*, p. 118 f.
- 299 *Citizenship*, p. 164; *Malone, Battle*, p. 206.
- 300 *Spengler, Element*, p. 173; *art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 428. – *The International Smelting and Refining Company was later taken over by the new Anaconda, Malone, Battle*, p. 206.
- 301 *See the NYT April 18 and 22, 1907.*
- 302 *See ibid.*, November 8, 1911, and December 4, 1912.
- 303 *Ibid.*, March 12, 1903; January 10 and 12 and December 3, 1904; February 28, November 11 and 30, 1905; April 7 and 8, 1906; December 28, 1907; March 4, April 15, November 14 and 19, December 19 and 29, 1908; January 24, February 26 and 27, March 12, and December 3, 1909; April 24, 1910 (and so on).
- 304 *Navin, Copper*, p. 305.
- 305 *Lawson, Finance*, p. 308 f.
- 306 *Hellman, Lewisohn*, p. 383. – *After Leonard's death, Lewisohn Bros. supposedly became Adolph Lewisohn & Sons, art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 428. However, according to the address book of the German community of New York, *Lewisohn Bros. was still in existence in 1913, Spengler, Element*, p. 173.
- 307 *NYT March 6, 1902; Jackson, Encyclopedia*, p. 667; *art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 465. – *A different account is found in Lawson, Finance*, p. 309 f.: according to this version, shortly before his death, Leonard Lewisohn had speculated in coffee on a large scale together with other investors. The conditions he had expected (a coming shortage) did not materialize, and the price of coffee dropped more and more. He supposedly lost twelve million dollars on this venture.
- 308 *NYT March 6, 1902 and April 3, 1904 – a detailed account of what his assets consisted of.*
- 309 *Art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 465.
- 310 *NYT December 1, 1918.*
- 311 *Art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 465.
- 312 *NYT December 4, 1917.*
- 313 *Ibid.*, March 23, 1900, December 1, 1918, and June 18, 1976; *art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 465.
- 314 *NYT April 9, 1909, and October 12, 1909. In other ways, too Walter's way of life probably did not consistently accord with what his mother had in mind: The NYT (May 27, 1908) reported about a car chase with the police that he was involved in. – We have a portrait sketch of the bride by Giovanni Boldini.*
- 315 *Spengler, Element*, p. 173; *Seligman* ([http://dcodriscoll.pbworks.com/w/page/21196719/Seligman_\(1\)](http://dcodriscoll.pbworks.com/w/page/21196719/Seligman_(1))), April 19, 2011; *NYT, August 25, 1907; Time Magazine*, July 13, 1959.
- 316 *Jackson, Encyclopedia*, p. 667; *Wilmeth and Miller, Cambridge Guide*, p. 393; *Fletcher, Lewisohn*, p. 613 f. – *Her father, Leonard Lewisohn, had already been involved with the Henry Street Settlement and for projects in public housing, art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 465.
- 317 *Citizenship*, p. 9.
- 318 *NYT, January 12, 1903.*
- 319 *Citizenship*, p. 166.
- 320 *Ibid.*, p. 167.
- 321 *Ibid.*, pp. 64 and 99 – *a quality that Lewisohn repeatedly claimed for himself.*
- 322 *Ibid.*, p. 167.
- 323 *Ibid.*, p. 171. *On Lewisohn's model of how to run a business see also his article in the NYT, August 22, 1913.*
- 324 *Citizenship*, p. 99.
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ADOLPH LEWISOHN'S PRIVATE LIFE

AROUND 1900, nearly half of all private wealth was in the hands of one per cent of the American population. That was also evidenced by the city palaces of the copper and railway magnates on Fifth Avenue. In 1892, 1,103 of the 4,047 millionaires in the US were living in New York City; sixty of them were Jewish.³²⁵ A significant portion of them was of German descent, bearing the names Loeb, Sachs, Schiff, Seligman, Speyer, Straus, Warburg, Lehman, Bache, Altschul, Bernheimer, Hallgarten, Heidelbach, Ickelheimer, Kahn, Kuhn, Thalmann, Ladenburg, Wertheim, Cahn, Bernhard, Shettel, Mainzer, Stralem, Neustadt, Buttenweiser (-wieser), Hellman, Josephthal, Lienthal, Morgenthau, Rosenwald, Walter, Wolf, and Lewisohn – or Guggenheim, from the German-speaking part of Switzerland.³²⁶ They lived on Fifth Avenue and on the West Side of Manhattan. The blocks between 70th and 80th Streets and Central Park West and Columbus Avenue became their clearly visible and nearly cohesive residential neighborhood.³²⁷

THEY described themselves as the “One Hundred” – simultaneously in imitation of and opposition to the so-called “Four Hundred,” that select circle who fit into Mrs. Astor’s ballroom, and who, by being invited there, were recognized as the top echelon of

High Society in the Gilded Age. “They have been called the ‘Jewish Grand Dukes.’ But most often they have simply called themselves ‘our crowd’.” The men of “our crowd” made their fortune as merchants or bankers. The monuments they left behind included houses like R. H. Macy & Co., Abraham & Straus, Lehman Brothers, Hallgarten & Co., Speyer & Co., Kuhn Loeb & Co., Goldman, Sachs & Co., J. & W. Seligman & Co., J. S. Bache & Co., and Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades & Co.³²⁸ Nearly every one of these families represented a large banking house. As merchants, the Lewisohns fit well into this gallery, as copper industrialists they stood out somewhat – comparable to the Guggenheims, who had a special position with the “Crowd” already by virtue of their Swiss origins.

IN point of fact, one either belonged to the crowd by birth or not at all, for when it came to marriages, the group closed itself off against the outside world.³²⁹ Financial climbers had a difficult time finding recognition and acceptance. As it was, this segment of the upper class was separate from the Christian majority – but it was not only the Astors, Vanderbilts, or Van Rensselaers who kept their distance out of haughtiness, in the smug assumption that anyone who was not part of their circle and spoke un-ac-

cented English would desperately wish they were and did. Springing from a pronounced self-confidence, the isolation also came from the wealthy Jewish minority.³³⁰ Only the old-established Sephardic Jews had – haltingly – found acceptance from the Christian majority of the upper class, as evidenced by some marriages and the admission into exclusive clubs. But they, too, kept their distance from their German fellow Jews, those “newcomers” speaking broken English – much like the old-established Catholics did with the “shanty Irish” who had fled the famine in Europe.³³¹

.....

SELIGMANS married Hellmans, Loeb, Lewisohns, Lilienthals, Guggenheims, and Lehman; Lehman married Lewisohns, Buttenwiesers, and Ickelheimers; Ickelheimers married Stralens, Stralens married Neustadts, Neustadts married Schiff, Schiff married Loeb and Warburgs, Warburgs married Loeb, who in turn married Seligman. The result was staggeringly complex kinship webs which extended their reach also into the numerous commercial and professional ties.³³²

.....

AGAINST this backdrop, Adolph Lewisohns marriage was already a clear demonstration of his rise into the High Society of the Gilded Age, which would then find confirmation in the marriages of his children. On June 26, 1878, he wed Emma M. Cahn, the daughter of Abraham and Theresa Cahn.³³³ They were related to the Cahns of J. S. Bache & Co., who in turn were related in marriage to the Baches. The nuptials took place in the house of Emma’s mother, 226 East 47th Street. For seven years, Adolph had lived together with his brother Leonard. Now the newlyweds lived initially in the

home of the Cahns. The wedding ceremony was not without orthodox elements and was officiated by Rabbi Frederick de Sola Mendes (who a little while later, in 1879, was the co-founder of the journal *American Hebrew*). One of the guests was Henry B. Metcalf, partner of Littlefield and members of the senate of Rhode Island, and later an unsuccessful vice-presidential candidate. Here, too, we see the first further-reaching social connections.³³⁴

.....

THE honeymoon took the young couple to Europe, which was unknown territory for the bride. They crossed on the masted steamer “Russia” of the Cunard Line.³³⁵ Laid out as an educational trip, they visited the cultural metropolises of the old continent: from London they headed to Hamburg (to introduce the bride to the family), then Berlin, Munich, across the Brenner Pass to Verona, Venice, and Lucerne, from the lakes of northern Italy via Frankfurt, Paris, and London back to New York. But even on his honeymoon, Adolph knew how to combine pleasure with business, for example, when he inspected the branch in London or during their stay in Lucerne: “I suppose that generally it would be considered a hardship to have to attend to business while travelling, especially on a wedding trip, but with the right spirit, business with its interesting contacts not only is a constant education but becomes a splendid pastime.”³³⁶ It is difficult to describe the love of two human beings, and it is hardly possible to say how deep it was between Emma and Adolph. The fact is, however, that after the chapter recounting the wedding trip, Adolph Lewisohn’s wife is not mentioned again in his memoirs. Adolph does not write a single word about their life together or their chil-



Adolph Lewisohn's wife Emma (died 1916)

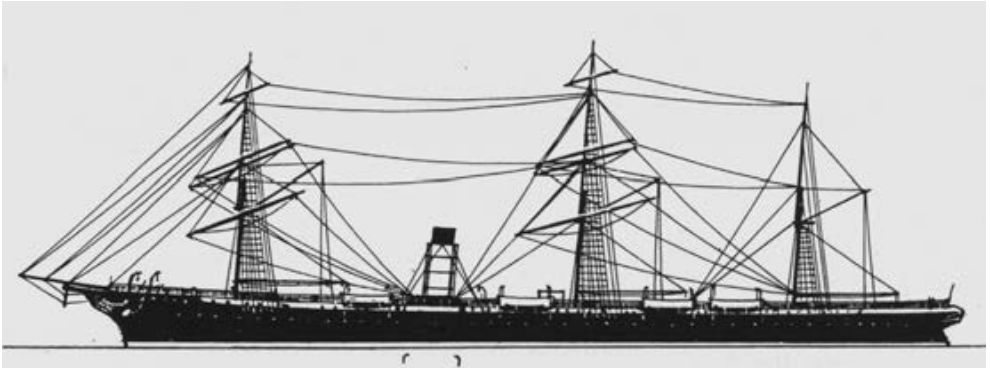
dren (except in passing about their son Sam, the apple of Adolph's eye).³³⁷ And so the impression that is created is of a man who defined himself primarily by way of his professional success, and through his emotional experience of art and culture; the impression of a self-involved man, who said about himself: "[B]usiness was a great amusement. As I look back . . . , I should like to have another sixty years of it, but . . . a man cannot very well do business . . . until he is one hundred and forty." And: "Business has so constantly and thoroughly filled my daily life that I find it hard now to stand outside of it and describe it."³³⁸ Judging solely from the abundant details of his memoirs, one is compelled to conclude that the trade with bristles preoccupied this man more than did his family.³³⁹

.....
ON later trips to Europe, Adolph took along his wife on at least two occasions, in 1905 and 1908. In 1905, they embarked on a road trip from Paris in a Mercedes (additional ones would follow for Adolph in 1909 and 1910). Another joint tour in a car had been planned for 1911, but Emma fell seriously ill. And so the trip to Europe in 1910 was the last for Adolph Lewisohn.³⁴⁰

.....
THE couple had five children. First came three daughters: Florence (born in 1878 or 1879), who was married to Samuel J. Reckendorfer, Treasurer and Secretary of the American Lead Pencil Company, died in 1907 at the young age of 28 in Elberon from a fever;³⁴¹ Clara (1880–1927), who married Alfred S. Rossin (1867–1947), ran a musical salon in New York, which did much to promote the performance of contemporary compositions;³⁴² and Adele (1882–1965), who in 1901 married the banker Arthur

Lehman, the son of Mayer and Babette Lehman (née Neugass/Newgass) and brother of Herbert H. and Irving Lehman. (Emma Lewisohn supposedly did not approve of the marriage, since she did not regard the Lehmans as social equals.³⁴³) Then came two sons. The first was Samuel (1884–1951), called Sam, who married Margaret V. Seligman (1895–1954) in 1918, the daughter of Isaac Newton Seligman and his wife Guta (née Loeb, from the Kuhn, Loeb family).³⁴⁴ With this he created a kinship bond with one of the most respected German-Jewish banking family: Isaac Seligman's most outstanding achievement had been organizing the financing of the Panama Canal.³⁴⁵ And Guta's sister was Nina Loeb, the wife of Paul Warburg, whose brother in turn had married Frieda Schiff. Sam's younger brother was Julius Arthur (1885–1927), about whom we know the least, though he later (1913) became president of Adolph Lewisohn & Sons.³⁴⁶

.....
INITIALLY the family lived on West 45th Street, then at 9 West 57th Street. The building has long since given way to a skyscraper. In 1908, Adolph bought the house at 881 Fifth Avenue from Mrs. E. H. Harriman, the wife of the "railway magnate", for \$800,000.³⁴⁷ This impressive structure, which one entered through a marble entryway with a fountain and potted palm trees, sported a ballroom of fabulous size, one of the largest in the city: two-storied, mirrored all around and with frescoes of angels on the ceiling; in addition, it had salons, a library, and a gallery of paintings. The elevator, the mirrors, the chandeliers, the wallpaper and tapestries, the enormous fireplaces, the richly decorated chairs and armchairs, the cushions and works of art: the way in which



Emma and Adolph Lewisohn set out on their honeymoon on board the Cunard Line's "Russia"

all this in its exquisite splendor had been piled up was a bit tasteless, and is said to have exuded the charm of a hotel.³⁴⁸

IN addition to his city residence, Lewisohn called three country retreats his own. The first was in Elberon on the New Jersey coast. In the 1870s and 1880s, Elberon was very popular with wealthy "East Coasters", who spent summers there. Thereafter, the High Society moved to Newport – and the members of the Crowd took over many of the holiday residences. Peggy Guggenheim later described Elberon as "a sort of Ghetto".³⁴⁹ Adolph also bought a house there, which he called "Adelawn", after his daughter Adele. There the family enjoyed the seaside life in the summer months.³⁵⁰

SINCE 1906 he also owned "Heatherdell Farm" (later expanded to 356 acres) outside of Ardsley-on-Hudson in Westchester, a 40-room mansion. Lewisohn's granddaughter Frances recalled a "manor house" in the Tudor style, with a large Elizabethan hall that was heated by an enormous fireplace. Ardsley was a place where city folk indulged in the illusion of country life: milk, butter,

eggs, vegetables, and fruit were produced directly on the farm.

ADOLPH cultivated plants in the greenhouse in Ardsley.³⁵¹ As a schoolboy he had already assembled a herbarium, and in America he turned gardening into his



Adolph Lewisohn's daughter Clara (married name Rossin; 1880–1927)

hobby: “There is something about creating a beautiful garden that gives me an even greater joy and a deeper sense of personal satisfaction than the mere selection and purchase of an object of beauty. We can watch the plants as they blossom into perfection, we can improve them from year to year and finally, when they have been brought out of the earth and are shown in competition with other flowers, we feel a peculiar pride in finding that the results of our own and that of our faithful gardeners’ devotion have proven worthy to be called the fairest amongst the fair. Money helps no doubt, in growing flowers, but it is not essential to success as it is in acquiring works of art, for flowers will bloom for hands black with toil, or even black with crime, if those hands are guided by patience and understanding.”³⁵²

.....



Adolph Lewisohn’s son Sam (1884–1951)



Adolph Lewisohn’s daughter Adele (married name Lehman; 1882–1965)

LEWISOHN won prizes at competitions with the flowers he grew in Ardsley, for example, at the Grand Central Palace. At an exhibition of the Horticultural Society of New York at the American Museum of Natural History in 1912, he presented three chrysanthemums whose blossoms had a diameter of eleven feet. Transporting them caused traffic problems in New York. Lewisohn had personally supervised the cultivation of the plants.³⁵³

.....

FROM the late 1890s on, wealthy New Yorkers sought fantasies of a sort different from Ardsley in the mountainous regions north of the city. There they erected “camps”: compounds of log houses rough-looking on the outside and reminiscent of hunting lodges but furnished with all the comforts



The Lewisohns town house on Fifth Avenue, on the right

on the inside, in scenic locations, often on a lake and with their own boat docks.

WHEN Lewisohn acquired his camp “Prospect Point” on Upper Saranac Lake in the Adirondacks in 1903, he was actually on his way to Lake Placid with his daughter Adele.³⁵⁴ They were traveling in a private railroad coach, but the train broke down at Saranac Inn Station. Condemned to an involuntary stay and at the recommendation of a local real estate broker, Lewisohn drove to Upper Saranac Lake in a horse-drawn-carriage. Impressed by the wild and beautiful vista across the lake, the bought 4,000 acres on the spot and had his camp built within a year. It offered space to fifty guests and forty servants.

.....
 THE architect of the compound was William I. Coulter (ca. 1864–1907), who had earlier designed the “Bull Point” camp of the banker Otto Kahn on Upper Saranac Lake. In ceaseless activity he created numerous other projects for wealthy New York clients, and had been Lewisohn’s architect already in Ardsley.³⁵⁵ Following Coulter’s untimely death, the necessary modifications and expansions were planned by William Distin.

