A History of Gratz College, 1893-1928

Diane A. King

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A History of Gratz College, 1893-1928

Abstract
This dissertation is a study of the establishment and development of Gratz College, the oldest Hebrew Teachers College in the United States. The study will examine the College from its inception in 1893, through its first thirty-five years, to its reorganization in 1928. The aims of the study are two-fold. First, it will attempt to evaluate the efficacy of Gratz College in providing a higher Jewish education for Philadelphia's Jewish adolescent population. Second, it will assess whether the College was successful in its attempt to provide excellent training for those pupils who were to become teachers in the Jewish schools in the city.

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A HISTORY OF GRATZ COLLEGE,
1893-1928

by

Diane A. King

A Dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie University
Broad and York Streets
Philadelphia, Pa. 19132

1979
APPROVAL

This Dissertation entitled
A HISTORY OF GRATZ COLLEGE,
1893-1928

by

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Candidate for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Date FEBRUARY 27, 1979
To my mother, Mollie Averbach,

... who encouraged me to get into the water and swim
This dissertation could not have been completed without the interest, advice, and willing assistance of many people. My sincere thanks are due to the members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Solomon Grayzel, Chairman, Dr. William Lakritz, and Dr. Samuel Lachs, for their wise guidance. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Solomon Grayzel, my chairman, who devoted many hours to reading the various drafts of the manuscript and who patiently and with good humor offered his clear and constructive suggestions.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a study of the establishment and development of Gratz College, the oldest Hebrew Teachers College in the United States. The study will examine the College from its inception in 1893, through its first thirty-five years, to its reorganization in 1928. The aims of the study are two-fold. First, it will attempt to evaluate the efficacy of Gratz College in providing a higher Jewish education for Philadelphia's Jewish adolescent population. Second, it will assess whether the College was successful in its attempt to provide excellent training for those pupils who were to become teachers in the Jewish schools in the city.

There always exists reciprocal interaction between a city and the institutions it houses. They influence one another both educationally and culturally. No community supports an institution which does not fulfill a real or perceived need, and no institution succeeds without tacit or active community support. This study is an attempt to explore the factors both in the Philadelphia Jewish community and in Gratz College which influenced the development of the College.

During the period of this study, Philadelphia experienced a large influx of East European Jews, which changed the nature of the Jewish community. To have any possibility for success, the College would have to understand the changing community and know its children. Consideration would have to be given to the pressure of the acculturation efforts of the immigrants and its negative effects on Jewish tradition. Attempts would have to be made to understand the American Jewish child who was caught up in this process. Internally, the
College would have to be both realistic and visionary. It would have to build a curriculum which at the outset considered the level of learning of fourteen- or fifteen-year-old American Jewish youths, while at the same time working to upgrade that level through its curriculum. Additionally, at a time when there was no Jewish teaching profession, the College would have to attract a highly knowledgeable staff with excellent pedagogic abilities. How well Gratz College was able to do these things is the question this study seeks to answer.

The material on the College was drawn almost entirely from primary sources. Since Gratz College has no archives of its own to cover that period an effort was made to seek out primary sources elsewhere. Minute books were located that cover the entire period. They were supplemented by an extensive correspondence, found in private archives, as well as reports, records, documents, and charters. Interviews with former faculty members and some selected alumni, and a survey of alumni through questionnaires were also utilized to obtain information essential to the study. The year 1928 was selected as the terminal date for this study because in that year the College merged with the Hebrew Education Society and was reorganized. It ceased to be exclusively a trust of Congregation Mikveh Israel with the Board of Trustees of the College drawn from among members of the congregation. It became a community school whose Board of Overseers consisted of representatives of Gratz College, the Hebrew Education Society and the community at large.

Today Gratz College, located at Tenth Street and Tabor Road, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania is in its eighty-third year. It grants
both undergraduate and graduate degrees in addition to a teacher's diploma. It has departments to serve the educational needs of almost every segment of the Philadelphia Jewish community. Clearly the potential for such growth was present from the beginning. The first steps towards this growth were taken with the reorganization of the College in 1928. Therefore, the manner in which that progress was made will have to await a further study. Here we are concerned with the foundation of the College and its early struggles, disappointments, and achievements.
Central European Immigration 1815-1870

The population explosion in Central Europe in the nineteenth century, coupled with land hunger and unemployment, brought an unprecedented crisis to the Central European countryside and precipitated a rising tide of general emigration from Germany, primarily to America. Within a single fortnight in 1817, four thousand persons left the little state of Baden in southern Germany. During the following decades, the number of people leaving Europe continued to rise. In the 1860s, more than a million people arrived in America.1 Among them were many Jews.

In America, as in other immigrant countries, social stratification and class structure were connected with arrival date, the earlier arrivals forming a sort of aristocracy. The Sephardim,2 present in America from the time of Columbus, viewed themselves as the superior element of the Jewish community in America, attempting both to maintain social distance from the newly arrived German Jews and, because of their feelings of superiority, to assume leadership roles. The pattern of settlement, economic


2 The Sephardim are descendants of Jews who lived in Spain and Portugal before the expulsion in 1492. Individual Sephardi Jews came to America from the time of Columbus' discovery. Larger numbers started to come in the second half of the seventeenth century.
adjustment and integration of the earlier immigrants had to be repeated by succeeding arrivals. Some of the newly arrived German Jews sought to assimilate into the "superior" group, thereby gaining standing and prestige. Those who succeeded in establishing themselves economically managed to penetrate the group through a process of "Sephardization." However, the German Jewish immigrants generally brought with them a greater concern for traditional Jewish observance and education than did the Sephardim. Shocked by what seemed to them the watered-down Jewishness of the American Jews, they proceeded to build a broad religious and philanthropic life while they built their business fortunes.

The American Jewish Community in the 1880s

By 1880 the community of 250,000 Jews in the United States was almost entirely a German community spread over east and west. In the west, where they spread as merchants, Jews formed 1.5 percent of the population. In the northeast only 0.5 percent of the population were Jews. A survey conducted by the federal government in 1890 revealed a rather prosperous American Jewish community.

---

Among these was the Gratz family. Barnard Gratz arrived in the United States in 1754. Michael Gratz, his brother and the father of Hyman Gratz, the founder of Gratz College, arrived in 1759. They were among the founding members of the Sephardi synagogue, Mikveh Israel, the oldest synagogue in Philadelphia.


Survey of the German Jewish population was made in 1890. The East European migration which began in 1882 was still quite small. Included in the German Jewish population, no doubt, were all those whose language in the country of origin was German. It included individuals originating in Germany as well as those from adjoining areas such as Bohemia and Hungary.
Business men 50 %
White collar workers 20 %
Salesmen 10 %
Professionals 5 %
Skilled workers 12.5%
Peddlers, laborers very small

Seventy percent of the Jewish population had one or more house servants.6

In 1880 there were 270 congregations and a large number of philanthropic and fraternal organizations in the United States. The most important national body was the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.7 By 1890, many of the synagogues founded by German Jews had abandoned the traditions of centuries and had taken up the new way, Reform Judaism. Fifteen years earlier, the Hebrew Union College had been founded in Cincinnati, Ohio, by Isaac Mayer Wise,8 under the auspices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. It was dedicated to Jewish scholarship and training of Reform rabbis, providing the necessary leadership for the change. The Orthodox Jewry survived only as small groups, individuals, and a few congregations. In any of dozens of American local communities during the 1880s and 1890s, the Jewish

6 Nathan Glazer, American Judaism, 2d ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 44.

7 Ibid. It was founded in 1873 and was the first nationwide cooperative organization of Jewish congregations. Another large national body was the B’nai Brith, founded in 1843 and is now considered the world’s oldest and largest service organization. In 1897 it had a membership of slightly more than eighteen thousand.

8 Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, born in Bohemia in 1819, immigrated to the United States in 1846, where he became a pioneer of Reform Judaism.
leadership was comprised of prosperous merchants, with an occasional banker or lawyer. They thought their Judaism a reasonable American religion. The essential teaching of Reform Judaism was the moral and ethical precepts of traditional Judaism without adherance to ritual observance. The externals of the traditional way were largely abandoned. Even persons, however, who totally abandoned Jewish religious practices were still regarded as Jews. 9

The Beginnings of an Organized Jewish Community in Philadelphia

The years between 1830 and 1870 had brought a considerable influx of German Jews to Philadelphia. By 1860, there were, perhaps eight thousand Jews in Philadelphia, 10 and by 1877 the number had swelled to about twelve thousand. 11 The tiny cluster of Jews already settled in the community 12 was faced with large numbers of newcomers who needed guidance and help. By 1854, when the first listing of American Jewish organizations and institutions was published, the three original philanthropic societies 13 had grown

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9 Lloyd P. Gartner, "Immigration and Formation of American Jewry, 1840-1925," The Jew in American Society, ed. Marshall Sklare (New York: Behrman House, Inc., 1974), p. 40. The Reform movement was spreading and, as more East European Jews came in, Reform was a natural reaction on the part of the old residents to separate themselves from the newcomers.


12 At the time of the 1820 census, it is estimated that about five hundred Jews resided in Philadelphia; of these almost 50 percent were immigrants. See Korn, "75 Years, 1655-1901," p. 10.

13 Hebra Shel Bikur Holim Ugemilut Hasadim (Society for the Visitation of the Sick and Mutual Assistance) (1813); Female Hebrew Benevolent Society (1819); United Hebrew Beneficent Society (1822).
to ten. In 1855 the Hebrew Charity Ball Association formally came into being. Its annual function remained the major joint fund-raising project of the community until 1901.

In 1880, with approximately fifteen thousand Jews in Philadelphia, there were a hospital, welfare agencies, an orphan asylum, a cultural association, and a Hebrew school serving the philanthropic needs of the community. These agencies were in the process of slow but appreciable growth. Ample leadership was available from the former German immigrants, many of whom had gained material success.

East European Immigration

By 1893 the American Jewish community was undergoing radical change. East European immigration, which had begun on a fairly large scale in the 1870s, was destined to inundate and submerge the German Jewish community. By 1900 there were one million Jews in the United States. The years of greatest immigration came after the pogroms of 1881, again in 1890 and 1891, and above all during the years of war, revolution and reaction in Russia, which began for Jews with the Kishinev pogrom of 1903. From 1904 through 1908, 642,000 Jews entered the United States. The vast majority of them settled in the largest

14 Korn, "75 Years, 1655-1901," p. 10.

15 In 1843 a "Benevolent Ball of Israelites of Philadelphia" was held to raise a sum of money to supplement that subscribed to individual institutions.


17 Ibid.
cities, primarily in New York, but also in Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston Baltimore, and Cleveland. 18

Between the years 1908–1914 immigration averaged over 100,000 per year. 19 It took two restrictive immigration acts by the United States, in 1921 and 1924, 20 to drastically reduce that number to an average of only eleven thousand Jews annually the second half of the 1920s. 21 By 1927, there were approximately 4,200,000 Jews in the United States, about 3.6 percent of the population. 22 Over half of them lived in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. 23

The East European immigrants came from a milieu where the feeling of homogeneity and of Klal Yisrael were strongly entrenched, and where a set of Jewish attitudes and values prevailed, including that of religious devotion and observance. They constituted in great part the poor, the underprivileged, and the unlearned. They tended to be somewhat influenced by secularism. Nevertheless, they visualized

19 The 1921 law allowed each country to send to the United States each year only 3 percent of the number of persons of that nationality living in America in 1910. No more than 357,000 aliens from all countries outside of the Western Hemisphere could enter each year.
20 The Immigration Act of 1924 changed the quota to 2 percent and made the base year 1890. This reduced total immigration to about 150,000 per year. It most effectively reduced immigration from the East European countries.
22 Glazer, American Judaism, p. 83. The 3.6 percent became a fixed percentage.
themselves as wanting to live a Jewish life, traditional, albeit somewhat more relaxed than what they had practiced in Europe.  

What they found was an unfamiliar, hostile world, a country whose growing industrial economy was demanding cheap labor, but whose social conscience was not interested in the laborer as a human being. Nor was there refuge to be had in the Jewish environment, for it was no less strange and unfriendly—temples of Reform Jews, sometimes with Sunday services and uncovered heads.

Impact on the German-American Jewish Community

The native German-American Jews had their own perceptions. They saw the new immigrants as primitive and clannish, unwilling to take on American ways, devoid of "culture" and "refinement." They saw them as unduly aggressive and assertive and as an embarrassment to the painfully acquired good name of the American Jew. They saw them as speaking a language which was not a language, Yiddish, and thinking in ways which the German Jew considered unsound, especially their ideas of political radicalism, atheism and Zionism. The German Jews viewed the new immigrants as a threat to their own efforts at Americanization, while the East Europeans saw the German Jews as attempting to shed the traces of national identification, substituting another language for Hebrew in prayer, disclaiming the binding force

24 Weinryb, "Jewish Immigration and Accommodation to America," pp. 15-16.

25 Gartner, "Immigration and Formation of American Jewry, 1840-1925," p. 45. Atheism and Zionism were ideas brought by East European Jews who came in the early 1900s.
of dietary laws and ceremonials, patterning their synagogues after churches and trying in all ways to be part of a larger community and not a community apart.

It is not surprising, then, that German Jews were sympathetic to the anti-immigration moves afoot in America in the 1870s. As an expression of this sentiment, we find the head of the United Hebrew Charities in Philadelphia trying to stop Jewish immigration. He wrote first to the secretary of the interior and later to the secretary of the treasury complaining about the allegedly illegal influx of immigrants:

"Philadelphia, July 26, 1877

"Hon. Secretary of the Treasury,

"Sir:- I respectfully beg leave to call your attention to a matter that, in my opinion, is in direct violation of the immigration laws. I have observed in my official capacity as Superintendent of the Young Men's Branch of the United Hebrew Charities of this city, the arrival of so many helpless men and women, and I am called upon nearly every day by immigrants who have been but a few days in this country, making demands upon our funds and applying for assistance otherwise. I learn from them that in very many cases their tickets are furnished them abroad through to Philadelphia, and inasmuch as the Association of Immigrants of this city has an agent who boards each and every incoming steamer to detect these paupers, I am led to believe that the difficulty occurs at the Port of New York; in fact, I have been told by many of them that such is the case. I have the honor to attach a letter from the Hon. Secretary of the Interior with whom I first communicated and who refers me to you.

"Very respectfully your obedient servant,

"E. Kleinsmith" 26

However, by 1905 the condition of the Russian Jew had deteriorated so badly that the stream of immigration assumed tidal wave force.

26 Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 5 August 1887, p. 8.
The German Jews realized that there was no stopping the influx, and traditional Jewish philanthropy reasserted itself.

Even from the beginning, we find that the established Jewish community, despite its strong feelings of distaste, came to the aid of the immigrants. It established organizations to help them, set up night schools and lecture courses, and tried, often ill-advisedly, to "uplift" them.\(^{27}\) The motivation behind these efforts was partly an attempt to facilitate acceptance of the newcomers among the higher American prestige groups by civilized the "awkward and alien" religious Jews, and partly the Jewish inheritance of the duty of welfare, the feeling of kinship and group ties which the American German Jewish community felt toward the immigrants.\(^{28}\)

The German Jews were the "bosses" who sold their wares to the East European peddler, the dispensers of charity to the impoverished newcomer, the accepted "westerner" as against the alien "easterner." Add to this the difficulty on the part of the religious Jew to observe the Sabbath, to obtain kosher meat or to observe other religious practices, and it becomes comprehensible how disappointment, frustration, and loneliness motivated some to return to the countries of their origin. The vast majority stayed. They withdrew into themselves and into each other, tried to transfer their home environment to America, and to create for themselves a feeling of belongingness. The religious

\(^{27}\) Glazer, *American Judaism*, p. 66.

\(^{28}\) Weinryb, "Jewish Immigration and Accommodation to America," p. 15.
Jews made every effort to keep up observances. They organized synagogues, chassidic Shtiblech, and schools for the religious education of their children.

The Philadelphia Jewish Community and the Growth of Federation

The dynamics of the Philadelphia Jewish community during these years exhibited all of the characteristics of conflict between the newcomers and the established community. It also manifested the cohesion within the Jewish community brought about by the acceptance of responsibility by the established German Jews for the European immigrants. The United Hebrew Charities, which dispensed relief, spent $12,000 in 1880 and $42,000 in 1892. The Jewish Foster Home, filled to capacity, built a new wing, and by 1892 had doubled its size. The Hebrew Education Society built Touro Hall at Tenth and Carpenter streets, the area of immigrant settlers. When it opened in 1891, it housed not only the Hebrew, English, and vocational schools of the society, but also a branch of the Hebrew Sunday School Society, a sewing school sponsored by the Young Women's Union, the offices of the Association of Jewish Immigrants and the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the employment office of the United Hebrew Charities, the Southern Branch of the YMHA, and, in 1895, the B'Nai Brith Manual Training School.

29 In 1880 there were 270 synagogues, in 1906 there were 1,709. Almost all the new ones were started by East European Jews. The figure is probably low since there must have been more which the census did not reach. See Glazer, American Judaism, p. 62.

30 This is discussed more fully in chapter II.

31 There had been a previous building called Touro Hall on Seventh Street between Callowhill and Wood streets. See chapter II for a more detailed description.

32 Korn, "75 Years, 1655-1901," p. 18.
With the influx of immigrants, the community's overwhelming need was money. By 1899, Boston, Chicago, and Cincinnati had successfully adopted a plan of federated fund raising which provided for a single agency to collect for and distribute to individual charities, which became its constituents, funds raised from the whole community. In Philadelphia, Max Herzberg, the president of United Hebrew Charities, and Louis Wolf, a fellow-officer convinced nine local agencies to issue an invitation to the Israelites of the city of Philadelphia to attend a public meeting on Sunday afternoon, 17 March 1901, to consider the subject of the Federation of Jewish Charities of the city of Philadelphia. The five hundred persons who attended that meeting brought the federation into existence and elected Judge Mayer Sulzberger chairman.33

In consonance with the times' definition of community, the federation was managed, as had been the societies before it, by a few German Jews, mostly successful merchants and manufacturers, who were allied by familial or social ties. From the beginning, the pressures of mass immigration increased markedly. In 1891 there were 26,000 to 28,000 Jews in Philadelphia, in 1905, there were 75,000.34 Needs were expanding drastically. In 1903 the first legacy was received. It was carefully invested in an endowment fund. The fund would grow and would be used to cover annual deficits when they occurred. Such deficits were already a reality in 1904 and 1905. During these years, 33 Ibid., pp. 19-20. See pp. 316-317 for biographical details on Judge Mayer Sulzberger. 34 Ibid., p. 21.
attempts to secure the support and participation of the East European Jews, even those who were meeting with financial success, did not produce results. That would come at a later time.\textsuperscript{35} For now, the East European immigrants would be the recipients.

During this period, Federation's main concern was helping the immigrant to survive and to obtain the tools necessary to function in America. It did not focus on the problems of Jewish education. Although Federation gave support to the Hebrew Education Society schools, it did so primarily because of their vocational instruction and their efforts to "Americanize" recent immigrants.

The Jewish Theological Seminary

A significant development at this time, the early 1900s, was the revitalization of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Led by the Reverend Dr. Sabato Morais (the spiritual leader of Congregation Mikveh Israel, Philadelphia) and with the support of rabbis and laymen of about a dozen synagogues, a rabbinical seminary of a conservative bent had been established in 1885 in New York.\textsuperscript{36} Classes began in 1887.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p. 22.

\textsuperscript{36} The Jewish Theological Seminary began in part as a reaction to the adoption in 1885 of what is known as the Pittsburgh Platform by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Seeds of this reaction were laid in the trefa banquet that was served two years before, on the occasion of the first graduating class of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio. Among other things the Pittsburgh Platform declared the Bible to be a "record of consecration of the Jewish people to the mission as priest of the one God" and a potent instrument for religious and moral instruction. It accepted as binding only the moral laws and maintained only such ceremonies "as elevate and sanctify our lives." It rejected all such as were not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization.
By 1900, six of the congregations that supported the Jewish Theological Seminary had gone over to the reform group. With the death of Dr. Morais in 1897, its future seemed in doubt. However, the influx of hundreds of thousands of East European Jews provided a new base of support. These Jews saw in the seminary a new hope and means to stem the stream of Reform Judaism. Some of the old residents and wealthy German Jews who supported the seminary saw it as a means of helping to Americanize or Anglicize the Orthodox Jews who were arriving in huge numbers. Cyrus Adler hoped that the Jewish Theological Seminary might turn out young, modern, East European, English-speaking rabbis for the East European Orthodox masses. In 1901 he suggested to Jacob Schiff, a Reform Jew, that the latter put up the money to restore the Seminary on an expanded scale. With a new infusion of capital and a new building, Dr. Solomon Schechter was invited to leave Cambridge, England and come to America as head of the seminary.

The Changing Jewish Community

During the teens and twenties of the twentieth century the East European community consisted for the most part, of a first generation of needle-trades workers, small shopkeepers and small businessmen, some of

37 See p. 317 for biographical details on Cyrus Adler.

38 Jacob Schiff (1947-1920) was a financier and philanthropist. His firm was one of the two most powerful investment banking houses in the United States.

39 Solomon Schechter was a reader in rabbinics at Cambridge University and a professor of Hebrew at University College, London. He became famous for his recovery of the Cairo Genizah.
whom became fairly well to do, and a second generation of high school or even college-educated children, most of whom were working at white collar occupations. 40

The first generation Jew sought to preserve a traditional, ritually correct existence, but conflicts eventually arose between that desire and the need to survive and earn a living. Many Jews soon came to value economics over social survival, working long hours to provide a better future for their children. They hoped that their sons, though not necessarily their daughters, might, through education, achieve a higher social and economic position than their own, even at the risk of becoming alienated from family and community. Secular education became the key. The Jew had discovered how the system worked and was working with it, while maintaining a separate, though often highly acculturated, in-group life. 41

Changing Social Status

By 1914 a considerable number of East European immigrants were moving or preparing to move into the middle class. This movement was accelerated by the economic successes achieved in the prosperous 1920s, resulting in a mass exodus from the original area of settlement to the better neighborhoods of the city. What resulted from this move was a re-concentration of Jews in the higher income areas of the city. This formed a somewhat closed community of middle-class Jews whose social life was carried on exclusively with Jews of parallel status. Not all

40Glazer, American Judaism, p. 82.
41Leventman, "From Shtetl to Suburb," p. 41.
Jews were equally successful economically, and class and status differences began to develop. Adaptation to American ways and economic mobility were the keys to social mobility. 42

Socially excluded from the general community, Jewish businessmen and professionals sought recognition and status among their fellow Jews. Traditional welfare activities became the basis of formalized secular organizations. Jewish federations, for example, became not just central fund raising agencies, but a force regulating status activities as well, by influencing country club members to contribute to their cause. 43 Some wealthy Jews, while fulfilling the traditional mitzvah of tzedakah, welcomed the recognition and publicity for themselves which the community workers freely gave.

Religious patterns, once the center of Jewish life, came to reflect the social requirements of the various social strata. The orthodoxy of first generation Jews embodied the very cultural differences their children sought to eliminate because of the effect these differences had of isolating them from the mainstream of American life. 44 Orthodoxy proved too burdensome for those who wished to achieve mobility. For those wishing to retain their Jewish identity, the choice was the Conservative synagogue. 45 Once a major place of worship and study, the synagogue became a center for various secular functions, while its major task was to guarantee the social continuity of the Jewish community.

