



Alexander Neibaur photograph, date unknown. The image was published in the April 1914 issue of the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*.

“A Mormon and Still a Jew”: The Life of Alexander Neibaur

Fred E. Woods

Alexander Neibaur was a man of many talents. An educated man and gifted poet, he was fluent in seven languages. One account describes Neibaur as “a small thin man, with a round ruddy face, [with] sharp eyes.”¹ He was also unusual inasmuch as he was Utah’s first dentist and matchmaker, and the first known male Jewish convert to Mormonism; and he left the only known contemporary diary account of Joseph Smith’s first vision experience. Neibaur was also a good family man, honest and loyal, and a kind friend and trusted neighbor, not only to fellow Church members but also to those who did not share his religious beliefs, especially Utah’s few Jewish migrants.

Alexander Neibaur was born on January 8, 1808, into a well-educated home in Ehrenbreitstein, Germany, located on the Rhine River in what is currently a suburb of the city of Koblenz.² He immigrated to Preston, England, in 1830. His mother, Rebecca Peretz, was a French Jewess, and his father, Joseph Nathan Neibaur, an educated Polish Jew, was a physician and served for a time as an interpreter and linguist to Napoleon Bonaparte. He had hopes that his son would become a rabbi; however, at age fourteen, Alexander chose dentistry. After graduating from the University of Berlin, Alexander traveled Europe as a dentist and embraced Christianity.³ It was in Preston where he met his future wife, Ellen Breakel, described as “a nice, trim-looking English (Christian) woman” whom he married on September 15, 1834.⁴

The first Mormon missionaries arrived in Great Britain in July 1837, including apostles Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, future apostle Willard

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Old Cock Yard Street, Preston, England, 2006. Alexander and Ellen Neibaur were living on this street at the time of their conversion to Mormonism in 1838.

Photograph courtesy Alexander L. Baugh.

Richards, and four Canadians—Joseph Fielding, Isaac Russell, John Goodson, and John Snyder. Immediately upon their arrival in Liverpool, they headquartered in Preston and began preaching. Local interest in the new faith was so great that within less than two months it became necessary to rent Preston’s Temperance Hall (also called the “Cock Pit”) with a seating capacity of eight hundred to accommodate new converts and investigators.⁵ Significantly, the Temperance Hall was located a short distance from the Neibaur’s home, and there can be no doubt that the young Jewish couple soon heard something about the Mormons and their message.

One day Alexander overheard a neighbor ask his wife Ellen if she had heard about the new preachers from America who claimed to have seen an angel. On hearing the discussion, Alexander asked from his window where he could find them. Neibaur had received spiritual manifestations concerning a record, and he hurried to the missionaries’ place of residence and received a Book of Mormon. Forgoing food or sleep, he devoured the book in only three days, then returned to the missionaries, requesting baptism. They counseled him to postpone his baptism until the following spring, when he would be more prepared for the ordinance. Reluctantly consenting, he was baptized April 9, 1838, becoming the first-known male Jew to convert to Mormonism.⁶

As 1840 drew to a close, The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star published a poem by Neibaur. The poem breathed the spirit of a glorious gathering:

Come thou glorious day of promise,
Come and spread thy cheerful ray;
When the scattered sheep of Israel
Shall no longer go astray;
When Hosannas
With united voice they cry.⁷

On February 5, 1841, the Neibaur family commenced their own gathering experience. Alexander, Ellen, and their children, Joseph William (six), Margaret (five), and Isaac (two), embarked for America.⁸ On the day they left Preston, for Nauvoo, Illinois, Alexander began to keep a diary.⁹ After a seven-week eventful voyage from Liverpool, the Mormon company of 235 Saints finally arrived at New Orleans on March 29, 1841. Dr. Neibaur enjoyed the river trip, recording in his diary, "We went up the Mississippi in Grand style."¹⁰ He mentions that on April 13, 1841, he "Cleaned 4 passengers teeth."¹¹

The company arrived in Nauvoo late in the evening of April 18.¹² Neibaur joyfully noted, "A number of the Br. [brethren of the Church] was ready to receive us; they kindly offered their houses, many slept in a large stone building. . . . Early in the morning a number of the Br. came to Inquire whether all of us had obtained habitations. We got in very comfortably with a Br."¹³

Alexander helped with the building of the Nauvoo Temple and also served in the Fifth Quorum of Seventy.¹⁴ He also continued his dental practice. Just three days after his arrival, he wrote, "Was in company at Br. Thompson's with Joseph Smith, came to order some false corals [teeth] for his wife."¹⁵ A few months after Neibaur arrived in Nauvoo, the Latter-day Saint newspaper *Times and Seasons* announced the formal opening of his dental practice:

Alexander Neibaur,
Surgeon Dentist,
From Berlin, in Prussia, late of Liverpool and Preston, England.