.....
 TWENTY-EIGHT buildings were erected over the years. The four main houses with broadly forked gables had two or three stories, surrounded by pergolas, balconies, and verandas, and connected by broad, covered walkways. The outside was dominated by

unpeeled logs, otherwise the façade was decorated with birch bark and impressive antlers. For all their demonstrative roughness, the buildings were certainly cleverly designed and were reminiscent of both southern German farm houses and Japanese buildings. A lot of untreated wood had also been used inside. The rooms of unplastered stone walls and untreated wood were decorated with furs, stuffed animals, and all kinds of hunting trophies. The architect had designed the furniture in a kind of colonial style. But the original roughness was merely an illusion. The entire compound had electricity (from a sixty-horsepower unit), and there were even telephones in all buildings. But floor-to-ceiling windows in the dining

room brought the outside in, so to speak, and created the illusion of dining right out in the wild.

.....
LEWISOHN is said to have invested two and-a-half million dollars in the camp between 1903 and 1930. It was used mostly in the late summer and early fall, a time when the foliage turned picturesque colors. The family sold the camp in the 1940s, and it changed ownership frequently. Later it passed into the hands of the Christian organization "Young Life", which ran summer camps there. The stuffed bears were already a little worn, with German newspapers used as stuffing material poking out through the fur.³⁵⁶



Interior of Adolph Lewisohn's "Heatherdell Farm" in Ardsley-on-Hudson



Exterior views of Adolph Lewisohn's country estate in Ardsley-on-Hudson



Adolph Lewisohn's "Camp" in the Adirondacks; interior view of the living room



Exterior view of one of the walkways between the houses



The dining room



View of the main house (around 1905)

.....
**ADOLPH LEWISOHN'S ATTITUDE
TOWARD RELIGION**
.....

OVER the course of the nineteenth century, the demand for assimilation – more precisely, integration into the majority society while preserving one's own traditions – became a problem not only for the Jews who had remained in Germany, but also for their fellow ethnic German Jews in the US. In America, too, there were prejudices about the Jews. In some this pressure heightened the desire to leave “Jewishness” behind – even if it did not do so among steadfast orthodox Jews like Jacob Schiff.

.....
REFORM Judaism became the strongest current among the immigrants who reached the country in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century – and with it a way of dealing with religious precepts in a way that was supposed to allow for the smoothest possible integration into majority society and participation in economic, social, and political life. Moreover, the preferred label was no longer “Jew” but instead “Hebrew” – a name which the Sephardim had previously claimed for themselves almost exclusively.³⁵⁷ And the more one felt excluded as a Jew, the more strongly one insisted on being primarily German. Already the sheer

size of the German community and the social status which a remarkable part of it had achieved did their part to strengthen the attachment of German Jews to their country of origin.³⁵⁸

.....
BUT German Jews remain connected to their homeland not only because majority society often left them uncertain about how “American” it considered them. Preserving German culture also became a value in itself because for German-American Jews in the late nineteenth century, Germany embodied in many respects the flowering of art, science, and technology: “German continued to be the language the families spoke in

their homes. The music children practiced in family music rooms was German music. When a Seligman, Loeb, or Lehman traveled to Europe, he sailed on the Hamburg-America Line; it was the best. When he needed a rest, he took the waters at a German spa – Baden, Carlsbad, or Marienbad. At their dinners they served German wines. When illness struck, the ailing were hurried to Germany, where the best doctors were.” In their New York homes, the members of the Crowd employed French cooks, Irish maids, English butlers, but German governesses.³⁵⁹

.....
ADOLPH Lewisohn, too, was a member of



Adolph Lewisohn beside the boat house on Upper Saranac Lake (around 1905)

the “Deutscher Press Club”, the “Deutsche Gesellschaft”, and the “Harmonie Club”, the most prestigious German-Jewish gentlemen’s club, founded in 1852. The official language in the “Harmonie Club” was German, and a portrait of the Kaiser hung in the entry hall. But the club was the first of its kind to admit women to dine there.³⁶⁰ In this regard the “Harmonie Club” was even more progressive than the synagogue which was the center of religious life, the Temple Emanu-El on Fifth Avenue (founded in 1868). And although Lewisoohn’s ties to Germany were never broken, he did call himself a “100% American”. Perhaps the basis for this was also his pragmatic relationship to religion.

JEWISH history in what would become the United States began with twenty-three Brazilian Jews, Sephardim who in 1654 fled from Portuguese Recife in Brazil to New Amsterdam (New York). Initially the Jewish community grew very slowly through immigration. Between 100 and 500 Jews lived in the United States in 1790, 3,000 in 1818, and 15,000 in 1840. A more pronounced growth began only after that. By 1848 the number had risen to 50,000, by 1855 to 100,000, by 1860 to 150,000, and by 1877 to more than 229,000.³⁶¹ It was especially German Jews who, as a result of the social and economic crisis of the *Vormärz* and in the wake of the failed Revolution of 1848/49 and the subsequent repeal or restriction on the emancipation laws in many German states, turned their backs on their homeland: in equal measure out of disappointment that they were stubbornly denied the same rights their fellow citizens enjoyed, out of disaffection with the political conditions, and from a lack of economic prospects. This

led to the growth of a substantial German-Jewish community in the US.

THE composition of the Jewish community would change profoundly in the years that followed. Five million immigrants came to the US in the 1880s, among them an ever growing number from southern and eastern Europe, and among those many Russian Jews fleeing the pogroms. Around 1.5 million Jews arrived in the US between 1880 and 1914.³⁶² And they stayed above all in New York: where the number of Jews in the city stood at 80,000 in 1870, which amounted to nine per cent of the total population of the city,³⁶³ 90,000 were added in 1907 alone, most of them from Russia and Poland. (As people were unable to distinguish between Russians and Poles at the time, and since Poland did not exist at that time as a state, one spoke generally of “Russians”.) The number of Jewish residents in New York soon approached the one million mark: by 1915 there were nearly 1.4 million, twenty-eight per cent of the total population.³⁶⁴

THE massive immigration confronted the already Americanized Jews with serious problems: both in terms of the integration of the newcomers into the community, and with respect to the perception by majority society. A deep social and religious gulf separated the assimilated, German-American Jews uptown and the Russians on the Lower East Side: the wealthy, established long-time residents saw in the orthodox have-nots from the East what the Sephardim had seen in them fifty years earlier. The newcomers were ragged, dirt poor, hungry for education, and – to make matters worse – infiltrated by Socialism. Leaving aside religion,

one could not have imagined a starker difference than the one between “Germans” and “Russians”.³⁶⁵

.....
THE “uncouth,” “unwashed,” and above all Yiddish-speaking “Russians”, who called themselves their brothers, were an embarrassment to the respectable, established Jews. Newspaper stories about conditions on the Lower East Side, where seventy-five per cent of New York’s Jews were living in the 1890s, stories about overcrowded tenements, vermin, dirt, adultery, fights, hunger, and criminality were distinctly embarrassing – but most distressing of all was being lumped together with these people, the loud, pushy, and aggressive “dregs of Europe”. The established German Jews found it hard to believe that they were being increasingly put on the same level as “negroes”.³⁶⁶ And so they held the “Russians” responsible for the growing anti-Semitism in New York, and in so doing they themselves reproduced some anti-Semitic stereotypes as they set themselves apart from these “Orientals” and “Asians” – the *kikes*, as they were pejoratively referred to in reference to the fact that many Russian names ended in “-ki”.³⁶⁷

.....
THEY set up welfare organizations that initially made efforts to persuade the newcomers to move on from New York – without much success. Then they sought to improve the social situation and promote assimilation. They offered free housing, board, and medical care, and sponsored lectures: about good manners and the proper dress (which did not include “caftans” and sidelocks), good morals, marriage, and the dangers of Socialism, “designed to show the poor Russians the unwisdom of their former

ways”.³⁶⁸ The German Jews gave generously to these projects, but grudgingly, often not out of adherence to the religious commandment of charity, but out of bitter resentment, embarrassment, and fear about what the neighbors might say – and the collecting of donations developed into a strict system with an uncomfortable resemblance to taxation.³⁶⁹

.....
THE established Jewish groups became increasingly open in their support for a limit on immigration. As early as August of 1882, the US Congress passed an immigration bill that imposed a head tax of fifty cents on the new arrivals. Most importantly, however, an immigration station was set up on Ellis Island. After it opened in 1892, the biggest hurdle for immigrants was the health inspection that was carried out there. In 1917, a literacy test was added as a condition for admission.

.....
ADOLPH Lewisohn was against this “illiteracy clause”, as he made clear in a conversation with President Wilson [see Chapter 6]. Instead, he dedicated himself to the concerns of the immigrants and of the Jews in Russia. Already sensitized perhaps by his father’s contacts to “Eastern Jews” in Hamburg, by his own experiences on his trip to Russia in 1887, and by his encounters with “Russian” Jews in New York, Lewisohn traveled to Portsmouth (New Hampshire) in 1905 as part of a top-level delegation of Jewish industrialists and financiers. The other participants were the influential banker Isaac N. Seligman (later the father of Sam Lewisohn’s bride), Oscar S. Straus (after 1906 Secretary of Commerce and Labor in the cabinet of President Roosevelt), and Adolf Kraus (President of B’nai B’rith).³⁷⁰



Jacob Schiff (1847–1920)

On the sidelines of the conference that ended the Russo-Japanese War, they met with the Russian lead negotiator, Prime Minister Sergei Witte (1849–1915), and the Russian ambassador to the US.³⁷¹ The Jewish delegation was headed by Jacob H. Schiff, the most influential American banker next to J. P. Morgan. As a Jew, he regarded backward Czarist Russia, which was keeping his fellow Jews in a state of medieval subjugation, as his personal political enemy, and already during the war in 1904/05 he had emphatically endorsed financial support for Japan.³⁷² As late as 1914, he would make the grant of loans to the allies dependent on Russia not benefiting from them in any way

– and in so doing, he would jeopardize the reputation of the banking house Kuhn Loeb & Co. in the American public.

.....

CZARIST Russia was deeply interested in gaining the goodwill of the American financial markets. The delegation, however, made it unequivocally clear to Witte in a three-hour meeting that the condition for any accommodation was that the unbearable legal situation of Jews in Russia had to be immediately and comprehensively improved, and above all, that their protection against pogroms had to be guaranteed – the kind of pogroms that had previously taken place in Kishinev (Moldavia) in 1903. As a subsequent letter dated September 5th, 1905, attests, the members spelled this out with extraordinary self-confidence, indeed, in a threatening tone.³⁷³ The indirect goal of the delegation in all of this was to ease the continuing immigration pressure on the US.

.....

POLITICALLY, the members argued that interference in Russia's internal affairs had to be permissible if the country was promoting the mass emigration of its subjects because of the way it was treating them. In their demands they went so far as to call for the immediate grant of complete equality to the Jews – on the grounds, namely, that the internal unrest and misgivings that were feared might manifest themselves would find even greater opportunity to keep erupting if emancipation was gradual (which is exactly what had in fact happened in Germany). The delegation countered the objection that the Russian Jews were not sufficiently mature for immediate emancipation with a historical argument: in all states that had implemented emancipation, the Jews had proved full citizens and good patriots,

especially in the US, where the greatest measure of political freedom prevailed.³⁷⁴

.....
IN his memoirs, Adolph Lewisohn devoted a separate chapter – entitled “Thoughts on Being a Jew” – to his attitude toward religion and Judaism.³⁷⁵ In it, he presented his Judaism as self-evident, unassailed by the widespread enmity toward the Jews: “I could never understand and do not understand now, why anybody could be ashamed of being a Jew.” You simply had to be who you were, whether you liked it or not. If you tried to be something else, you would be nothing at all. Lewisohn wouldn’t hear of a possible feeling of inferiority toward the Christians: one should simply recall that Christianity was historically based on Judaism. At the same time, though, he was equally unsympathetic toward Jews who saw themselves as the “chosen people”: “We are all part of an entire humanity”. As far as special Jewish characteristics were concerned, Lewisohn was at most willing to concede that centuries of persecution may have shaped a people who, for one, were quicker and shrewder, and, for another, more mutually supportive than their neighbors.³⁷⁶

.....
LEWISOHN’S attitude toward anti-Jewish sentiments was remarkably serene and optimistic. Referring to the famous Hilton-Seligman affair of 1877, which had been sparked when the Grand Union Hotel in the well-known resort town of Saratoga had refused entry to Joseph Seligman, he stated that he was personally indifferent whether or not Jews were allowed into all hotels or clubs: “These things adjust themselves.”³⁷⁷

.....
BUT Lewisohn also put it down on paper that already in his youth he had been unable

to follow all forms of orthodox religious practice. In his parental home, he went along without protest – fortunately, since his father placed religion and the daily practice of faith above all else, and open dissent would have caused a rupture between them. He does tell us that his father’s religious seriousness remained an example to him all his life.³⁷⁸ But he never understood the bitter tone in which Reform Judaism was talked about at home, and he did not share that feeling later in life. Lewisohn maintained that one could not shut oneself off from the reality of life. The simple fact was that the modern world was Christian-dominated, and Jews were a minority. The attempt to follow merely the traditional religious rules of life, he argued, was foolish and impractical stubbornness. It would lead to isolation and deprive Jews of social, business, and political interactions, as well as of their influence, with only one result: “bad neighborliness, bad business, bad politics”. The old rules had been suitable only for life in Palestine, two or three thousand years ago. In this day and age, it was the desire of the Jews to live like their fellow citizens.³⁷⁹ Accordingly, Lewisohn also gave \$10,000 to Stephen Wise’s Free Synagogue.³⁸⁰

.....
AT the same time, however, Lewisohn conceded that the accommodation to the reality of life had also generally resulted in a decline in religious devotion. Less religious uniformity always entailed less commitment to religious forms – Christianity had experienced the same after the Reformation. Raised in an orthodox household and with orthodox relatives, Lewisohn preserved throughout his life “goodwill and respect” for both the old and the new.³⁸¹ Still, his religiosity, too, had suffered during his life’s journey: “I do

not, and never have been able to, believe in Orthodox form or in the Supernatural. The only thing I can conceive of is some Unknown Force that helps us until we learn to use our brains and make the best of our condition; in other words, that we are here to work out our own destiny.”³⁸² Proceeding from his critique of religion in the spirit of the Enlightenment, Lewisohn in the end articulated faith in the *selfmade man*, who ended up saying about himself: “I was not a believer in religious forces.”³⁸³

.....
FOR Lewisohn, religious tolerance was more important than religious faithfulness. Above all, he asserted, one had to behave with tolerance toward the faith of others and work harmoniously with them for the common good. That applied not only to Jews in their dealings with one another, but equally to the relationship between Jews and

Christians. The latter, too, should refrain from attacking Jews for trying to live, in the midst of the modern world, in accordance with the laws of their ancestors.³⁸⁴

.....
IN his autobiography, Lewisohn recounts, almost in passing, a casual discussion in which a friend had passionately defended the thesis that one took in Judaism with the mother’s milk. At the time Lewisohn responded tersely that this did not apply to him. He had had a Christian wet nurse. And with a wink he added that this was presumably the reason why he had so many Christian friends.³⁸⁵ In 1898, at any rate, at the dinner table of the extremely orthodox Sir Samuel Montagu (later Baron Swaythling) in London, a surprised Adolph Lewisohn had to remind himself why he was handed a hat at table: it was Friday evening.³⁸⁶

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- 325 *Rischin, Promised City*, p. 53.
- 326 *Birmingham, Our Crowd*, p. 8.
- 327 *Ibid.*, p. 258.
- 328 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 329 *Ibid.*
- 330 *Ibid.*, pp. 127 and 258.
- 331 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
- 332 *Ibid.*, p. 8. See also Barkai, *Branching Out*, p. 138.
- 333 *Emma Cahn was born around 1856*, see NYT July 29, 1916.
- 334 *Citizenship*, p. 78; *Birmingham, Our Crowd*, p. 258.
- 335 *Citizenship*, p. 79.
- 336 *Ibid.*, p. 80f.
- 337 *Simon, Portrait*, p. 32.
- 338 *Ibid.*, pp. 84 and 166.
- 339 *On this assessment see Birmingham, Our Crowd*, p. 359.
- 340 *Citizenship*, p. 81f.
- 341 *Art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 428; *art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 465; NYT, July 4, 1907. *The couple had three children.*
- 342 *Their children were Edgar (later at Lewisohn Bros.), Natalie, Florence, Carol, Alfred, Adolph, as well as a sixth child that died young*, see *Loeb, Lifetime*, p. 40, and *Clara Lewisohn Rossin* (www.nycommunity-trust.org/Portals/Uploads/Documents/BioBrochures/Clara%20Lewisohn%20Rossin.pdf, accessed April 13, 2011).
- 343 *Loeb, Lifetime*, p. 27f. – *The young couple set up its first residence at 31 West 56th Street, on a property that Adolph Lewisohn purchased for them.*
- 344 *Art. Lewisohn, Margaret Seligman*, p. 148.
- 345 *Loeb, Lifetime*, p. 42.
- 346 *Art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 428; *Spengler, Element*, p. 173. *But see also Gressley, ed., Bostonians*, p. 166 ff.
- 347 *Loeb, Lifetime*, pp. 27 and 36. *The house was torn down in 1941*, NYT, September 14, 1941.
- 348 *Simon, Portrait*, pp. 16 ff. and 35.
- 349 *Birmingham, Our Crowd*, p. 259.
- 350 *Loeb, Lifetime*, p. 39f.
- 351 *Ibid.*, p. 39 – *with the spelling “Heatherdale” for example in Birmingham, Our Crowd*, p. 356.
- 352 *Citizenship*, p. 184.