42 Ibid., p. 43. 43 Ibid., p. 44.

44 Orthodoxy, in the first few decades, also suffered from internal disorganization and lack of leadership.

45 In 1913 Solomon Schechter had combined sixteen of them to form the United Synagogue of America.
One of the significant developments of this period was the stratification of the synagogue into denominationalism, Reform, Conservative or Orthodox. Reform Judaism, of German origin, was eventually taken over by socially and economically successful East European Jews. 46

It became very clear to those who remained in the fold of Orthodox Jewry that only an orderly and organized religious education could serve as a barrier against the spread of alienating cultural trends and the new social movement of the time. They set about to make Yeshiva learning and education, which had previously been provided for the religious and intellectual elite, become an accepted and widespread feature in the education of the young men of all Orthodox Jewry. 47

Changes in the Philadelphia Federation

In the years following the founding of Federation on 17 March 1901 the Jewish community in Philadelphia completely outgrew its framework of charities, physically and socially. The Jewish population

46 Leventman, "From Shtetl to Suburb," p. 45.

47 In the United States, the Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Theological Seminary for the advanced study of Talmud, the nucleus around which Yeshiva University grew, was founded in 1897. After 1908 some secular subjects were taught as well. In 1915, the year Yeshivat Etz Haim (founded in 1886) was absorbed in it, Bernard Revel became president and head of the faculty. An accredited high school which combined talmudic and secular studies was opened in 1916, an institute for training teachers in 1922 and in 1928 Yeshiva College accepted its first student. There was at that time a total program under the aegis of one institution. Those who wished to follow Orthodoxy could have the education they desired. This, however, was not the path the majority chose.
broke out of the primary centers of settlement 48 and spilled into West Philadelphia, Strawberry Mansion, and north on both sides of Broad Street. With the war came inflation, and the increasingly pressing problem of meeting continuing needs with less valuable dollars.

Expansion

In the field of child and youth care six agencies were operating, most of them with deficits. To coordinate the work of all these agencies the United Hebrew Charities formed the Bureau for Jewish Children which acted as a clearing house. In 1919, with the reorganization of the federation, the bureau was separated from its parent body and became a separate constituent of Federation. 49

In addition to the original constituents of Federation, 50 new agencies had grown throughout the city, most of them spontaneously, like their predecessors, to meet special or local needs. In the spring of 1919 the federation met the crisis by expanding its constituency to include thirty-nine, instead of fourteen agencies. It amended its by-laws to permit directors and officers of constituents to serve on its board, and enlarged the board from twelve members to forty. 51

The most significant change was the recognition given to men of East European Jewish background, who, in their own circles, had shown leadership and who had risen economically to such a position that they

48 See p.127 for details on the areas of primary settlement.
49 Leventman, "From Shtetl to Suburb," p. 45.
50 Among the original constituents were the Hebrew Education Society and the Hebrew Sunday School Society.
51 Leventman, "From Shtetl to Suburb," p. 45.
could assume a sizeable share of the community budget. To guide and administer the expanded organization, Jacob Billikopf was engaged as a full-time executive director.\textsuperscript{52} Federation had become big business.

Most of the community was satisfied with Federation's performance in fund-raising and was rather willing to ban competitive drives. But it took many years for people to recognize and accept the link between centralized fund-raising and centralized planning for the use of the community's funds. Justice Horace Stern, who took over the presidency of the federation in 1924, complained that the funds were being budgeted according to the needs of the respective institutions rather than according to the value of their services to the community.\textsuperscript{53}

The mid-twenties was an era of unprecedented prosperity and great boom. A capital fund drive was launched that topped four million dollars. Under the presidency of Justin Allman, the money was used to put up new buildings at Jewish and Mount Sinai hospitals,\textsuperscript{54} to build Eagleville Sanatorium, Willow Crest Convalescent Home, two schoolhouses for the Associated Talmud Torahs,\textsuperscript{55} and a new home for the federation itself at Ninth and Pine Streets. Construction was still underway when the boom collapsed. It was 1929.\textsuperscript{56}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{53} Roman Slobodin, "1918-1956," 75 Years of Continuity and Change: Our Philadelphia Jewish Community in Perspective, (supplement) Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 12 March 1976, p. 27 (henceforth: Slobodin, "1918-1956").
\item\textsuperscript{54} Now Albert Einstein Medical Center North and South.
\item\textsuperscript{55} A charter had been granted on 28 January 1919 to incorporate the various Talmud Torahs whenever and wherever they might be needed for the purpose of promoting and fostering Jewish education in the city.
\item\textsuperscript{56} Slobodin, "1918-1956," p. 28.
\end{itemize}
Not all requests that had been made were honored. In 1926 the West Philadelphia Center had made a request to the Building Committee of Federation for funds. The "Committee of Fifteen"\textsuperscript{57} appointed by the federation to study the state of Jewish education in Philadelphia, upon request, advised the Building Committee against entering this arrangement, fearing that it would set a precedent which would require the federation to give aid to Jewish community centers and synagogue centers in other neighborhoods, or else earn the resentment of these other sections. The Building Committee accepted the advice, wanting to be free to select the sites of centers it could create in accordance with the needs of constituent organizations.\textsuperscript{58} This principle still operates today in allocation decisions.

Another significant development took place in Federation during the 1920s. It was a decade that witnessed increased agitation, by some members within Federation itself,\textsuperscript{59} for greater involvement of Federation in Jewish education in Philadelphia. It was an agitation that would meet with moderate success.

Summary

The century following 1830 saw enormous changes taking place in the Philadelphia Jewish community. German Jewish immigration swelled the Jewish population of the city from five hundred Jews in 1820 to about twelve

\textsuperscript{57}See pp. 63-66 for details on the Committee of Fifteen.

\textsuperscript{58}Cyrus Adler to Albert M. Greenfield, 29 April 1926. Albert M. Greenfield was the chairman of the Building Committee of Federation.

\textsuperscript{59}See pp. 61-62.
thousand Jews by 1877. In time these immigrants succeeded in rising into the upper reaches of the middle class and established themselves as leaders of the Jewish community. At the same time they developed philanthropic institutions which constituted the beginning of an organizational framework for the Jewish community in Philadelphia.

By the onset of the twentieth century the character of the Jewish community began to change as Philadelphia became one of the primary centers for the settlement of large numbers of East European Jewish immigrants. Their need for assistance during the process of settlement and acculturation placed a great burden on the existing Jewish community and prompted the establishment of a unified means of fund raising. The Federation of Jewish Charities became the instrument of virtually all of the Jewish philanthropic enterprises of Philadelphia, and fund raising started on its way to becoming the major principle of organization in the Jewish community.

By 1928 the Philadelphia Jewish community had witnessed the swing of the pendulum of East European immigration from huge numbers to almost nothing. The community numbered more than 200,000 people. The existence of a middle class of Jews who came to America from East Europe was a reality, and the beginnings of an upper middle class were apparent. The stratification of denominationalism had become fixed and very closely tied to social status. The synagogue emerged as the focal point of religious and social activities of the Jewish neighborhood. In all, there were, by this time, 3,100 Jewish congregations in the United States.\(^6^0\) There were the Hebrew

\(^6^0\)Glazer, *American Judaism*, p. 85.
Union College and the Jewish Theological Seminary. There also was the Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Theological Seminary for advanced study of Talmud with its high school, teacher-training school, and Yeshiva College which had opened in that year, 1928. These institutions figured prominently in preparing spiritual leaders for the Jewish community, and their existence would have important implications for the development of Jewish education during this period.
CHAPTER II

EDUCATIONAL BACKDROP

Jewish Education in Philadelphia Prior to the Founding of Gratz College

The Congregational School

We find first mention of such a school in 1782. A letter documents Mikveh Israel's intention to build a synagogue and a schoolhouse for the use of the congregants. There is no doubt that its members were interested in providing a Jewish education for their children and felt that a school would answer that need. A building, however, was not enough. Teachers were needed and they were scarce. The usual arrangement at that time was to have the hazan of a congregation supplement his income by means of teaching. Whatever tuition charges there were, were paid directly to the hazan. Mikveh Israel was no exception. It, too, resorted to that arrangement. This left the quality of the education received totally dependent on the abilities

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1 Spelled Mickve Israel and also Mikve Israel. For uniformity, we use the spelling currently preferred. By 1747, a number of persons who had been meeting together for religious purposes since the early 1740s, met for services in a small house located in Sterling Alley. On 17 March 1782 a memorandum was recorded in the minutes of Congregation Mikveh Israel stating that the group (now at least a dozen families strong) thereby formed itself into "a congregation to be known and distinguished by the name of Mikve Israel." On 21 January 1825 a new synagogue on Cherry Street above Third Street was dedicated. The members of the Gratz family were among the congregants.

2 Jacob Rader Marcus, Early American Jewry (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), p. 127. This letter is dated 1 May 1782.

3 The title the Sephardim gave their minister.
of the hazan. Much of the time the arrangement was not successful.
Around 1815, Mikveh Israel had the good fortune to have the services of Emanuel Carvalho for a few years. He was both a knowledgeable person and an excellent teacher. At other times the congregation was not as fortunate, and it appears that the school did not function continuously.

On 13 September 1846 the congregation adopted a resolution authorizing a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars per annum to be used as payment for a teacher of Hebrew to be under their sole direction and control and for whom they would provide a room and lights, gratis.

The Board of Managers, acting upon this resolution, decided to establish a Hebrew school under its direction and appointed a Mr. A. H. Bernal to be the teacher. They determined that, as long as Mr. Bernal was teaching there, no other Hebrew schools would be permitted to function in the synagogue buildings. The teacher was charged with the responsibility of 'educating in the Hebrew language gratis such numbers

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4 He wrote a book on Hebrew grammar called, *Key to Hebrew Grammar*.


6 Minute Book of Congregation Mikveh Israel, 13 September 1846.

7 Mr. Bernal first applied through a letter dated 1 September 1846 to be "Teacher of the Mosaic Religion in the intended Seminary about to be established in the city for the education of youth of our nation." Minutes of the Congregation Mikveh Israel, 6 September 1846.

8 It is possible that an Ashkenazi congregation, lacking such facilities, wanted to use those of Mikveh Israel.
of children, not exceeding twelve at one time, as the parnas or Adjunta may recommend."

How long this school remained in operation is difficult to know. According to Henry Morais, who wrote this in 1894, Mikveh Israel for many years did not recognize any necessity for a school at which Jewish religion and the Hebrew language could be taught. He attributed this omission to the existence of both the Hebrew Education Society and the Hebrew Sunday School Society schools. In 1892, however, a congregational school was established, teachers were elected, and the hazan, Dr. Sabato Morais, was appointed superintendent. Sessions were held several times a week.

By this time there were three other synagogues which had established congregational schools: Rodeph Shalom, Keneseth Israel

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9 Minute Book of the Junto of Congregation Mikveh Israel, 18 April 1824 to 14 February 1881, special meeting 20 September 1846 (henceforth: Minutes of the Junto).

10 See pp. 38-44 for information on the Hebrew Education Society.

11 See pp. 34-38 for information on the Hebrew Sunday School Society.


13 In 1795, a group of newcomers who felt uncomfortable with the Sephardi Service of Mikveh Israel instituted their own Ashkenazi form of worship under the name German Hebrew Society. This was formally organized into Rodeph Shalom in 1802, making Philadelphia the first city in the nation with two congregations, and the first in the Western Hemisphere to break the pattern of one minhag in a community. This pattern was broken in New York in 1825 when the Ashkenazi synagogue, B'nai Jeshurun, was formed.

14 Keneseth Israel was organized in 1847.
and Beth Israel. Although in Mikveh Israel the Sephardi (Spanish) pronunciation was used and in the latter three the Ashkenazi pronunciation was used, the curricula in all of these schools were similar. They were limited for the most part to the study of Hebrew prayers, Bible, Jewish religion and preparation for Bar-Mitzvah. In Mikveh Israel, in the early years, in addition to tutoring in advanced Hebrew, tutoring in Spanish was also provided. Keneseth Israel provided in 1855 for religious lessons including the Hebrew language, to be given three times per week for three hours each day. By 1893 Rodeph Shalom had changed completely from its early beginnings. The Orthodox congregation with a heder for a school had become a Reform congregation offering only a Sunday school education. Keneseth Israel by this time offered Jewish education on Sunday and an additional day, as did Mikveh Israel. It seems

15 Beth Israel was organized in 1840.
17 Korn, "75 Years, 1655-1901," p. 11.
18 Minutes of Congregation Keneseth Israel, 3 June 1955. Classes were held Saturday, 1:00-4:00 P.M.; Sunday, 9:00-12:00 P.M.; Wednesday, 3:00-6:00 P.M.
20 Keneseth Israel reduced its school to a Sunday school in 1869. However, statistical data of Jewish religious schools prepared by Dr. Julius Greenstone for the year 1906-07 showed that, in addition to two hours on Sunday, school was in session for two hours on Thursday. Whether Thursday was an optional day, or when it was first offered, is difficult to determine. The nine hours of study originally offered had been reduced to four hours at the most.
that only Beth Israel offered a weekday school.  

There is no evidence available from which one can induce, deduce, or extrapolate conclusions on the quality of the education offered by the congregational school. One must assume, however, that it was quite weak. The teachers were required to have no training in order to teach. Often, they were volunteers. When they did get paid, remuneration was small. One can speculate, although this would not apply in every instance, that, although most of the teachers who taught in the congregational school were probably American born or at least "Americanized," their greater understanding of American pupils was offset by their lack of knowledge. Add to this the few hours provided for Jewish education by the congregational school, and it becomes reasonable to conclude that the achievements were minimal. The congregational school, by its very existence in Philadelphia, in the 1890s must be considered a potential source of pupils for Gratz College, which opened its doors to the community at this time. That this failed to materialize will be documented in a subsequent chapter.

The Private Teacher and the Heder

In addition to relying on the hazan to teach the children privately, at home or in the synagogues, the early German arrivals, still too few to launch schools, depended upon an itinerant private teacher, the melamed.  

By 1860 there were many families that hired

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21 In the statistical data mentioned in note 19, Beth Israel is listed as having school hours on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday, in addition to one hour on Saturday which was probably for Sabbath services.

tutors to instruct their children in the elements of Hebrew and basic religious precepts. With the increase in East European immigration by the 1870s, the melamed became a familiar figure among the Russian immigrants. Some still travelled from house to house. The more enterprising, however, assembled enough students to conduct classes after public school hours. Such a private school was called a heder. Independent of the synagogue, its locale could be the teacher's apartment, a vacant store, or basement.  

Of the itinerant private teacher it has been written:

...old Jews, almost invalids, who, lacking in strength to peddle other wares, became peddlers of the Torah. You saw them on the streets walking with their Siddur or Chumosh under their arms.  

The air was asphyxiated... the dispensers of Jewish education were seemingly limited to peddlers who visited Jewish homes with the Siddur and teitel (a pointer), instructing the Jewish children for a quarter a week in "tuition."  

A veteran educator wrote his recollections of a heder. It was conducted in a room over a stable, which he had found when first coming to the United States in 1903. He described the following scene:

The "melamed" was sitting on his podium engaged in his holy work. On the table, by his hand, was the "kantchik," (a whip) that he laid on the back of a "runner" from time to time, and

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the siddur was open in front of a pupil who sat near him and mouthed the words, one at a time, after him. Then he calls on a second pupil and a third, etc., and gives each one about five to ten minutes of attention: as soon as the pupil finished his turn, he is free to go. There were about twenty-five boys in the room, and all were playing in a confusion of noise and shouting—very young children and bar-mitzvah-aged boys all together. In the meantime, two women came into the room and the rabbi stopped his work and wrote letters to the women's relatives in Europe, for a fee of a quarter a piece... that "cheder" was typical... the overwhelming majority of "melamdim" were complete ignoramuses... and most of the children in the city received their Hebrew education in these self-same "hadarim" or from itinerant "melamdim" who went from house to house.27

There was little about the hadarim to attract an American youngster. Instruction was usually in Yiddish; the methodology was backward; incentive was the "rabbi's" strap and the "rabbi" himself was often poorly qualified. With few exceptions, the hadarim were unsuccessful.28 However, since the heder was a private enterprise, the possibility existed that, given the improbable circumstance that the teacher was knowledgeable and instinctively knew how to interact successfully with American children, the daily program could achieve some success. In some few instances it probably did.

Most of the pupils who later came to Gratz College had received their education at a heder or at a Talmud Torah, a more "professional" school with a number of classrooms and graded classes. The latter

26 The term "city" refers to New York, but conditions in New York were duplicated in Philadelphia and other Jewish communities. See, Edelstein, Jewish Teaching Profession, p. 18.


28 Grinstein, "In the Course of the Nineteenth Century," A History of Jewish Education in America, p. 55.
was supported by tuition fees and contributions of East European Jews and some of the more broad-minded German Jews.  

Isaac Leeser

One participant in the large migration from Germany would find his way to Philadelphia and through his drive and determination would make this city a center of Jewish creativity. Isaac Leeser immigrated to Richmond, Virginia, from Westphalia in 1824 at the age of eighteen to work in his uncle's store, training as a bookkeeper. He quickly learned English, but his love of Jewish tradition led him to spend far more time on Jewish studies than most newcomers. He volunteered to assist the Richmond hazan in his work, learning, in the course of his assistance, the Sephardi rite. He taught the children of the congregation as well. In 1828 he emerged into prominence when he wrote a strong, well-written article in the Richmond Whig in answer to attacks on Jews and Judaism which had appeared in the London Quarterly Review. In 1829, at the age of twenty-three, he was recommended to the congregation Mikveh Israel as a candidate for the position of hazan by Jacob Mordecai, a Virginia Jew with profound Jewish interests. On 6 September 1829 he was elected

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29 The first Talmud Torah in Philadelphia was the Central Talmud Torah. It was established on 30 June 1892 and was located at 622 South Ninth Street. See Freeman, Jewish Life in Philadelphia (Yiddish), pp. 81-82.

30 Isaac Leeser had received both a secular and a Jewish education before emigrating. He obtained his secular education at the gymnasium of Muenster and received his Jewish education from Rabbi Benjamin Cohen and Rabbi Abraham Sutro, an ardent opponent of Reform Judaism.

31 Korn, "75 Years, 1655-1901," p. 372.
for two years at a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum. He would continue to serve the congregation as its *hazan* until 1851.

During his lifetime Isaac Leeser wrote schoolbooks for children, prayerbooks for his congregants, and an English translation of the Bible, which remained standard for American Jewry until the twentieth century. He wrote treatises on Judaism and worked tirelessly to promote Jewish education on all levels.

Leeser was unceasingly active in all areas of religious involvement. He traveled throughout the United States delivering lectures, dedicating synagogues, propagating Judaism among its adherents, and defending both it and them when attacked. As early as 1830 he had instituted English sermons and no doubt used the pulpit to advance his ideas. However, he sought a greater forum and, in 1843, began publication of a highly influential and widely-read Jewish periodical, the first truly national Jewish magazine in the United States, *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate*.

From the beginning, Isaac Leeser deplored the fact that poor children had to get their scanty education in the common free schools, and, therefore, had no opportunity to acquire a knowledge of their religion. Wealthy Jews, on the other hand, had their children educated privately. He begged the congregation to support a school such as the

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32 Minutes of Congregation Mikveh Israel, 6 September 1829.

33 The periodical was published and edited by Isaac Leeser for twenty-five years (1843-1868), until his death. One year after his death it ceased publication. Young Mayer Sulzberger (in his early twenties) had helped Isaac Leeser with the publication, and continued to publish it alone for the year following Leeser's death.
one that he had established and, short of that, to start one of its own.

"... I again and respectfully address you a fourth time ... whether something could not be done to establish a school like the one I attempted in the spring of last year. ... My purposes are answered if a good man, capable and true, is entrusted with the education of our youth, and if even not the smallest part of enrollment should come to my share I would be satisfied to give all the aid in my power and even attend one hour every day to teach the Hebrew. ... Should we be willing to see our religion go down because unknown to a rising generation!"34

Following the Revolutionary War, many Americans realized that separate private, secular, and religious schools would not provide the equality, unity, and freedom necessary for the new democratic nation. Beginning in the early 1830s, state systems were organized that would provide public schools which would be open equally and freely to all. To preserve the religious freedom of all, no special religious instruction was permitted in these schools. Isaac Leeser foresaw a great danger to the perpetuation of Judaism in the development of this American form of secular education with its mandatory separation from religious studies, but he seemed a lone voice in Philadelphia at this time. He called out, but what came back for the most part was just an echo. His commitment to the idea, however, would not let him rest, and in time his efforts would be successful.35

The Sunday School

In the meantime, even while he was calling for more intensive

34 Minutes of Congregation Mikveh Israel, 27 March 1836.

35 See pp. 38-44 for a discussion on the Hebrew Education Society.
Jewish education, Isaac Leeser had already, while in Richmond, developed the notion of conducting Jewish classes on Sunday. This pattern had been adopted by church schools, mainly Protestant, which came into existence in the United States, especially after the adoption of the Massachusetts Statute of 1827, banning religious instruction from the public schools. Isaac Leeser influenced Rebecca Gratz to open such a school under the direction of the Female Hebrew-Benevolent Society. It was instituted at a meeting of Jewish women, held 4 February 1838 at which it was "Resolved, That a Sunday School be established under the direction of the Board (Female Hebrew-Benevolent Society) and teachers appointed among the young ladies of the Congregation (Mikveh Israel)."

36 Korn, "75 Years, 1655-1901," p. 11.


39 This society was organized to alleviate the suffering of indigent Jewish women. It was founded in 1819.

40 Morais, The Jews of Philadelphia, p. 146. Mikveh Israel was then located at Cherry Street above Third Street. It has been stated that a Jewish Sunday school was started prior to this in Richmond, Virginia. Isaac Leeser came from Richmond, Virginia, with this idea in his mind. Whether it was an original idea is not known. A footnote on p. 147 of The Jews of Philadelphia claims that the Hebrew Sunday School, in Philadelphia, has in its possession a tablet on which it is stated that this school was the first of its kind in America. The whereabouts of this tablet is not now known.
Contrary to the congregational schools, which were intended for the young sons and daughters of seat-holders in the congregation, and in spite of the fact that it was sponsored and directed by Mikveh Israel people, the Sunday school was opened to serve all Jewish boys and girls in the community. It opened with fifty children and seven teachers. This school was the beginning of an educational institution that was to thrive and spread and which is still in existence today as the Hebrew Sunday School Society of Philadelphia.

The Sunday school curriculum concentrated on Biblical history and religion. Hebrew language was rarely taught. Rosa Mordecai, a niece of Rebecca Gratz, wrote warmly of her recollections of a Hebrew Sunday school class conducted by her aunt.

The instruction must have been principally oral in those primitive days. Miss Gratz always began school with "Come ye children, hearken unto me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord." This was followed by prayer of her own composition, which she read verse by verse, and the whole school repeated after her. Then she read a chapter of the Bible. . . . The closing exercises were equally simple: a Hebrew hymn sung by the children, then one of Watt's simple verses, whose rhythm the smallest child could easily catch as all repeated: "Send me the voice that Samuel heard," etc. etc.

Many old scholars can still recall the question: "Who formed you child and made you live?" and the answer: "God did my life and spirit give"—the first lines of that admirable Pyke's Catechism, which long held its place in the Sunday school and was, I believe, the first book printed for it. The Scripture lessons were taught from a little illustrated work published by the Christian Sunday School Union. Many a long summer's day have I spent, pasting pieces of paper over answers unsuitable for

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41 Korn, "75 Years, 1655-1901," p. II.
43 Psalm 34:12.
Jewish children, and many were the fruitless efforts of those children to read through, over, or under the hidden lines. 