Most respectfully announces to the ladies and gentlemen and the citizens of Nauvoo as also of Hancock county, in general, that he has permanently established himself in the city of Nauvoo, as a dentist, where he may be consulted, daily, in all branches connected with his profession, Teeth cleaned, plugged, filed, the Scurva effectually cured children's teeth regulated, natural or artificial teeth from a single tooth to a whole set inserted on the most approved principle. Mr. N. having had an extensive practice both on the continent of Europe, as also in England, for the last 15 years, he hopes to give general satisfaction to all those who will honor him with their patronage.

Mr. B. [Brigham] Young having known Mr. N. (in England) has kindly consented to offer his house to meet those ladies and gentlemen who wish to consult me. Hours of attendance from 10 o'clock in the morning to 6 at evening. . . . Charges strictly moderate.¹⁶

Four years later the Nauvoo Neighbor noted that Neibaur was supplementing his dental practice by making matches:

Alexander Neibaur Dentist

In returning his thanks to the Brethren and Citizens of the City of Joseph [Nauvoo] for past favors, he would inform them that he continues his practice, and has fixed the following prices; Teeth inserted, \$2 each; teeth cleaned, 50 cts.; filling a tooth, 50 cts.; teeth extracted with great ease. Every operation warranted for 5 years. Meat, wood and money taken.

A constant supply of Matches always on hand.¹⁷

One writer has observed that although Dr. Neibaur's dental activity is readily apparent in his writings, his diary "does not record the times when he made bridges and did dental work for the Prophet Joseph Smith who had some of his teeth knocked out when he had been tarred and feathered."¹⁸ There is evidence that Joseph and Alexander knew each other well. Neibaur's diary mentions that he read German with Joseph at the Smith home.¹⁹ Joseph Smith also acknowledged Neibaur's aid in helping him learn German. Under the date of March 18, 1844, the Prophet's published history reads: "I stayed at home to recite German with Brother Neibaur."²⁰ In another entry, dated June 3, 1844, it states: "At 5 p.m. I read German with Neibaur."²¹

Dr. Neibaur was also familiar with Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, and Hebrew. In his autobiographical sketch, Neibaur wrote: "In the fall of 1843, had the honor of instructing the Prophet Joseph Smith, until he went to Carthage, in German and Hebrew, from which text he preached several times to large congregations."²² On May 23, 1844, Joseph noted, "Read Hebrew with Neibaur."²³

It is also plausible that doctrinal discussions arose as Alexander and Joseph read the Hebrew Bible together, which may have included Jewish exegesis—Jewish interpretations of various passages of scripture. Neibaur had studied to become a rabbi, demonstrating that he had clearly been a serious student of rabbinical exegesis in his youth. One Jewish family who met Neibaur in Salt Lake City in 1854 recalled that "he was well versed in the Talmud."²⁴

His rabbinical training is confirmed by an article he wrote for the *Times and Seasons*, titled, "The Jews," which dealt with the various Jewish views concerning the doctrine of the resurrection. The editor prefaced the article: "The following very singular notions of the Jews, with regard to their resur-

rection, will, no doubt, be read with interest by many of the curious, especially the lovers of Jewish literature.” Neibaur’s knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, the Talmud, and rabbinical exegesis in general is evident in his meticulous analysis of the resurrection in which he quoted a dozen rabbis, many Talmudic passages, and an abundance of scriptural passages.²⁵

Alexander Neibaur not only tutored the Latter-day Saint prophet in languages, he also humbly received instruction from him. A little over a month before the martyrdom Neibaur recorded hearing Joseph Smith relate his 1820 vision. According to Mormon historian James B. Allen, “This is the only contemporary diary known to Mormon scholars that contains such an account.”²⁶ Among other things, Neibaur recalled that Joseph said he “went into the woods to pray, kneels himself down, . . . saw a fire toward heaven came near and nearer; saw a personage in the fire, light complexion, blue eyes, a piece of white cloth Drawn over his shoulders his right arm bear after a while a other person came to the side of the first.”²⁷