- 353 Loeb, *Lifetime*, p. 38; NYT, November 2, 1912; November 1, 1913; November 5, 1915; April 9, 1916; and January 16, 2007.
- 354 On the following Loeb, *Lifetime*, p. 40; Kaiser, *Great Camps*, p. 146 ff.; Gilborn, *Adirondack Camps*, p. 239 ff.
- 355 *Ibid.*, pp. 232 ff. and 240. – The Seligmans, too, had a summer home in the Adirondacks, namely in Fish-Rock, Loeb, *Lifetime*, p. 42.
- 356 Kaiser, *Great Camps*, p. 153.
- 357 Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, p. 127.
- 358 Adams, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, pp. 200 and 214; Adams, *USA vor 1900*, p. 116; Adams, *USA im 20. Jahrhundert*, p. 23.
- 359 Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, p. 131 f.
- 360 Spengler, *Element*, p. 173; Jackson, *Encyclopedia*, p. 528. Different founding dates in Barkai, *Branching Out*, p. 172 f.
- 361 Moltmann, *Auswandererschiff*, p. 286; Cohen, *Encounter*, p. 122.
- 362 Depkat, *Geschichte*, p. 142.
- 363 Barkai, *Branching Out*, p. 136, believes that the number of 80,000 was not reached until 1880; but on p. 210 he also says 1870.
- 364 Rischin, *Promised*, p. 94. – Barkai, *Branching Out*, p. 210, however, speaks of “half a million” and 28%. Since the total population was about 4.8 million in 1910 and about 5.6 million in 1920 (Jackson, *Encyclopedia*, p. 920), one can posit about 5.2 million for 1915. If the Jewish segment of the population amounted to a little under 28%, the absolute number of Jewish residents would indeed have been 1.4 million.
- 365 Rischin, *Promised*, p. 94. Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, p. 289 f.
- 366 *Ibid.*, p. 290 ff.; Sorin, *Time*, p. 70.
- 367 Rischin, *Promised*, p. 97 f. On the Lower East Side see Sorin, *Time*, p. 70 ff.; on the distance between “Russians” and “Germans”, *ibid.*, p. 86 f., also Depkat, *Geschichte*, p. 142 f.
- 368 Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, p. 293. See also Rischin, *Promised*, pp. 54 and 99 f.
- 369 Sorin, *Time*, p. 86 f.; Barkai, *Branching Out*, p. 196 ff.; Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, p. 295.
- 370 *Citizenship*, p. 88; Adler, *Schiff*, p. 128.
- 371 Cohen, *Schiff*, p. 137.
- 372 *Ibid.*, p. 134 ff.
- 373 *Ibid.*, p. 138; Adler, *Schiff*, pp. 120 f. and 129 ff.
- 374 A second meeting took place two weeks later; see NYT, September 13, 1905.
- 375 *Citizenship*, p. 47 ff.
- 376 *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 49 f. and 51: “The oppression which for centuries forced the Jews to use their wits had perhaps resulted in producing a people with brains more clever and quicker on the average, than those of their neighbors. Perhaps ... the fact that they are thrown together ... made neighboring families and within each household, the members of the family ... more kindly to one another than is the rule in Christian communities.”
- 377 *Ibid.*, p. 52. See Cohen, *Encounter*, p. 156; Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, p. 143 ff.
- 378 *Citizenship*, p. 20 f.
- 379 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- 380 Like Jacob Schiff and James Speyer, Urofsky, *Voice*, p. 62.
- 381 *Citizenship*, p. 48 f.
- 382 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- 383 *Ibid.*, p. 78. – Still, in 1907 Lewisohn laid the cornerstone for Temple Emanu-El on Staten Island, Tango, *Jewish Community*, p. 29.
- 384 *Citizenship*, p. 49 f.
- 385 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 386 *Ibid.*, p. 16.
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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

IN his memoirs, Adolph Lewisohn, described as a “short, animated man with a shrewd, philosophical air, a humanitarian outlook, and an equable temper”,³⁸⁷ praised the ability to make friends: “The most important factor in our lives is our association with people.” And to him this was a factor not only for professional success. Of himself he said that he had always made friends easily: “A spontaneous feeling of democratic fellowship, caring for men and women for what they are rather than for what they do or what they have, has been part of my nature all my life.”³⁸⁸ This claim is probably not all too conceited if one recalls Lewisohn’s interest in “Russian” Jews or his concern for prison inmates (see Chapter 7).

LEWISOHN next listed all the US presidents he had personally known, and whom he counted – to varying degrees – among his friends.³⁸⁹ On numerous occasions they consulted him on various political problems.

ULYSSES Grant (1822–1885) merely owned the property next to the Lewisohns in Elberon. In 1881, Lewisohn happened to be there when President James A. Garfield (1831–1881), in the first year of his presidency, was brought there after the attempt on his life and died there. These were con-

tacts at a distance. Closer was Grover Cleveland (1837–1908), the first president of the Democratic Party since 1861 (1885–1889 and 1893–1897), whom Lewisohn called “quite an intimate friend of mine”: his wife supposedly laid the cornerstone for the Hebrew Technical School for Girls, whose construction Lewisohn had supported. Cleveland himself, we are told, had read a message of greetings on this occasion. Lewisohn also claims to have known William McKinley (1843–1901) well: “Whenever I met him, he was always cheerful and kind.”³⁹⁰

THEN come the presidents about whom Lewisohn’s account becomes more detailed. Revealingly enough, these are the men who came to office after Lewisohn had already considerably reduced his business activities. The first was Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919), in office from 1901 to 1909: “I came to know President Theodore Roosevelt intimately – a real friendship existed between us.” In 1908, the two had a long conversation, “as a result of which he called a conference at the White House for discussion of the proper care of delinquent children”.³⁹¹ The meeting Lewisohn had urged subsequently took place on January 25th and 26th, 1909 (see Chapter 7). “Roosevelt used to speak very highly of the German Emperor, as if they were warm friends and cor-

dial mutual admirers, although this was before they had ever met. He liked to hear the story of my various business experiences, and I often told him interesting incidents connected with it, for he was quick and keen to see the point. At any rate, I enjoyed a long and cordial acquaintance with President Roosevelt.”³⁹²

.....
LEWISOHN had this to say about William Howard Taft (1857–1930): “I was a great admirer of President Taft. He was a man of charming personality and great ability. A sincere friendship existed between us for twenty years. While he was president, he talked over many matters of importance with me and during the last year of his administration, he appointed me a member of the newly created United States Commission on Industrial Relations.”³⁹³ But the appointment did not in fact materialize: “I was supposed to represent the capitalists on that commission, but the Evening Post ... intimated that I was not really extremely capitalistic. I agreed with this, for I am at least as fond of non-capitalists as I am of those who represent capitalism.”³⁹⁴

.....
THE relationship continued after Taft’s presidency: “President Taft was always generous in his support of the various philanthropic enterprises in which I was interested, and it was an honor to enjoy, as I did, the confidence and cordial friendship of one of America’s greatest gentlemen.”³⁹⁵ The bond between the two is also attested by the special edition which the journal *American Hebrew* published in 1917 on the 50th anniversary of Lewisohn’s arrival in America. It contained contributions from, among others, Jacob Schiff, Daniel Guggenheim, John P. Mitchel, New York’s mayor, Senator

Dwight W. Morrow, and Nicholas M. Butler, the president of Columbia University.³⁹⁶ President Taft wrote: “I note with interest that Mr. Adolph Lewisohn celebrates on August first next the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival in this country. This country is far better off for Mr. Lewisohn’s coming. He has been very successful as a businessman and has helped the community by his forethought, his enterprise and the practice of sound business principles. The great field, however, in which he has shown his highest civic usefulness is in meeting the responsibility he has so keenly felt by devoting his great wealth to aiding his fellowmen. The list of his beneficiaries is not so remarkable for their number and amount, great as they are, as in their effectiveness. May he live long to enjoy the retrospect of the good he has done. He has deserved well of his country.”³⁹⁷

.....
LEWISOHN described his relationship with Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) as more distanced: “Whenever I visited Washington during President Wilson’s administration, he was always gracious and freely discussed with me the various topics of the time. I must have had several such interviews and I remember that once we discussed the illiteracy clause in the Immigration Bill.” On that occasion, Lewisohn voiced his conviction that the lack of an opportunity to acquire a formal education must not be the sole criterion in deciding whether or not someone should be allowed to immigrate to the US. Many people who had not had this chance could still become good and valuable citizens. On another occasion, the two discussed a federal law against child labor. Wilson opposed such a law, arguing that this issue should be left to the Senate, “to be

guided by local opinion". Lewisohn, however, maintained that this kind of fundamental problem should be "the concern of the Nation". And in fact, Wilson later did change his position and threw his weight behind a federal law. On another occasion, the two talked about "prison labor and the management of prisons". "He and I expressly agreed on the desirability at that time, while we were engaged in war, of having prison labor in both State and Federal prisons directed to the benefit of the National Government when free labor was so much needed for war purposes." Wilson lamented how difficult it was to pass the necessary laws, "because of delay by what he calls 'recess-loving Congressmen'". "The last words h[e] addressed to Sam and me were, 'I am entirely with you. In fact, you may call me one of you'".³⁹⁸

LEWISOHN describes his relationship to Calvin Coolidge (1872–1933) and Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) as once again more cordial personally but less intensive as far as political contacts were concerned (his account of these presidents brought his memoirs close to the present, as Hoover did not become president until 1929): "President Coolidge honored me with a most cordial friendship. In spite of his reputation for taciturnity, he and I have had many long and mutually sympathetic talks together. One of [the] pleasant memories is of the intimate family luncheons I enjoyed with him at the White House. After his retirement from office, he and Mrs. Coolidge were guests at my camp in the Adirondacks. My acquaintance with President Hoover began almost twenty-five years ago and I have always found him a fine and able man. We have talked over many business affairs time to

time. In 1908 in London, I saw a good deal of him and was his guest on an automobile trip through England. I always admired his splendid work for Belgian Relief."³⁹⁹

ALL in all, Lewisohn felt privileged and honored to have made the acquaintance of so many American presidents.⁴⁰⁰ The Republican Lewisohn⁴⁰¹ evidently bestowed his sympathies independent of whether the president was a Democrat or a member of his own party. When it came to campaign donations, whether for Roosevelt in 1904, for example, or for Charles E. Hughes' unsuccessful candidacy against Wilson in 1916, it would appear that he gave only comparatively small amounts (and as far as we know, largely to Republican candidates).⁴⁰² Little information about his political preferences can be gleaned from the presidents he did not mention in his memoirs: although Charles A. Arthur (1881–1885), Benjamin Harrison (1889–1893), and Warren G. Harding (1921–1923) were all Republicans, they were not impressive officeholders. For now all one can say is that Lewisohn was consulted above all by presidents who were roughly the same age or a little younger.

THE political positions that Lewisohn advocated can only be sketched out in the framework of this biography: for example, his stance on World War I and America's entry into the war, which constituted a profound watershed for the German immigrants in the US and for German-Jewish society in New York. As a member of the New York Peace Society, he presumably placed his hopes initially in the American government's attempts to mediate between the warring parties.⁴⁰³ But we cannot say whether his work on behalf of the Jews in

Russia influenced Lewisohn's stance on World War I (as was the case with Jacob Schiff), nor how he felt about the decision of the US to enter the war against his old homeland. He made his ballroom available for charity events to benefit the US troops.⁴⁰⁴ On the other hand, he later went to bat in the US for the young German republic and advocated helping her deal with the economic burdens of the war.⁴⁰⁵ His contacts to Germany continued also after the war, as attested by his philanthropic activities (see below). Moreover, Germans continued to be his guests, for example, when the Hamburg banker Cornelius v. Berenberg-Gossler and his wife visited New York in the spring of 1925 and Lewisohn invited them to his house on Fifth Avenue.⁴⁰⁶

AT first, Lewisohn did not endorse the creation of Jewish state in the Middle East. His basic position in this regard was clear: the goal was the integration of the Jews, not another exile and their concentration in the "Promised Land". And yet, later he changed his mind and welcomed the 1917 Balfour Declaration.⁴⁰⁷

LEWISOHN'S memoirs hardly reveals anything about his stance toward the social issues of the time, for example, the anti-trust legislation. Somewhat surprisingly, however,

he has nothing but positive things to say about the formation of trusts in the copper industry: "The result of this ... trust has been beneficial in many ways to all who were connected with the enterprise and to the country generally by working in a harmonious way and helping the general prosperity."⁴⁰⁸ Not a word about the victims left in the wake of Amalgamated going public.

LITTLE evidence has also come down to us about any political pronouncement in his later years. On his eighty-ninth birthday, the *New York Times* described him as a critic of the New Deal legislation and especially of the "undistributed profits tax".⁴⁰⁹

HOWEVER, Lewisohn worked for decades against child labor (see below) and was a member of the National Child Labor Committee.⁴¹⁰ In 1900, on average 1.7 million children were employed in the factories and in agriculture, about ten per cent of all girls and twenty per cent of all boys between the ages of ten and fifteen. Most states had laws against child labor, although there was little oversight as to compliance. And this even though the accident rate in American enterprises was the highest in the world: in 1907, ninety workers a week were killed in work-related accidents.⁴¹¹ Remedies were urgently needed.

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- 387 Hellman, *Lewisohn*, p. 384.
- 388 *Citizenship*, p. 63.
- 389 *Ibid.*, p. 66f. – If one sifts through the memoirs, diaries, and correspondence of the US president he mentions, it is striking that no autobiography mentions Lewisohn; no editor included one of his letters in a published volume; no biography refers to Lewisohn, neither those that deal with the political life of a given president, nor those that examine his private life. It is therefore more appropriate to speak of Lewisohn's acquaintance with these presidents.
- 390 *Ibid.*, p. 66; see also NYT, November 12, 1904.
- 391 See also *Citizenship*, p. 197f.
- 392 *Ibid.*, p. 66f.
- 393 *Ibid.*, p. 67. – The campaign to set up an “Industrial Relations Commission” was initiated by “settlement workers”, men and women who were working toward social harmony and “industrial peace”, an improvement of working conditions and wage hikes, and who were close to the Progressive Party. Lewisohn supported the social reformers with \$5,000, see Davis, *Spearheads*, p. 208ff.
- 394 *Citizenship*, p. 67f.
- 395 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- 396 Hirsh and Doherty, *Mount Sinai*, p. 194; see also NYT, July 27, 1917.
- 397 Quoted in *Citizenship*, p. 68.
- 398 *Ibid.*, p. 69f. – On Lewisohn's position toward the illiteracy clause see also NYT, December 15, 1914.
- 399 *Citizenship*, p. 70. – After the outbreak of World War I, Hoover devoted himself with great energy to humanitarian aid for Belgian civilians.
- 400 *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- 401 NYT, May 28, 1938.
- 402 Lundberg, *America's 60 Families*, pp. 84, 129, 132, 154 and 181.
- 403 Zechlin, *Politik*, p. 477.
- 404 See, for example, NYT, March 15 and 31, 1918.
- 405 See *ibid.*, August 20, 1920: “Asks Helping Hands for New Germany.”
- 406 Hauschild-Thiessen, *Adolph Lewisohn*, p. 238.
- 407 Zechlin, *Politik*, p. 513; NYT, April 28, 1917.
- 408 *Citizenship*, p. 165.
- 409 NYT, May 28, 1938.
- 410 Art. *Lewisohn*, *Adolph*, p. 428.
- 411 Sautter, *Geschichte*, p. 291.
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PRISON REFORM

PRISON reform became one of the primary political and social issues in Lewisohn's life: specifically, a reform aimed at improving the management of prisons and of prison labor and at ameliorating the conditions of incarceration, the chief aim of which was the re-socialization of perpetrators. From about 1900 onward, Lewisohn invested a growing amount of time and energy in this cause,⁴¹² and he also devoted a lot of space to it in his memoirs. There he spelled out the modern positions he had been advocating for thirty years on the question of prisons, and which were based on similar principles as his view of children's homes (see Chapter 9).