The school was removed in 1854 to the lower floor building of the Hebrew Education Society. For a Catechism they now used the one Mr. Leeser wrote for the school and dedicated to Rebecca Gratz. The very concept of Jewish education based on a catechism must have troubled Isaac Leeser. It was so un-Jewish. Yet, he must have reasoned, if a catechism must be used, he could devise one that would be better than the one in use. As for a Bible, the Reverend Leeser's edition replaced the old King James' version. Maps of Palestine and the Ten Commandments adorned the walls. Generally, books were not allowed to be taken home. As a result, the attempt to teach reading from Hebrew primers was in vain because any progress that was made one Sunday was entirely forgotten before the next lesson. Both Isaac Leeser and the Rev. Dr. (then Mr.) Morais were constant visitors. Isaac Leeser knew every child and teacher by name. All questions, simple or intricate, claimed his attention. There was occasional absenteeism, but by and large "good marks, pretty cards, and a general desire to improve or get a prize made attendance very regular." 

Rebecca Gratz resigned as superintendent and as president of the Hebrew Sunday School Society in 1864, at the age of eighty-four. In 1894, three years before Gratz College opened its doors, the pupil population of the Philadelphia Sunday schools numbered eighteen hundred.

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44 Marcus, "Rosa Mordecai," p. 283.  
47 Ibid.
The educational program provided in the Sunday schools was extremely limited.\textsuperscript{48} In spite of the fact that Isaac Leeser inspired its creation and involved himself in the first school, he was aware of its limitations. Yet, he regarded it as better than no schooling at all. In particular, he deplored the fact that no Hebrew was taught. He considered study of the Bible in its original form essential to its understanding. His hope was

... that, if children have tasted the waters of life, they will thirst for more. At the same time we should urge on the projectors and supporters of the Sunday School not to rest satisfied with this fragment of religious education, but to do all in their power. And if this is done, they must succeed to establish regular schools, under proper teachers to instruct all in the language of the Hebrews.\textsuperscript{49}

His hope did not materialize. The Sunday school was the only institution that thrived and spread during the nineteenth century.

The Hebrew Education Society--the Day School

Isaac Leeser remained undaunted in his quest for a more intensive Jewish education for children in Philadelphia. In 1843 he began to use the pages of the newly established periodical, \textit{The Occident and American Jewish Advocate}, to continue his cry for the establishment of Jewish day schools and for competent Jewish teachers. In the very first volume he wrote:

... There is, we acknowledge, an ardent devotion among most of us to the name of Israel; but unfortunately there is little else to designate the character which this feeling should establish.

\textsuperscript{48} The school usually met for four hours, beginning at 9:00 A.M. In some schools an additional three hours were offered on Saturday afternoon. See Grinstein, "In the Course of the Nineteenth Century," \textit{A History of Jewish Education in America}, p. 36.

How can it be otherwise? Where are our teachers? Where are our schools? our colleges? They have indeed been spoken of, and now and then projected; but they have unfortunately never been well established, and where they do exist, they have not been resorted to by all the classes of the community.50

In the May 1846 issue, Leeser again made an eloquent appeal in an editorial which he called, "A Plea for Education," which he concluded with the impassioned statement that Jewish children require Jewish teachers for their secular as well as their religious learning, "to urge on and to encourage by example and conversation a conformity to the duties first implanted by the watchful father and the anxious mother."51

This time Isaac Leeser's pleas were heard. Interest in establishing such a school was expressed in the community. At a meeting of the Israelites of Philadelphia held on 7 March 1847 a committee of seven was appointed to collect donations and annual contributions for the purpose of organizing an English and Hebrew School.52

On 4 June 1848 at a town meeting of Israelites, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia was adopted, detailing its objectives, its structure and its organization. Under the title, "The School," was described a school for both male and female students in which Hebrew, according to both the Portuguese and German reading, would be taught, as well as religion and elementary


branches of a secular education. The school received a state charter on 7 April 1849. Section three of that charter would figure prominently in the future development of Gratz College.

The school's primary purpose was the education of Jewish youth by competent teachers, with adequate means of instruction in Hebrew, as well as by competent general-studies teachers who, by virtue of the fact that they were Jewish would not, as in other schools, overtly or covertly transmit the doctrines of Christianity.

At the time the constitution and by-laws were adopted, a curriculum for the school had already been drawn up by a committee under the chairmanship of Leeser. The curriculum included English, Hebrew spelling, and reading in the first class. The more advanced pupils were to be instructed in geometry, natural history, natural philosophy, Rabbinic literature, German, French, Latin, Greek, botany, and chemistry. With only seven years of schooling projected, the curriculum was extremely ambitious and seemed more like that of a high school than that of an elementary school.

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53 Fifty Years' Work of the Hebrew Education Society (Philadelphia: Hebrew Education Society, 1899), p. 12 (henceforth: Fifty Years' Work). This school was not connected with any one congregation, but would serve the entire Jewish community.

54 Ibid.

55 Section 3--It shall also be lawful for said corporation to establish, whenever their funds will permit the same to be done, a superior seminary of learning within the limits of this commonwealth, the faculty of which seminary shall have power to furnish its graduates and others the usual degrees of bachelor of arts, master of arts, and doctor of law and divinity, as the same is exercised by other colleges established in this commonwealth.

56 Fifty Years' Work, pp. 90-92. 57 Ibid., p. 19.
On 7 April 1851, the society opened its first school in the same building that housed the Hebrew Sunday School, then thirteen years old. Twenty-two pupils were present, some of whom paid tuition and others who attended free. There was one instructor in Hebrew and one for all of the subjects taught in English. Seven weeks after the opening of the school the number of pupils had increased to seventy-one, necessitating additional instructors. Two assistant teachers were appointed.

The school was supported by private donations and by the proceeds of an annual charity dinner which was first organized in 1853. In 1854 the first and largest legacy bequeathed to the society was received when on 18 January 1854 Judah Touro, a well-known philanthropist and citizen of New Orleans died in his eightieth year and left the society twenty thousand dollars. That year the society purchased an old Baptist church property on the east side of Seventh Street, between Callowhill and Wood streets, renovated it completely and moved its school there.

In the report of the Chairman of the Board of School Directors tendered at a meeting held in June 1864, the curriculum, as outlined, showed some variation from the one originally projected. The Hebrew department consisted of spelling, reading, grammar, translation, and a study of the catechism. The English department offered spelling, reading, definition, grammar, etymology, geography, arithmetic, American history, English history, and natural philosophy. Both

58 The building was the hall of the old Phoenix Hose Company on Filbert (then Zane) Street between Seventh and Eighth streets.

59 Fifty Years' Work, pp. 23-24.

60 Ibid., pp. 39-44. The Hebrew Sunday School also moved into that site. The building was called Touro Hall.
German and Latin were also taught. Notably absent were Rabbinic literature, Greek, French, botany, and chemistry. On roll at that time were 108 pupils, 36 girls and 72 boys. Of that number, 60 were non-paying students. 61

Sessions were held five days a week, except on Jewish Festivals and Holy Days, and during a part of the summer. At its high point there were nearly 170 pupils in regular attendance. 62 The advanced subjects taught in the higher classes enabled the Society to secure permission from the state to have its graduates admitted into the public boys' and girls' high schools without any previous attendance in the public schools. 63

In 1878, after more than thirty years of operation as a day school, the society, because of problems of poor discipline, lack of good teachers, financial difficulties, community disinterest, ideological dissent, 64 and the rising popularity of the public school system, was compelled to abandon its general preparatory school and to limit its efforts to the teaching of Hebrew, the translation of Hebrew into English, Bible, and other Jewish subjects. In effect, it became

61 Ibid., p. 48.

62 Morais, The Jews of Philadelphia, p. 155. Among the students who later became famous in American Jewry was Cyrus Adler.

63 Fifty Years' Work, p. 22.

64 There were those in the community who objected to it because it was sectarian. They felt it was erecting a wall between themselves and the Gentile community. The fact that the school was open to all and that several of its pupils and its teachers were not Jewish did not lay their fears to rest.
a supplementary school which held sessions in the afternoon after public school hours. To facilitate this new purpose, the Hebrew Education Society opened two additional schools, one in 1878 in the vestry room of Congregation Bene Israel on Fifth Street above Catherine Street, and a second in 1879 at the corner of Marshall Street and Girard Avenue. 65

While the quality of education in the secular branch of the day school was sufficiently high to win its graduates entrance into the public high schools, the same cannot be said of the Jewish studies. The results in that area were poor. The curriculum was overburdened. In addition to some six to eight secular subjects which included one or two languages, the Jewish curriculum provided Hebrew reading, translation of the prayers and the Pentateuch, Biblical history, and perhaps some Hebrew grammar and writing. In such a diversified curriculum Hebrew language could not have occupied too prominent a place. Furthermore, there were few excellent textbooks for teaching the language. Usually the pupils moved to the study of the Pentateuch immediately after having learned to decode the language from the prayerbook in a mechanical fashion. 66 In established Jewish communities everywhere, the 1870s witnessed the passing of the day school from the Jewish scene in America. The one established by the Hebrew Education Society in Philadelphia followed the trend.

The society continued, however, to open schools. These were now devoted mainly to manual training and showed good, practical

65 Fifty Years Work, p. 93.

results. With the influx of East European Jews making its impact, the Society sought to expand its sphere of manual training and to contribute more to the general education and elevation of the newly arrived immigrant. A plot of ground was secured at Tenth and Carpenter streets, and there, a three-story building, named "Touro Hall," was erected with rooms for manual training, mechanical work, and secular, Hebrew and religious instruction. There were also meeting rooms and an auditorium with a seating capacity of more than six hundred. The year was 1891.

Isaac Leeser and Hyman Gratz

Eighteen hundred and fifty-one, the year the first school of the Hebrew Education was opened, was the last year of Isaac Leeser's service to Mikveh Israel. For more than twenty years he had served the Congregation. During this entire period, Hyman Gratz was on the Board of Managers of the synagogue. Minutes of the Congregation record that on all decisions made in reference to the terms of Isaac Leeser's contract, Hyman Gratz voted for the more generous terms, and in a dispute between Mr. Leeser


68 Hyman Gratz, the founder of Gratz College, was born in 1776. In 1818, Mr. Gratz was elected a director of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities (now The First Pennsylvania Bank, N.A.). Active in the affairs of Mikveh Israel, he was appointed gabay in 1824. He continued in that post until September 1856 when, at a meeting of the congregation, it was announced that Hyman Gratz had resigned. He was eighty years old at the time. See Minutes of the Junto from 18 April 1824 to 14 February 1881.

69 The Minutes of Congregation Mikveh Israel, 27 March 1836, record that Hyman Gratz moved that a committee be appointed to wait on Mr. Leeser and to engage him for five years at a salary of one thousand dollars per annum. The motion was defeated, and Mr. Leeser was engaged for three years. At a special meeting of the congregation on 17 May 1840, Hyman Gratz voted against efforts to reduce to five years a contract with Mr. Leeser for an additional ten-year period.
and the congregation concerning a bond "for due and faithful performance," Hyman Gratz was in the forefront of the struggle to resolve this problem to the benefit of Isaac Leeser. 70

The evidence of such unwavering support makes it reasonable to assume that Hyman Gratz respected Isaac Leeser and his ideas. One can hypothesize that it was not by chance that Hyman Gratz made provision for the establishment of the Gratz College, but, in part, because he was sensitized to the tremendous need for such an institution by the efforts and commitment of the Reverend Isaac Leeser.

His loyalty to Isaac Leeser is further seen in the events leading to the severence of Isaac Leeser's private service to Mikveh Israel. In 1849, when his contract was up for renewal, the Reverend Leeser took umbrage at certain clauses in the contract which outlined the performance of his duties and which appeared to him as unnecessary in view of his past performance. An anonymous article made its appearance in the October 1849 issue of The Occident entitled, "A Review of the Late Controversies between the Reverend Isaac Leeser and the Congregation Mikveh Israel." It was published without any authorization by or knowledge on the part of the congregation. The members were outraged. A special meeting of the Junta was called in which the anger of the board resulted in a resolution that the conduct of Isaac Leeser be formally censured. 71

70 Minutes of Congregation Mikveh Israel, 16 May 1841. Mr. Leeser felt that he did not have to post the bond. He felt he had amply demonstrated "faithful performance" during his previous years of service.

71 Minutes of the Junto, 18 April 1824 to 14 February 1881; 28 October 1849.
At another special meeting, this time of the congregation, called on Sunday, 28 April 1850, to deal with this matter, Hyman Gratz offered a resolution which supported the censure of the "anonymous pamphlet" but added that the congregation entertained the highest respect for Isaac Leeser for his religious principles, uprightness, and private character. The resolution did not pass.  

The controversy continued to rage, and in September a petition signed by members of the congregation requested the Adjunta to take measures for procuring candidates for a hazan previous to the time fixed for the election by the congregation. On 13 April 1851 six ballots were necessary for the defeat of Isaac Leeser and the appointment of Sabato Morais.

The matter did not end there. Pro-Leeser forces continued to work for a repeal of the censure which, on 11 December 1853 they effected at a meeting of the Adjunta. The following April, a special meeting of the congregation was held for the purpose of approving this action. Working against strong efforts to overturn the repeal, Hyman Gratz consistently voted to uphold the board's action. The final resolution for the repeal was passed by one vote. Hyman Gratz had voted yea.

In 1856, the year the Leeser matter was completely resolved, Hyman Gratz was eighty years old. That year he terminated thirty-two years as

72 Minutes of Congregation Mikveh Israel, 28 April 1850.
73 Minutes of the Junto, 24 September 1850.
74 Minutes of the Congregation Mikveh Israel, 13 April 1851. As a result of the failure to re-elect Leeser the Congregation of Mikveh Israel split. A small congregation of his friends, calling itself Beth El Emeth, was formed, with Isaac Leeser as hazan. After Leeser's death, the congregants returned to Mikveh Israel.
75 Minutes of the Congregation Mikveh Israel, 30 April 1854.
Gabay of Mikveh Israel. On 27 January 1957, he died. With his death, the Pennsylvania Company lost its president and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts lost its director of twenty-one years.

Hyman Gratz had never married. He had maintained an observant Jewish home, presided over by his sister Rebecca. He was six feet tall and had a commanding presence. He was spoken of as courteous and urbane, a polished gentleman who was honored and respected by all who knew him.

The following extract, written by one of his grandnieces, gives some insight into his character:

... I remember my uncle as one of the handsomest men I ever saw, and certainly the most imposing. He was like Saul, head and shoulders above his fellow-men. His beautiful white hair and light hat, felt in winter and straw in summer, could be seen for squares on Chestnut Street, which was not then so crowded a thoroughfare as it is at present. In his own family, he was the most amiable, attentive and courteous gentleman, beloved by a large and ever-increasing number of nieces and nephews, who delighted to gather around his hospitable table, where he presided with so much dignity, always leading the blessings on the nights of the Passover... His courtesy is remembered by the fact that he never left the office without turning to the clerks and saying, "Good day, gentlemen," and if by any chance this was omitted, he would invariably make some excuse for returning before taking his final departure.76

His will revealed that, in the event his heirs had no lawful issue, the trust which he established should be used for the establishment and support of a college for the education of Jews residing in the city and county of Philadelphia. His years of association with Isaac Leeser had left a deep impression on him. He, like Leeser, and partly because of him, had come to understand that Jewish education was in trouble in the United States. In that respect he seems to have been unique among the Board members of Mikveh Israel.

Other Influences on Hyman Gratz

Leeser was probably the strongest influence on Hyman Gratz in the area of Jewish education, but he was not the only influence. Another probable factor was his position in the "hierarchy" of Jews in Philadelphia. Gratz was an observant member of a German family which had successfully penetrated the Sephardi group. He became a leader in the Sephardi synagogue founded by the earliest Jewish immigrants to Philadelphia. By leaving his fortune to the Jewish community for the purpose of establishing a school for higher Jewish learning he at once combined the desire for leadership of the Sephardim and the great concern for education of the Ashkenazim. This double heritage provided fertile ground for the seeds that Isaac Leeser sowed.

A similar event, which had taken place in Philadelphia in 1831 on a much grander scale, is worth mentioning because of the possibility that it too, in some way, influenced Gratz's decision. In that year Stephen Girard died, leaving a will which provided that, under a bequest in trust to the city of Philadelphia of two million dollars, a college was to be erected for poor, orphaned white boys. This college would be maintained with an estate of about one million dollars.

Stephen Girard, born in Bordeaux, France, was a mariner, merchant, and philanthropist. He arrived in Philadelphia in 1776, the year Hyman Gratz was born. In 1812 he opened the Bank of Stephen Girard, which grew to be considered the strongest in the country. In 1831 he was involved

77 The term "college" here does not mean a school for higher learning, but rather a free home for boys and both an elementary and secondary school. The bequest has now grown to a huge endowment.
in the founding of the Merchants' Exchange at Third, Dock, and Walnut streets. He was considered the richest man of his time. On a much smaller scale, Hyman Gratz's career paralleled that of Stephen Girard. Both men made their appearance in Philadelphia in 1776, both were merchants, both were bankers, and both were active and successful men. There is no way of knowing whether they ever met, but it seems reasonable to assume that Stephen Girard was known to Hyman Gratz and that Hyman Gratz knew of the bequest and of the opening of the college on 1 January 1848.

Maimonides College

One cannot assume that Isaac Leeser knew of the contents of Gratz's will. Even if he had known, the uncertainty as to when, if ever, the money would become available, probably would not have permitted him to relinquish his fight for the establishment, in his lifetime, of a Jewish-sponsored institution of higher learning. Eventually, his persistence and tenacity were successful. At a meeting of the Hebrew Education Society on 5 June 1864, Isadore Binswanger, Chairman of the Board of School Directors, signalled the beginning of serious efforts in the direction of founding just such a school:

... The founders of our Society have, with much forethought, obtained a charter to enable us to establish a High School or College. The late Judah Touro endowed our Society munificently; and shall we, the members of the Hebrew Education Society, longer permit this want in our city, nay, in our whole country, to exist, of having no institution, no house of learning, where our young men can be properly educated for the elevated position of teachers and ministers? At no time in the history of our beloved country have our people enjoyed a greater degree of material prosperity than at present. Congregations,

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springing up in all parts of the land, are anxious to engage capable men for their guides and instructors; but where is the college in the whole country that can offer the opportunity for our native young men to become then qualified for the position of expounding the law and giving instructions in the holy language?\textsuperscript{79}

By pointing out the centrality of Philadelphia and the fact that the Hebrew Education Society was controlled by no congregation but was a community institution which recognized only the cause of religious and scientific education in its broadest sense, Mr. Binswanger left no doubt that his objective was to create a seminary that would serve the needs of Jews nationally.\textsuperscript{80}

A decision was made to establish the seminary under the joint auspices of the Hebrew Education Society and the Board of Delegates of American Israelites. Trustees were appointed, among them Moses A. Dropsie, Abraham Meyer Frechie, and Mayer Sulzberger, all of whom were to serve on the board of the future Gratz College. It became necessary to create a permanent endowment fund for the support of the college. Contributions were solicited. The largest contribution on record is five hundred dollars given by both Abraham Hart\textsuperscript{81} and Isadore Binswanger. Many individuals agreed to give a certain amount annually. The college, named Maimonides College,\textsuperscript{82} was formally opened on Monday, 28 October 1867. As was befitting, Isaac Leeser became provost of the college and president of its faculty.\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{79} Fifty Years Work, pp. 49-50. \textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p. 50.

\textsuperscript{81} Abraham Hart was treasurer of the Board of Trustees of the Hebrew Education Society. He was a leading publisher, an associate of the firm of Carey and Hart. He was president of Congregation Mikveh Israel as well as other charitable and educational institutions.

\textsuperscript{82} For a full citation of the rules and regulations for the government of Maimonides College see Fifty Years' Work, pp. 64-70.

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., pp. 55-56.
The projected course of study was very comprehensive, for the trustees hoped to ground the pupils thoroughly in a knowledge of Jewish law and traditions. Included in the curriculum were Greek, Latin, German, French, Hebrew, and Chaldaic languages and literatures. There were belles lettres, homiletics, and comparative theology. The Bible, Mishna, Talmud, and their respective commentaries, as well as Jewish history and literature, Jewish philosophy; Yad ha-Hazakah and Shulchan 'Arukh formed an important core of the program. In addition, the curriculum provided for studies in natural sciences, history, mathematics, astronomy, moral and intellectual philosophy, constitutional history, and the laws of the United States. Among a faculty of scholars, Isaac Leeser held the chair of English literature, logic, and homiletics.

On 1 February 1868, at the age of 61, just three months after the college opened, Isaac Leeser died. Moses A. Dropsie, President of the Hebrew Education Society and of Maimonides College, said of Isaac Leeser in the first report to the society on the College on 9 May 1869:

It [the college] owes its existence to the Reverend Isaac Leeser, and none know better than you, his co-laborers in Jewish education, that for the advancement of Judaism he dedicated his existence. The establishment of this college was one of the cherished objects of his life; and at length, when his incessant efforts were rewarded by its formation, death closed his labors ere he saw the fruition of his hopes. His death is an irreparable loss to the College. In honor of his memory, the Trustees have termed the first professorships of the Talmud, the Leeser Professorship.

He noted that Mr. Leeser bequeathed his valuable library to the college and he made a plea for increased support and encouragement, not only from

84 Ibid., pp. 56-57. 85 Ibid., p. 58.
Jews of Philadelphia but from all who felt any interest in the success of the college. He concluded by saying,

"Within a recent period noble hearted men have endowed American colleges with munificent gifts and have embalmed their names in honor to be remembered by remote ages. How long shall Maimonides College struggle; surely our peoples by the recollection of the learning and devotion of our ancestors have sufficient incentive without these examples to make this College a blessing and an ornament to American Judaism."

The college was destined to struggle throughout its brief existence. The Philadelphia Jewish community was not able to shoulder the total burden of its support, and nationwide support did not materialize. It had been hoped that the school would become "the most desirable institution for education of Jewish youth in the United States." Even if it had found some support, the future of the school would have been in doubt. Where would the pupils have come from who would have been prepared to handle the projected curriculum, or one even less comprehensive? The gap between the Jewish education offered and received in Philadelphia at that time and the background required to undertake, with any degree of success, the curriculum projected for Maimonides College, was so great that the success of the college was doomed from the beginning. Realistically, no more than a handful of pupils could have been expected to matriculate.

Even so, Philadelphia Jewry made an attempt to support the college, and the expenses necessary to maintain it were paid by the generous contributions of its citizens, in spite of the fact that Maimonides College was considered a national institution and desired to receive students and support from all parts of the country. Lack of financial aid from other cities, particularly from New York citizens, who seemed so eager to

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86 Ibid., p. 60. 87 Ibid., p. 61.
subscribe to the college when its objectives were first set forth, and a
general lack of interest in the entire undertaking, forced the college to
close its doors in 1873. In its six years of operation, despite its
excellent faculty, the school failed to attract a significant number
of students. It succeeded in graduating only three students: one teacher
and two ministers. 89

Jewish Education in Philadelphia in the
First Decade of the Twentieth Century

Other than itinerant private teachers, who had no established schools
and a very large number of hadarim, Philadelphia, in 1905, had twenty­
seven schools: 90

5 Congregational schools
8 Hebrew Sunday School Society schools
4 Hebrew Education Society schools
2 Orphan Asylum schools
3 Talmud Torahs
1 Yeshibah
4 schools managed by societies 91

88 Among the faculty of Maimonides College were Isaac Leeser (English
literature, logic, and homiletics); Dr. Sabato Morais (Biblical exegesis);
Dr. Marcus Jastrow (Talmud, Jewish literature, and Hebrew philosophy);
Hyman Polano (Hebrew and Mishnah).

89 Fifty Years' Work, p. 70. Eliezer Lam, a teacher in the Hebrew School
of the Hebrew Education Society, Rev. David Levy, and Rev. Samuel Mendelsohn
were the graduates.