After the martyrdom, Neibaur continued to defend Mormonism, his family, and the poor who remained after the Saints were driven from Nauvoo in the winter and spring of 1846.²⁸ On September 17, 1846, the Neibaur family finally crossed the Mississippi and spent the winter in Bonaparte, Iowa. The following year they migrated to Winter Quarters and the next summer they made the journey to the Salt Lake Valley. Upon their arrival Neibaur recalled, “Got there September 24th. Got a city lot, myself and eldest son Joseph made adobe for a house, lived with my wife and seven small children in a tent until May following.”²⁹

Though Neibaur spent a busy winter building his adobe home, he also continued to practice dentistry. During the first month after his arrival in Salt Lake City, he noted in four separate diary entries his accounts of cleaning and fixing the teeth of various individuals and families.³⁰ Less than two years later, the first issue of the *Deseret News* carried the following advertisement: “A. Neibaur, Surgeon Dentist, 3d street east, 2d south of the Council House, will attend to all branches of his profession. The scurvey effectually cured.”³¹ In this same year (1850), Utah became a territory. Neibaur became Utah’s first dentist.³²

One of Neibaur’s daughters confirmed that her father was very active in the dental profession: “In addition to countless extractions, my father had about one hundred and fifty patients in Utah, including Brigham Young and family and the families of other Church leaders.”³³ According to family tradition, one of his greatest accomplishments in his dental work was making a set of false teeth for Brigham Young when the president was fifty-five years old. The teeth, made of porcelain, were imported from France. The mouth plate,

constructed of solid gold, was attached to the teeth with vulcanized rubber. Young used the dentures only on special occasions.³⁴

In addition to his successful dental business, Neibaur continued to supplement his income as he had done in Nauvoo by making matches. In 1851 the *Deseret News* published the following advertisement: “A constant supply of Matches of superior quality kept on hand, for which produce will be taken in exchange by A. Neibaur”³⁵ One historian explains, “His knowledge of chemistry enabled him to fabricate crude sulphur matches.”³⁶

Neibaur may also be viewed as a matchmaker in a different sort of way—he ignited the fire of conversion and supplied fuel to the flame of romance. In an autobiographical sketch, Prussian Jew Morris David Rosenbaum related his association with Neibaur. Having immigrated to America at age nineteen, Rosenbaum joined the Mormon migration to the Salt Lake Valley in the late fall of 1857. In November Rosenbaum related, “Brother Nebecker informed me there is a german Jew, Mr. Neibaur a Matchmaker living in the 13 ward, and one day after school hour, I startet to visit him, as I turned the corner and saw his sign I imagent of hearing a voice like this ‘You are going to get married in that house.’” Further, “I was treated very kindly and after several visits Mr. Neibaur began to talk to me about Mormonism.”³⁷ Rosenbaum recalled, “I became interested in its principles. . . . I well remember Brother Neibaur bearing his testimony of the truth of the Gospel to me.”³⁸ Rosenbaum was baptized March 27, 1858. Alexander modestly noted in his diary on the day of Rosenbaum’s baptism, “Mr. Morris Rosenbaum a Jew from . . . Prussia was baptized.”³⁹ Less than one week later on April 2, 1858, Alexander Neibaur added, “Mr. Morris and my daughter Alice Breakel were married by myself at my house.”⁴⁰ On that date Rosenbaum wrote in his journal, “This evening I married Alice Neibaur in Salt Lake City, her father performed the ceremony at his house.”⁴¹

During the decade of the 1850s, Neibaur was not only anxiously engaged in providing for his family, but one account states that he was an interpreter to the emigrants and met every emigrant company of foreign converts when they arrived in the Salt Lake Valley.⁴² He also made time to use his multiple talents by instructing others in the German language. As early as January 28, 1851, he recorded that he had “opened a German class.”⁴³

In July 1854, Julius and Fanny Brooks arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, the first-known non-Mormon Jewish family to settle in Utah.⁴⁴ On July 9, 1854, according to Neibaur, “Mr. Julius Brooks of Shweitznitz in shlesion [Silesia] informet me he had seen my Father.”⁴⁵ Eveline Brooks Auerbach (daughter of Julius and Fanny Brooks) remembered that in Salt Lake City, her family met Alexander Neibaur. Eveline continued: “He knew quite a few of my parents’s people. As he was a Jew, mother and father were surprised to hear that he had



Brigham Young's false teeth made by Alexander Neibaur. The teeth are made of porcelain imported from France. The mouth plate is made of gold. President Young only used the dentures on special occasions. Photograph courtesy of Theda L. Bassett.