.....

LEWISOHN'S interest in prison reform was sparked by the concern for "dependent children", the children of inmates.⁴¹³ As early as 1908, in a long conversation with President Roosevelt, he had proposed a conference in the White House to discuss the proper care for the children of inmates. In a talk, Lewisohn maintained that these children should, as much as possible, remain within their accustomed environment and "should be cared for if possible in their own homes and that, when necessary, some remuneration should be given to widows to enable them to take care of their children".⁴¹⁴

.....

LEWISOHN also began to take an interest in the conditions of prisoners and to develop an awareness for the social repercussions of their improper treatment. By his own account, that interest was aroused by his reading of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* in his early years.⁴¹⁵ Already as a young man he was convinced that prisoners were being treated in a way that, contrary to intentions, produced poor results: "[I]t is a mistake – or worse – to treat such dependents cruelly or unreasonably, rather than in a manner that may possibly, or even probably, bring them back to normal conditions."⁴¹⁶ And Lewisohn's interest was strengthened precisely by the fact that many of his fellow citizens were indifferent to the concerns of prisoners, since their suffering was largely seen as self-inflicted or just, and they were therefore not regarded as a group deserving of charitable attention: "Prison reform has of late especially appealed to me, perhaps because fewer people are interested in criminals than in children, the crippled, aged and poor."⁴¹⁷

.....

PROCEEDING on the assumptions that the "welfare of the public in the main" was the chief interest when it came to the housing of prisoners, and that the great majority of prisoners return to society after serving their sentence, it became the fundamental premise of Lewisohn's demands that incarceration

tion should prepare them precisely for such a return.⁴¹⁸ He explained the importance of the issue with simple arithmetic: assuming that 200,000 people are sentenced to a prison every year in the United States, within twenty years (leaving aside recidivists) you end up with four million citizens with prison experience. The effects of incarceration and its conditions thus exert a great influence on society as a whole, and the prison issue was therefore a serious problem.

.....
FOR the progressively-minded Lewisohn, crime prevention was thus the top priority in solving the problem, and he was convinced that he could win the public over to his view: "I believe that ... people are more socially intelligent now than they were two or three generations before."⁴¹⁹ A great deal could be already be contributed to early prevention (in the broadest sense) through the "wise treatment" of children and young people: "We should bear in mind that 20 years or more ago, all the prisoners ... today were children, incapable of committing crimes but subject to temptations and evil influences. Under proper conditions many of them might have grown up to be good citizens. That they had the wrong environment was more the fault of the community than of the children ... We could, and we should ... insure public safety in the future by decreasing the number of future criminals by the proper education and treatment to all children and young people."⁴²⁰ Lewisohn called for objectively evaluating the living conditions of criminals and taking the correct measures in an equally objective way: "Whatever may have been the cause of crime we should deal with the existing conditions. These causes should be thoroughly

studied without losing our tempers, without bitterness or anger, but calmly considered so that the best results may be secured."⁴²¹ He sought to get his fellow citizens to rethink their uninterested or resentment-driven position by arguing that this would make possible a considerable reduction in the costs for the police and the construction of prisons: "Perhaps this theory does not agree with the accepted penology; perhaps it calls for a change in the attitude usually assumed in this work. But to my mind such a course contains at least the promise of lessening the grist that flows every year to the mills of our prisons."⁴²²

.....
BUILDING on that argument, Lewisohn suggested investing half of the millions that could be saved building and running courts and penal institutions in crime prevention: "I would like to give the people good education, have plenty of Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s, plenty of public baths, many free concerts, music school settlements, playgrounds, parks, recreation for the people, young and old, instruction in home gardening, good housing facilities and many other things. Then we would greatly reduce the number of our prisoners."⁴²³

.....
INCARCERATION, he maintained, always pursued three goals: the first two were punishment and deterrence, but the third was "the moral rescue and economic rehabilitation of the prisoner himself."⁴²⁴ Especially with first-time offenders, one therefore had to examine the causes and background to the crime. Lewisohn suggested that with them one should make greater use of suspended sentences, which they should serve under the supervision of competent "probation officers" in a kind of "open air working

community". (The word "community" reveals that what Lewisohn had in mind was different from a work camp.) Prison should be merely the instrument of second choice. This would not only deal with overcrowding, but it would also prevent first-time offenders from having contact with the "dangerous hardened, morally contagious prisoners". And this might possibly be a way to direct into socially useful channels the creative potential and energy which the perpetrators had undoubtedly displayed in their crimes.⁴²⁵

PRISON conditions must not be marked by repression and terror, but rather by attempts to guide the inmates onto the proper path: "For many years now, I have been visiting prisons consistently and as a result of my observations am convinced that the best way to get prisoners to abandon their criminal careers is not by threatening them, but rather, through the right kind influence. Finding jobs for discharged prisoners is excellent work, and, to my mind, it is far better to bring the proper training and treatment to bear upon the prisoner while he is still in prison."⁴²⁶ Central demands put forth by Lewisohn were jobs for released prisoners as a palliative against their return to a criminal career, and preparation for a job already during their time in prison.

THE quality of the guards was also highly important for the success of incarceration: "Again, I must repeat what I have said many times to the press: that wardens and keepers should be men of character, experience and ability, and that they should be well-trained in their work." Above all, professional training for the correctional system, the kind that existed for all other professions, was

long overdue. It could not be that one left precisely the supervision of prisoners – in Lewisohn's words "dangerous men, weaklings, moral invalids, men debilitated or crazed by drug addiction" – and their care to men who were not professionally trained, but came to their work more or less by happenstance. Lewisohn therefore advocated the creation of a "Normal College of Penology".⁴²⁷

LEWISOHN wrote many articles on this topic in *Century*, *Review of Reviews*, *Atlantic Monthly*, as well as in the daily press.⁴²⁸ But he did not merely write about the issue, he also worked practically and deployed his wealth. Lewisohn was on the jury of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, which in 1926 awarded a prize of \$2,500 for the best essay on crime prevention. He was a member of the Mutual Welfare League in Sing Sing and supported the gardening work of prisoners with donations in kind. Above all he was chairman of the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor and of the Prison Survey Committee of New York.⁴²⁹ For his seventieth birthday, representatives of the National Committee presented him with \$30,000 for the work of the Prison Survey Committee, virtually its entire budget.⁴³⁰ In December 1919, the Committee had experts examine the Sing Sing and Auburn prisons. The findings were put into a report and published. In it, the Prison Survey Committee called for the hygienic housing of prisoners and concluded that they should be continuously employed, if possible with work that would be of use to them upon their release. They should also be paid for their labor.⁴³¹

LEWISOHN was well aware that his work on

behalf of prison reform, for a new perception of prisoners, for crime prevention, and for new strategies of resocialization would be a long, slow process: "The advanced method of treating prisoners is progressing very slowly. In the economic and industrial worlds we have made wonderful strides; many of the byproducts of industry that were once supposed to be worthless have been found to be of great value and benefit. But in the work of preventing crime and redeeming the waste products of society, not much has yet been done."⁴³² He therefore called upon his fellow citizenship to cast aside their prejudices and fears about prisoners. Most of them, he reminded them, had never visited a penal institution or had had any direct contact with prisoners. As a result, many nursed bitter or "instinctive feelings of resentment and repugnance" toward inmates, considered them evil, or even

held the superstitious belief that mere contact with criminals already exerted a bad influence. But Lewisohn reminded them that there was not a lot of difference between the men and women in prison and those outside: those behind bars were just as much of sound mind as everyone else, and the mere fact that they had done something "one should not do" did not mean that they were necessarily forever beyond "the pale of humane consideration". Many crimes could be easily explained by circumstances beyond the influence of the perpetrator, whether it was poor health, addiction to alcohol or drugs, the lack of a good upbringing or education, an unmanageable temper, or a lack of self-control.⁴³³ What kind of experiences revealed to the self-made man Lewisohn this sober and humane view of the frailty of humanity, of what was called "free will", must remain an open question.

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- 412 *Citizenship*, pp. 218 and 224.
- 413 *Ibid.*, p. 218.
- 414 *Ibid.*, p. 66f.
- 415 *Ibid.*, p. 218.
- 416 *Ibid.*, p. 219.
- 417 *Ibid.*, p. 223.
- 418 *Ibid.*, p. 219.
- 419 *Ibid.*, p. 222.
- 420 *Ibid.*, p. 220.
- 421 *Ibid.*, p. 225.
- 422 *Ibid.*, p. 221.
- 423 *Lewisohn, Message*.
- 424 *Citizenship*, p. 227.
- 425 *Ibid.*, pp. 225f. and 227.
- 426 *Ibid.*, p. 228.
- 427 *Ibid.*, p. 228f.
- 428 *For example, the NYT, May 23, October 26, and November 27, 1913 ("Abolish Sing Sing"); May 19, 1914; July 4, 1915; October 1, 1916; May 3, 1920.*
- 429 *Art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 429; *Morris, Rose Man*, p. 307f.; *Rafter, Born Criminals*, p. 197.
- 430 *Morris, Rose Man*, p. 307; *Art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 429; *NYT, August 18, 1938*, p. 19.
- 431 *Art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 429; *Rafter, Born Criminals*, p. 197f., also on the efforts by the Committee to categorize prisoners according to dubious medical-psychic and social criteria. *The Committee assumed that about twenty per cent of inmates were "mental defectives" who, because of brain damage, had no chance of being re-socialized and could not be trained for any meaningful work. It advocates that they be housed separately under special supervision, whereby the language of the report used terms like "Human Scrap Heap". In the merging of medical-biological and industrial categories, Rafter diagnosed a proximity to the language of euthanasia.*
- 432 *Citizenship*, p. 222.
- 433 *Ibid.*, p. 224f.
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THE ART COLLECTOR

ADOLPH Lewisohn early on saw literature, music, and fine arts as an enrichment to his life, and he began to attend the theater already as a schoolboy. Once he began to work in his father's business, it became more difficult to find time for the theater: working hours ran until eight in the evening, but performances began at 6:30 and were over by nine o'clock. That left only Sunday for this activity. Adolph would be at the Stadttheater (known above all for its operas) or at the Thalia Theater one hour before a show to get in line for a ticket – in the standing room section. He did not care about being comfortably seated, he wanted to be as close as possible to the stage so he could see everything as clearly as possible. And a mere week after his arrival in the US in August of 1867, he attended his first theatrical performance.⁴³⁴

.....

ABOVE all, however, it was music that captivated the youngster, and he felt drawn to it as far back as he could remember: by the old Hebrew melodies of the “psalms and prayers” in the synagogue, the group singing of folk songs in school, or the music played by the military that marched through Hamburg in 1864. But his most important discovery was opera: “There was good opera in Hamburg when I was a boy, and it was my

good fortune to attend practically all the Verdi and Meyerbeer.” Already in his native city, he had heard, alongside Theodor Wachtel, Pauline Lucca, Adelina Patti and Christine Nilsson at their guest appearances, and Jenny Lind, “The Swedish Nightingale”.⁴³⁵

.....

LATER, in New York, he was fortunate enough to enjoy Caruso, Etelka Gerster, Emma Calvé, Lilli Lehmann, and Marcella Sembrich. When he was still living on 57th Street, Lewisohn was already hosting musical soirées with well-known artists.⁴³⁶ During the summer in the old Central Park there were concerts led by Leopold Damrosch or Theodore Thomas, who promoted German music. The Met gave up its exclusive attention to Italian and French opera and now also brought Wagner to the stage: Tannhäuser, Lohengrin, later Tristan, Parsifal, and The Ring. The detail and coverage that Lewisohn devoted in his memoirs to the concerts and plays he attended suggest intense experiences and a very good memory for these things: “Music has given me great happiness and it has been my privilege and pleasure to find friends among those great conductors and artists.” However, Lewisohn describes above all his passive enjoyment; there is no active engagement with these works of art.⁴³⁷

.....
LATER in life he himself started to sing again, remembering how much he had enjoyed it as a schoolboy and in the choir. Beginning around 1920, that is, after he turned seventy, Lewisohn took singing lessons from J. Bertram Fox, sang German folk songs, Schumann, Schubert, and Brahms. Those who heard him always had nice things to say.
.....

IT was not only the theater and opera that gave him pleasure, Adolph was also captivated by the fine arts: “The first time I visited a great museum in my early youth a new world was open to me – the world of art – and from that time on, ... even as a busy man, I availed myself of every opportunity to see the paintings, sculptures, tapestries and buildings that made Europe such a treasurehouse.”⁴³⁸
.....

As the wealth at his disposal grew, this enthusiasm gave rise to the desire to collect works of art. Adolph Lewisohn began with “new art” around 1920.⁴³⁹ A sense of pride resonates in the account in his memoirs when he describes how, guided not by “traditional professional or critical commendation” but by his own judgment, he began to buy the works of artists who were little known at the time. He was still able to acquire a landscape by Monet for \$300 – at the time Lewisohn dictated his memoirs, the painting was already worth \$10,000.
.....

LATER, his collection comprised three Manets (among them “Boy with Soap Bubbles”), four Monets (among them a version of “Waterloo Bridge”), two Pissarros, one Sisley, six Degas, one landscape by Corot, one self-portrait by Courbet, Daumier’s

“Les Buveurs”, one Carrière, one court scene by Forain, five Renoirs, four Gauguins, van Gogh’s “L’Arlésienne”, one Toulouse-Lautrec, three Cézannes, one Seurat, two Rousseaus, three Matissees, three Picassos, and three Derains. In addition, Lewisohn owned one sculpture by Rodin and two by Bourdelle.⁴⁴⁰ But Lewisohn also collected contemporary American art, for example, works by Maurice Sterne, “who was like a court artist to the family”.⁴⁴¹
.....

WHILE the collecting of art was always also a deliberate form of self-representation, a sign of social advancement, and a socially acceptable way of presenting wealth, Lewisohn did not lapse into the strategy of many nouveaux riches: collecting chiefly Old Masters. Moreover, he emphasized that collecting was not an investment for him: “[M]y choice was never affected by ‘speculation’ in art.” He always acquired paintings on the basis of his own reaction: “It is merely fortunate that my judgment has been confirmed by time.” It would appear that he was even honored for his contributions to the recognition of modern French art in the US: “Recently I received the decoration of the Legion of Honor from the French Government, for no better reason that I can see than that I have been one of the pioneers in recognizing the merits of the great modern French painters.”⁴⁴²
.....

IN addition to his significant collection of fine art, Lewisohn also called an impressive book collection his own: ancient Hebrew manuscripts, 13th-century manuscripts, incunabula, numerous early editions from the fifteenth century (e.g., Cicero’s *De Officiis* [Mainz, 1466] or Ptolemy’s *Cosmographia* [Rome, 1478]), including lavishly illustrated



"L'Arlesienne", Vincent van Gogh (1888), today on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City



"Boy With Soap Bubbles", Édouard Manet (1867)



Adolph Lewisohn, by Harrington Mann



The gallery in Lewisohn's townhouse

works (e.g., a copy of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499), and numerous early Bible editions (from 1478 on). Alongside personal and presentation copies, there were autographs by Georg Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Disraeli, Thomas Carlyle, and Paul Jones, and first editions of Erasmus of Rotterdam, Edmund Spenser, Ben Jonson, Milton, as well as Goethe's *Faust* and Lessing's *Nathan*.⁴⁴³

.....
LEWISOHN made gifts of art above all to the Brooklyn Museum: for example, the

sculpture "The Awakening" by Maurice Sterne, "Selina", a bust by Jacob Epstein, and "Eve and the Apple" by Kaj Nielsen, as well as the paintings "The Virgin" by Joseph Stella, "Maternity" and "Man on Horseback" by Alfred-Philippe Roll, "Too late" by Otto de Thoren, "Scene in Venice" by Alfred Smith, and "The Unknown" by M. Savin. He also donated a work ("Le Pouldu Horses and Carts") by his half-brother Raphael Lewisohn who lived in Paris and died there in 1923.⁴⁴⁴

434 *Citizenship*, p. 174 f. – Unfortunately, the pages on which Lewisohn presumably describes the theater performances he saw in Hamburg are missing in the surviving copy of his memoirs.

435 *Ibid.*, pp. 27 and 178 f.

436 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

437 *Ibid.*, pp. 175 ff. and 180. And so we also read *ibid.*, p. 185: "Although I had no such intention when I began these memories, it seems that I have been merely making a catalogue of the things that I enjoyed in my life."

438 *Ibid.*, p. 181.

439 *Ibid.*, p. 182: "About 10 years ago, the French impressionist paintings attracted my interest."

440 On the paintings by French artists in the Lewisohn collection see *Bourgeois, Collection*. On the works that Adolph's son Sam already added to the collection see *Weber, Patron Saints*, p. 53.

441 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

442 *Citizenship*, p. 182 f.