90 All schools where children were taught Hebrew, Jewish history, and
Jewish religious institutions. The Sunday school taught Hebrew reading
(decoding).

91 Julius H. Greenstone, Statistical Data of the Jewish Religious Schools
(henceforth: Greenstone, Statistical Data of Jewish Religious Schools).
Of the five congregational schools, one, Rodeph Shalom, maintained only a Sunday school. Mikveh Israel and Keneseth Israel offered an additional two hours of instruction once during the week and Beth Israel and Adath Jeshurun offered additional instruction on two days during the week. Excluding the Hebrew Sunday School Society schools, most of the others met from three to five days a week.

Of the above mentioned schools, only Mikveh Israel followed the Sephardi ritual. Its leadership had been taken over by Ashkenazim long before, but among those leaders were many who considered themselves Sephardim.

The five congregational schools were maintained by congregations whose members were more or less Americanized. The numerous congregations established by the more recent immigrants did not consider it necessary to educate their children in their own synagogue. Their children provided the majority of the student population of all the other schools.

The three Talmud Torahs held daily classes. They were the Hebrew Free School, the Independent Talmud Torah and the Northeastern Talmud Torah. They provided an elementary education, mainly for children of East

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92 The Confirmation class met for two additional hours during the week.
93 Greenstone, Statistical Data of Jewish Religious Schools, p. 12.
94 For example, Both Dr. Cyrus and Judge Mayer Sulzberger considered themselves Sephardim.
95 Adath Jeshurun, Beth Israel, Keneseth Israel, Mikveh Israel, Rodeph Shalom.
96 Greenstone, Statistical Data of Jewish Religious Schools, p. 2.
97 Northeastern Talmud Torah was located at 820 North Fifth Street in the heart of Northern Liberties, a primary settlement of East European Jews. The Independent Talmud Torah was located at 623-629 Dickinson Street, an extension of another primary settlement, South Philadelphia. The Hebrew Free School is probably another name for the first Talmud Torah established in Philadelphia, the Central Talmud Torah. Other references to Talmud Torah
European immigrants. Hebrew, for the purpose of studying Bible and Siddur, was the main subject. Yeshibah Mishkan Israel also met on a daily basis. It provided a course of study for grown boys which centered on Bible and Talmud. In the Hebrew Education Society schools, which held sessions three or four times weekly, Hebrew was the main subject, with goals similar to that of the Talmud Torahs. In the congregational schools, which had weekday sessions in addition to those on Sunday, the weekday sessions were held for the purpose of teaching Hebrew. For the most part, English was the language of instruction in these schools. In some schools, however, classes were conducted in Yiddish.

The study of Hebrew among the children of the majority of East European immigrants, however, was on the decline in 1905. The parents did not care about it. They were more interested in having their children acquire the skills necessary for Bar Mitzvah. As a result, the heder was being increasingly ignored as more and more families opted for the visiting teachers who were employed when their sons became twelve years old. At age thirteen their sons' Jewish education was terminated.

The total number of pupils enrolled in all of the twenty-seven schools was less than 6,646. This number was divided almost equally among schools make no reference to a Hebrew Free School, but do mention the Central Talmud Torah. See appendices A, B, and C.

98 Greenstone, Statistical Data of Jewish Religious Schools, p. 6. In some of the Talmud Torahs and hadarim Yiddish was still the language of instruction. In all probability this was so because it was the only language the teacher knew, and the pupils still understood it.

99 Ibid., p. 3.

100 There is considerable overlapping in this figure since pupils attending Hebrew Sunday School Society schools sometimes attended Hebrew Education Society schools, Talmud Torahs, or hadarim. This figure includes enrollment figures of the twelve hadarim.
boys and girls. Each system differed in the ratio of boys to girls. In the Hebrew Sunday School Society schools, 63 percent of the student population were girls, but in the twelve hadarim, surveyed by Dr. Greenstone, only five girls were enrolled, somewhat over 1 percent. (see table 1).

### TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>1274</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hebrew Sunday School Society</td>
<td>1084</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>2909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew Education Society</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>177</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orphan and Foster Homes</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>227</td>
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<tr>
<td>Talmud Torahs (Yeshiva)</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>985</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Schools¹</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Schools (12 Hadarim)</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


¹Northwest Religious School, Montefiore School, Ethical Sunday School, Germantown Hebrew School.

In the Talmud Torahs, more than in the other schools, the average number of children in each class was very large. This prompted Dr. Greenstone to point out that this was contrary to the Talmudic precept that there should be no more than twenty-five children under the care

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¹The figures for the hadarim reflect the Orthodox tradition of demanding Jewish education only for the sons.
of one teacher. He suggested two possible reasons for this situation, the scarcity of teachers and the lack of sufficient classroom space. A third reason, in all probability, was the lack of sufficient funds. Lack of space was the culprit in the practice, prevalent in many of the schools, of having various classes meet in one room, a situation which created many discipline problems. 102

Among the schools surveyed there were 221 teachers. Of these, however, only ninety-four were paid. The inadequate means at the disposal of Jewish religious schools necessitated the use of volunteer teachers. In the Hebrew Sunday School Society schools, which had the largest enrollment, 103 there were very few paid teachers. The congregations were beginning to recognize a duty to their schools and were setting aside sums of money annually for their general management. There, many of the teachers were paid. The general situation, however, discouraged able men and women from becoming professional religious school teachers. 104

This was the situation in the Jewish educational community shortly after Gratz College opened its doors in 1898. Change would come about slowly during the next twenty years.

The Kehilla Experiment

The Philadelphia Jewish community (Kehilla) was established in 1911 under the leadership of Cyrus Adler. 105 The purpose of the community was

102 Greenstone, Statistical Data of Jewish Religious Schools, p. 6.
103 About 45 percent of the total.
104 Greenstone, Statistical Data of Jewish Religious Schools, p. 5.
105 Cyrus Adler attended one of the meetings of the New York Kehilla,
to further the cause of Judaism and to promote concerted action by the Jews of Philadelphia in respect to all matters of Jewish interest. The organization saw itself as an extension of the principles of Federation which it viewed as having been used with good effect in philanthropic work but wanting in nearly every other direction. 106

One of its primary spheres of interest was Jewish education. At the first meeting of the executive council on 15 November 1911, a committee on education was appointed "to consider the promotion of Jewish education in the City of Philadelphia with powers to confer with all persons and bodies in Philadelphia engaged in that work." 107 The committee engaged the services of Dr. Julius H. Greenstone to do a study of and prepare a report on the existing educational conditions in the city. His detailed study, "Survey of the Conditions of Jewish Education in Philadelphia" was printed in full in the First Annual Report of the Jewish Community of Philadelphia for the Year 1911-1912. 108 His conclusions showed that although there was a quantitative change, the qualitative state of education had changed very little from the year 1906-1907 when Dr. Greenstone had made his previous study. 109

established by Dr. Judah Magnes and became interested in the concept. See Cyrus Adler, I Have Considered the Days (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1941), p. 292.


107 Ibid., p. 10. Ephraim Lederer was the chairman of this committee.


109 See appendices A, B, and C for the following tables: Pupils and Teachers; Average Cost per Pupil and Teachers' Salaries; Schools, Location, Superintendents.
In addition to recommending the statistical study, the committee on education further recommended that a Jewish educational board be organized

... to be composed of representatives of various kinds of Jewish religious schools and of educational institutions for the purpose of organizing Jewish education in the City of Philadelphia, and to arrange for the formation of a conference of teachers and others engaged in Jewish educational work in the City of Philadelphia.¹¹⁰

On 3 November 1912, at the second annual meeting,¹¹¹ it was carried that "the recommendation of the Committee on Education, that a Board of Jewish Education to represent the entire Community be created, be approved,"¹¹² and the entire report was referred to the executive council for action.

Unfortunately, no results came from the attempt made by the Kehilla to organize Jewish education on a community basis. The effort was interrupted by the outbreak of the war and after the war the effort was not repeated.¹¹³ Cyrus Adler wrote in retrospect,

I think upon the whole that it was rather an error for the Jewish community in America to reject this form of organization, because at present [1939], through the Council of Federations, the only real organization that they have nationally rests upon the basis of philanthropy.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ First Annual Report, p. 22.
¹¹¹ This meeting was held at the Central Talmud Torah which was now located at 322 Catherine Street. Fifty-three delegates of the 197 delegates appointed by the 117 organizations in good standing were present.
¹¹² First Annual Report, p. 4.
¹¹⁴ Adler, I Have Considered the Days, p. 293. The Philadelphia Jewish community issued four annual reports, the last of which was published in 1916.
Instead, an effort was made in 1919 to federate the Talmud Torahs. The federation, which was at this time interested in extending its activities to include all Jewish organizations, recognized this association as a constituent and agreed to cover its annual deficit. The Associated Talmud Torahs were unable to cope with rising costs of living and the teachers salary demands. Following a teachers' strike it became evident that the Association had to undergo a complete change. Its board would have to be given complete control of the management of its constituted schools. 115

At the same time that the effort was made to reorganize the Associated Talmud Torahs (1921) an attempt was made to organize an Educational Group of Federation, representing all the educational agencies receiving community support (those affiliated with Federation). Dr. Adler, its chairman, decided that the guidance of a professional executive was necessary and Mr. Ben Rosen 116 was invited to give his professional services to the educational group. He was asked, however, to give his immediate attention to the Associated Talmud Torah. This immediate attention became fixed. The more comprehensive aspect of the original plan was lost sight of and Ben Rosen, although subsequently named director of the education group, served through the years as director of the Associated Talmud Torahs. 117


116 Ben Rosen had been superintendent of one of the largest Talmud Torahs in New York before coming to Philadelphia.

With the appointment of Ben Rosen as director of the Educational Group of Federation, the involvement of Federation in Jewish education in Philadelphia increased. Both he and Jacob Billikopf, the executive director of Federation, took unprecedented steps to expand and upgrade the availability of courses in Judaic studies in the city. Particular mention must be made of their efforts to increase the number of courses offered in Jewish studies and pedagogy at the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Billikopf was extremely interested in seeing this happen, and Mr. Rosen concurred. He contacted Dean Minnick, of the School of Education at the university and explored with him the possibility of including such courses in the curriculum. He predicted that there might be fifty students who would enroll in such courses, pointing out that there were forty students at Gratz College who were taking courses at the university towards their bachelor's degree. There were also 120 students registered in the Avukah (American Student Zionist Federation) organization who would, no doubt, be interested in taking some of the courses. He suggested a course in Principles of Jewish Education to be given by special lecturers through the School of Education, who would be paid by the university and be under its jurisdiction. In addition, he proposed two courses, Modern Hebrew Literature and Jewish History--Biblical and Post-Biblical. The heads of these respective departments, education, literature, and history, approved the courses in principle. Dean Minnick questioned Mr. Rosen on possible personnel for the courses and cautioned

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118 As early as 1782 one of the seven professorships at the University of Pennsylvania was in Hebrew and Oriental languages. See Abraham I. Katsh, Hebrew Language Literature and Culture in American Institutions of Higher Learning (New York: Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, 1959), p. 7.
him that the university was running on a deficit and that the financing of the courses might therefore hinder the arrangements. He, nevertheless, saw fine possibilities in the proposal.\footnote{Memoranda from Ben Rosen to Jacob Billikopf 19 January 1927, and to Dean J. H. Minnick, 17 March 1927. In 1867, provision had been made by which students of Maimonides College were enable to take certain courses at the University of Pennsylvania for which the university charged a nominal fee.} There was no further correspondence on the matter, and it appears that nothing came of it at that time.

A much more fruitful endeavor, and one that would have far reaching effects, was the convening by Federation of the Committee of Fifteen to study Jewish education in Philadelphia.

**Survey of Jewish Education in 1925**

In response to an invitation issued by Judge Horace Stern and Jacob Billikopf, a meeting was held on 25 April 1925, with about fifty representatives of congregations, rabbis, leaders in various educational institutions, and men and women identified with community work. The purpose of the meeting was to consider the status of Jewish education in Philadelphia at that time and to devise means of improving and extending the benefits of Jewish education to the various segments of the community.\footnote{Report of the Committee of Fifteen on Jewish Education (working draft), 4 November 1926, p. 2 (henceforth: Report of the Committee of Fifteen). This can be found at the Philadelphia Jewish Archives.}

Mr. Ben Rosen presented a survey of existing conditions. It indicated that in all of the educational agencies operating in Philadelphia, not quite twenty thousand children were being accommodated, a
figure representing about 39 percent of the entire possible school
population. Reporting on the status of Jewish education in 1914-
1915, Dr. Julius Greenstone had written,

It appeared that on the average not more than twenty-five per cent
or thirty per cent of Jewish children of school age in this country
are provided with any kind of Jewish training. . . . Similarly in
Philadelphia with an estimated Jewish child population of 41,322
only 10,199 were enrolled in its schools in 1912. 122

Adjusting Mr. Rosen's figure for admitted duplications would probably
bring it more into line with the figure quoted a decade before, approxi-
mately 30 percent. One half of those who did receive instruction were
taught for, at most, two hours a week at one school session. The
facilities in which these children were taught were most unsatisfactory
and, with the exception of those connected with congregations, there
were hardly any proper school buildings. There was a pressing need for
the construction of a number of new school buildings and for congre-
gations to consider means for the utilization of their facilities for
the accommodation of new pupils. 123

The Committee of Fifteen

It was resolved that a committee be appointed to study the many
aspects of the problem and to prepare a plan of action. Judge Stern

121 A figure that might be high since no effort was made to account
for duplication.

122 Greenstone, "Jewish Education in the United States," pp. 118-
120.

appointed a committee of fifteen. The committee was divided into five sub-committees, of which each was to study and report on a specific phase of the problem. They were to deal with the two problems mentioned above as well as how to reach larger numbers of children, adolescents, and adults, and how to effect the training of larger numbers of well-qualified teachers.

In the city at this time there were three kinds of agencies for Jewish elementary education: communal, congregational, and private.126 Among the communal schools, in addition to the Hebrew Education Society schools and the Hebrew Sunday School Society schools, there were Talmud Torahs127 and schools conducted at orphans' homes and sheltering homes. Among the congregational schools there were also different types of schools. There was the daily school conducted in the Orthodox synagogue,128 the three-times-a-week school run by the Conservative congregation, and the Sunday school maintained by the

124Dr. Cyrus Adler, Chairman, Mrs. Max Behrend, Mrs. Ephraim Lederer, Mrs. Hiram Hirsch, Rabbi Samuel Fredman, Rabbi Max D. Klein, Rabbi B. L. Leventhal, Rabbi Marvin Nathan, Rabbi Abraham A. Neuman, Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, Dr. Max L. Margolis, Judge William M. Lewis, Mr. Louis E. Leventhal, Mr. A. M. Burd, and Dr. Julius H. Greenstone as Secretary. Judge Stern and Mr. Billikopf also agreed to act as members of the committee.


126No mention is made of the Folk Shuln in the report, a fact which was objected to in an editorial on the report in the Philadelphia Jewish Times, 6 May, 1927. The report explains that they were dealing with religious schools only, and that schools which were avowedly secular, although Jewish from a national point of view, were not included.

127A Hebrew high school was opened in the fall of 1922 for instruction to graduates of the Talmud Torahs and the congregational schools.

128In spite of the fact that this type of school is mentioned in the Report of the Committee of Fifteen, very few Orthodox synagogues of those years had afternoon Hebrew schools attached to them. That developed much later when Orthodox synagogues, in imitation of the Conservatives, brought in rabbis from the Yeshivah.
Reform congregation. Both Orthodox and Conservative congregations often ran Sunday schools in addition to their regular schools. There was no coordination, and only very slight cooperation, among the various types of school, both communal and congregational. There resulted an unhealthy rivalry among them and a waste and duplication of effort.129

The final report issued by the committee two years later, in 1927, made recommendations for each aspect of the problem studied. The recommendation to increase the number of well-trained teachers available to the Jewish community was tantamount to a whole reorganization of Gratz College. The suggestions set forth by the Committee of Fifteen would serve as a basis for such reorganization in 1928.130

The recommendation to create a central authority to direct the affairs of the various organizations that maintained schools was promptly acted upon. On 13 June 1927, a conference was held at Dropsie College. Thirteen congregations, the Associated Talmud Torahs, Gratz College, Hebrew Education Society, Hebrew Orphans' Home, Hebrew Sunday School Society, Jewish Foster Home, the Council for Jewish Women, and the Young Men and Young Women's Hebrew Association (YM and YMHA) were represented. The following motion was presented and passed unanimously.

"It is the sense of the members of this Conference that a Council on Jewish Education in the City of Philadelphia should be formed."131

A committee of five was appointed to prepare the plan of organization.

129 Report of the Committee of Fifteen, p. 3.

130 Ibid., p. 9. See chapter XIII for more details on the recommendations made.

131 Minutes of the Conference 13 June 1927. This can be found at the Philadelphia Jewish Archives in the material on the Committee of Fifteen.
Action on the "Report of the Committee of Fifteen" would bring to a close the first phase of the development of Gratz College.

Summary

Even with its failures, there was no question that the Jewish community in Philadelphia had taken a commanding lead in American Jewish life throughout most of the nineteenth century. The "neighborhood" spirit made Philadelphia an ideal experimental center for American Jewish creativity. In great measure this was due to Isaac Leeser's commitment to Judaism and Jewish education and to his tenacity in his efforts to realize his goals. In a period characterized by the general absence of dynamic leadership, he offered authentic leadership and served Philadelphia Jewry with devotion for thirty-nine years. Even after his death, his influence continued to be strongly felt.

One can speculate whether there would have been a Gratz College without him. The seeds he planted in his relentless drive for good teachers to provide quality Jewish education found fertile soil in the person of Hyman Gratz. Hyman Gratz's legacy for the establishment of a college for the education of Jews in Philadelphia can be considered to be both a reflection of his own values and a memorial to the aspirations and efforts of his hazan, Isaac Leeser.

Philadelphia, in 1891, had between 26,000 and 28,000 Jews. They relied on hadarim, a few congregational and communal supplementary schools, and the Sunday schools to educate their children. Only the latter thrived. Perhaps the success of the Sunday school can be ascribed in part to the preponderant number of Jews in Philadelphia whom Alexander...
Dushkin would have called "gradual fusionists." These were Jews who considered themselves Jews only temporarily. They realized both the impossibility and undesirability of cutting loose completely from the immediate past. They believed that rapid assimilation would be harmful both to Jews and to America. They considered themselves members of the Jewish group and were willing to take part in its common life. They were willing to support institutions such as hospitals, orphan homes, relief for the poor, and homes for the aged, but were not willing to support institutions such as the synagogue or religious school which expressed more normative aspects of Jewish life. These "fusionists," who maintained that the method of social merging must be gradual, were interested to some extent in Jewish education. They either supported Jewish education in the spirit of philanthropy, believing that it helped bridge the gap between the immigrant parent and his American child, or they sent their children to Jewish schools because of family tradition, which directed every parent to send his child to Sunday school as a matter of family custom. This group did not maintain schools of their own. They did contribute, however, to the growth and expansion of the Hebrew Sunday school.

The Sunday school, adopted by so many, became a terminal educational goal. The spread of the Reform interpretation of Judaism which stressed religious ideas rather than traditional Jewish practices and


133 Ibid., p. 12. Although this was written about Jews in New York, it was applicable to Philadelphia Jewry as well.

134 Ibid., p. 13.
institutions, and the elimination of Hebrew in the synagogue services were both factors in its success. Its minimal educational program could be served by volunteer teachers who did not have to be adequately equipped in Judaic and Hebraic knowledge. It was an inexpensive program, it fit into American routine easily, and it appealed to the new Jewish settlers who were struggling for economic advancement and acculturation. 135

This was the educational community in which Gratz College opened its doors in 1898, a community which contained schools which met once a week and taught little, as well as one-room private schools full of reluctant pupils. Most of the teachers at that time were private teachers or volunteers. In a community in which less than 30 percent of the available children attended any type of Jewish school, Gratz College would open its doors with the avowed purpose of training professional teachers for Jewish religious schools.

During the years 1908-1928, Jewish education in Philadelphia, like all of Jewish life, became much better organized than at any previous time. The weekday afternoon school, which taught Jewish history, reading the prayer book, and the Hebrew language, became quite popular. 136 In spite of the improvement in its organization, Jewish education was still only reaching about 30 percent of the eligible children, and, of those, 50 percent were attending Sunday school only. Jewish education was still confronted with a lack of competent teachers. There were schools under congregational and communal

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135 Chomsky, "Beginnings of Jewish Education in America," Gratz College Annual of Jewish Studies, p. 11.

136 In the twenties and thirties this became a major form of Jewish education.
auspices as well as a large number of private schools. The teachers in the private schools generally had received their Jewish training abroad, while those in the three-day-a-week or one-day-a-week school generally were Americanized or native-born. The community had one high school, established in the early 1920s for graduates of the Talmud Torahs and congregational schools, with both a regular and an extension department. The extension department had as many as fourteen classes meeting in nine locations throughout the city. There was great concern among the leadership about the need to expose more children, adolescents, and adults to Jewish education. This was one of a number of problems which motivated Federation to form a committee to study the problem of Jewish education in Philadelphia. The study resulted in a number of changes for Gratz College and the community. Notable among these changes was the formation of a central agency for Jewish education.

Against this backdrop, and as part of its pattern, the development of Gratz College was about to occur.

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137 Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 10 July 1925, p. 10.
On 18 December 1856 a deed of trust was entered into by Hyman Gratz of Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance of Lives and Granting Annuities. This deed of trust provided that from and immediately after his decease the income and interest of the properties and stocks which had been set aside were to be distributed to three heirs in the manner specified, Martha Ellen Sprigg, Robert Gratz (the adopted son of Hyman Gratz), and Horace Moses (nephew of Hyman Gratz).

It further provided that

. . . If the said Robert Gratz shall die without leaving any lawful issue, as aforesaid, or if such issue, be there any, shall die under the age of twenty-one years, then, in trust, to pay over the nett income of the said trust estate in manner aforesaid to HORACE MOSES, nephew of the said Hyman Gratz, during all the term of his natural life; and after his decease to stand seized and possessed of the said trust estate to and for the only proper use and behoof of the lawful issue of the said Horace Moses, if any, as shall live to attain the age of twenty-one years, if one person solely, and if more than one in equal shares as tenants in common, his, her or their heirs and assigns forever; and in case there be no such lawful issue of the said Horace Moses, or if any, none shall live to attain the age of twenty-one years, then to convey and assign all the said trust estate and premises to the PORTUGESE HEBREW CONGREGATION "KAAL KADOSH MICKVE ISRAEL," of the city of Philadelphia, and their successors, in trust for the establishment and support of a college for the education of Jews residing in the city and county of Philadelphia for which purpose the rents and income

1 Hereafter referred to as the Pennsylvania Company.

only of the said trust estate shall be used and applied from time to time, and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever.3

Scarcely more than one month later, on 27 January 1857, Hyman Gratz died in his eighty-first year. Martha Ellen Spriggs received monies from his estate until her death in 1870. Seven years later, Robert Gratz died, unmarried and without lawful issue, and on 15 October 1893, Horace Moses died, also unmarried and without leaving lawful issue. Upon the death of Horace Moses, the Pennsylvania Company filed its account as trustees in the indenture.4

Preliminary Steps, 1893-1895

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Kaal Kadosh Mikveh Israel held on 29 October 1893, Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, a member of the board, notified the congregation that the Hyman Gratz trust estate had become vested in the congregation for the establishment and support of a college for the education of Jews residing in the city and county of Philadelphia.5 Upon motion of Dr. Solis Cohen,

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3See appendix D for a complete copy of the deed of trust.