Alexander Neibaur's dental instruments located in the Daughters of Utah Pioneer Museum, Salt Lake City, Utah. Photograph courtesy of Theda L. Bassett.

joined the Mormon Church. He said he had studied to be a Rabbi . . . but was a dentist by profession." Neibaur explained that he and his wife had a small boarding house and offered to have the Brooks family board with them. The Brooks family accepted the invitation, boarding with the Neibaur family

from late October 1854 to the spring of 1855.⁴⁶

Neibaur maintained correspondence with his father, who remained in Europe for many years. He even requested that Brigham Young allow emigration funds be used to bring his father and sister Bertha to America, as the family desired.⁴⁷ Charles E. Schulman explains, "All wings of Judaism agree that a person born a Jew remains a Jew even though he be indifferent to the religious

theories and practices of his religion. Only when he removes himself completely from his people does he cease to be a Jew."⁴⁸ That Neibaur certainly did not remove himself from his people may be inferred from his diary entry for December 25, 1859: "Had all my Families spending Christmass day at my house, also Mr. Hery Rosenffeld a jew."⁴⁹

One source notes that in 1877 Neibaur was a frequent visitor to the home of Julius and Fannie Brooks who had moved back to Salt Lake City after a living for a while in California. During the evenings he would play cards with Julius and another Jewish friend named Fred Auerbach who ran a dry goods store with his brothers on Main Street. In such settings, Alexander was described



Alexander Neibaur and four of his sons, date unknown. Front, left-right: Alexander, Hyrum. Back, left-right: Joseph, Isaac, and Nathan. Photograph courtesy Thais DeGray.

as wearing "a homespun suit and a grey and red wool scarf. He was a very short slight man with a long full beard, now white. His face was quite red and he had a large wart on his nose and on one cheek. When he played cards he would sniffle and every time he did that the pipe went out and he would ask for a match."⁵⁰

Alexander Neibaur died on December 15, 1883, just shy of his seventy-sixth birthday.⁵¹ Yet his influence on others remained strong. Just over three decades after his passing, the Utah Genealogical Society met in

Salt Lake City to honor his memory; about five hundred people were present. The toastmaster for the evening was Alexander's son-in-law, Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley. Others in attendance were President Joseph F. Smith and Anthon H. Lund of the First Presidency, Jewish Senator Simon Bamberger, and other distinguished people. The *Deseret News* reported: "The character and life of Mr. Neibaur were lauded by the Church authorities who spoke;

they praising him because he was a Jew and a Mormon, and by the Jews present who declared that they admired him because he was a Mormon and still a Jew.” Senator Bamberger also spoke at the meeting, saying that “he had known Mr. Neibaur for many years, had had various dealings with him, and admired him for his honesty, integrity, and uprightness. He admired the pioneer the more, he said, because he was a Saint and still a Jew.” Bamberger praised Neibaur as a man of “sterling worth,” noting that “he never before was so proud that he was a Jew as on the present occasion when so many Jews and Mormons were assembled together to honor the name and memory of one who had been dear to both of them.”⁵²

Yet none felt dearer to Neibaur than his family, who knew him best. He fathered fourteen children and left a legacy of eighty-three grandchildren and thirteen great-grandchildren.⁵³ In his autobiographical sketch, Neibaur recalled how he had “Embraced the Truth in Opposition to all my Friends. Passed in Consequence through hardships & Trials, yet my trust was in the God of Abraham.” In reflecting on his descendants, he wrote: “I do not pen these lines, but for the Gratification of my Posterity. Bearing to them, and unto all who may Read these few lines, my Testimony, that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of the Lord, the things spoken of in the Bible, Book of Mormon, sealed with the Blood of the martyrs at Carthage jail, Ill are true, my Prayer is that my Posterity might walk in the way of Righteousness Amen.”⁵⁴



The Julius and Fannie Brooks family, date unknown. The Brooks family lived in Salt Lake City and were friends of the Neibaur's. In her later years, Eveline, the oldest daughter shown in the photograph, wrote fondly of the Neibaur family. Photograph courtesy of the Hubert Howe Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Notes

1. Eveline S. [Brooks] Auerbach, *Reminiscences of Eveline S. Auerbach*, typescript, 16, Hubert Howe Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Eveline was a daughter of Julius and Fannie Brooks, a Jewish family who emigrated to Salt Lake City and who became dear friends with the Alexander and Ellen Neibaur family.

2. D. Kelly Ogden, "Two from Judah Ministering to Joseph," *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Illinois*, ed. H. Dean Garrett (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1995), 232.