443 See *Catalogue and the article Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 429.

444 *Ibid.*, NYT, May 4, 1923. On Lewisohn's gifts to the museum see: *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, pp. 40, 54 f., 67, 102 and 117.

ADOLPH LEWISOHN AS BENEFACTOR

ADOLPH Lewisohn did not simply want to grow and preserve his private wealth, he also desired to put it to use for the common good and “give something back”: “In my activities, my aim has always been to be constructive; not only to make money for myself or my firm but to bring about improvement for the general public and to be directly or indirectly a factor in development of this country”, for example, by giving jobs to many workers or contributing to the industrial development of the nation. When it came to his businesses, he claimed: “We have made money by being constructive, not harmful.”⁴⁴⁵

ALTHOUGH “making money” was something Adolph Lewisohn was very good at, it was not his sole goal: “I know that, as far as ‘making money’ goes, I have been ‘successful’ ... but I know equally well that, all the time, the accumulation of wealth was not my set deliberate aim, certainly not my conscious purpose as an end to ambition.”⁴⁴⁶ He emphasizes the deep pleasure it provided him to give joy to others: “I must say that I sincerely believe that I have found my greatest happiness ... in the field where one’s aim is not to get, but to give pleasure. To find happiness through giving it to others is, to my mind, not only the highest but the keenest of enjoyments. ... Now that I come to

recall my activities in welfare work, my reader must believe that I am now recalling my own enjoyment rather than bidding for commendation ... I feel again the thrill I felt when it was in my power and became my privilege, to bestow rather than to receive.”⁴⁴⁷ In the chapters of his memoirs devoted to various of his numerous foundations and charitable activities, Lewisohn’s account is accordingly restrained, as he refers to his own functions or recounts how the institutions he supported worked and developed, while the considerable sums he bestowed on them are usually not mentioned.⁴⁴⁸

THE fact that Jews were involved in charitable foundations in disproportionately large numbers and evidently had a pronounced sense of social responsibility is rooted in the Jewish religion, in which great importance is given to the dutiful care for the needy (*tzedakah*), a sense of personal responsibility, community spirit, and altruism (*gemilut chesed*). Wealth is seen as an obligation to provide material and individual help to those in need.⁴⁴⁹ In addition to tradition, however, personal examples also influenced Adolph Lewisohn, for example, the charity of his uncle Sally or the provisions in his father’s last will.

LEWISOHN'S donations were specific and targeted, namely in the fields of art, education, science, medicine, and research, and he also gave to Jewish welfare organizations, though not exclusively to them and never to those with a decidedly religious orientation⁴⁵⁰: "[T]he ... object of my life ... has always been and is now, to do something more than what business represents itself; to do what I can, in the light that I have, to make the world a little better for others, apart from my personal relations to, or connections with, them. My interest in people is not confined to any race, religion, or country; although we naturally take a certain special interest in those who are nearest to us and of our own race or religion. That is why, at an early stage, I began to pay attention to Jewish welfare work, though I soon outgrew that limitation."⁴⁵¹

PHILANTHROPY began to take on a new significance in Adolph Lewisohn's life at the time when he was pushed out of important business positions in Amalgamated, ASARCO, and UMSC.⁴⁵² Although Lewisohn's donations are not comparable to the gigantic foundations of Rockefeller, Carnegie, or Mellon,⁴⁵³ he proved himself a great benefactor already with his countless smaller gifts.⁴⁵⁴ In what follows I will present only his largest donations.

LEWISOHN supported welfare organizations especially if they sought to improve the material condition of the needy through a self-help approach. One example was the Hebrew Free Loan Society, a non-profit organization founded in 1892 by Russian immigrants in the Wilner Synagogue (Henry Street). It dispensed microcredits above all within the Jewish community, and in the

course of time it was a true success story: by the 1990s, the Society had loaned more than one hundred million dollars to more than one million borrowers – in Lewisohn's days with a default rate of less than five per cent.⁴⁵⁵ According to his own account, he contributed "several thousand dollars" to the Free Loan Society together with his brother Leonard and Jacob Schiff.⁴⁵⁶ He also supported the National Thrift Movement, a campaign aimed at teaching people greater thrift and better money management, which grew out of banking circles in 1916 under Charles R. Towson,⁴⁵⁷ and the United Hebrew Charities, an umbrella organization of five German-Jewish organizations (founded in 1874) to support Eastern European immigrants. In 1927, he was awarded a gold medal for his ten-year service as chairman of UHC.⁴⁵⁸

AFTER World War I, more precisely from September 1924 on, he was also among the founders and supporters of The Ort, "a philanthropic organization for the establishment in Europe of trade and agricultural training schools for Jews who had become impoverished in the First World War".⁴⁵⁹ And on the occasion of this seventieth birthday, Lewisohn donated \$150,000 to the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City.⁴⁶⁰ Moreover, he was active on the board of the Young Men's Hebrew Association.

As previously mentioned, one of Lewisohn's most important charitable interests was the welfare of children.⁴⁶¹ Beginning around 1900, he became involved in the practical care for orphans, and he also devoted a lot of attention in his memoirs to his activities in this area.⁴⁶² Presumably it was his

mother's early death that sensitized Lewisohn to the fate of orphans. In Hamburg he had also observed how orphans, under supervision of their wardens, carried collection boxes through the city to provide for their support. As soon as the young boy was able to understand these things, he could not shake the feeling that this was not the right way to treat children.⁴⁶³ Early on he developed an aversion to the traditional institutions: in his memoirs dictated around 1930, Lewisohn tells us that one could see until very recently how children were simply packed together into large barracks – as an institutionalized panacea for the problem that they had no parents.

.....
SALOMON Seligman had first connected Lewisohn to the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society (founded in 1879, it merged with the Jewish Child Care Association in 1942). His steadily growing involvement led to his later becoming its President and Honorary President.⁴⁶⁴ Especially the Orphan Asylum, founded in 1884, was the beneficiary of his support. After studying the issue by looking at comparable institutions in the US and Europe, and advised by well-known social experts like Lee K. Fraenkel and Homer Folks, Lewisohn began to advocate for a reform in the way orphans were cared for.

.....
HE came to believe that orphans should no longer be housed in a large, anonymous building in the overcrowded city, but in the countryside, in a better and more salubrious environment, with the chance to play in the fresh air and “to work on the grounds”. In newly constructed, smaller “cottages”, looked after in small groups in which each orphan should be treated as an individual and

become acquainted with a life that approximated as much as possible the “home life” of an intact family. The result was “Pleasantville” in the hills of Westchester County (New York), thirty miles from the city: eighteen cottages, each of which housed between twenty and twenty-three children. Each cottage had its own kitchen, dining room, library, living room, and piano, and “best of all, its own ‘cottage mother in charge’”. The *asylum* should be replaced by a *home*.⁴⁶⁵ The children were involved in housework and learned to take care of themselves. Great stock was placed on discipline. The grounds had a chapel, an event hall, separate “technical schools” for boys and girls, classrooms – not only for academics, but also for practical classes for woodworking, metal work, electrical work, printing, tailoring, and various office activities – as well as sports fields. Regular medical care was provided by a doctor.⁴⁶⁶

.....
IN his memoirs, Lewisohn emphasized the pleasure it gave him on his visits to Pleasantville to see the happy, well-nourished, and bright-eyed children playing in the fresh air.⁴⁶⁷ Still, Lewisohn was certain that no form of institutional care, however positive its organization, could replace the emotion-based care from the biological mother, which was so important to the development of the child. That is the very reason why Lewisohn also advocated providing material support to widows instead of taking their children away. Over the course of his life, he gave at least \$250,000 to the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society.⁴⁶⁸

.....
FOR forty years (1898–1938), Adolph Lewisohn was a trustee of the Mount Sinai Hospital⁴⁶⁹ – clear testimony that his engage-



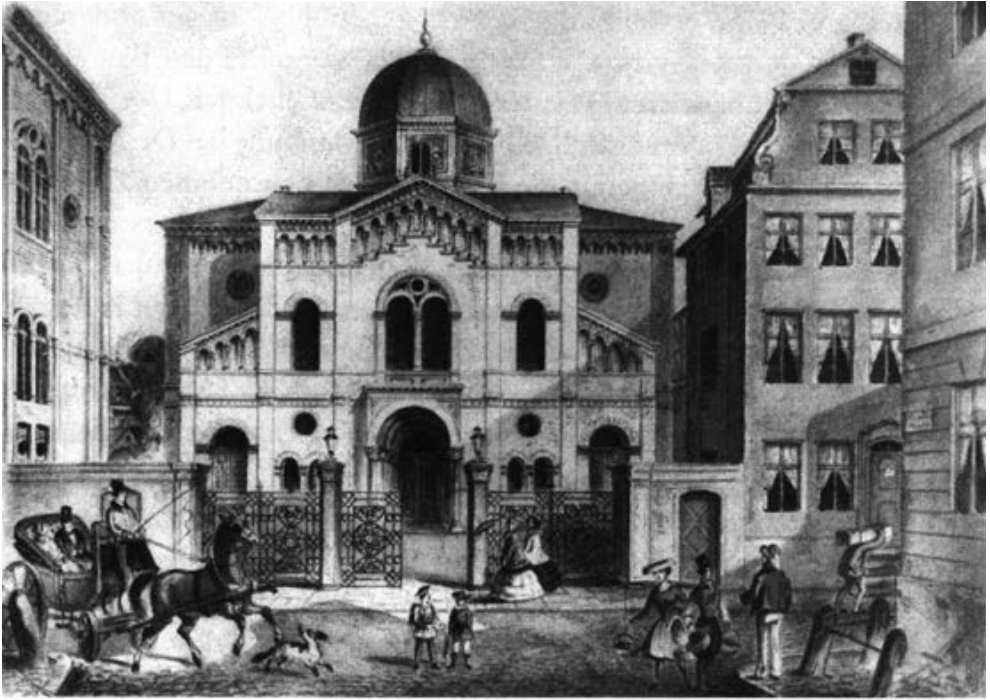
The administrative building and the technical school of the home in Pleasantville



Orphan girls in Pleasantville (ca. 1900)



The Pathology Library in the Adolph Lewisohn Laboratory, Mount Sinai Hospital, New York City



The new house of the Talmud Tora Schule at Kohlhöfen (on the left)

ment was also practical and not merely monetary. Founded in 1852 as the Jewish Hospital, Mount Sinai initially accepted only Jewish patients, but during the Civil War it opened its doors to wounded soldiers of all confessions. Renamed Mount Sinai in 1866, it left its previous building (which had only forty-five beds) in 1872 and moved first to Lexington Avenue, and later to a new building between 99th and 101st Street and between Fifth Avenue and Madison Avenue. Over the years, it grew at that location into the hospital complex that is today an international byword for medical care, training, and research at the highest level.

.....
IN 1904, Adolph Lewisohn donated to Mount Sinai a new pathology lab with the

most modern equipment – its predecessor had occupied no more space than a closet. The lab made possible not only clinical tests and training, but also participation in the bacteriological, serological, and chemical-medical research which had produced such important advances in clinical medicine since the end of the nineteenth century. Lewisohn, who had a high regard for the natural sciences and technical progress, was especially interested in promoting medical research – for a simple reason: “To help sick people is very important”. The total sum of his donations to Mount Sinai came to \$400,000.⁴⁷⁰ He had a great feeling of satisfaction not only about the immediate practical utility of the institution, but also about its growing renown: “It reflects much

credit on the Jewish people of this city that this great hospital has built up an institution that, by its excellent results, commands the admiration and confidence of the public and thus it has been a great satisfaction to me to assist in such a work to a considerable degree.”⁴⁷¹ In the medical field, Lewisohn, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, also established – for \$30,000 – a fellowship at the Wilmer Ophthalmological Institute of Johns Hopkins University. Of a related nature was his membership in the Committee for Lighthouses for the Blind.⁴⁷²

APART from these endeavors, Lewisohn supported above all educational projects. Here, too, he stood within a certain family tradition. Already his uncle Sally had, at the urging of Hamburg’s Chief Rabbi Ansel

Stern, financed the construction of a new school building (Kohlhöfen 19) for the Talmud Tora School. He assumed the construction costs for the building (inaugurated in 1872), which amounted to 27,430 Mark Courant, and dedicated it to the memory of his first daughter, Braina Bertha, who had died young.⁴⁷³

ADOLPH Lewisohn – who also advocated women’s suffrage⁴⁷⁴ – supported especially institutions whose mission was the education of women. For more than twenty-five years, he was vice-president, president, and honorary chairman of the Hebrew Technical School for Girls. He contributed funds to the new building on 15th Street and 2nd Avenue, and he gave the school more than \$140,000 in total donations. Lewisohn



The building of the Columbia School of Mines, donated by Adolph Lewisohn – today Lewisohn Hall



One of Adolph Lewisohn's biggest gifts to the city of New York: the sports stadium named after him

spoke with some pride about this institution, which offered young women technical training free of tuition: "It is very interesting to note that the total earning capacity of the reporting graduates now figures at

\$6,200,000 annually."⁴⁷⁵ That is indeed a remarkable result for 1930.

.....
IN 1913, Lewisohn donated a German library to Hunter College of the City of New

York for Young Women – 1,500 volumes, including a Weimar edition of Goethe’s works. The volumes were handed over in the presence of the German ambassador, von Bernstorff; Andrew Carnegie, Seth Low, and Rudolf Eucken also attended the ceremony. At this “free college”, Lewisohn also partnered with Professor Henry T. Fleck to present free chamber music concerts.⁴⁷⁶

THE educational institutions that Lewisohn supported were not all Jewish – though he did finance a (temporary) lectureship in Jewish Literature at Yale University.⁴⁷⁷ Other universities were also recipients of his generosity. In 1904, he donated \$300,000 to Columbia University for a building of the School of Mines, whereby an interest in the training of experts in his own field of business is likely to have played a role.⁴⁷⁸ In 1925, a bust of the donor was set up in his honor in the building – rubbing its bald head was said to bring students good luck in

their exams; the bust has been missing since 2007.⁴⁷⁹

ONE of Lewisohn’s biggest gifts to the city of New York was the financing of the eponymous stadium of the City College of New York (between West 136th and West 138th Streets and Convent and Amsterdam Avenues). The College, most of whose students came from families with few resources, had no place where to engage in track and field, except for a nearby, untidy construction plot that belonged to the city. Joseph L. Buttenwieser asked Lewisohn if he might donate funds to clean up the space, five or ten thousand dollars. “This was the small end of the wedge”, as Lewisohn later put it. John H. Finley, the president of the College,⁴⁸⁰ picked up the idea, but modified it quite substantially: the existing space was really ideal for building an – amphitheater! Like in Taormina on Sicily. Perhaps the idea appealed to Lewisohn because it was so ex-



From the outset also a place of high culture: the Lewisohn Stadium during a performance of Euripides’ “Trojan Women” on May 29th, 1915

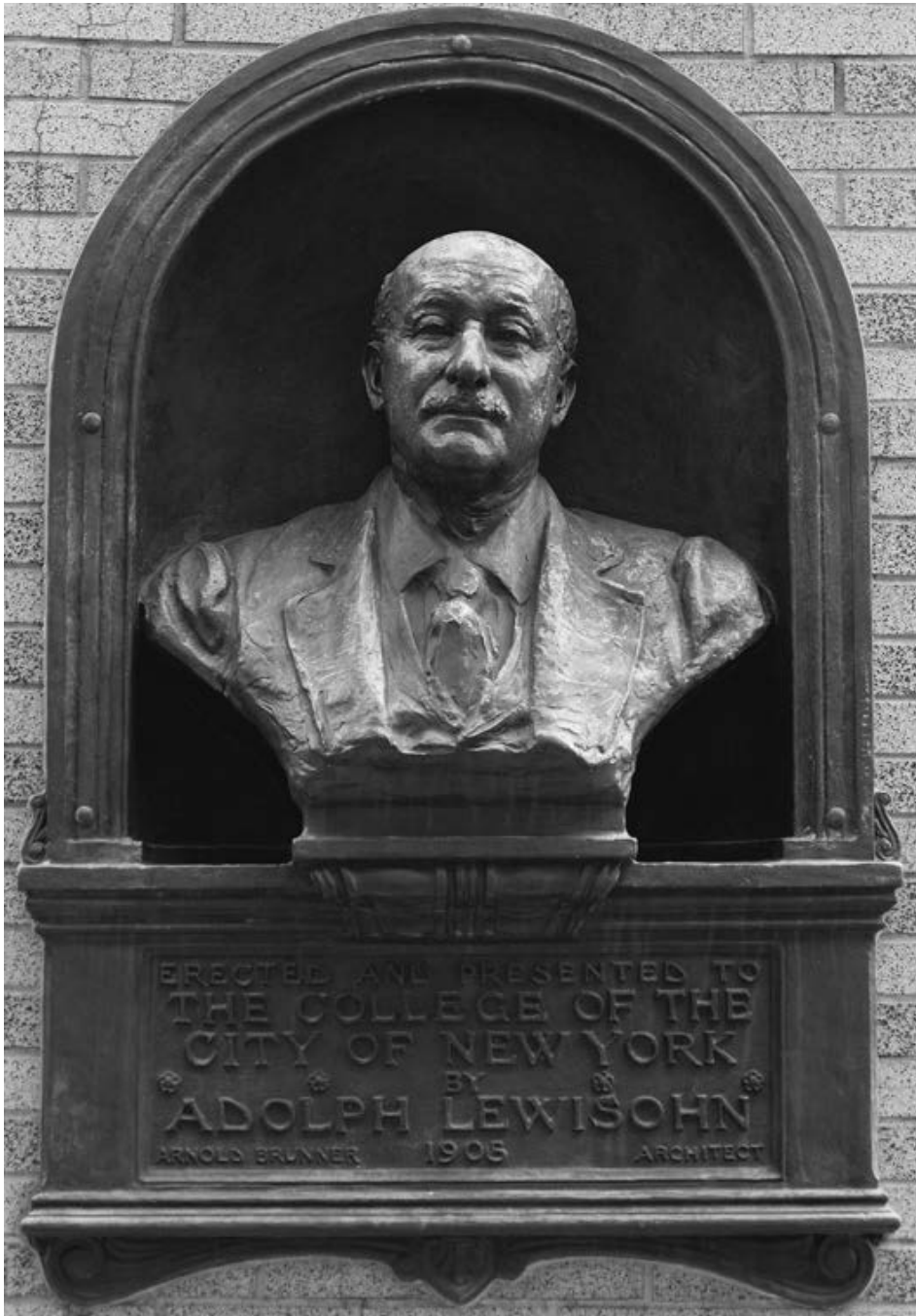


The Lewisohn Stadium in September 1973, a few days before its demolition

travagant. He agreed to build the arena, provided the city would make the land available. The city was only too happy to oblige.