4Trust for Portuguese Hebrew Congregation Kaal Kadosh Mikveh Israel under Deed of Trust Hyman Gratz to the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities. Court of Common Pleas No. 4 of Philadelphia County. September Term, 1906, No. 3983, Petition in the matter of 1010 Bainbridge Street.

5An article in the Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 3 November 1893, comments on the bequest, saying that it could produce a decided change in the future of Judaism in America. It makes the assumption, however, that this money would go to the Jewish Theological Seminary, stating, "One hundred thousand dollars judiciously expended on the Jewish Theological Seminary--for that is the most appropriate and likely beneficiary--would make that beyond question the foremost Jewish educational institution on the land." It notes that this might require the seat of the seminary to be moved to Philadelphia to fulfill the
it was carried that a committee of seven be appointed by the parnas from among the members of the congregation, with the hazan, parnas, and secretary of the congregation as ex-officio members, to consider and report on this subject.\textsuperscript{6}

A letter to the editor of the \textit{Jewish Exponent} just twelve days later expressed the gratitude of one gentleman upon hearing the news of the bequest. He wrote of the need for genuine Jewish teachers to expound the law and teach the history of our people, and bemoaned the fact that there was no school in the country to train Jewish teachers. He commented,

\ldots at present we can scarcely say that the majority of our teachers are what they should be. Not knowledge alone, but the method of imparting it as well as the moral and religious bent of the teachers mind must be considered. Here is a chance for the Jewish community of Philadelphia to become strengthened and distinguished.\textsuperscript{7}

It was, in order to bring this vision to reality, therefore, that on 18 November 1893, at the residence in the rear of the Synagogue of the Kaal Kadosh Mikveh Israel at 117 North Seventh Street, the following gentlemen met: Solomon Solis Cohen, Mayer Sulzberger, Charles J. Cohen, Samuel N. Hyneman, David Sulzberger, Cyrus Adler, terms of the will, which would be most welcome to Philadelphia Jews, and concludes that "the design of Hyman Gratz and Isaac Leeser would thus be gloriously carried out and the builders would have builded better than they knew."


Gratz Mordecai, Horace A. Nathans (Parnas, ex-officio), Rev. Dr. Sabato Morais (Hazan, ex-officio), and Isaac Feinberg (Secretary, ex-officio).  

An extract from the minutes of the Board of Managers of the Kaal Kadosh Mikveh Israel meeting held on 29 October 1893 was read establishing the above men as a committee on trust estate and designating Dr. Solis Cohen as its chairman. A copy of this deed of trust was presented.  

The committee then elected Isaac Feinberg, Secretary of the Congregation, to be secretary of the committee and instructed him to obtain from the Pennsylvania Company the inventory of the estate and an estimate of its value.

The Board of Managers of the congregation then proceeded to authorize the committee on behalf of the congregation to receive the deeds and securities of the trust and redeposit them with the Pennsylvania Company in the name of Kaal Kadosh Mikveh Israel-Hyman Gratz Trust. The deposit was to stay at least until decisions were made on how the trust would be governed. At this same meeting an informal discussion was held about what the character and methods of the proposed institution should be. The suggestions that resulted from that discussion became the groundwork for a report to be presented to the Board of Managers on the best means to carry out the terms of the trust.

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8 Minutes of the Gratz Trust of the Kaal Kadosh Mikveh Israel (henceforth: MGT), 18 November 1893.  
9 Ibid.  
10 Ibid.  
11 Ibid., 18 February 1894.
At the third and final meeting of this committee (22 April 1894) Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen placed the report before the committee, which considered it carefully and adopted it unanimously. 12

In order to understand the decisions made by the committee as to the scope of the undertaking, one must turn briefly to the specifics of the bequest.

A letter from the Pennsylvania Company dated 9 December 1893, listed the following assets in the estate:

156 shares Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities
$5,000 Philadelphia 6% Loan free from taxes due 1 January 1896
$1,300 Philadelphia 6% loan free from taxes due 1 July, 1897
$1,850 Pennsylvania 4% Loan due 1912
$9,000 Pittsburgh 7% Water Loan, due 1 April, 1898
$8,000 Bond and Mortgage of Amelia Kind on lot of Ground with 5 Brick Houses and 2 frame dwellings in Pittsburgh
$300 Philadelphia Loan Series A due 31 December, 1892
$499.96 Cash
Real Estate No. 704 Market Street
Real Estate S. E. Cor. Bainbridge and Erie Sts. clear of encumbrance 13

The exact amount received on 20 March 1895, by the congregation upon the adjudication of the Orphans Court of the account was $105,724.71. 14 This excluded the two pieces of Philadelphia real estate which at the time had not been transferred by deed to the Board. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the total amount mentioned

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12 Ibid., 11 April 1894.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid., 19 May 1895.
variously as $150,000 and "between $130,000 and $150,000" is a close estimate of the total value of the estate. The annual income of the estate at the time it was received was noted at $5,799.

Faced with the reality of the stated annual income, the committee had to find a way to actualize Hyman Gratz's dream of a college for the education of Jews. The tentative plan the committee submitted to the Board of Managers contained the essential guidelines to be considered.

1. The college must necessarily be one of limited scope since the income is not sufficient to endow a college to give instruction in all branches of a liberal education.

2. The nature of the work to be undertaken should be the teaching and study of the subjects which appertain to what might be called the Science of Judaism. Even here the limited income suggests selectivity.

3. It is important not to rush any decisions so that the foundation of the college could be laid down wisely.

4. It would be desirable to establish a college in which young men and women pursuing secular studies at other schools might be taught certain branches of Jewish knowledge, especially the Hebrew language and something of its literature and the history of Jews and Jewish thought including the relation of Jewish history and thought to the general history of civilization.

5. The work should be in some measure related with the educational work of the city as a whole. Means of cooperation should be sought with the University of Pennsylvania, the public schools and private academies wherein the pupils of the College are studying.

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17 MGT, 31 March 1895. See appendix E for breakdown of the income among the assets.
6. Some relation should be sought between the college and the general educational activity of the community in order to familiarize members of the community with the true character of Jewish life and thought.

7. To address the need for teachers of Judaism and Jewish learning a limited number of scholarships should be considered through which qualified persons would be enabled to pursue Jewish and secular studies coincidentally.

8. Annual lectureships upon topics of Jewish interest should be established open to the public and free of any charge.18

The committee pointed out that since the congregation decided to appoint a committee directly responsible to the congregation, and to give it somewhat enlarged powers to consider the same subject, it thought it advisable that its accounts be audited and that the committee members be discharged.19

The committee concept of a college of limited scope and its concern for the need in Philadelphia for teachers of Judaism and Jewish learning were to be most influential in shaping the organization of the college. The committee was able to accept more readily the limited scope of the college because it envisioned the college as being a cooperative endeavor with secular educational institutions, thereby creating a total learning experience for the pupil. Unfortunately, the latter aspiration never materialized.

18 Ibid., 22 April, 1894. Dr. Abraham Neuman, writing of Cyrus Adler, attributes to him the basic suggestions of how to implement the trust. He writes, "The fund was obviously insufficient for a general college and the congregational authorities sought the advice of several of the leading college presidents. They also consulted Dr. Adler in Washington. His fertile mind solved the problem. He proposed what became in effect the first Jewish teachers training school in America." The American Jewish Yearbook 5701 (1940-1941), pp. 57-58.

19 MGT, 22 April 1894.
At the same meeting, Moses A. Dropsie, Esq., had moved, and it had been carried,

... that a Committee of members be appointed, who shall form a standing Committee in whom shall be vested the power of administering the Gratz Trust, and they shall formulate rules and regulations for the government of the Trust and of their own body and ... report ... to the Congregation, which may accept or reject them. 20

The same committee was now reappointed by the parnas of the Congregation with the addition of Messrs. Moses A. Dropsie as chairman, Abraham Meyer Frechie and Levi Mastbaum. This increased the membership of the committee to eleven as mandated at the semi-annual meeting of the congregation held 15 April 1894.

The newly appointed Hyman Gratz Trust Committee 21 met for the first time on 7 May 1894 with Moses A. Dropsie presiding. David Sulzberger was chosen by voice vote to be secretary. Dr. Cyrus Adler presented a plan of organization for the Permanent Committee of the Gratz Trust to be submitted to the congregation for adoption, the major points of which were the following:

1. **Composition:**

Members of Mikveh Israel, to be known as "The Hyman Gratz Trust of the Kaal Kadosh Mikveh Israel of Philadelphia."

2. **Fiscal Responsibilities:**

(a) Manage the principal of the Trust, (b) receive the income therefrom, (c) invest and reinvest the income in legal securities in the name of "The Hyman Gratz Fund."

20 MGT, 7 May 1894.

21 Moses A. Dropsie, Chairman, Mayer Sulzberger, Charles J. Cohen, Cyrus Adler, Gratz Mordecai, Solomon Solis Cohen, Samuel M. Hyneman, Esq., David Sulzberger, Abraham Meyer Frechie, Levi Mastbaum, Horace A. Nathan (the parnas of the congregation) with the Reverend Sabato Morais (the hazan of the congregation) and Isaac Feinberg (the secretary of the Congregation) as ex-officio members.
3. **Educational Responsibilities:**

(a) Determine the course and manner of education in the College and schools \(^{22}\) to be established by it, (b) establish entrance qualifications and terms of admission, (c) select the instructors and fix their compensation.

The committee would be vested with the power of adopting whatever rules it would deem necessary for the proper administration and management of the College and schools. To fill vacancies on the committee the committee would place nominations before the congregation who would then elect. No vacancies were to be filled until the committee numbered less than nine, the number which would comprise the committee thereafter. \(^{23}\)

The formal organization of Gratz College could not be effected without amendments to the constitution and by-laws of the congregation. At the annual meeting of the congregation on 23 September 1894, Messrs. Mayer Sulzberger, Samuel M. Hyneman, and Moses A. Dropsie were appointed to prepare such amendments in proper form. \(^{24}\)

In the meantime, the committee, mindful of the proposal of the original committee on the Hyman Gratz Trust, that annual lecture-ships upon topics of Jewish interest be established, voted to

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\(^{22}\) Reference is probably to the establishment of an elementary school which would serve as a School of Observation and Practice. Such a school was considered by the Board in 1899.

\(^{23}\) Ibid. Nine men would constitute the committee eventually. That number would be reached through attrition. Until the committee numbered eight men no vacancy would be filled. At that point one vacancy would be filled.

\(^{24}\) MGT, 29 November 1894.
appropriate seven hundred dollars\(^{25}\) for a series of lectures during the year 1894 and 1895. They also decided to invite Mr. Solomon Schechter, M.A., a reader at the University of Cambridge, England, to deliver the lectures.\(^{26}\) Mr. Schechter elected to speak on Rabbinic Theology and delivered a series of six lectures\(^{27}\) on successive Mondays and Thursdays from 11 February 1895 to 28 February 1895 at the Academy of Fine Arts.\(^{28}\)

The Founding, 1895-1898

Precisely at that time, while Solomon Schechter was initiating its academic life, Gratz College was born. On 6 February 1895, the necessary amendments\(^{29}\) to the constitution and by-laws\(^{30}\) bearing

\(^{25}\) In the treasurer's account included in the Minutes of the Gratz Trust dated 7 May 1895 there is a breakdown of the expenses incurred for the lectures as follows: $500 Lectures; $150 Rent of Hall at $25/night; $51.25 Printing expenses.

\(^{26}\) MGT, 28 November 1894.

\(^{27}\) In a letter to Judge Mayer Sulzberger written 9 July 1896 Solomon Schechter writes, "I am now working on my Aspects (the lectures given in America) and am very anxious that the English shall be perfectly Kosher. Will you now go through the proofs to correct the English. .... Of course I am greatly enlarging the essay and altering much. .... I want also to mention in the preface my obligations to the Gratz Committee. ...." Meir Ben Horin, "Solomon Schechter to Judge Mayer Sulzberger," Jewish Social Studies 25 (October 1963):258. The reference to Aspects in the above letter is to a volume which Dr. Solomon Schechter wrote entitled, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology which combined his Gratz lectures and other essays published in the Jewish Quarterly Review and which are considered the beginning of the first attempt at a systematic presentation of theology of the rabbis. The American Jewish Yearbook 5677 (1916-1917), p. 33.


\(^{29}\) MGT, 9 May 1895.

\(^{30}\) See appendix F for complete listing of amendments.
directly on the work of the trust were adopted by the congregation.

The Congregation was authorized through these amendments to elect
nine trustees of the college to be established by it who would
constitute a board of trustees of the Gratz College. This board
was empowered to fill any vacancies which might subsequently occur and
to choose from among its number a president, secretary and treasurer,
one of whom could hold a corresponding office in the congregation.
The board, after its election, would divide itself by lot into
three classes whose term of office would be two, four, and six years.
respectively so that three trustees would be elected every two years.
The amendment on education (Article 6) read

The congregation shall establish, as early as may be, a college
for the education of Jews residing in the city and county of
Philadelphia. The rules and regulations for the establishment
and government of the college shall be prepared and adopted by
the Board of Trustees, but shall not be valid until ratified
by the congregation. The college, when established, shall be
under the government of the Board of Trustees who shall have the
exclusive custody and management by their officers of all funds,
assets and general property in anywise applicable to the purpose
of the college. All investments and re-investments shall be in
the name of the Board of Trustees of the Gratz College.\textsuperscript{31}

The amendments to the by-laws addressed the duties of the officers
of the Board of Trustees. The president would preside at all the
meetings, have general superintendence of the College and of all
of the faculty, salaried officers and employees and sign all checks
drawn up by the treasurer and countersigned by the secretary. He
would have custody of all the title papers, books, papers and seals
of the college and could authorize expenditures up to twenty-five

\textsuperscript{31} MGT, '17 February 1895.
dollars without consent of the Board of Trustees. The treasurer was responsible for keeping a true and correct account of all funds, receipts, and disbursements. He was to submit a statement at each regular meeting (quarterly) and an annual report at the annual meeting. He had custody of all the funds belonging to the Board of Trustees but could pay no sum unless by order of the president. He was required to post bond for the faithful discharge of the duties of his office. The secretary was charged with keeping correct minutes of the meetings and in general performing other duties that the Board might require. The Board of Trustees, as a body, would be required to submit an annual report of their proceedings for the preceding year to the congregation. 32

The Board of Trustees

Immediately after the adoption by the Congregation of the amendments, a special meeting was called to elect trustees. The following gentlemen were chosen to serve on the Board: Moses A. Dropsie, Mayer Sulzberger, Cyrus Adler, Charles J. Cohen, Gratz Mordecai, Samuel M. Hyneman, Horace A. Nathans, Abraham Meyer Frechie, and David Sulzberger. In accordance with Section 3 of Article 2 of the constitution, the above men were divided into three classes. Mayer Sulzberger, Cyrus Adler, and Charles J. Cohen were to serve for two years, with their terms expiring in February 1897. Moses A. Dropsie, Horace A. Nathans, and David Sulzberger were to serve four years, and Gratz Mordecai, Samuel M. Hyneman, and Abraham Meyer Frechie for six years. 33

32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
The trustees met immediately after the congregational meeting adjourned and elected Moses A. Dropsie, Esq., President of the Board of Trustees; David Sulzberger, Secretary, and Charles J. Cohen, treasurer. They also decided to look into the preparation of a device for a seal, to bond the treasurer for ten thousand dollars for the faithful performance of his duties, and to appoint a committee to devise the rules and regulations for carrying on the work of the Board of Trustees. One week later rules concerning these matters were adopted. All reports would be in writing; all votes would be by voice, standing committees would be appointed by the president. An order of business was decided upon, as well as a schedule of meetings. The annual meeting would be held on the last Thursday in August, two weeks after the close of the fiscal year. At the same time, the board tendered its thanks to K. K. Mikveh Israel for their offer of the lower hall of the synagogue for the use of the college. A sum of $250 was appropriated to put the room in proper condition for lectures.

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34 Ibid.

35 A letter dated 18 February 1895 from the Real Estate Title Company and recorded in the Minutes of the Gratz Trust 24 February 1895, confirms their willingness to become surety for Charles J. Cohen, Esq.

36 MGT, 17 February 1895.

37 Elections only would be held by ballot.

38 Quarterly meetings were to be held the second Thursday in February, May, August, and November. This was changed to the last Thursday to conform with the date of the annual meeting.

39 MGT, 24 February 1895. 40 Ibid.
Projected Organization of the College

The most important work now before the committee was to make the final decisions on what kind of college to establish. A committee of three, Dr. Cyrus Adler as chairman, and Messrs. Charles J. Cohen and A. M. Frechie, had been appointed by the president to consider the steps to be taken for carrying out the objectives of the Gratz Trust. \(^{41}\) They were ready to report their recommendations at the first annual meeting of the Board of Trustees, on 29 August 1895. A milestone in Jewish education in the United States had been reached.

The following principles of organization were determined by the Board:

1. Gratz College shall be devoted to the knowledge of Jewish history, literature, religion and the Hebrew language.

2. The curriculum of the College shall be especially designed for teachers who will upon successful completion of the course be awarded a certificate.

3. The subjects to be taught shall include an Introduction to the Bible—a history of the text and versions and a summary of the contents, as well as the Hebrew language both Biblical and Mishnaic.

4. The subjects shall also include Jewish history from the most ancient time down to the present, Jewish literature and Jewish religion.

5. The instruction shall be given at hours which will not conflict with those of the high schools and the university.

\(^{41}\)MGT, 9 May 1895.
6. The principal method of instruction shall be regular class teaching [to be read as "lectures to formally constituted classes"].

7. An annual appropriation shall be made for building up a library to supplement the collection of Judaica in the Leeser Library.

8. An effort shall be made to open the college one year hence, on 1 October 1896.

In addition, the Board agreed to appropriate a sum of seven hundred dollars for a second series of lectures to begin in November 1895. A standing committee on education was authorized to carry out the decisions. 

The most significant decision made by the committee was to design the curriculum especially for the training of teachers. Just as Cyrus Adler saw in the Jewish Theological Seminary the opportunity to train young modern English-speaking rabbis of East European descent to serve the East European masses in the process of acculturation, so must he also have seen the need for well trained American or "Americanized" teachers. In Philadelphia at that time there was no such phenomenon as the trained Jewish teacher. Even well-educated East Europeans who were engaged in teaching could not be spoken of as trained teachers. They no doubt had the requisite knowledge of Judaism and were observant of its precepts, but they had had no special training to be teachers and were hampered by their foreign birth and a complete lack of understanding of children being raised in America. While zeal and necessity made them attentive to their work, it did not bridge the enormous gap between them and their pupils.

\[42\] MGT, 29 August 1895.
On the other hand, Philadelphia had a large corps of "amateur" teachers, most of whom were working without remuneration. While among this group were public school teachers who may have had some training in the art of teaching, they all suffered from a serious lack of Jewish knowledge. Regardless of how willing and how dedicated their teachers may have been, they could not give more than they had, and for many what they had was woefully inadequate. The plan of the Board of Trustees was to create a source of supply of knowledgeable American Jewish teachers. For the time being "know-how" was neglected in their plan. Perhaps they hoped the methodology would be supplied by the secular institutions in the envisioned cooperative arrangement. A more likely reason, however, is that the Board did not consider methodology important. Their concern was to produce knowledgeable Jews. Nowhere in their statement of principles of organization does the word "pedagogy" appear. We do find, however, the first principle of organization stating that Gratz College shall be devoted to the acquisition of knowledge.

The Jewish Exponent was editorially enthusiastic about the proposal. It affirmed the wisdom of and supported the objectives of the College. It applauded the fact that the decision was made to found neither a post-graduate school to train specialists nor an elementary school, but rather to fill the void that existed for those who wanted to go beyond an elementary school education, particularly those who wanted to qualify themselves to be Jewish.

43 Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 7 May 1897, p. 4.
teachers. In addition, the editors of the Exponent saw the institution as a potent influence in the formation of an intelligent laity that would make Judaism independent of any special class or profession. "To Philadelphia," the editorial stated, "this institution will be of incalculable value and to its Jewish youth an opportunity for which they ought truly to be grateful and which is to be utilized to the utmost." 44

Lectures, 1895-1896

Without losing any time, the standing Committee on Education which had been established proceeded with the work of organizing the second series of lectures to take place from November to March, 1895-1896. The honorarium was fixed at fifty dollars with travelling expenses paid for those lecturers coming from other cities. Of the nine lectures contracted, the following seven were delivered.

"Italian Jewish Literature" - Rev. Sabato Morais, L.L.D. (honorary), Hazan of Mikveh Israel, founder of the Jewish Theological Seminary

"The History and Future of the Text of the Talmud" - Rev. Marcus Jastrow, scholar, Rabbi of Rodeph Shalom, former professor at Maimonides College

"The Sets of Paradise and the Babylonian Nimrod Epic" - Dr. Paul Haupt, professor and head of the Oriental Seminary in John Hopkins University

"Jewish Physicians and the Contributions of Jews to the Science of Medicine" - Dr. Aaron Friedenwald, distinguished Baltimore ophthalmologist, active in local and national Jewish organizations

"The Psalms as Prayers" - Rev. Kaufmann Kohler, Reform Rabbi of Temple Beth-El, New York, convener of the Pittsburgh Conference of Reform Rabbis

"The Hygienic Laws of the Jews" - Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, physician and poet, translator of many Hebrew poems into English.

"The Jewish Calendar" - Dr. Cyrus Adler, Librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., former assistant professor of Semitics, Johns Hopkins University

A decision was made to request all who had delivered lectures, with the exception of Dr. Paul Haupt, to send their lectures for publication.

The date set for opening the college for regular instruction was October 1896. In June of that year the Board of Trustees decided to arrange yet another series of lectures, six of them, to be delivered in the fall, an indication that they were aware that the College was not ready to open its doors. Negotiations were entered into with Joseph Jacobs. In announcing the lecture, the Jewish Exponent wrote of Mr. Jacobs,

45 MGT, 28 November 1895.

46 Ibid., 27 February 1896. A synopsis of each of the seven lectures delivered can be found in Dropsie, "First Report," pp. 37-48. Of these, only four of the lectures were printed in the same publication in their entirety. Omitted were the lectures delivered by Professor Paul Haupt, Dr. Cyrus Adler, and Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen. A letter to Mr. Charles Cohen from Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, dated 4 March 1896, speaks of the pressure of work which was preventing him from putting the manuscript into acceptable form and expressed the hope that he could do so later.
Mr. Joseph Jacobs . . . is one of the best known literary gentlemen of this generation. He is an Australian by birth, was graduated B.A. at Cambridge and London Universities, has been president of the Britain Folk-Lore Society, editor of the Folk-Lorist and corresponding member of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid.47

Mr. Jacobs, in accepting the assignment, offered, among other topics, to speak on "The Philosophy of Jewish History," a topic which was accepted by the Board of Trustees.48 Five lectures were delivered between 9 November 1896 and 18 November 1896.49 The lectures were extremely well received. The attendance at both the first and second lectures, which were delivered at the lecture hall of Mikveh Israel synagogue, was so large that many would-be participants were unable to gain admittance.50

Search for a Faculty

It was not until late spring of the year 1897 that the Board

47 Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 30 October 1896.

48 MGT, 27 August 1896. In a letter from Mr. Jacobs, recorded in the minutes, he describes his topic as follows, "A survey of the course of Jewish History viewed from a general standpoint . . . interesting and practical utility for laying down principles to determine the Jewish attitudes towards some of the great problems of the day."

49 MGT, 26 November 1896. It was the intention of the Board that six lectures be delivered, but the word six was inadvertently omitted in the letter to Mr. Jacobs who proceeded to organize five lectures.