3. See Sarah E. N. [Neibaur] O' Driscoll, *Autobiography*, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 3; also Alexander Neibaur, *Autobiographical Sketch*, "Biographical Record of the 5th Quorum of Seventies," 10, LDS Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Susa Young Gates, "Alexander Neibaur," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 5, no. 2 (April 1914): 53, is the only one of these three references who notes that he converted to Christianity while on his travels.

4. Auerbach, *Reminiscences*, 17. Theda Lucille Bassett, *Grandpa Neibaur Was a Pioneer* (Salt Lake City: Artistic Printing, 1988), 10–11, notes the marriage date.

5. James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission: The Quorum of The Twelve Apostles in The British Mission, 1837-1841* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 36, 41.

6. Gates, "Alexander Neibaur," 54–55. Gates indicates that Alexander Neibaur was the first Jewish convert to Mormonism. However, two other Mormon writers have stated that a Jewish woman named Elizabeth Van Benthuyssen was baptized in Kirtland in 1830, making her the first Jewish convert. See Geraldine Hamblin Bangerter and Susan Easton Black, *My Servant Algernon Sidney Gilbert: Provide for My Saints (D&C 57:10)* (Provo: n. p. 1989), 7. Ellen Neibaur was not as easily persuaded as Alexander. She initially referred to the Book of Mormon as a "pretty story." Yet later, "she had a dream in which she saw Elder Richards' face formed by clouds in the sky. She knew that it signified that she should listen to his message, and shortly thereafter she was baptized." Ogden, "Two from Judah Ministering to Joseph," 233.

7. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 1, no. 8 (December 1840): 216 (hereafter cited as *Millennial Star*). This poem, including three additional verses, was put to music and is published in the current LDS hymnal (p. 50).

8. Bassett, *Grandpa Neibaur Was a Pioneer*, 15. In the same year that the Alexander Neibaur family immigrated to Nauvoo, LDS apostle Orson Hyde was on a mission to dedicate the land of Palestine for the return of the Jews. Although Neibaur was of Jewish descent, Joseph Smith informed Hyde that Jews who converted to Mormonism were at that time to gather to Nauvoo. See Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 4:232 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*). For more information on the gathering of the Jews during this period, see Richard D. Draper and Jessica E. Draper, "The Gathering of the Jews as Understood in the Nauvoo Period," *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Illinois*, ed. H. Dean Garrett (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1995), 138–50.

9. Alexander Neibaur's diary covers a period of two decades (1841–61). A typescript is located in the LDS Church Archives and L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

10. Neibaur, Diary, March 29-30, 1841.
11. Neibaur, Diary, April 13, 1841.
12. See *Millennial Star* 4, no. 10 (February 1844): 147.
13. Neibaur, Diary, April 18, 1841.
14. Neibaur, Autobiographical Sketch, 10.
15. Neibaur, Diary, April 21, 1841.
16. *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 19 (August 2, 1841): 502.
17. *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 23 (October 29, 1845): 3.
18. Bassett, *Grandpa Neibaur Was a Pioneer*, 23.
19. For example, see Neibaur, Diary, May 24, 1841: "Called at J. Smith 10 o'clock . . . took dinner, read German." Another account dated June 2, 1841, reads: "Saw Mr. S. [Joseph Smith] all forenoon, wife sick. Read German all forenoon."
20. *History of the Church*, 6:267.
21. *History of the Church*, 6:426.
22. Neibaur, Autobiographical Sketch, 10.
23. *History of the Church*, 6:402.
24. Auerbach, Reminiscences, 16.
25. This treatise appeared in two parts. The first in the *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 14 (June 1, 1843): 220–23; and the second in the *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 15 (June 15, 1843): 233–34.
26. James B. Allen, "Eight Contemporary Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision: What Do We Learn From Them?" *The Improvement Era* 73, no. 4 (April 1970): 6.
27. Neibaur, Diary, May, 24, 1844. Neibaur's account has been published in Dean C. Jesse, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-1992), 1: 459-61. Compare with JS-History 1:5–19.
28. The Latter-day Saints were forced from Nauvoo by jealous mobs. They began their exile on 4 February 1846. The poor who were left did not flee the city until the fall of 1846.
29. Neibaur, Autobiographical Sketch, 10.
30. Neibaur, Diary, October 14, 16, 21, 27, 1848.
31. *Deseret News* 1, no. 1 (June 15, 1850): 8. The *Deseret News* company was founded in 1850 at Salt Lake City.
32. In 1989, the Utah Dental Association recognized Neibaur's pioneer work in dentistry when it carried an article written by Theda Basset titled "Utah's First Dentist, Alexander Neibaur," *UD Action* (March/April 1989): 5.
33. See Blanche E. Rose, "Early Utah Medical Practice," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 10, nos. 1-4 (1942): 33. Eveline S. Auerbach notes that the Neibaur family was fully trusted and friends with a number of Church leaders. "He was a good friend of Brigham's[.] John [George] Q. Cannon, Wooley, Grant, Woodruff, in fact all the 12 held him in high esteem. He never betrayed a trust." Auerbach, Reminiscences, 17.
34. Bassett, *Grandpa Neibaur Was a Pioneer*, 35. For more information on his early pioneer dentistry in Utah, see Rose, "Early Utah Medical Practice," 32–33.
35. *Deseret News* 2, no. 1 (November 15, 1851): 4. Neibaur continued to run the advertisement in the *Deseret News* until January 22, 1853.
36. Leon L. Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1952), 23.
37. Morris D. Rosenbaum, Reminiscence and Journal, November 1857, LDS Church Archives.
38. Morris D. Rosenbaum, Statement, in Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Company, 1884), 359–60.