.....
THE \$200,000 dollar structure was built according to plans by Arnold W. Brunner, who had already designed Lewisohn's building for the Columbia School of Mines. Brunner and Finley in Europe had done ini-

tial studies in Europe.⁴⁸¹ Designed as a semi-oval with sixty-four Doric columns and constructed of reinforced concrete, it offered seating for 6,000 spectators and standing room for another 1,500. It encompassed a large field "for football and track athletics and, when flooded in the winter, for skating".⁴⁸² But from the outset, the facility also served cultural purposes: In 1915 it was inaugurated with a theatrical performance of



Bust of Adolph Lewisohn in the library of City College of New York



George Gershwin's portrait drawing of Adolph Lewisohn

Euripides' "Trojan Women" by the Granville Barkers English Players.⁴⁸³

THE arena subsequently became well-known above all for the open-air classical music performances that took place each summer beginning in 1918. It was mostly symphonic music that was played, generally led by Willem van Hoogstraten; attendance was very affordable, as tickets costs between 25 cents and one dollar. In 1930 the average attendance was 5,000–6,000, on some nights there were 10,000–15,000, since one could use the playing field as additional space. By comparison: Carnegie Hall had 2,800 seats, the Metropolitan Opera a little more than 3,000.⁴⁸⁴ The concerts were transmitted on the radio twice a week. Lewisohn always had the desire to make cultural experiences accessible to as many people as possible. For

this he was willing to be unusually generous. All the years down to his death, he contributed to financing the budget of the concerts, and together with other benefactors he made up any shortfalls. The concerts were the favorite child of Lewisohn in his later years. The "Stadium Concerts" would take place until 1966; in 1973, the arena, which was showing its age, was torn down.⁴⁸⁵

ADOLPH Lewisohn's love of music also found expression in numerous concerts that he put on in his own home. In 1934, for example, Albert Einstein performed there at a benefit event for "Berliner Freunde in Not" [Berlin Friends in Need] – Einstein's debut in the US as a "musician". The 264 attendees at the amateur concert each paid twenty-five dollars, among them (always in the company of their wives) were Otto Kahn, Nathan Straus, Jr., Roger Straus, Arthur and Irving Lehman, Felix Warburg, Mrs. Vincent Astor, George Gershwin, and James Speyer.⁴⁸⁶

ADOLPH Lewisohn was active as a benefactor also in Europe. During World War I, he supported the care for blinded soldiers in France, in Frankfurt am Main various hospitals. In his autobiography, he described his charitable activities in the city of his birth only in passing, for example, his donations to the "Israelitischer Unterstützungsverein für Obdachlose von 1884" [The Israelite Association of Support for the Homeless of 1884].⁴⁸⁷ In 1890, the New York brothers Leonard, Adolph, Philip, and Albert set up the "Samuel Lewisohn Stift" in Hamburg (Kleiner Schäferkamp 32) in memory of their father, one of the twenty-eight housing foundations that Jewish donors created in Hamburg between 1838



The house of the Samuel Lewisohn Stiftung at Kleiner Schäferkamp, Hamburg, today

and 1930.⁴⁸⁸ The patron of the foundation was Leonard.⁴⁸⁹

.....
THE foundation was a four-story house with eight free apartments intended for

needy Israelite families from Hamburg, preferably those who had previously lived “in better circumstances” – recipients of poor relief were excluded. Each apartment had four rooms, a kitchen, and a maid’s



The new pavilion of the Israelite Hospital, Hamburg, donated by the Lewisohn brothers

room. Two shops in the basement with an apartment behind them were rented out. At the end of 1906, the capital of the foundation – not counting the plot – amounted to 102,952 Marks.⁴⁹⁰ On a trip in the summer of 1901, Lewisohn inspected the house and provided 1,000 Marks for improvements and beautifications. After his brother's death, Adolph became the patron of the foundation. When it ran into financial difficulties after World War I, Adolph made a donation of 50,000 Marks to ensure that the residents could continue to live there rent-free. It was only from October of 1938, shortly after Adolph's death and after the Germans had handed power to the National Socialists in 1933, that the foundation found itself compelled to charge four Marks a month from each tenant.⁴⁹¹

.....

IN 1938, the “Jüdische Religionsverband Hamburg e.V.” [Jewish Religious Association of Hamburg] became the owner of the property. In August of 1942, the Association was folded into the “Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland” [Reich Association of Jews in Germany], which was under the authority of the Gestapo. The properties of the Reich Association were sold under duress; the buyer was the Hanseatic City of Hamburg, represented by *Reichsstatthalter Kaufmann*.⁴⁹² The house located at Kleiner Schäferkamp became what the Nazi called a *Judenhaus* – one of those overcrowded houses to which Jews who had to vacate their homes and apartments on government orders were forcibly relocated. While twenty-three people had been living there at the end of 1938, in the summer of 1942 there were forty-four, of which only one was an

original resident. All the others had emigrated or had already been deported. July 11th, 15th, and 19th, 1942, then witnessed the transports by which these forty-four were also removed, among them the couple Manfred and Ruth Meiberg, who were ninety-eight and one hundred years old, respectively. The first transport went to Auschwitz, the other two to Theresienstadt.⁴⁹³

.....
LONG before these events, in 1902, the three Lewisohn brothers Julius, Leonard, and Adolph gave the Israelite Hospital in Hamburg 160,000 Marks for the construction and furnishing of two new pavilions, as well as 5,000 Marks for the purchase of new instruments. The donation was done in memory of their parents, Samuel and Julie Lewisohn.⁴⁹⁴ The hospital had been founded in 1839 with a gift from the Jewish banker Salomon Heine, which he gave in memory of his wife Betty (née Goldschmidt), who had died in 1837, and Julius' eldest son, Richard, had been an assistant doctor there.⁴⁹⁵ Its primary purpose was to provide free medical care to indigent Israelite patients. Expanded in 1880 with the addition of a polyclinic, the hospital was soon frequented also by the Christian population of the steadily growing city: at the time the pavilion was built, the population had risen

to 700,000, and the need for medical care was great.⁴⁹⁶ The smaller of the two new pavilions housed a ward for patients with infectious diseases, the larger of the two served to expand the hospital. Leonard did not live to see the inauguration of the building on November 9th, 1902, as he died the previous March.⁴⁹⁷ Julius, too, died around that time.

.....
FINALLY, in 1906/07, Adolph Lewisohn was among the founders of the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung [Hamburg Science Foundation], the germ cell of Hamburg University. He gave \$25,000 (i. e., 100,000 Marks). That made him one of the most generous donors, only the diamond and gold magnate Alfred Beit from London and the Warburg family from Hamburg and New York gave larger amounts.⁴⁹⁸ It is entirely plausible to assume that the donation came at the suggestion of the Warburgs.

.....
HOWEVER, because of their number and size, Adolph Lewisohn's generous gifts did not meet with the unalloyed enthusiasm of his family. When his son complained by saying "Father! You're spending our capital!", he is said to have simply replied: "Who made it?"⁴⁹⁹ Although these words are reported only by Stephen Birmingham, if he made them up, they are very apt.

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- 445 *Citizenship*, p. 171f.
- 446 *Ibid.*, p. 166.
- 447 *Ibid.*, p. 185f.
- 448 *With the exception of the projects he mentions only in passing.*
- 449 *Schwarz, Wohnstifte*, p. 447f.
- 450 *His brother Leonard, on the other hand, had supported the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York with \$100,000, see Adler, Schiff, p. 53. (The NYT, March 6, 1902, speaks of \$50,000.) Already the uncle of Adolph and Leonard, Sally Lewisohn, seems to have been on the founding committee of Esriel Hildesheimer's "Rabbiner-Seminar für das Orthodoxe Judentum" [Rabbinical Seminary for Orthodox Judaism] in Berlin in the early 1870s.*
- 451 *Citizenship*, p. 186.
- 452 *Not without a feeling of pride, Lewisohn recounts an episode with President Roosevelt: "One day in 1908 when we were going to lunch at the White House, he asked my son Sam ... 'Do you help your father in his work?' My son said, 'What work do you refer to? Do you mean mining?' and Roosevelt replied, 'No, in philanthropy.'" Ibid., p. 66.*
- 453 *See, for example, the highly tendentious account in Lundberg, America's 60 Families, p. 320 ff.*
- 454 *This can be readily illustrated with the help of The New York Times editions after 1900, which are also accessible online.*
- 455 *Jackson, Encyclopedia*, p. 536; *Citizenship*, p. 188.
- 456 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
- 457 *Ibid.*, pp. 214–217.
- 458 *Jackson, Encyclopedia*, p. 1213; *NYT*, June 12, 1927.
- 459 *Art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 429; *NYT*, August 18, 1938.
- 460 *Ibid.*, May 29, 1919.
- 461 *Citizenship*, p. 191.
- 462 *Ibid.*, p. 191f.
- 463 *Ibid.*, p. 191.
- 464 *Jackson, Encyclopedia*, p. 619; *Citizenship*, p. 192f.
- 465 *Bogen, Orphans*, p. 168; *Citizenship*, pp. 193f. and 197.
- 466 *Ibid.*, p. 194f. *In 1917, Lewisohn also gave \$1,000 to Louise Wise and the Child Adoption Committee of the Free Synagogue: Urofsky, Voice*, p. 71.
- 467 *Citizenship*, p. 196.
- 468 *Art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 429. – *His brother Leonard had already given the organization \$100,000, art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 465, and *NYT*, March 6, 1902.
- 469 *Hirsh and Doherty, Mount Sinai*, p. 194. – *His brother Leonard was also involved in this institution. He donated \$60,000 to the Montefiore Sanitarium: art. Lewisohn, Leonard*, p. 465, and *NYT*, March 6, 1902.
- 470 *Aufses and Niss, This House*, pp. 373 and 378; *Citizenship*, p. 188f.; *Hirsh and Doherty, Mount Sinai*, p. 195f.
- 471 *Citizenship*, p. 190.
- 472 *Art. Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 429; *Hirsh and Doherty, Mount Sinai*, p. 195; *NYT*, May 27, 1929.

- 473 *The girl was born in 1846 and died already in 1861; StA Hbg. 522-1 Jüdische Gemeinde, 696d, 1846, Nr. 63, and 725i, 1861, Nr. 179; Goldschmidt, Talmud-Tora, p. 109f.; Randt, Talmud Tora Schule, pp. 54–56.*
- 474 *See NYT, April 25, 1914.*
- 475 *Citizenship, p. 200f.; art. Lewisohn, Adolph, p. 429. On Lewisohn's involvement in this school, see also Klapper, Jewish Women.*
- 476 *Art. Lewisohn, Adolph, p. 429; NYT, August 18, 1938; Citizenship, p. 205f.*
- 477 *NYT, May 10, 1910.*
- 478 *Hellman, Lewisohn, p. 384; art. Lewisohn, Adolph, p. 429; Hirsh and Doherty, Mount Sinai, p. 195; Citizenship, p. 202f. – In 1916, Lewisohn was awarded a gold medal by the National Institute of Social Sciences in recognition of his contributions: art. Lewisohn, Adolph, p. 429.*
- 479 *NYT, February 13, 1925; Lewisohn Hall (www.wikicu.com/Lewisohn_Hall, accessed May 12, 2011).*
- 480 *Jackson, Encyclopedia, p. 667.*
- 481 *Art. Lewisohn, Adolph, p. 429; Citizenship, p. 206f.*
- 482 *Jackson, Encyclopedia, p. 667; Citizenship, p. 208.*
- 483 *Jackson, Encyclopedia, p. 667; Citizenship, p. 209; NYT, August 18, 1938.*
- 484 *Citizenship, pp. 210 and 212.*
- 485 *Ibid., p. 213; Jackson, Encyclopedia, p. 667. – On one of his birthdays, the College thanked its benefactor by having a portrait bust of him – the work of Cheater W. Beach – unveiled in the stadium: “This was one of the few occasions in my life when I have been embarrassed”, Citizenship, p. 209.*
- 486 *NYT, January 6 and 18, 1934. – The other musicians were Harriet Cohen, Leon Barzin, Ossip Gissen, and Emil Hilb.*
- 487 *Citizenship, p. 187; on the Association see Joachim, Handbuch, p. 439f.*
- 488 *Hauschild-Thiessen, Adolph Lewisohn, p. 235; Joachim, Handbuch, p. 318; Stein, Baudenkmäler, p. 115; Citizenship, p. 187; Schwarz, Wohnstifte, p. 447. In 1909 there were 66 housing foundations in Hamburg – twenty-two came from Jewish benefactors, though Jews made up only 1.9 per cent of the population, *ibid.*, p. 448.*
- 489 *StA Hbg., 522-1 Jüdische Gemeinden, Nr. 782, Protokollbuch der Samuel-Lewisohn-Stiftung, pp. 1, 10, and 30. – Prior to that, Leonard had already supported the Talmud Tora-Realschule in Hamburg with monetary gifts (he gave 5,000 Marks each in the school years 1899/1900 and 1900/01 to finance one tuition-free spot at the school, the first in memory of his son, Selig Samuel, the second in memory of his wife Rosalie), as well as the Israelitischer Unterstützungsverein für Obdachlose [Israelite Association for Support for the Homeless], StA Hbg., ZAS, A 761, Lewisohn, Leonhard: Ausschnitt aus den Hamburger Nachrichten Nr. 56 (7. März 1901).*
- 490 *Hauschild-Thiessen, Adolph Lewisohn, p. 235; Joachim, Handbuch, p. 318; Stein, Baudenkmäler, p. 115; Citizenship, p. 187.*
- 491 *StA Hbg., 522-1 Jüdische Gemeinden, Nr. 782, Protokollbuch der Samuel-Lewisohn-Stiftung, pp. 27 and 76 (Sitzung vom 20. Juni 1920); Hauschild-Thiessen, Adolph Lewisohn, p. 238.*
- 492 *Hauschild-Thiessen, Adolph Lewisohn, p. 239f.*
- 493 *Ibid., p. 240; Mosel, Wegweiser, p. 24.*
- 494 *Hauschild-Thiessen, Adolph Lewisohn, p. 235; Citizenship, p. 187; Krankenhaus, p. 3f.*
- 495 *In Citizenship, p. 187, the hospital is called “Henie Hospital” – a spelling error, as it should say Heine Hospital, after the donor.*
- 496 *Lindemann, 140 Jahre, pp. 14, 36, and 42f.*
- 497 *Ibid., p. 50f.; Hauschild-Thiessen, Adolph Lewisohn, p. 235.*
- 498 *Gerhardt, Begründer, p. 25; art. Lewisohn, Adolph, p. 429; Citizenship, p. 187: “I gave 100,000 marks towards a scientific building” – that is how vaguely Lewisohn remembers the purpose of his gift, in spite of the sizeable sum involved.*
- 499 *Birmingham, Our Crowd, p. 343.*
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EPILOGUE

THE son's fear that the family might be ruined was prompted not only by the gifts his father made. Not only did Adolph Lewisohn like a more than comfortable life, as attested already by his city mansion and his three country retreats; the family's wealth was also never as great as the public assumed.⁵⁰⁰ But above all there were the expensive friends Lewisohn surrounded himself with after his wife's death on July 28, 1916, and a generosity of the old man that bordered on wastefulness. As Lewisohn put it in his 1930 memoirs: "Now that there is no longer any special reason for me to be thrifty or to hoard or conserve, I like to put my money to work by employing those who need employment or in affording entertainment and cheerful surroundings to others. My theory is that if you no longer need money for any specific objective, don't keep it for fear of wasting it; find use for it somewhere – or give it away."⁵⁰¹ And he seems to have acted that way.