50 Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 13 November 1896, p. 2. It appears that the lectures were aimed at the adult population in the city. This format was probably an accepted and perhaps, even popular means of education at that time. It was also a way of advertising the College which was soon to open and to establish a sense of a level of excellence in the minds of the participants in connection with the College.
of Trustees began to discuss the specific steps to be taken to open the college. Dr. Adler suggested the names of several people who might serve on the faculty, giving their special qualifications and general character and stating that he was "under the impression that one teacher could be obtained at $800 per year and two other teachers at $600, who could establish the opening courses of the college as outlined in the Report of the Committee on the subject made August 29-95."  

A committee was appointed to communicate with capable persons and to ascertain the probable number of pupils who would attend the college. It was authorized and empowered to make all of the arrangements for opening the college in October 1897.  

The committee encountered great difficulty in fulfilling its charge. There was no professional pool of educators into which to dip. There were Hebrew teachers, but to speak of a profession of Jewish teaching at this time would be erroneous. There were no educational techniques which Hebrew teachers were expected to acquire. Their lot was a sorry one, and their salaries were low. Dr. Cyrus Adler, a Hebrew teacher himself in 1884, is recorded to have received two hundred dollars a year. The projected salaries offered generally to Hebrew teachers made it impossible to demand that the teachers meet definite requirements of Jewish knowledge, of general culture and of pedagogics. The committee's responsibility was to

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51 MGT, 27 May 1897.  
52 Ibid.  
53 Edlestein, Jewish Teaching Profession, p. 20.  
54 Ibid., p. 19.  
55 Ibid.
search out knowledgeable instructors who would accept the salaries being offered. It was not an easy task.

The Board had had no difficulty in obtaining well-known scholars and people eminent in their fields for their lecture series. It seems fairly certain that they desired the faculty of the College to have the same qualifications: possessing good scholarship in their respective fields, able to lecture and having some teaching experience. The latter would be sufficient to qualify the person as a teacher. Where would they find them? The Reform and Conservative seminaries existed. The Orthodox seminary (Rabbi Yitzhak Elhanan Theological Seminary) would be founded that year. Given the limitations of funds and sources of supply, the task would not be easy.

The difficulty of finding qualified teachers impelled Moses A. Dropsie to write in his annual report to the congregation of operations of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College:

The Board has had under consideration the necessity for the opening of the College, but up to the present time have been unsuccessful. Great difficulty has been experienced in obtaining proper teachers owing to the limited income at its command. The Board has had ever present in its consideration of the proper persons to be employed as instructors that they should possess the requisite learning and also the requisite facility and adaptations to teach.

The Board at present is actively engaged in the endeavor to open the college at the early period. The difficulty involved in the initiation and establishment of Jewish institutions of learning has been experienced in the formation of the Jewish High Schools and Colleges now existing in Europe where the facilities and material for their successful establishment are much greater than in the United States. 56

56 MGT, 26 August 1897. Mr. Dropsie gave as an example the Lehranstalt of Berlin, which had just completed its twenty-fifth year. Its report stated that the idea of founding a "Scientific Jewish Seminary originated with Dr. Abraham Geiger in 1835 but its actual establishment was not until the year 1872.
The community was impatient to see the College open. The *Jewish Exponent* expressed a widespread view. It said that the lack of trained teachers had long been recognized as one of the most serious difficulties in the way of securing a successful Jewish education and the Gratz College was viewed as the institution which would correct this deficiency.⁵⁷

On 7 November 1897 the Board convened a special meeting for the purpose of electing the instructors of the college⁵⁸ and planning the dedication ceremonies. Elected for a term of one year were:

1. Rev. Henry M. Speaker, a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary, as Principal of the Gratz College and Instructor of Jewish Literature at a salary of $1100 per year.

2. Mr. Arthur A. Dembitz, B.A., a graduate of The Johns Hopkins University, as Instructor of Jewish History at a salary of $600 per year.

3. Mr. Isaac Husik, B.A., a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania as Instructor of Hebrew Language at a salary of $500 per year.⁵⁹

**Organization and Curriculum**

Dr. Adler was requested to send the principal memoranda for the instructors' guidance in drawing up a proposal for the curriculum

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⁵⁸ For more details on the instructors see chapter VI.

⁵⁹ *MGT*, 7 November 1897.
of the college and for the rules to be adopted. Authorization was
given to the president of the board to negotiate with the Hebrew
Education Society for the use of three rooms for the college and to
fit out the rooms at an expense not to exceed three hundred dollars,
and a resolution was passed that no fee would be charged students for
tuition at Gratz College. 60

With the instructors of the college present at the next board
meeting, Dr. Adler made the following report, the general scheme of
which was adopted.

OBJECT

The object of the College is to disseminate the knowledge of
Jewish History, the Hebrew language, Jewish Literature and the
Jewish Religion, and especially to afford training for teachers
in Jewish schools.

ADMISSION

Jewish residents of Philadelphia, above the age of fourteen
years, who can satisfy the instructors of sufficient preliminary
education to enable them to profit by the course will be admitted
as students and will receive the tuition afforded by the college
free of charge.

SUBJECTS OF STUDY

The course of study is to cover three years and will include:
Hebrew Language - Bible and Mishna; Jewish Literature - from the
Biblical period to the present; History of the Jewish people - from
Biblical to modern times; Pedagogics.

COLLEGIATE TERMS

The collegiate term for the present year will extend from January
3rd until June 15th. Before the close of each collegiate term
a written examination will be held.

60 Ibid.
HOURS OF STUDY

The hours of study will be from 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Sunday.

Special arrangements for evening classes will be made to accommodate those who cannot attend the afternoon sessions.

DIPLOMAS AND CERTIFICATES

Students pursuing the required course of study and passing the necessary examinations will be awarded diplomas, which will authorize them to serve as teachers in Jewish Religious Schools.

Those who do not desire to pursue the profession of teaching, but wish to acquire a good Jewish education, may attend as special students and receive the regular instruction in all or any of the subjects taught and will at the end of the course receive certificates.61

The average age of admission to the University of Pennsylvania at this time was seventeen years of age. By the year 1900 this had risen to 18.5 years.62 To enter the Gratz College one had to be over fourteen years old. With the course of study extending only three years, it seems evident that Hyman Gratz's "college for education of Jews residing in the city and county of Philadelphia" was to be an institution of higher Jewish learning but not a degree-granting college. Its very structure made a joint program with a secular college impossible. Generally, pupils would be graduated from the college before entering upon their secular collegiate studies or, at best, at the end of their freshman year.63

62 The College of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, Published by the University, 1902).

63 A letter from Solomon Schechter to Mayer Sulzberger, 14 January 1898, expresses disappointment over the final organization of the college. He writes from London, "I gather from the J[ewish] C[hronicle] that the Gratz College was reorganized on a new basis, etc. I cannot deny that I hoped better things from it, both for the college and perhaps also for me." See Jewish Social Studies Vol. 30, No. 4 (October 1968), "Solomon Schechter to Judge Mayer Sulzberger," Meir Ben Horin, p. 266. Apparently Solomon Schechter had hoped the money would go to the Jewish Theological Seminary, of which he expected to become president.
In spite of the age of the pupils (high school age) and the fact that the entire program would run just ten hours per week for three years, the following curriculum was proposed:

**Literature**

Biblical period to second century B.C.E. - Historical books; Poetry of the Bible; Prophetic Literature; the Canon (transition: Jewish Hellenic Period to second century C.E.; Apocrypha; Hebrew Hellenic Literature) — FIRST YEAR, 3 hours weekly.

Talmudic period to the tenth century C.E. (summary of transition period); the Mishna; the Talmud; Midrash; Hagadah, Targumim; the Masorah — SECOND YEAR, 3 hours weekly.

Post-Talmudic periods; from 10th century to present; Neo-Hebraic poetry and literature; Jewish Arabic Literature in Spain; conflict between Philosophy and Tradition; the Renaissance and Humanism; Hebrew German critics; Mendelssohn School; the Science of Judaism; Poetry and Belles Lettres — THIRD YEAR, three hours weekly.

**History**

From Abraham to the destruction of the First Temple; from the Babylonian Captivity to the final destruction by the Romans — FIRST YEAR, 3 hours weekly.

From the fall of the Second Commonwealth to the rise of Karaism; from the rise of Karaism to the close of the Middle Ages — SECOND YEAR, 3 hours weekly.

From the close of the Middle Ages to Mendelssohn; from Mendelssohn to the present — THIRD YEAR, 4 hours weekly.

**Hebrew Language**

First Term: Grammar, translation from English into Hebrew, 4 hours weekly.

Second Term: Reading narrative portions of the Bible with a view to vocabulary and idiom, 4 hours weekly; Hebrew composition and syntax, 1 hour weekly — FIRST YEAR.

First Term: Psalms, 4 hours weekly; private reading in Ruth and Esther.

Second Term: Biblical Hebrew continued, 3 hours weekly; Hebrew composition, 1 hour weekly; Mishna - Aboth and Berachoth, 2 hours weekly; private reading in Samuel and Kings — SECOND YEAR.
First Term: Biblical Aramaic, 2 hours weekly, Hebrew composition, 2 hours weekly, Misha, 2 hours weekly; private readings in Pentateuch and selected chapters of Jeremiah.

Second Term: Biblical Hebrew, 3 hours weekly; Aramaic, 1 hour weekly; Mishna, 2 hours weekly; private reading in modern Hebrew.

The general scheme as proposed was adopted, and final plans were made to open the college in Touro Hall, Tenth and Carpenter streets, on 3 January 1898, where three rooms had been offered, free of charge, by the Hebrew Education Society.

Some disappointment was expressed in the community over the accepted organization of the college. An article in the Jewish Exponent stated, "To those who expected a great seat of Jewish learning to spring forth full-grown, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, the organization of the Gratz College . . . must have brought a sense of disappointment." It went on to defend the qualifications and experience of the instructors selected, commented on their youth and added the consolation that they would develop in their fields and would grow with the institution.

About the curriculum it commented,

While not too advanced a character, it will mean steady acquirement and earnestness of purpose on the part of those who are to profit by the instruction given. It is to be a Teachers' Institute.

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64 MGT, 25 November 1897.
65 Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 26 November 1897.
66 Ibid.
It is difficult to understand to what the writer of this article was comparing the curriculum to make the judgement that it was not sufficiently advanced. There were no other Jewish teacher-training schools in existence. Gratz College was not intended to be a Theological Seminary. Was the writer implying that, while the curriculum was adequate, for a Teacher's Institute, it was not adequate for anything else? The writer could not have had any realistic understanding of what could be accomplished. It should not take too much practical experience to conclude that under the adopted organization of the College, especially with a program of only ten hours per week, the range of the curriculum proposed was totally unrealistic, and, while it could perhaps be presented, it seems unlikely that it could be covered, given the preparation of pupils who would at that time generally enter with a heder or an elementary Talmud Torah education. 67

Conspicuously absent from the curriculum was a course on pedagogics, even though it was listed under "Subjects of Study" in the general scheme which had been adopted. 68 Again, this reflected an attitude. Apparently it was not considered essential for a teacher to learn methodology. It was enough for the teacher to be knowledgeable in Jewish subjects; the teaching and learning would take care of itself. The Jewish Exponent took exception to this omission and called attention to this "great necessity in the constitution of such an institution."

It called for the establishment of a thorough course in religious pedagogy:

67 For a more detailed discussion of the curriculum see chapter VII.
68 See p. 92.
This is not of minor importance, not to be brought in at intervals and incidentally. It is as essential as any substantive branch of instruction and occupies much the same relation to the other studies as practice and pleading at law does to the substantive branches of that science. The development of pedagogy in general is one of the triumphs of our century; to develop it in Judaism ought to be the great achievement of this the first regular and thorough Jewish Normal School in America, wherefrom it is hoped, shall issue forth trained Jewish teachers.69

With the tremendous expansion in publicly supported education in nineteenth-century America, increased attention was given to the preparation of teachers. As early as the 1820s normal schools began to be established to prepare teachers for work in elementary schools and by 1900 became generally accepted institutions of teacher education. The curriculum included psychology, history of education, and observation and practice teaching.70

The omission of a course in pedagogics at the Gratz College would not be remedied until the year 1905.

The Opening of the College

On Monday, 3 January 1898 the college was informally opened. About twenty-two of the twenty-nine prospective students71 were present and were addressed by David Sulzberger, Secretary of the Board of Overseers and Horace A. Nathans, President of the Mikveh Israel Congregation. The former welcomed the students and spoke of the advantages to be derived from earnest study. The latter spoke

69 Ibid.


71 For a listing of names of the pupils who enrolled as they appeared in the Jewish Exponent 18 January 1898, p. 3. See appendix G.
of his pleasure with the response the offers of Gratz College had met. The faculty was introduced and spent some time with the pupils, questioning them on their purposes, aspirations and achievements. The pupils, men and women, ranged in age from fourteen years to thirty years, with many of them in the high schools of the city. The majority signified their desire to pursue the complete course, and most planned to attend the afternoon classes.

On Wednesday and Thursday of the same week pupils presented themselves to be classified, and classes in Hebrew and history conducted by Mr. Husik and Mr. Dembitz respectively were opened on Thursday, 6 January 1898. The first lecture opening the course in Hebrew literature was given by the Reverend Henry Speaker on 5 January 1898. There is no evidence on what basis the registrants were classified. Since the most significant variable would have been the pupil's knowledge of the Hebrew language, we must assume that it was on this basis that the three sections were determined.

With the opening of classes, the Gratz College was officially launched with both a considerable enrollment and high hopes that the tremendous need for trained, competent Jewish teachers would begin to be met.

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72 Although the admission requirements state "Above the age of fourteen years" which implies fifteen years and older, the Gratz College did accept some fourteen-year-old pupils.

73 *Philadelphia Jewish Exponent*, 7 January 1898.

74 Ibid.

75 *MGT*, 24 February 1898.
Summary and Appraisal

At a time when the Jewish community was concerned with survival and accommodations, and not Jewish education, Mikveh Israel, to its credit, recognized the need for a school which might serve to prepare teachers for the education of Jewish young. Its members, charged with making the decision on how to use the trust fund, appear to have been puzzled at first about how the money could be used most advantageously. They tried public lectures for adults while they considered the matter. But, probably at the urging of Cyrus Adler and Solomon Solis Cohen, the problem, of the young people and the clear need for teachers prevailed.

There were, however, serious problems that had to be solved. The first was the question of the income from the Fund. What could they organize within the limits of the income and still carry out their goals? The details of the fiscal affairs are discussed more fully in another chapter, but they were certainly a consideration from the beginning. There was no choice in the matter. The College had to be one of limited scope to survive financially. The Committee's hope that this would be counterbalanced in some way by a cooperative arrangement with a university was unrealistic. The ages of Gratz pupils more nearly corresponded to the age level of pupils in high school than those in college. Gratz College was essentially, an intermediate school.

The search for teachers was a difficult one. The existing rabbinic institutions were preparing rabbis, not teachers. There were no teachers in Philadelphia, and the income available did not make it possible to invite men of the calibre of the lecturers to
accept posts at the College. They took what they could get with the hope that it would work out well.

What to teach was a serious concern which received careful attention. What was desirable was clear; what was possible was not. In the constant conflict between reality and hope, hope won out, pointing up the general lack of experience in this area. With almost no regard to the state of Jewish education in Philadelphia, the Board of Trustees established a traditional curriculum with a heavy concentration on textual study. What was their criterion for selection? To be an educated Jew you had to have a minimum knowledge of Jewish history, literature and Hebrew language (to study Bible, Mishna and Liturgy). What they failed to consider was that, in order for progress to be made in such a curriculum, one must pursue his studies intensively and achieve linguistic mastery in order to conquer the Hebrew texts. Ten hours per week was insufficient to achieve that objective.

With virtually no "feeder" schools in Philadelphia, the Committee must have speculated about whether pupils would come and who they would be. In that respect they were wise to have made the age of the pupils correspond with the high school level. Upon high school graduation, most Jewish young men and women went to work. No one could have predicted then how the immigrant Jew would hunger for a college education for his children. By deciding, in addition, to make the College a late afternoon school and to charge no tuition, the Committee hoped to make it possible for all those who wanted to come to be able to do so.

In spite of the fact that in general education a concern about how to teach and the nature of the learner was beginning to assert itself
no such consideration was manifested by the Committee. Perhaps pedagogy as a subject had not yet become strong enough. Certainly, it could not have been strong enough to be considered essential. For the Jew, content was enormously superior to method, and therefore, it was perhaps natural, albeit short-sighted, for the Committee to overlook method in the beginning.

Despite all of the problems, the Mikveh Israel people plunged into the venture. Some of the problems solved themselves, and others plagued the new College for decades to come, as will become clear in the following chapters. A faculty was found; students appeared; a novel experiment in Jewish education was initiated.
CHAPTER IV

THE PHYSICAL PLANT

The First Relocation

From the very beginning it was known that the three rooms provided by the Hebrew Education Society for the College were only to be temporary quarters and that a permanent location would have to be arranged. In February 1898 a motion was put on the floor at a meeting of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College that a committee of three be appointed to confer with the Board of Directors of Congregation Mikveh Israel for the purpose of considering the advisability and feasibility of erecting a building for the purpose of accommodating the congregation and providing classrooms for the Gratz College. The motion was defeated.\(^1\) The following month, however, the matter was reopened by a resolution unanimously adopted at a Board of Managers meeting:

Resolved that the Board of Trustees of Gratz College be requested to appoint a committee of three to meet a committee of five to be appointed by the Parnas from the Congregation Mikveh Israel to consider the advisability and feasibility of the erection or purchase of a building to accommodate the Gratz College and the Synagogue and that the President of the Board of Trustees of the Gratz College be requested to call a special meeting of the Board for the purpose of appointing said committee and that said joint committee report to the stated meeting of the Congregation to be held on April 3rd, 1898.\(^2\)

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\(^{1}\)MGT, 24 February 1898. The Hyman Gratz Trust Committee was appointed in 1894. After the appropriate amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws of Mikveh Israel, a Board of Trustees of Gratz College was elected in 1895. The minute book from the years 1893 to 1907, however, was designated as Minutes of the Gratz Trust.

\(^{2}\)MGT, 17 March 1898.
A special meeting was called by the Board of Trustees on that very evening, 17 March 1898. Without committing themselves in any way, they did, in deference to the wishes of the congregation, appoint a committee to meet the gentlemen of the congregation to receive suggestions from them and to report back to the board.  

The entire plan was dropped when Mikveh Israel offered its synagogue property for public sale on 26 May 1898, and not a single bid was received for it. Nevertheless, the congregation still felt that, somehow, Gratz College should be housed in the same building as the congregation. At an annual meeting of the congregation, held in November, it was resolved that "it is the sense of the Congregation that the Trustees of the Gratz College should endeavor to utilize the Congregational building as far as possible." At a special meeting subsequently held by the Board of Managers of the Congregation, a resolution was passed requesting the Board of Gratz College to appoint a committee to examine the synagogue premises to ascertain what alterations would be necessary in the basement of the building for the purposes of the College and if suitable rooms could be provided, that the Gratz College be removed to the synagogue building at as early a date as possible. The matter was considered urgent by the congregation. They wanted immediate action and felt that any delay

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3Ibid.  
4MGT, 25 May 1898.  
5Minutes of Congregation Mikveh Israel, 11 November 1898. Mikveh Israel was located at Seventh Street above Arch Street.  
6The meeting was held on 20 November 1898.  
7MGT, 24 November 1898.
would be prejudicial to the interests of the congregation. 8

A committee of three 9 was appointed to look into the synagogue property to see if it could fittingly accommodate the College and its library. The committee was given authority to employ an architect and secure plans and specifications. 10

Mr. Charles M. Burns was engaged to draw up preliminary plans and to estimate the cost of the proposed alterations. 11 There ensued some correspondence between Mr. Burns and Charles J. Cohen relative to the means of partitioning the span into four classrooms of suitable size. 12 It took several months to identify and decide on the type of partitions which would best suit their purposes but by May the committee made its final recommendations and presented six estimates ranging from $2,150.50 to $3,332.00. 13 The congregation agreed to the appointment of the Board of Trustees which was prepared to pay for the alterations out of its funds, as a special committee to make the contract and have the work done, provided that the use of the

8 Ibid. At the same time, the Gratz Board was requested to establish a class or classes for the education of children in Hebrew and for their religious training. One wonders whether the remark "prejudicial to the interests of the Congregation" referred to the need for the money that Gratz College would pay the congregation for its share of the heating, lighting, etc.


10 MGT, 24 November 1898.

11 MGT, 3 February 1899. His office was at 717 Walnut Street.

12 Such correspondence can be found in the Gratz College Minute Book--Committee on Alterations to the Assembly Room of the Synagogue Mikveh Israel Congregation, 1899 (henceforth: Minutes on Alterations)

13 MGT, 11 May 1899.
assembly room by Gratz College would not conflict with its use by
the religious school and the lecture courses of the congregation. 14

An agreement 15 was entered into with Harry B. Shoemaker and
Co., and work started immediately. On 16 August Mr. Burns had the
pleasure of informing the committee that the contractors had completed
the work within the terms specified and according to the conditions
of the contract. 16 There were still a few details that needed
attention, and proper lighting and furniture had to be arranged for.
It was not until October 1900 that Moses A. Dropsie was able to report
that the alterations were complete, that the congregation was using
the improvements for its Sunday school pupils and that the total
cost was $2,700. 17

Certain details had been worked out with the congregation in
regard to custodial service and the sharing of heat and light costs.
Charles Cohen, Treasurer of the Board of Trustees, had carefully
considered the latter and concluded that at least one half the cost of

14 MGT, 25 May 1899. The congregation insisted that Gratz College
use its building. The Board of Trustees was prepared to pay for such
alterations out of their funds, and now the congregation was laying
down conditions for use of the space. It appears that the congregation,
which would use the rooms for the Sunday school, was using Gratz money
for its own purposes. What they appear to be saying is, "You pay but
we control."

15 See appendix H for a copy of the agreement.

16 Charles M. Burns to Abraham M. Frechie, 16 August 1899.
Minutes on Alterations.

17 MGT, 7 October 1900.
## TABLE 2

### INVENTORY OF PROPERTY OF GRATZ COLLEGE IN THE SYNAGOGUE BUILDING OF K.K. MIKVEH ISRAEL 20 JUNE 1905

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Book-case</td>
<td>$60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>957.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map of Palestine</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 Large Arm Chairs</td>
<td>164.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Smaller Chairs</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 Folding Chairs</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Oak Folding Tables</td>
<td>54.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table in Library</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portrait of Hyman Gratz</td>
<td>143.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Blackboard</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Truck</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dozen Towels</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$1,457.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Gratz College Correspondence in Mikveh Israel Files, 1905.

The coal and gas consumed should be assumed by the trustees of the College. On this recommendation the sum of $125 per year was appropriated to pay for heat and light used by the Gratz College, dating from 1 October 1899. As for custodial service, the shammash of the congregation, Isaac Feinberg, was appointed custodian and librarian for the sum of $150 per year. Among other things he was charged with keeping the rooms in proper order in all departments.

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18 Isaac Feinberg was considered by the Committee on Building Plans and Estimates of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College, to be a man with some literary qualifications. See MGT, 26 February 1900.
It is important to mention one other matter, especially since it is the only item that did not change throughout the existence of Gratz College and is today exactly as it was when it was originally created—the seal of the college. Judge Sulzberger, Chairman of the Committee on the Seal, reported to the board on 25 May 1899, that he had requested Mr. Louis Loeb of New York to prepare a sketch of the seal for Gratz College. Mr. Loeb had sent him a sketch of the seal, which bore in an outer circle the legend Gratz College, and within, the figure of a venerable looking rabbi laying his hands on the head of a student. Miss Katherine M. Cohen had executed a relief of it in clay for the engraver. Judge Sulzberger thought the seal was "effective and pretty." A photograph of it was exhibited to the board which approved its design and inscription.