39. Neibaur, Diary, March 27, 1858.

40. Neibaur, Diary, April 2, 1858. Watters also notes his success as a matchmaker by pointing out that Neibaur “advantageously married off the eleven of his fourteen children who reached maturity.” Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah*, 24.

41. Rosenbaum, Reminiscence and Journal, April 2, 1858.

42. Auerbach, Reminiscences, 17.

43. Neibaur, Diary, January 28, 1851.

44. Jack Goodman, “Jews in Zion,” in *The Peoples of Utah*, ed. Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 190. Watters provides background on Julius and Fanny Brooks. See Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah*, 123–25. Historian Juanita Brooks indicates that “Fanny” was the nickname of Mrs. Isabell Brooks. See Juanita Brooks, *History of the Jews in Utah and Idaho* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1973), 16.

45. Neibaur, Diary, July 9, 1854.

46. Auerbach, Reminiscences, 16.

47. Neibaur, Diary, September 28, 1852. His father and his sister Bertha never did immigrate to America. That Neibaur did not forget his father is evidenced by the fact that Alexander named one of his sons Nathan Alexander. See Neibaur, Diary, June 18, 1856.

48. Charles E. Shulman, *What It Means to be a Jew* (New York: Crown, 1960), 223. Tracee Rosen, rabbi of the Congregation Kol Ami in Salt Lake City, Utah, believes, “A more accurate statement would be that although Neibaur would have been considered an apostate from a Jewish religious perspective, he [Neibaur] still maintained close relationships with his family members and other members of the Jewish community.” Tracee Rosen to Fred E. Woods, April 2007.

49. Neibaur, Diary, December 25, 1859.

50. See Auerbach, Reminiscences, 59–62. For more information on the experience of the early Jewish Utah pioneers, see Eileen Hallet Stone, *A Homeland in the West: Utah Jews Remember* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001), 55–118.

51. “An Historic Character, Synopsis of the Life of Alexander Neibaur,” *Deseret Evening News* 17, no. 22 (December 17, 1883): 5. A shorter obituary appeared in the *Ogden Daily Herald* 3, no. 196 (December 17, 1883): 2.

52. “‘Mormons’ and Jews Honor Alexander Neibaur’s Memory,” *Deseret Evening News* 64, no. 63 (March 14, 1914): 2. During the early twentieth century, there continued to be a good relationship between the Mormons and Jews in Utah.

53. Gates, “Alexander Neibaur,” 62. For a list of Alexander’s children, see Frank Esom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Company, 1913), 1065. Preston Nibley calculated that Neibaur had a total posterity of 113 at his death. See Preston Nibley, “An Historic Character, Synopsis of the Life of Alexander Neibaur,” *Stalwarts of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company), 5. Two of Neibaur’s great-grandsons have been influential BYU professors—Hugh Nibley, professor of history and languages, and Reid Nibley, professor of music.

54. Neibaur, Autobiographical Sketch, 10. Neibaur wrote a lamentation in honor of the martyred brothers titled “Lamentation: Of a Jew among the Afflicted and Mourning Sons and Daughters of Zion, at the Assassination of the Two Chieftains in Israel, Joseph and Hyrum Smith,” *Times and Seasons* 5, no. 13 (July 15, 1844): 591.