.....
 ESPECIALLY the New Year's Eve festivities in the Lewisohn home became legendary: rollicking parties where soon nobody checked admittance, which swelled to as many as a thousand guests, where gatecrashers from all over New York came to enjoy a fabulous evening, stuffing themselves and drinking champagne while being able to

gawk at the grandees of Wall Street, Broadway, and Park Avenue, with a full dance orchestra playing on the balcony of the enormous ballroom. Some would also stuff their pockets.⁵⁰²

.....
 THESE evenings, when the city invaded the house, were a horror to the family. They found it especially hard to watch the old man enjoying himself in the company of platinum-blond beauties on these occasions. Not only that some of these women were, in the eyes of the family, terribly vulgar, on top of it all there was the danger of a new, late marriage.⁵⁰³ Moreover, these appearances gave the old Lewisohn the reputation of being a "playboy" – namely the first of the Crowd,⁵⁰⁴ though not the last.

.....
 MOST of the time, Lewisohn remained an observer on the sidelines, the only one among his 500 invited guests not in costume.⁵⁰⁵ He treated the family members present with high-handed disinterest, and surrounded himself instead – also on this occasion – with the circle of dependent hangers-on who followed him from New York to Palm Beach, from Palm Beach to Elberon, from Elberon to the Adirondacks, and back to New York. Regulars at dinner were a pianist and his wife, an architect, as well as several singers and economists. In the eyes of



A late portrait of Adolph Lewisohn

the family, they catered to the old man with the practiced professionalism of nurses.

.....
IN addition to the expensive friends there was also the steadily growing host of the old man's domestics and employees: a chauffeur, an army of gardeners, a private secretary, a shorthand typist, a butler, a cook, a French teacher, a dancing instructor, and a singing teacher. And a private hair stylist, who did have a monthly salary of \$300, but regularly received checks for more than \$500 – or Impressionist paintings, or a Buick.⁵⁰⁶

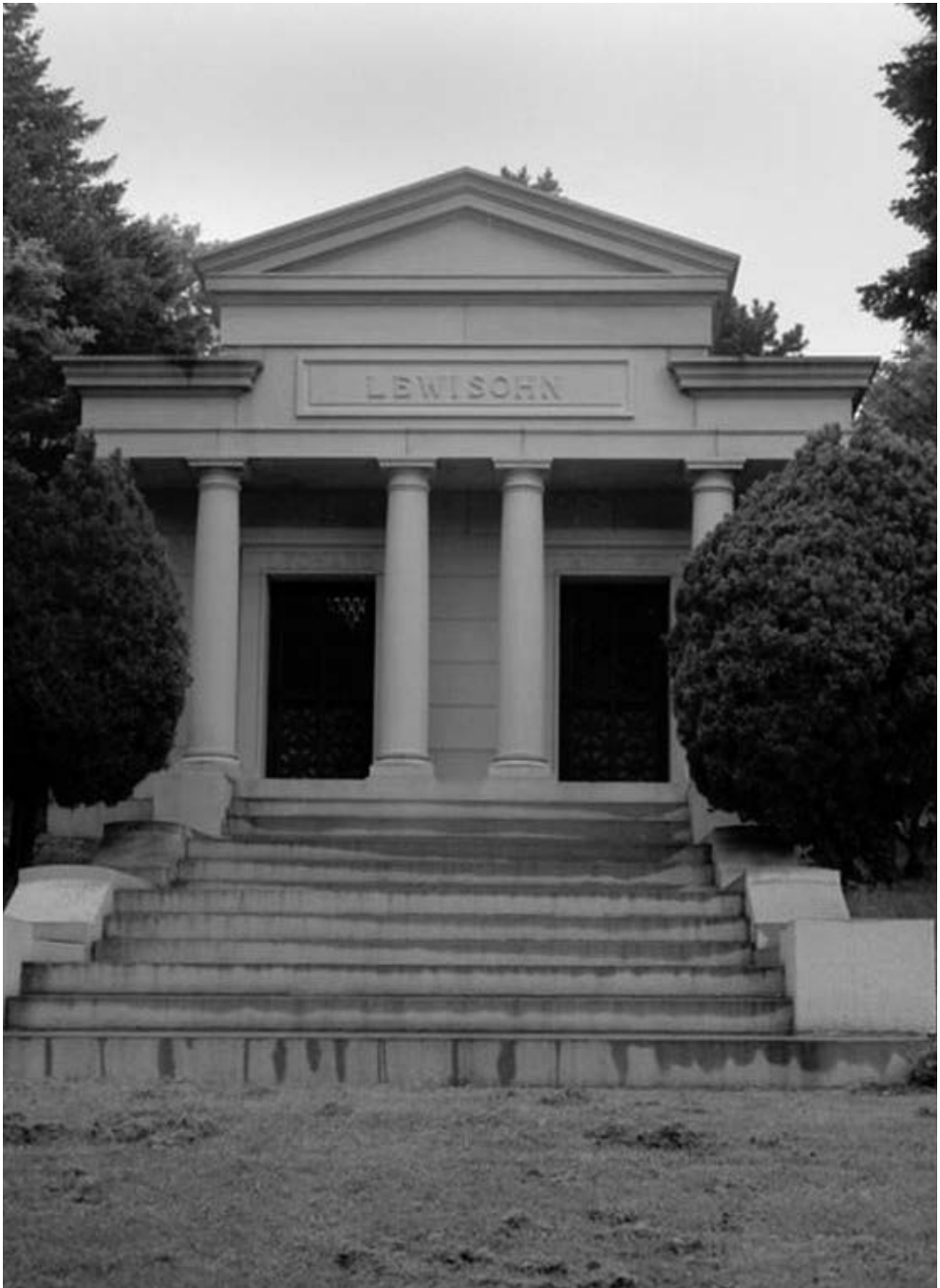
.....
ADOLPH Lewisohn traveled, lived, and behaved like an Oriental potentate, a little king, even though financially he had never been in the same league as Rogers or the Guggenheims. Nor did he alter his lifestyle during the global economic crisis.⁵⁰⁷ And he demonstrated enormous vigor and vitality well into old age: on his very last birthday, when he turned eighty-nine, one could see Adolph Lewisohn tap dancing when the festivities had reached the early morning hours.⁵⁰⁸

.....
THE heart attack that Adolph suffered on August 17, 1938, in his camp on Lake Saranac came as a surprise. His death was reported on the front page of the *New York Times*. The memorial service was held at Temple Emanu-El, and he was buried in the family's mausoleum in Salem Fields Cemetery in Brooklyn.⁵⁰⁹ The estate that was passed on to his family amounted to "only" three million dollars. Eight years before, the family had still been expecting thirty million. In addition to Lewisohn's charitable donations and other kinds of generosity, the Great Depression that began in 1929 is likely to have played its part in diminishing his

wealth. The primary heir was his son Sam. The other relatives received non-cash inheritances: jewelry or the valuable library, which was then auctioned off.⁵¹⁰

.....
SAM succeeded his father on many boards and also carried on his philanthropic activities in many fields, especially in the area of prison reform. He likewise wrote books about modern corporate management. And he became even more renowned than his father as an art connoisseur and art collector.⁵¹¹ His marriage to Margaret Seligman produced four daughters: Marjorie Greta Lewisohn (1918–2006) became a doctor and the first female trustee of Johns Hopkins University.⁵¹² Joan Emma L. Crowell (1921–2015) was a writer; her first marriage was to the sculptor Sidney Simon, her second to David G. Crowell, a man of many talents and a successful artist.⁵¹³ Elizabeth Ann L. Eisenstein (1923–2016) became a professor of History at the University of Michigan; her husband was the physics professor Julian Calvert Eisenstein. The fourth daughter, Virginia L. Kahn (1925–2018), married the psychiatrist Dr. Ernest Kahn.⁵¹⁴

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IN her book *Portrait of a Father*, Joan Simon, writing from the perspective of a child and simultaneously with a child's pitilessness, has given us, in the form of a novel, a somewhat spooky and not very flattering portrait of her grandfather, who seems to have remained throughout his life a stranger to his granddaughters. He occupied the second floor of the large house he had bought for his family, where his son and his wife had moved in and where the four granddaughters grew up.⁵¹⁵ Every evening and always around three minutes past six, the children, seated at the dinner table, would hear the



Adolph Lewisohn's tomb in the Salem Fields Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York

elevator descend in the sumptuous hall of the house and the approach of their grandfather's shuffling steps. Spellbound and silent they would watch as he briefly greeted the domestics, sat down in an armchair, and proceed to read to them, in a completely unintelligible, thick accent, from a small black book he rested on his round belly. He was completely deaf to the children, even as they were intensely aware of him, his scent of allspice oil, his figure, and his movements – in Joan's words, like "a turtle standing on its hind legs". To them he was an unquestioned part of the house, like the old, unused furniture. It never crossed their minds that he could be their father's father.

.....

ON these occasions, the grandfather never spoke directly to his granddaughters, but disappeared with a greeting to the servants. Years would pass before they realized who this man was. Others pointed it out to them, they themselves never having asked about it. They understood that he had made a name for himself, a name that would also accompany them unchanging even after they had gotten married, and which still made their children above all his great-grandchildren. And it would be years before they figured out what he had read to them every evening: the little volume was an engagement book, and what they had heard where his appointments for that week.⁵¹⁶

.....

IN 1901, Adolph Lewisohn's daughter Adele had married the banker Arthur Lehman, the son of Mayer and Babette Lehman. The couple had three daughters: the oldest, Dorothy (1903–1969) married the investment banker Richard J. Bernhard in 1923 (a partner of Wertheim & Co.); the second, Helen (1905–1989) married Benjamin J.



Adolph Lewisohn with the daughters of his son Sam

Butenwieser (of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.); and Frances (born in 1906) wed the banker John Loeb (born 1902)⁵¹⁷ in 1926. Both Frances and John Loeb died in 1996. Before their death, the couple gave more than seventy million dollars to Harvard University, one of the largest single donations in that school's history.⁵¹⁸ The marriages of Adolph Lewisohn's descendants, too, attest emphatically to how deeply the family is entrenched within the American upper class.

.....

ADOLPH Lewisohn's memoirs are entitled "The Citizenship of Adolph Lewisohn". And that is precisely what they were about: Lewisohn's path to America, his life as a businessman, and his civic engagement.

About himself he said: "Sixty years and more in America have made me a good American citizen, but of course I never lost my love for The Fatherland (Vaterland) or my interest in its welfare. Nevertheless I am what they call '100%' American. I have felt an affectionate pride in seeing my country grow, and perhaps, a little personal pride in thinking that our business has contributed somewhat to the wealth and upbuilding of the United States."⁵¹⁹

.....
ALREADY on his seventieth birthday in 1919, New York mayor John F. Hylan, in a ceremony before five hundred guests, pre-

sented Adolph Lewisohn with a large American flag in recognition of his services; on his eighty-fifth birthday, Lewisohn received greetings from President Franklin D. Roosevelt.⁵²⁰ And less than a decade later, the name "Adolph Lewisohn" was given to one of the countless freighters which, during World War II, carried the industrial goods of America that were vital to the war to Europe and the Pacific. These "Liberty Ships" served to restore liberty to the nations of Europe, and democracy to the Germans, for which many had still been willing to sacrifice their lives the year Adolph Lewisohn was born.⁵²¹

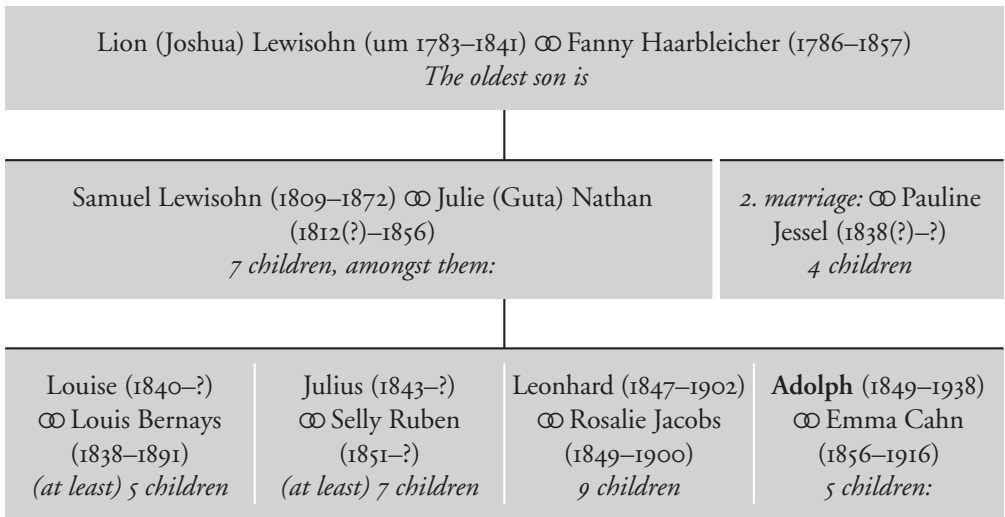


The freighter originally named after Adolph Lewisohn in a convoy southeast of Chesapeake Bay, February 1944

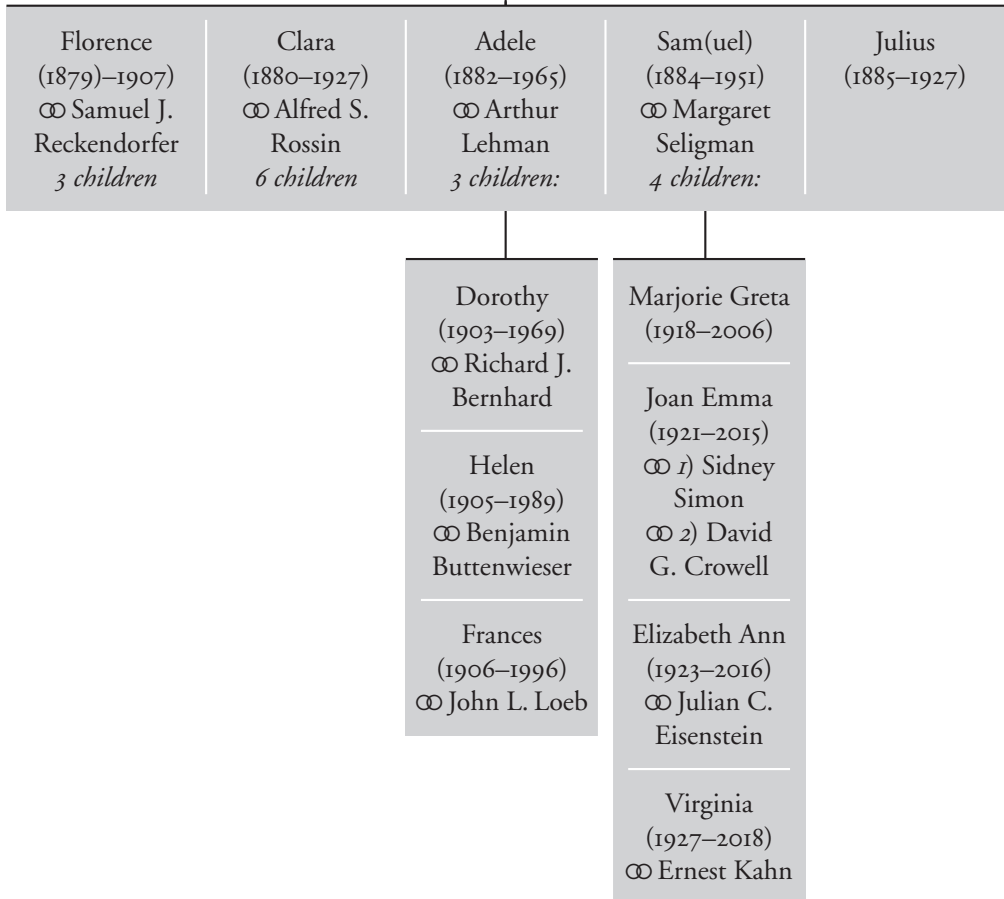
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- 500 Hellman, *Lewisohn*, p. 384.
501 *Citizenship*, p. 217.
502 Simon, *Portrait*, pp. 29 f. and 35.
503 *Ibid.*, pp. 29 f., 34, and 40 f.; see also Loeb, *Lifetime*, p. 36.
504 Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, p. 268.
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508 *Ibid.* See also Loeb, *Lifetime*, p. 36 (though here it is a New Year's Eve party).
509 NYT, August 18, 1938; Hellman, *Lewisohn*, p. 384.
510 *Ibid.*; Birmingham, *Our Crowd*, p. 361; NYT, January 26, 1940.
511 Art. *Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 263 f.; Weber, *Patron Saints*.
512 NYT, October 3, 2006.
513 *Ibid.*, December 18, 1972.
514 On the given names see the article *Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 264.
515 Simon, *Portrait*, pp. 17 f. and 21.
516 *Ibid.*, p. 3 ff.
517 Loeb, *Lifetime*, p. 28.
518 NYT, March 15, 1995.
519 *Citizenship*, p. 232 f.
520 Art. *Lewisohn, Adolph*, p. 429; NYT, July 21 and 22, 1919, and August 18, 1938, pp. 1 and 19.
521 *Ibid.*, October 7, 1943, p. 11: "Cargo Ship *Lewisohn* launched." *Lewisohn's* daughter Adele had defrayed the costs of building the ship.
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APPENDICES