During its first ten years of operation, Gratz College had been housed for two years in the building of the Hebrew Education Society and for eight years in the synagogue building of Mikveh Israel. It had set down its roots and experienced a small but discernible growth.

A Building of Its Own

In the year 1908 Congregation Mikveh Israel made plans to move. It had purchased a lot at Broad and York streets and was erecting a new synagogue building. It was time for Gratz College to have a building of its own. On 13 July 1908 the Board of Trustees of the Gratz College met to consider the matter of the future location of

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19 See appendix I for a copy of the seal.

20 MGT, 25 May 1899.
the College. Their deliberations resulted in the unanimous adoption of five resolutions:

1. A sum of twenty-five thousand dollars is to be appropriated for the erection of a building on the lot of ground, situated on the southwest corner of York and Watts Streets, size 45 x 100 feet.

2. The building is to provide accommodation for the Gratz College and for the religious school of Mikve Israel. The latter would be the model school of Gratz College and provide opportunity for Gratz College students to practice teach, provided that the Board of Managers of the Congregation puts the lot in the name of the Board of Trustees and names the building the "Gratz College Building."

3. A committee of three is to be appointed to decide what assets of the Gratz College Fund can be sold to raise a sum not exceeding $25,000 to be put into the Building Fund.

4. Messrs. Pilcher and Tachau are to be the architects with instructions to submit a design and an estimate for the proposed building.

5. A Committee on Building consisting of four members is to be appointed. 21

Before the board could act on the above resolution it would first need the approval of the congregation and its assistance in buying the lot. 22 Dr. Cyrus Adler first explored with Mr. Abraham Rosenbach, the president of the congregation whether he thought the Board of Managers would accept the condition set down in resolution two regarding the name of the building and the ownership of the lot. 23

That having been done, a special meeting of the congregation was held

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21 Minute Book of the K. K. Mikveh Israel, Board of Trustees of Gratz College (henceforth: Minutes of the Gratz Board), 13 July 1908. Dr. Cyrus Adler was appointed as chairman of the Building Committee. Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Dr. Melvin Franklin, and Mr. Samuel Hyneman were appointed as members.

22 The lot was adjacent to and in the rear of the lot on which the new synagogue structure was being built.

23 Cyrus Adler to Abraham S. W. Rosenbach, 17 July 1908.
on 30 July 1908 at which time the first two proposals were accepted. Additionally, the congregation conferred upon the Board of Managers of the congregation the power to make such further arrangements with Henry G. Freeman, Jr., Esq., concerning the purchase of the necessary lot, provided that purchase price and other expenditures connected therewith should not exceed the sum of ten thousand dollars in addition to the amount already authorized. 24

At a meeting held shortly thereafter, it was decided that the ground plan of the building for the new schoolhouse for the Gratz College, size 43 by 47 feet, as outlined in the sketch submitted by Messrs. Pilcher and Tachau be adopted as the plan of the new building, that the piling as required by the plans be sufficient for a building three stories in height and fireproof, and that the building for the new school be placed on the line of the synagogue. 25

Seven companies were invited to place bids. 26 When the bids were opened on 28 September, in the presence of the contractors, two bids were considered by the board:

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24 Notice to the congregation, 27 July 1908. The lot at the southeast corner of Broad and York streets (100 by 150 feet) was deeded by Henry G. Freeman, Jr., Esq. to the congregation on 11 December 1907, for the purpose of building a synagogue as a memorial to his grandparents. The entire lot was not needed, and a portion of it was set aside to erect a school house with proper accommodation for Gratz College. The ten thousand dollars was needed to acquire absolute title to the portion of the lot on which the college building was to be erected.

25 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 3 August 1908. The original projection for the building was 45 by 100 feet. Apparently the $25,000 allotted for the building could only pay for a building half the size. In retrospect the Board's decision to erect such a small building seems shortsighted since in only five years it became necessary to enlarge the building. At the meeting held 3 August 1908 Samuel D. Lit was added to the building committee.

26 Thomson Starret Company; Chas. McCaul Company; Cramp and Company; Wm. Steele and Sons; Jas. G. Doak; Lunch Brothers; J. E. and A. L. Pennock.
Lynch Brothers - $27,944 less $4,700 for direct steam heating.  
Charles McCaul Co. - $30,854 less $5,800 for direct steam heating.

It now became necessary to request that the architects revise the heating system in the plan so that the total cost of the building would conform with the projected amount. Lynch Brothers and Charles McCaul Co. were then invited to bid on the new plans. The new bids were duly considered and the contract for erecting the new building of Gratz College was awarded to Chas. McCaul Company in accordance with their revised bid for $22,458.00.

In order to make funds immediately available so that the building project could get started, a loan was to be made by the Real Estate Trust Company, with interest at 4 percent (on the stock of the Pennsylvania Company). The president and treasurer of the Board of Trustees were authorized to borrow a sum of money not exceeding $25,000 to be put into the building fund of the Gratz College. Even before this fund was established, however, the treasurer was authorized to pay the architects $553.95, the amount of the bill for the plans and specifications of the new building.

In February 1909, the president and treasurer were empowered

... to sell, assign, transfer and set over to the purchasers thereof so many of the shares of stock of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances of Lives and Granting Annuities belonging to this Trust as are sold for the purpose of paying for the new building of the College.

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27 Minutes of the Building Committee of the Board of Trustees (henceforth: Minutes of the Building Committee. 28 September 1908.  
28 Ibid.  
29 Minutes of the Building Committee, 3 October 1908.  
30 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 27 October 1908.  
31 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 25 November 1908.  
32 Ibid.  
The president was also authorized to sell the real estate of the College and to transfer any amount realized to the building fund.\textsuperscript{34} The treasurer's report records that, in all, thirty shares of stock were sold for a total of $16,285.25.\textsuperscript{35} One piece of real estate at 1010 Bainbridge Street was sold for $2,800,\textsuperscript{36} and another at 925 Spring Garden Street for $4,025,\textsuperscript{37} bringing the total realized for the building fund to $23,110.25, a sum within $2,000 of the amount originally borrowed.

The building was not yet completed when a letter arrived from Dr. Cyrus Adler, who, in addition to being on the Board of Trustees of Gratz College, was president of the newly organized Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning,\textsuperscript{38} inquiring whether the College would permit the Dropsie College to carry on its work in the new building. He expressed the hope that mutual and helpful relations would be established between the sister institutions and offered to have Dropsie College pay a proportionate share for maintenance.\textsuperscript{39}

The board granted the Dropsie College permission to make use of the rooms in the new Gratz College building until such time as its own building would be ready for occupancy. It was left to the president to make the arrangements for sharing the expenses of maintenance.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{35}Minutes of the Gratz Board, 24 May 1909.

\textsuperscript{36}MGT, 4 April 1909. \textsuperscript{37}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{38}Now Dropsie University. See PP. 208-211 for details of arrangement.

\textsuperscript{39}Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 29 March 1909.

\textsuperscript{40}Minutes of the Gratz Board, 4 April 1909.
When completed, the building would have to be furnished. Dr. Adler requested an estimate from the architects of such furnishings, including steel shelving for the library. The following itemized list was submitted and accepted by the building committee.

**BASEMENT:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locker Rooms-</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 teachers' lockers @ $8.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 students' lockers @ $4.00</td>
<td>$ 96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Toilets-</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Racks - mirrors - soap dishes - paper holders</td>
<td>$ 336</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIRST STORY:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assembly Room-</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Movable platform @ $10.</td>
<td>10.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 portable chairs @ $1.25</td>
<td>187.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 lecture table</td>
<td>23.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 platform chairs @ $10.</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 Class Rooms-</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24 desks @ $4.</td>
<td>96.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 rear seats @ $3.50</td>
<td>21.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 movable platforms @ $6.</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 single pedestal - on side drawers @ $15.</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 teachers/ chairs @ $4.</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 slate blackboards set, framed, etc. @ $15.</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hall-</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 bulletin board- cork-oak frame</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Jute mats @ $5.</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sunday School Library-</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Globe-Wernicks</td>
<td>256.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairs</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SECOND STORY:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Four Class Rooms-</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>96 tablet chairs @ $3.</td>
<td>288.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 movable platforms @ $6.</td>
<td>24.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 desks @ $15.</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 teachers' chairs @ $4.</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 blackboards @ $15.</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total Cost:**

$ 448.00
Hall-

Newspaper racks (12) 10.
Magazine case (24) 45. 55.

Office
Desk 40.
Chair 7.
Cabinets, etc. baskets 50. 97.

Library-
Shelving set - 1 tier 593.
1 table 40.
6 chairs @ $4. 24. 657.

Bell system
Shades 50.

$2,397.

Pilcher and Tachau informed Dr. Adler that this estimate would, of course, be cut when the job was presented to the various furnishing houses for bids. 41 Dr. Adler, however, presented the estimate to the board in the rounded figure of $2,500 and the board appropriated such an amount for furnishings. 42

For two weeks prior to the appropriation, Dr. Adler was in almost daily correspondence with the architects about the college library and its shelving. 43 With the resolution of the fittings for the library and the appropriation of funds a contract was awarded in

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41 Pilcher and Tachau to Cyrus Adler, 6 April 1909. The estimate actually totals $2,462.00. There is a $15.00 error in totalling the cost of the single pedestals and a $30.00 error in totalling the estimate of all of the furnishings for the two classrooms. The $20 cost to furnish the first story hall was omitted from the final total.

42 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 20 April 1909.

43 It was finally decided that the bookcases in the library should be made of steel and should measure six feet six inches in height. The single tier would hold about 5,700 books.
June 1909 to the American Seating Company for the furnishings. The agreement stipulated that delivery of the furnishings must be made by 1 August 1909. The company was unable to fulfill that agreement. As late as 21 September they wrote to Pilcher and Tachau about chairs and desks that had not yet been shipped.

Dr. Adler turned his attention to several other matters which had to be resolved. He desired to take possession of the building before it was formally accepted from the contractors. There was also the question of custodial care of the building and the consideration of the dedication to take place.

The legal question raised over the occupancy of the building before acceptance from the contractor was resolved by obtaining from the Chas. McCaul Company a letter that such occupancy "shall not be construed to be an acceptance of the building or a waiver of our rights under the contract and specifications." The problem of the care of the building was settled by deciding to let both the shammash of the congregation, Mr. Goodman, and its librarian, look after the building until the dedication, after which a permanent arrangement for custodial care would be made. The lack of delivery of the

44 Abraham S. W. Rosenbach to Cyrus Adler, 24 June 1909.
45 American Seating Company to Pilcher and Tachau, 21 September 1909.
46 He questioned whether this would involve any legal difficulties. Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 16 August 1909.
47 Ephraim Lederer to Cyrus Adler, 18 August 1909.
48 Ibid.
furnishings was not so easily resolved. Pilcher and Tachau had to bring every pressure to bear upon the American Seating Company in order to have a minimum amount of furniture in the building for the dedication.

The Dedication

Originally it was planned that the synagogue and the Gratz College building would be dedicated in May 1909. With all the delays experienced by the College, the original plan had to be abandoned. Dr. Adler suggested that the Gratz College dedication take place on Sunday, 30 October. He wanted the dedication services to be simple with an address by Ephraim Lederer, as president of the Gratz Board, reciting the terms of the foundation, paying tribute to the memory of Hyman Gratz and stating the hopes, achievements, and objectives of the College. The mezuzza would be attached to the door at that time. 49 Mr. Lederer, in turn, wanted Dr. Adler to deliver the main address, and there followed a lively exchange of correspondence. 50

Ephraim Lederer persisted in his efforts to have Cyrus Adler deliver the main address. He felt strongly that Dr. Adler was the logical choice and the most suitable person to deliver it at the dedication which was to take place on Sunday, 3 October at four

49 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 16 August 1909.

50 In reply to Dr. Adler's suggestion that he deliver the main address, Ephraim Lederer wrote, "... Mr. Speaker and I are rather 'shopworn' on Gratz College occasions." Ephraim Lederer to Cyrus Adler, 24 August 1909. Cyrus Adler responded in his usual direct manner, "It may be true, as you say, that you may be shopworn, but we are opening a new shop and you might send yourself to the cleaners and dyers and put yourself in condition for the new building." Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 26 August 1909.
o'clock. He, therefore, extended to Dr. Adler a formal invitation and suggested a format in which he, Mr. Lederer, would give an introductory address before Dr. Adler's main address, an arrangement which Dr. Adler accepted.

On 3 October 1909 the two-story building of the Gratz College was dedicated. The program opened with a prayer offered by the Reverend Leon H. Elmaleh. This was followed by a violin solo, performed by Frederick E. Hahn and the Introductory Address by Ephraim Lederer. Two addresses, one by Dr. Adler and a second by the Reverend Henry M. Speaker, were delivered. The program closed with another violin solo and the Benediction by the Reverend Raphael H. Melamed. The academic year 1909-1910 would open in the new building and the register would carry this brief description.

Gratz College is a fireproof building, two stories in height. The facades are furnished in stucco. The general character of the design is Louis XVI Ionic. Four pilasters in this order decorate the York Street front.

The first floor provides for two classrooms, a school library and an assembly hall which will seat 150 people. Rolling partitions have been provided so that the assembly hall can be converted into three classrooms when desired.

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51 Ephraim Lederer to Cyrus Adler, 7 September 1909.
52 Circular of the Dedication of the New Building of the Gratz College, 3 October 1909.
53 Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 28 August 1908. The building is described as one of colonial design. This description is in contradiction to the one in the Register of 1909-1910 which describes the style as Louis XVI Ionic.
54 Rabbi of Mikveh Israel.
55 See appendix J for a complete copy of the Introductory Address.
56 Circular of the Dedication, 3 October 1909.
In the basement locker rooms have been placed for the use of students. The building is provided with ample facilities for ventilation and the classrooms are bright and cheerful throughout.  

**Final Details**

Details still had to be taken care of: an open hole with a wire in it in the middle of the room on the York Street side, the reason for which no one seemed to know; the installation of a pay telephone; a bulletin board to be installed; a matter of curtains for the classroom windows on the York Street side "to prevent idlers and small children from climbing up and looking in on the classrooms." In addition, there was plumbing that required attention, occasional difficulty with the electric lights and a problem with maintaining a standard temperature. On the latter problem, Dr. Adler wrote to Mr. Lederer saying that

> ... the question of turning heat off or on or opening or closing the windows should not be left to the whim of any individual student or instructor. ... it is necessary to have thermometers. ... a thermometer in each room ... may prove desirable.

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57 The Gratz College Register 1909-1910.
58 Cyrus Adler to Mr. Pilcher, 5 October 1909.
59 The American Seating Company to the Board of Trustees, 6 October 1909.
60 Cyrus Adler to Lewis F. Pilcher, 10 October 1909.
61 Cyrus Adler to Lewis F. Pilcher, 12 October 1909.
62 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 19 October 1909.
Upon authorization, he undertook to purchase the thermometer himself. 63

No arrangements had been made to provide drinking water. Permanent blackboards needed to be installed in two additional rooms which were, until that time, equipped with portable ones from the old building. 64 Weather stripping was lacking in the corridors of the building 65 as well as waste-paper baskets from the rooms. 66 In short, all of the myriad little things which are necessary to complete a building occupied the attention of Dr. Adler, as Chairman of the Building Committee during the first year of occupancy.

On 6 October 1909, with the pending opening of the school year on 9 October, Mr. P. E. Thurston was hired as the janitor of the Gratz College building. He was a licensed engineer and a man of experience and would receive the remuneration of fifty dollars per month. 67 Since he would be mainly occupied with heating and maintaining the building, a scrub-woman was hired at $1.50 per day to clean the building on Fridays. 68

As far back as 20 July 1909 estimates had been made for a bronze inscription plate that was to be affixed to the front of the College. The plate would be 25 by 8 inches and would cost thirty-five dollars. 69

63 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 25 October 1909.
64 Ibid.
65 Ephraim Lederer to Cyrus Adler, 28 October 1909.
66 Cyrus Adler to Henry Speaker, 24 January 1910.
67 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 6 October 1909.
68 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 9 November 1909.
69 Pilcher and Tachau to Cyrus Adler, 20 July 1909.
Here and there mention is made about the wording or the lettering and then, suddenly, we find a decision by the board, "that a suitable tablet properly inscribed be erected in the large hall." It seems likely that these were one and the same since there appears to be only one invoice for such a tablet, and the financial reports reveal no expense entry for a second tablet. In December, Cyrus Adler submitted the following sketch for the wording of the tablet in the Gratz College building to Mr. Lederer for his reaction:

In memory of Hyman Gratz, the Founder of Gratz College, born at Philadelphia, September 23, 1776, died January 27, 1857, this tablet is erected.

A week later Dr. Adler again communicated with Mr. Lederer telling him that he had consulted with Mr. Schoenberger about the tablet. Mr. Schoenberger thought that the inscription that Mr. Lederer had prepared was too scanty to make a good effect. He, therefore, added the terms of Mr. Gratz’s deed of gift explaining the purposes the College. The tablet would now read:

IN MEMORY OF HYMAN GRATZ BORN IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA SEPTEMBER 23 1776 DIED JANUARY 27 1857 THE FOUNDER OF GRATZ COLLEGE FOR THE EDUCATION OF JEWS RESIDING IN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

70 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 22 September 1909.
71 Invoice from Federal Brass and Bronze Company, 9 September 1909.
72 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 1 December 1909.
73 Edward Schoenberger, Engraver, 1312 Filbert Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
74 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 9 December 1909.
There was agreement that the second inscription was an improvement over the first, and in his correspondence with Mr. Schoenberger, Dr. Adler wrote that he was sending him the wording that had been agreed upon for the tablet. He requested that a sketch be submitted plus an estimate of the cost including either mounting the tablet in a wooden frame of weathered oak or affixing it to a plaque of the same wood. In due time the tablet was completed.

More building problems were encountered, but no matter was too small or too insignificant for Dr. Adler to take care of. He gave painstaking attention to everything concerning the building. It had required an outlay of $28,595, a considerable percentage of the original trust fund. Mr. Lederer was moved to write in his annual report, "I desire to record my personal obligation to Dr. Cyrus Adler, Chairman of the College and Building committees for his constant and devoted efforts in the interests of the college and the religious school." Mr. Lederer also recorded the indebtedness of the board to its solicitor, Samuel M. Hyneman, Esq. for services generously rendered in connection with the new building.

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75 Abraham S. W. Rosenbach to Cyrus Adler, 12 December 1909.
76 Cyrus Adler to Edward Schoenberger, 14 December 1909.
77 An entry in the treasurer's quarterly report ending 18 May 1900, reads "Hyman Gratz Memorial Tablet, $65.00."
78 Annual Report of the President of the Board of Trustees, 1909-1910.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
Two other matters had to be settled, the fiscal relationship between Dropsie College and Gratz College and between the congregation and Gratz College. As to the former, Dr. Adler wrote to Mr. Lederer outlining what he thought would be an equitable basis on which to determine the sum. Since Dropsie College used the building from nine to five and Gratz College from four o'clock on, and since Gratz College would still have to heat the building and employ a janitor, he suggested a fair sum for Dropsie College to pay would be one-half the cost of maintenance. 81 He continued with

You must not think that all of the benefits have been on the side of the Dropsie College. I think the Gratz College would have been a somewhat lonesome concern, starting in its new building if there had not been in the Institution people present all the day to keep it going. I do not know exactly what would happen when the Dropsie College gets its own building and really think that we ought to consider some organic relationship between the two institutions. 82

On 15 June 1910 the committee appointed to confer with a committee of Mikveh Israel Congregation, in reference to the adjustment of the expenses of conducting the religious school, heating the synagogue, etc. reported on their deliberations. It was unanimously agreed to recommend the sum of $562 as a fair and equitable apportionment of the congregation's indebtedness to the College. The sum was arrived at in this manner:

81 The final decision was in the hands of a two member committee. Mr. Charles Cohen from the Gratz College Board and Mr. Hackenberg representing Dropsie College. The sum decided and agreed upon was $450 per annum. The decision is recorded in the Minutes of the Gratz Board, 29 November 1910.

82 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer 15 July 1910.
For 3 extra teachers in Religious School on Sunday morning @ $50. $150.00

For one half of salary of Mr. Hines, Singing teacher, $100. 50.00

For one fourth salary of Mr. Melamed, Superintendent - $500. 125.00

Coal, 1/2 of $300 $150.00

Part of wages of engineer for providing heat 80.00

One half of removing ashes 7.00 $237.00

$562.0083

The following year the sum agreed upon was $622 per annum. The committee would continue to make the decision based on the annual expenses.

In his Annual Report 1909-1910 the president wrote "The new building has proven adequate to the needs of the College." On 30 September 1913, the president appointed Samuel D. Lit, Dr. Cyrus Adler, and himself as a committee to consult with the architect relative to increasing the size of the college so as to accommodate more pupils. The College at this time had only sixty-five pupils, but the School of Observation and Practice had grown to 250 pupils, far too many to be comfortably accommodated in the original building. What followed seemed to be in almost all respects a reenactment of the original building program and process.

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83 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 30 May 1911.
84 Report of the Joint Committee to the Board of Trustees.
85 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 30 May, 1911.
86 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 30 September 1913.
87 Ibid. The policy of accepting pupils whose parents were not seatholders in Mikveh Israel had resulted in the school enrollment doubling within several years. See chapter IX for the development of the School of Observation and Practice.
An Addition to the Building

On 19 March 1914 the committee met to consider the plans for enlarging the College. One of the key features was to be a 12 by 16 foot skylight in the assembly room which would slide back to create an "opening to the sky." By 26 April the plans were complete and the Board of Trustees carried the motion that the general plans as submitted "be accepted and approved and specifications be drawn up and bids procured." The Finance Committee was authorized to sell securities belonging to the Board of Trustees and to place the amount obtained from them into the Building Fund.

The target date for completing the addition was the first of October. However, the plans were not completed until June and in early July they were sent out for bids. On 14 August 1914 the contract was awarded to the lowest bidder, Charles McCaul Co., for the sum of $25,724, the work to be completed on or before 1 March 1915. To finance the project, the president and treasurer were authorized to borrow a sum of money, as needed, not to exceed $25,000, at a rate

88 Cyrus Adler to Lederer, 13 March 1914.
89 Wm. G. Tachau to Cyrus Adler, 5 February 1915.
90 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 26 April 1974.
91 Ibid.
92 Cyrus Adler to Samuel D. Lit, 8 July 1914.
93 A sum exceeding that of the original building erected just five years prior. The architects' commission of 2.5 percent of the bid amounted to $643.10.
94 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 14 August 1914.
of up to 6 percent to be put into the Building Fund of the College, and to pledge to the lender as many shares of the stock of the Pennsylvania Company as were necessary for the purpose. 95

The building was not yet finished, but, knowing from experience about the delays in obtaining furnishings, the Building Committee met in February to consider what furnishings would be necessary. 96 Five weeks later the bids from four companies 97 were opened and the contract was divided between the two lowest bidders, N. Snellenburg and Company and Lit Brothers. 98

March first came and went, and the building was still not complete. Dr. Adler communicated with Mr. Lederer reminding him that when the contract was made with the McCaul Company for the erection of the addition, it was stipulated that no work should be done on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays. The fall holidays were listed by name. Since work was still going on, he suggested that Mr. Lederer take up with the McCaul Company the suspension of work on the thirtieth and thirty-first of March, the fifth and sixth of April, the Passover holidays. 99 By June the addition was complete, and closing exercises were held

95 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 2 November 1914.
96 Samuel D. Lit to Cyrus Adler, 2 February 1915.
97 Gimbel Brothers, the American Seating Company, N. Snellenburg and Company and Lit Brothers.
98 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 11 March 1915.
99 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 24 March 1915.
in the new assembly room of the enlarged Gratz College building.\textsuperscript{100}

The comparative costs of the original building and the addition reveals that the latter was the more expensive of the two:

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Cost of original Gratz College Building} & \\
\textbf{Construction of building} & $25,884.53 \\
\textbf{Furnishings} & 1,995.00 \\
\textbf{Shelving for Library} & 453.65 \\
\textbf{Bronze Tablet} & 35.00 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Cost of the addition to the building} & \\
\textbf{Construction of building} & 28,605.17 \\
\textbf{Furnishings} & 1,134.44 \\
\textbf{Electrical fixtures} & 436.26 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Gratz College now had a building that was to serve its needs for close to four decades. It was, for its purposes, a suitable building. It had ample space and adequate furnishings. There were lockers for both teachers and pupils. The chairs had tablet arms on which to rest a notebook, and the rooms had blackboards. There were no bulletin boards in the classrooms nor was a need for them anticipated. A bulletin board hung in the hall, on which to pin up notices and items of importance to the pupils. Unfortunately, no room was designated where the pupils could meet informally in a more relaxed atmosphere. Though not planned, it seems likely that the halls of the building served that purpose.