FAMILY TREE (EXCERPTS)



Adolph Lewisohn ⚭ Emma Cahn



ADOLPH LEWISOHN: BIOGRAPHICAL TIMELINE

- 27 May 1849 Born as the son of the Hamburg merchant Samuel Lewisohn
- 1856 His mother dies
- 1860 His father remarries
- 1867 Adolph Lewisohn follows his brothers Julius and Leonard to New York to work in the branch of his father's business
- 1872 His father dies; Julius Lewisohn returns to Germany and takes over his father's business
- 1878 Marriage to Emma Cahn
- 1878 Entry into the copper trade
- 1879 Acquisition of the "Colusa" mine in Butte (Montana)
- 1885 Expansion of the copper trade
- 1887 Lewisohn Bros. breaks away from the main house in Hamburg; founding of the Boston & Montana Consolidated Copper and Silver Mining Company jointly with Joseph W. Clark and Albert S. Bigelow; involvement in the M. Secretans Syndicate
- 1888 Construction of the Smelting Works at Great Falls
- 1899 Founding of the Amalgamated Copper Company and ASARCO
- 1900 Founding of the United Metals Selling Company
- 1901 The Guggenheims take over the leadership of ASARCO
- 5 March 1902 Death Leonard Lewisohn
- 1915 Opening of the Lewisohn Stadium in New York
- 1920 The New York Prison Survey Committee publishes its Report
- 17 August 1938 Death of Adolph Lewisohn

SOURCES, LITERATURE AND PHOTO CREDITS

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 Loeb Jr., John L. (pp. 76, 79 bottom)
 Loeb, Frances L.; Libo, Kenneth: All in a Lifetime. A Personal Memoir, New York, 1996 (p. 80)
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 Reckford, Sam (p. 131)
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INDEX

Listed are the names of individuals and families mentioned in chapters 1–10. Footnotes have been left out, as has the name Adolph Lewisohn. A * indicates that the page also has a picture of the individual in question.

-
- Armour, Philip 33
- Arthur, Charles A. 96
- Astor, Caroline 30, 74
- Astor, Helen (née Huntington) 122
-
- Barker, Granville 122
- Beit, Alfred 125
- Berenberg-Gossler, Cornelius v. 97
- Berenberg-Gossler, Nadine v. (née v. Oesterreich) 97
- Bernays, Isaac. 24
- Bernays, Louis 24
- Bernays, Louise (née Lewisohn) 17, 24, 33
- Bernhard, Dorothy (née Lehman) 132
- Bernhard, Richard J. 132
- Bernheimer, L. S. 65
- Bernstorff, Johann Heinrich v. 119
- Bigelow, Albert S. 48, 49
- Birmingham, Stephen 13, 125
- Bourdelle, Émile-Antoine 105
- Brahms, Johannes 105
- Brunner, Arnold W. 120
- Butler, Nicholas M. 95
- Buttenwieser, Benjamin J. 132
- Buttenwieser, Helen (née Lehman) 132
- Buttenwieser, Joseph L. 119
-
- Cahn, Abraham 75
- Cahn, Emma M. (see Emma Lewisohn)
- Cahn, Theresa 75
- Calvé, Emma 104
- Carlyle, Thomas 110
- Carnegie, Andrew 10, 30, 47, 112, 119
- Carrière, Eugène 105
- Caruso, Enrico 104
- Cézanne, Paul 105
- Channing, J. Parke 55
- Cicero 105
- Clark, Joseph W. 48, 49
- Cleveland, Grover 94
- Cleveland, Frances (née Folsom) 94
- Cooke, Jay 11
- Coolidge, Calvin 96
- Coolidge, Grace Anna (née Goodhue) 96
- Corot, Camille 105
- Couch, Thomas 44, 48
- Coulter, William L. 80
- Courbet, Gustave 105
- Crowell, David G. 130
- Crowell, Joan Emma (née Lewisohn) 130, 132
- Crowley, Alice (née Lewisohn) 65
- Crowley, Herbert E. 65
-
- Daly, Marcus 44, 58, 59
- Damrosch, Leopold 104
- Distin, William 80
- Daumier, Honoré 105
- Degas, Edgar 105
- Derain, André 105
- Dillon, Sidney 45
- Disraeli, Benjamin 110
- Douglas, James 42
- Douglas jr., James 46
- Drew, Daniel 11
-
- Edison, Thomas 36
- Einstein, Albert 122
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth (née Lewisohn) 130

- Eisenstein, Julian C. 130
 Embden, Charlotte (née Heine) 34
 Epstein, Jacob 110
 Erasmus of Rotterdam 110
 Eucken, Rudolf 119

 Fels (Dr.) 23
 Finley, John H. 119, 120
 Fisk, Jim 11
 Fleck, Henry T. 119
 Folks, Homer 113
 Forain, Jean-Louis 105
 Fox, J. Betram 105
 Fraenkel, Lee K. 113
 Franklin, Benjamin 110

 Garfield, James A. 94
 Gauguin, Paul 105
 Gershwin, George 122
 Gerster, Etelka 104
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang v. 110
 Gogh, Vincent van 105, 108
 Goldschmidt, Betty (see Betty Heine)
 Goldsmith, Blume (née v. Millingen) 17
 Goldsmith, Salomon 17
 Gould, Jay 11
 Grant, Ulysses S. 94
 Guggenheim, Daniel 62*, 95
 Guggenheim, Isaac 62
 Guggenheim, Meyer 62*
 Guggenheim, Murry 62
 Guggenheim, Peggy 78
 Guggenheim, Salomon 62
 Guggenheim, Simon 62

 Haarleicher, Hannchen (see Hannchen
 Oppermann)
 Haarleicher, Raphael Samuel 17
 Haarleicher, Sara(h) (née Goldsmith) 17
 Haggin, James Ben Ali 44, 54, 58
 Harding, Warren G. 96
 Harriman, Edward H. 11
 Harriman, Mary (née Williamson Averell) 77
 Harrison, Benjamin 96
 Hearst, George 44
 Heine, Betty (née Goldschmidt) 125
 Heine, Charlotte (see Charlotte Embden)
 Heine, Heinrich 35
 Heine, Salomon 125
 Henry, Charles S. 64, 65
 Henry, Florine 65
 Henry, Julia (née Lewisohn) 65
 Henry, Philip S. 65
 Hill, James J. 11, 45
 Hirsch, Baron Maurice de 54
 Homberger, Jennie (see Jennie Kraus)
 Homberger, Meyer 65
 Hoogstraten, William van 122
 Hoover, Herbert 96
 Hughes, Charles E. 96
 Hugo, Victor 99
 Huntington, Collis B. 11
 Hyland, John F. 133

 Israel 30

 Jacobs, Aaron 65
 Jacobs, Rosalie (see Rosalie Lewisohn)
 Jacobsen, Friedrike (née Lewisohn) 22, 34
 Jessel, Henriette (née Lazarus) 17
 Jessel, Isaac 17
 Jones, Paul 110
 Jonson, Ben 110

 Kahn, Ernest 130
 Kahn, Otto 80, 122
 Kahn, Virginia (née Lewisohn) 130
 Kaufmann, Karl 124
 Koref, Marcus 23
 Kraus, Adolf 88
 Kraus, Jennie (née Homberger) 65
 Kraus, Maurice J. 65
 Kraus, Selma (see Selma Lewisohn)

 Lawson, Thomas W. 58, 59, 60, 63, 64
 Lehman, Adele (née Lewisohn) 77, 78, 79*, 80,
 132
 Lehman, Arthur 77, 122, 132
 Lehman, Babette (née Neugass) 77, 132
 Lehman, Dorothy (see Dorothy Bernhard)
 Lehman, Helen (see Helen Buttenwieser)
 Lehman, Herbert H. 77
 Lehman, Irving 77, 122
 Lehman, Mayer 77, 132
 Lehmann, Lilli 104
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim 110
 Lewisohn, Adele (see Adele Lehman)
 Lewisohn, Albert Nachmann 17, 55, 65, 122

- Lewisohn, Alice (see Alice Crowley)
- Lewisohn, Audrey 65
- Lewisohn, Braina Bertha 117
- Lewisohn, Cäcilie 34
- Lewisohn, Carl 34
- Lewisohn, Clara (see Clara Rossin)
- Lewisohn, Edna (née McCauley) 65
- Lewisohn, Edna (née May) 65
- Lewisohn, Elizabeth Ann (see Elizabeth Eisenstein)
- Lewisohn, Emma (née Cahn) 75, 76*, 77, 128
- Lewisohn, Evelyn 65
- Lewisohn, Fanny (née Haarbreicher) 17, 18, 22
- Lewisohn, Florence (see Florence Reckendorfer)
- Lewisohn, Florine (see Florine Henry)
- Lewisohn, Frances (see Frances Loeb)
- Lewisohn, Frederick 65
- Lewisohn, Friederike (Daughter of Samuel) 17, 22
- Lewisohn, Friedrike (Sister of Samuel) (see Friederike Jacobsen)
- Lewisohn, Henriette 17
- Lewisohn, Irene 65
- Lewisohn, Isaac 34
- Lewisohn, Jacob 34
- Lewisohn, Jehuda Leon 34
- Lewisohn, Jesse 65
- Lewisohn, Joan Emma (see Joan Crowell)
- Lewisohn, Joseph John 18
- Lewisohn, Julia (see Julia Henry)
- Lewisohn, Julie (née Nathan) 17, 125
- Lewisohn, Julius (Brother of Adolph) 17, 24, 30, 32, 34, 35, 46, 125
- Lewisohn, Julius (Sohn of Adolph) 77
- Lewisohn, Klara 17
- Lewisohn, Leon 36
- Lewisohn, Leon (Frau) 36
- Lewisohn, Leon(h)ard 13, 17, 18, 23, 24, 30, 32, 46, 49, 52, 55, 57, 60, 61, 63, 64*, 65, 75, 112, 122, 123, 125
- Lewisohn, Leopold 17
- Lewisohn, Lillie (see Lillie Vogel)
- Lewisohn, Lion (Leonhard) Phil(l)ip 17
- Lewisohn, Louise (see Louise Bernays)
- Lewisohn, Margaret V. (née Seligman) 77, 88, 130
- Lewisohn, Marjorie Greta 130
- Lewisohn, Neumann 17, 34
- Lewisohn, Oscar 65
- Lewisohn, Pauline (née Jessel) 17, 34, 35
- Lewisohn, Pauline (see Pauline Norden)
- Lewisohn, Philip (Sohn of Samuel) 17, 49, 55, 122
- Lewisohn, Philip (Brother of Samuel) 34
- Lewisohn, Raphael 17, 110
- Lewisohn, Rhoda (née Seligman) 65
- Lewisohn, Richard 125
- Lewisohn, Rosalie (née Jacobs) 65
- Lewisohn, Sally 17, 20, 22, 23, 34, 111
- Lewisohn, Sam(uel) A. 68, 77, 79*, 88, 125, 130, 132
- Lewisohn, Samuel 10, 13, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 34, 35, 46, 90, 122, 125
- Lewisohn, Selly 17
- Lewisohn, Selly (née Ruben) 35
- Lewisohn, Selma (née Kraus) 65
- Lewisohn, Virginia (see Virginia Kahn)
- Lewisohn, Walter 65
- Lind, Jenny 104
- Littlefield, Daniel 47
- Livermore, Thomas 54
- Loeb, Frances (née Lewisohn) 78, 132
- Loeb, Guta (see Guta Seligman)
- Loeb, John 132
- Loeb, Nina (see Nina Warburg)
- Low, Seth 119
- Lucca, Pauline 104
-
- Magnus 30
- Manet, Édouard 105, 106
- Mann, Harrington 106
- Matisse, Henri 105
- May, Edna (see Edna Lewisohn)
- May, Simon 20, 23
- McAllister, Ward 30
- McCauley, Edna (see Edna Lewisohn)
- McCoy, J. C. 47, 48
- McKinley, William 94
- Meader, Charles T. 42
- Meiberg, Manfred 125
- Meiberg, Ruth 125
- Mellon, Andrew William 112
- Metcalf, Henry B. 75
- Meyerbeer, Giacomo 104
- Milton, John 110
- Mitchel, John P. 95
- Monet, Claude 105
- Montagu, Sir Samuel (Baron Swaythling) 91
- Moore, John 61
- Morgan, John Pierpont 10, 30, 56, 61, 89

- Morrow, Dwight W. 95
Munk, Elias 34
.....
Nathan, Israel 17
Nathan, Julie (see Julie Lewisohn)
Nathan, Nanette (née Cohn) 17, 21, 35
Neugass, Babette (see Babette Lehman)
Nielsen, Kaj 110
Nilsson, Christine 104
Norden, Pauline (née Lewisohn) 34
.....
Oppermann, Hannchen (née Haarbleicher) 34
.....
Patti, Adelina 104
Pfeiffer, Heinrich 34
Picasso, Pablo 105
Pissarro, Camille 105
Placzek, Baruch 23
Poliphili 110
Ptolemy 105
.....
Raht, August 44
Reckendorfer, Florence (née Lewisohn) 77
Reckendorfer, Samuel J. 77
Renoir, Auguste 105
Rockefeller, John D. 10, 11, 30, 56, 57, 58, 112
Rockefeller, William G. 57, 58*, 63
Rogers, Henry Huttleston 57*, 58, 59, 61, 63, 130
Rodin, Auguste 105
Roll, Alfred-Philippe 110
Roosevelt, Franklin D. 133
Roosevelt, Theodore 88, 94, 95, 96, 99
Rossin, Alfred S. 77
Rossin, Clara (née Lewisohn) 77, 78*
Rousseau, Henri 105
Ruben, Elias Levy 35
Ruben, Rosa (née Salinger) 35
Ruben, Selly (see Selly Lewisohn)
.....
Salinger, Rosa (see Rosa Ruben)
Savin, M. 110
Schiff, Frieda (see Frieda Warburg)
Schiff, Jacob H. 85, 89*, 95, 97, 112
Schley, Grant 61
Schubert, Franz 105
Schumann, Robert 105
Schurz, Carl 36
Schwab, Charles M. 47
Scott, Thomas A. 11
Seaman, Charles C. 63
Secretan, Hyacinthe 52, 53, 54
Seligman, Guta (née Loeb) 77
Seligman, Henry M. 65
Seligman, Isaac N. 77, 88
Seligman, Jesse 65
Seligman, Joseph 90
Seligman, Margaret V. (see Margaret V. Lewisohn)
Seligman, Rhoda (see Rhoda Lewisohn) 65
Seligman, Salomon 113
Sembrich, Marcella 104
Seurat 105
Simon, Joan (see Joan Crowell)
Simon, Sidney 130
Sisley, Alfred 105
Smith, Alfred 110
Sola Mendes, Frederick de 75
Sonnenschein, Salomon H. 23
Spenser, Edmund 110
Speyer, James 122
Stella, Joseph 110
Stern, Ansel 34, 35, 117
Sterne, Maurice 105, 110
Straus, Nathan jr. 122
Straus, Oscar S. 88
Straus, Roger 122
Stillman, James 57
.....
Taft, William H. 14, 95
Thomas, Theodore 104
Thoren, Otto de 110
Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri de 105
Towson, Charles R. 112
Travers (Chamber Syndicate) 44
Twain, Mark 29
Tweed, William 32
.....
Vanderbilt, Alva 30
Vanderbilt, Cornelius 11
Verdi, Giuseppe 104
Villard, Henry 11
Vogel, Lillie (née Lewisohn) 65
Vogel, Martin 65
.....
Wachtel, Theodor 104
Wagner, Richard 104
Warburg, Felix 77, 122
Warburg, Frieda (née Schiff) 77
Warburg, Nina (née Loeb) 77

Warburg, Paul 77
Washington, George 110
Wilhelm II. 87, 94

Wilson, Woodrow 88, 95
Witte, Sergej 89

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