From the beginning the College encouraged the community to use its facilities as a meeting place. It had no sooner been completed than

\textsuperscript{100} Minutes of the Gratz Trust, 2 June 1915.

\textsuperscript{101} Isaac Feinberg to Ephraim Lederer, 30 April 1916. The figure for the original building is listed as $25,595.02 in the President's Annual Report 1909-1910. The cost of the tablet was sixty-five dollars with mounting.
the Board of Editors of the Bible Translation used it as meeting headquarters when they convened in Philadelphia from 12 December 1909 to 6 January 1910. \(^{102}\) Items such as, "Hebrew Teachers in Conference - Association Holds Three Days' Sessions at Gratz College"\(^ {103}\) became part of the norm in Philadelphia Jewish news.

**Summary and Appraisal**

With the move from Touro Hall to the newly created rooms in the Assembly Hall of the Mikveh Israel building Gratz College had adequate, if not satisfactory, housing. The rooms were large enough to hold the number of arm chairs necessary for the small student body. Outside of a few tables, a map of Palestine and a portable blackboard, there was no equipment which required room space or storage space. In part, the physical plant reflected what was taking place educationally as we shall see in subsequent chapters. Equipment was not necessary. What was needed was a defined space where the teacher could transmit knowledge and the pupil receive it. This they had.

One wonders, however, why the congregation insisted on the College being housed in their building and why the Board of Trustees accepted a physical plant of four rooms without permanent partitions\(^ {104}\) in the basement of a synagogue building that the congregation was trying to sell. As for the congregation, it seems logical to assume that they saw in

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\(^{102}\)Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 21 October 1909.

\(^{103}\)Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 18 July 1924.

\(^{104}\)Originally the plan was to partition the space with heavy fabric. This was discarded in favor of a more substantial movable partition.
this arrangement a fine opportunity to provide a more desirable classroom arrangement for their Sunday school as well as to lessen their expenses for heating and lighting the building. The board must have had other reasons. Were they just being cautious about fiscal affairs? Did they believe that the principal of the estate should not be depleted by an amount necessary to erect a building of its own? Did they perhaps have doubts that the College could establish itself in the community and attract sufficient students? Were they taking a "wait and see" attitude, or were they convinced that what they had was adequate, at least for the time being—three classrooms for three instructors and a fourth classroom, if needed? It is impossible to decide what the thinking of the board was. It might very well have been a combination of all the factors mentioned. What is known is that the board made no efforts toward independent housing until Congregation Mikveh Israel bought a piece of ground ten years later at Broad and York streets to build a new synagogue. Those plans did not include space for housing the College.

There was one very positive feature about the location of the College. The synagogue was located at Seventh Street above Arch, just at the southern edge of the Northern Liberties105 (Wards), an area of original Jewish immigrant settlement and within walking distance of another such area, South Philadelphia. The latter area, a section running south of Lombard Street to Catherine Street and stretching

105 An area bounded by the Delaware River and Sixth Street from Vine Street north to Laurel Street (in the vicinity of Spring Garden Street).
from Second to Sixth streets, was flooded by immigrants after 1882. With two such areas to draw from the problem of obtaining pupils should not have existed. That it did tells us of a gap between the hopes of the Board of Trustess and the realities of the community.

Once Mikveh Israel built a new synagogue in 1909, at Broad and York streets, it seemed logical that Gratz College would build its building on a lot adjacent to it for a number of reasons: There was a legal tie between these two institutions; the Religious School of the Congregation would be housed in the same building; the Religious School would serve as a school of practice teaching for Gratz College students; the congregation paid for the lot on which the building was erected. The location had some advantages and some disadvantages. The building was located north and west of the Northern Liberties area, a very long walk away. However, by that time many of its residents had moved west of Broad Street and as far north as Columbia Avenue so that there was a Jewish neighborhood quite close to the new school. For the residents of South Philadelphia it was another matter. Movement from there was towards the south which brought them farther and farther away, necessitating public transportation to reach the College and requiring both time and money.

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107 Ibid., p. 48.
The Broad Street Subway was projected to reach as far as the Gratz College building by 1912. In fact, its progress was watched with concern by the board. At one point the board resolved that

... it was the sense of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College that the proposed Subway is injurious to the Building and the work of Gratz College and that the President of the Board and the Solicitor use all means in their power to prevent its construction along the lines at present proposed.108

They should have realized that this line would be a "lifeline" for Gratz College, bringing students to the building from the northern, southern and western neighborhoods of the city into which the physically, economically, and socially mobile Jew had spread. Eventually, the subway was extended as far south as Snyder Avenue making it possible for graduates of the Talmud Torahs established in the southernmost part of the city to continue their education at Gratz College, but that would not be before the 1930's.

In retrospect, the site chosen was a fortunate one. It was on a major city thoroughfare and accessible to almost all of the city's neighborhoods. The building would be used until the 1950's.

What is difficult to understand is why the Board of Trustees, with seemingly no hesitation, was willing to invest an additional thirty thousand dollars to enlarge the building to accommodate not the College but the School of Observation and Practice,109 which basically was viewed by Mikveh Israel as its religious school. The only explanation that comes to mind is that the Board saw it as more than just that. With the policy of accepting pupils whose parents

108 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 6 March 1912.

109 See p. 123.
were not seatholders, the enrollment had mushroomed. It had become, long before Gratz College would, and long before Mikveh Israel would accept the fact, a community school. The board viewed it as the School of Observation and Practice of the Gratz College, an absolutely necessary adjunct to the College and, indeed, a part of it. Seeing it in this light, the board did not hesitate, especially since the funds had been generated by careful investments, to authorize the expansion of the building. Enrollment figures at the School over the years justified the expansion. The use of the school as a School of Observation and Practice, however, fell far short of the Board's expectations. If one agrees that expansion could have been justified only if it served the purpose of the College, then one must conclude that the investment yielded a low return for the first twenty years.
CHAPTER V

THE PUPILS

The First Operating Decade

On 3 January 1898 Gratz College opened with twenty-nine pupils enrolled. During the course of the semester, enrollment increased to thirty-four pupils. In his report to the Board of Trustees, Mr. Speaker indicated that there were five young men and eight young women enrolled in the afternoon class and nine men and twelve women enrolled in the evening class. When examinations were held in June, the enrollment had slipped back to twenty-nine.

There are no records to indicate yearly enrollments in the freshman class. For the first decade we can only find such enrollment figures for two years, 1903-1904 when twenty-five pupils enrolled and in 1907-1908 when again twenty-five regular pupils and an additional six pupils for the preparatory class matriculated. A look, however, at the enrollment figures of June of each year reveals that in June 1898, there were twenty-nine pupils in the College and in June 1908

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1 See Appendix D for list of first class enrolled as it appeared in the Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 28 January 1898.
2 MGT, 25 May 1898.
3 MGT, 25 August 1898. 4 MGT, 28 September 1904.
5 Principal's Report, 1 October 1907.
6 See table 3.
there were exactly the same number enrolled plus an additional six in
the preparatory class. There were fluctuations within the ten years,
of course, but the figures show that in spite of free tuition and
free books retention was very poor.

### TABLE 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Admitted as Freshman</th>
<th>Total as of June</th>
<th>Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-1899</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15 + 7&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1901</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1902</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>14 + 3&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-1903</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3 + 1&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-1904</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904-1905</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-1906</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>50 + 6&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>7 + 1&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906-1907</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>29 + 11&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt; + 9&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>4 + 1&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907-1908</td>
<td>25 + 6&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>29 + 6&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Presidents' Annual Reports, 1898-1908.

<sup>a</sup> Special Talmud Class  
<sup>b</sup> Special Students - Post graduate work  
<sup>c</sup> Preparatory Class  
<sup>d</sup> Teacher's Course  
<sup>e</sup> Special certificate for pupils who took a partial course.  
<sup>f</sup> Figures not available  

7 President's Annual Reports, 1898-1908.  
8 Books were loaned to students for their use and returned at the end of classes. MGT, 24 February 1898.
Problems with Enrollment

In June 1899 only fifteen regular students were in the College. There were seven students in a special Talmud class. Moses A. Dropsie voiced his regret

... that the number of pupils in attendance at the Gratz College has been less than might have been anticipated, when it is remembered that a higher course of Hebrew instruction than has been taught this city heretofore, together with the necessary text-books is given gratuitously.9

The move to the Mikveh Israel Synagogue building in the fall of 1899 did not stimulate enrollment. In June 1900 thirty-one pupils were on roll but of those only twenty-three attended regularly.10 The concern deepened. Voicing his distress once more, Moses A. Dropsie turned his attention to seeing what means could be employed to increase enrollment. He consulted several times with Mr. Speaker and had one consultation with Rabbi Bernard L. Leventhal, the rabbi of several Orthodox congregations. By this time (1900) Philadelphia already had three Talmud Torahs, the Central Talmud Torah, the Northeastern Talmud Torah, established in 1897 and the Independent Talmud Torah.11 Moses A. Dropsie was convinced that most of the students had to be obtained from among the East European Jews and that it was necessary to convince them of the advantages afforded by the Gratz

9 MGT, 31 August 1899.
10 MGT, 7 October 1907.
11 Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Associated Talmud Torah (from a copy of an undated news release attached to the minutes).
College for a higher Jewish education, that is, beyond that which the Talmud Torahs offered. At the urging of Mr. Speaker, the principal of one of the Talmud Torahs in South Philadelphia agreed to write a series of articles informing the East European Jewish population that the course of study in the College was the best means in the community of obtaining a thorough and scientific knowledge of the Hebrew language and of Jewish history.\textsuperscript{12}

These efforts bore no fruit. By June 1901 the total number on roll had shrunk to seventeen, and from the twenty-nine pupils who had started in January 1889, plus those who had matriculated in September of that year there were only three graduates.\textsuperscript{13} Moses Dropsie complained bitterly, not only because this opportunity, offered gratis, was being generally ignored by the community, but that it was also being totally ignored by those who were already teaching in congregational schools. He reasoned that since the aim of the College was to prepare its pupils to be teachers, the congregational school teachers would be particularly interested in taking advantage of the courses offered.\textsuperscript{14}

Unfortunately, when Gratz College had had the opportunity to serve the community's teachers, it had been unable to do so. Early in 1898, Mr. Speaker came to a meeting of a class of Sunday school teachers, 

\textsuperscript{12}MGT, 7 October 1900. A search did not reveal the name of the principal of the Talmud Torah. See appendix K for a detailed description of Mr. Speaker's efforts to obtain pupils from among the new immigrants of South Philadelphia, and his opinion of the state of Jewish education there.

\textsuperscript{13}MGT, 23 June 1901.

\textsuperscript{14}MGT, 29 August 1901.
all members of the Alumni Association of the schools of the Hebrew Sunday School Society of Philadelphia, inviting them to join Gratz College. Upon being informed that the Gratz College classes then existing could not be conveniently attended by the members of the association, he virtually promised to have special classes formed in history and Biblical literature for them and other Sunday school teachers. On the strength of that promise the existing class was disbanded.

After repeated attempts to get information on the special classes, the Alumni Association was finally informed by Mr. Speaker that he had not been successful in securing the sanction of the Board of Trustees. Further attempts by the association to have the Board act favorably on the matter of special classes were fruitless. When no action was taken by the board at its 31 August 1899 meeting, the secretary of the Alumni Association, by order of its president, expressed the deep anger and frustration experienced by the members of the association by writing:

Having received no word of any action having been taken at the meeting in August, we determined to proceed with the formation of a class, regardless of Gratz College, and only regret that we did not do this more than a year ago. Gratz College officials came to us and offered to take charge of our class without any solution having first come from us. The way in which this has been done stands as a noble [to be read as ignoble] monument to its work or the work of some of its officers. ¹⁵

The College was in the difficult process of establishing itself. It could not yet begin to make special provisions for various groups.

¹⁵ Benjamin Futernik, Secretary of the Alumni Association of the schools of the Hebrew Sunday School Society of Philadelphia to Abraham S. W. Rosenbach, 20 September 1899. No mention is made of this matter in the Minutes of the Gratz Trust. (This correspondence can be found at the A. S. W. Rosenbach Museum.)
Mr. Speaker had promised more than Gratz College could deliver. One wonders if the Board realized that it frustrated the very goal it sought to achieve.

It is easy to speculate that had the classes been formed, Philadelphia's Sunday school teachers would have come flocking to Gratz College to study. This seems hardly likely. Most of the teachers probably considered that they already knew enough to teach in a Sunday school. In addition, the majority were volunteers. For those who did get paid, salaries were extremely low. The investment in time and effort at Gratz College would bring no monetary returns. There was very little incentive to enroll. However, for those who would have attended classes it was a lost opportunity both for them and for Gratz College.

As for the community, vast numbers of Jewish immigrants had very little intellectual curiosity. They were concerned with much more practical matters. Both parents and children were deeply involved in making the adjustment to this country. Often the children were busy helping their parents make the adjustment.

It is also possible that the Orthodox Jewish immigrants who did have some intellectual curiosity, and who desired a Jewish education for their children, were suspicious that the interpretation of Judaism that would be offered by an already "Americanized" group of Jews would wean their children away from Judaism as they understood it.

Problems with Retention

The problem of attracting students was great, but the inability to retain pupils, even through the freshman class, was even more frustrating.
The freshman enrollment of twenty-five in the year 1903-04 had shrunk to fifteen before the year was over, and these fifteen made up slightly more than 50 percent of the total student body of twenty-nine. This so alarmed Dr. Adler that he urged the Board to have a joint meeting with the teaching staff "to determine whether we have not made the standard for the teacher's certificate too high." In spite of the fact that in 1901 he had stood firmly opposed to changing the originally projected curriculum in any way, he now considered the possibility that the curriculum contributed to the enrollment problem.

There is evidence that the Board attempted to meet this problem in a number of ways. As early as 1899, the Committee on Education was authorized to enter into informal negotiations with the various Jewish educational institutions of Philadelphia to advance, if possible, the sphere of usefulness of the College. Advertisements of the College were placed in appropriate newspapers, and circulars of information were distributed to prospective students. The board, itself, voted in 1900 to establish two scholarships, of the value of one hundred dollars each, to be awarded annually to the students with the best records for studies and attendance at the close of the first and second

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16 MGT, 28 September 1904.
17 Ibid.
18 MGT, 31 August 1899.
19 MGT, 28 February 1906. Advertisements were placed in Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, The Abent Post (Yiddish), and in the Y.M.H.A. Review, among others.
20 Ibid. Mr. Husik, alone, furnished eight hundred names and addresses in the summer of 1907, including Jewish students of the high school and members of the Jewish Publication Society. Mr. Isaac Husik to Ephraim Lederer, Esq., 20 September 1900.
### TABLE 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (June)</th>
<th>First Year</th>
<th>Second Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Anna Chodowski</td>
<td>Samuel Goldberger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Regina Rosenstein</td>
<td>Carrie Hammerschlag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Louis Brav</td>
<td>David Matt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emanuel Levin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Samuel Kratzok</td>
<td>Louis Brav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Morris Teller</td>
<td>Samuel Kratzok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Goodman A. Rose</td>
<td>Morris Teller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harry C. Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Hyman Ostrum</td>
<td>Goodman A. Rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Harry C. Harris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Morris Flomenhaft</td>
<td>Nathaniel Goldman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isidor Greenberg</td>
<td>Hyman Ostrum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Minutes of the Gratz Trust, 1901-1908.

<sup>a</sup>A special scholarship was awarded to Third Year student Joseph Josephson for post-graduate work.

years' courses, respectively. This was clearly done to encourage scholarship and to offer an incentive to the pupils in the form of a tangible reward. The original conception of the scholarship was that it would aid the pupil in attending a secular institution where, in a cooperative relationship with Gratz College, the pupils would take

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<sup>21</sup>MGT, 29 November 1900. See table 4.
complimentary courses. That concept seemed to have been forgotten. The scholarship now would be awarded on the basis of performance only by the Board of Trustees upon the recommendation of the instructors and the submission of the examination papers and the record of attendance.  

A break-through seemed to have been made in the autumn of 1905. The total number of students in the College the previous June had been fourteen. The number on 17 June 1906 was fifty-six, of which fifty were pupils taking the regular course of studies, and six were special students. The total enrollment in the fall of 1905 had been considerably larger, but the usual attrition had taken place. In explaining this attrition, Ephraim Lederer, the new president of the board, articulated a basic problem.

It was evident that a number of pupils were unacquainted with the nature of the curriculum and were not prepared to undergo as thorough a course of training as the college required. Others had over-estimated their capacity and found that they were not able to keep up with the work.  

Nevertheless the increase in enrollment of the freshman class that year made necessary the division of the Hebrew class. Dr. Greenstone who had been engaged to teach pedagogics, was assigned to teach a second class in Hebrew. 

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22 Ibid. 

23 Annual Report of the President of the Board of Trustees, 1905-1906. Moses A. Dropsie had died in 1905 and Ephraim Lederer had been elected president of the board.

24 Ibid. The freshman Hebrew class was divided into two sections. Section A (thirty-two pupils) consisted of pupils who had some previous knowledge of reading and translating Hebrew and was taught by Dr. Husik. Section B (twenty-five pupils), taught by Dr. Greenstone, consisted of pupils who had no such preparatory training. See Principal's Report to the President and Board of Trustees of Gratz College, 29 November 1905, at the A.S.W. Rosenbach Museum.
If the enrollment had been sustained, it would have been important to determine what factors, internal or external, were the cause, but, although expectations were high that the surge in enrollment would be maintained, this was not to be. By June of the following year there were eleven students in the preparatory class, which had been newly established, and nine in the teachers course, but the number in the regular course was twenty-nine. There was some consolation in the fact that, although there was no increase in the number of pupils attendance had been satisfactorily sustained. In October 1907 the principal had jubilantly announced,

I wish to state it as a good omen that for the first time in the history of the College the entire Freshman class with the exception of one member returned to continue the work as Juniors of the current year.

At the end of the year, in a tone of acceptance, the president of the board wrote:

It has come to be recognized that the college course entails earnest, serious work, and the students who remain in regular attendance give evidence of a sincere desire to benefit by the advantages which the college offers. A smaller number of pupils who take their duties seriously and perform them conscientiously is greatly to be preferred to a large number whose attendance is merely perfunctory or nominal.

Of the twenty-five admitted to the freshman class in 1907 only thirteen were to return as juniors.

25 Ibid.

26 Since the course ran for three years the designation of sophomore class was omitted. The second year students were called juniors.

27 Henry M. Speaker to the Board of Trustees, 8 October 1907.

28 Annual Report of the President to the Board of Trustees, 1907-1908.
By the end of the first ten years of operation twenty-eight pupils had been granted diplomas and three pupils had been given special certificates.  

TABLE 5

GRADUATES, 1901-1908

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Carrie E. Amram; Judith Goepp; Joseph Josephson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>David Hammerschlag; Samuel Goldberger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Carrie Hammerschlag; M. Jacob Markman; Lena Leventhal; Esther Brenner (Special Certificate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Anna Chodowski; Regina Rosenstein; Kalman David Matt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Louis Brav; Katie Galter; Anna Grossman; Leon G. Hammerschlag; Samuel Kratzok; Albert Moses; Hyman Sandberg; Tillie Stalberg (Special Certificate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>David Joshua Galter; Edith Grossman; Abraham Albert Shallom; Morris Teller; Abraham Rose (Special Certificate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Louis Berstine; Harry Cleveland Harris; Jechiel Mayer Yaffe (Jaffe)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Minutes of the Gratz Trust, 1901-1908.

Of those who were graduated during the first four years, we know that four held teaching positions in the city: Joseph Josephson, Anna Chodowski, Samuel Goldberger, and Esther Brenner. Of the remaining classes, a list in 1910 of alumni and their positions reveals that an additional five were teachers and three were attending the Jewish

29 See table 5. 30 MG, 28 September 1904.

31 Kalman David Matt was listed as a student at the Jewish Theological Seminary and teacher at Hebrew Education Society No. 4. He is, therefore, included in both counts.
Theological Seminary. 32 Approximately one third of the first graduates of the College at one time or another held teaching positions. For how long, it is difficult to say.

Two Who Were Graduated

A look at the background of two of the graduates during this period, Kate Galter (1906) and David Galter (1907) might shed some light on why some students not only came to Gratz but remained until graduation. This sister and brother were two children among six. 33 They had come to the United States when they were quite young as part of a strictly observant family deeply interested in Jewish education. Both of the children were tutored privately, and David had the privilege of studying Talmud in a select group taught by Rabbi Bernard L. Leventhal. 34 The family, on arrival in the United States in 1889 or 1890, stayed with the Husik family (Dr. Husik's parents). Deeply concerned with his children's Jewish education, Mr. Galter inquired of Mr. Husik whether Gratz College would be a good place to send the children. Receiving an affirmative response, he encouraged both his sons and daughters to attend. While neither Kate nor David made Jewish education their career, they both taught for some time in Jewish schools, Kate at

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32 Gratz Register 1909-1910, pp. 23-25. The three alumni were Louis Brav (1905), Moses Eckstein (1909), Harry C. Harris (1908). Moses Eckstein was a graduate of the teachers course. In 1911 he was awarded a Diploma Honors Causa from the College.

33 Two other brothers Israel (1915) and William (1919) were to become Gratz College graduates. Two sisters did not attend.

34 Spiritual leader of the Orthodox Jewish community. He was one of the founders and first president of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada (1902). In 1903 Rabbi Leventhal formed a class which began with twenty boys, all students of Central High School, for the purpose of giving instruction in Hebrew language, Talmud and Jewish religion. Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 9 July 1903, p. 3.
Rodeph Shalom and David at the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice.  

One cannot generalize from such a small sampling, but it seems reasonable to conclude that for the most part, those who came to Gratz College during these ten years came from homes where Jewish education was assumed to be a necessity. They came with a sufficient base of learning or sufficient desire to learn to make success possible. If the above students were representative of others in the student body, we can conclude that some of the students came, not with a career in Jewish education as a goal, but rather for advanced Jewish learning.

Some must have come to the College simply out of curiosity. They wanted to know more about Judaism and felt that the College provided a program which would satisfy that need. A few came because they were interested in a Jewish career. They wanted to attend the Jewish Theological Seminary to become rabbis and enrolled at Gratz College to prepare themselves.

Those who stayed through the college course were in the minority. Most of those who matriculated failed to complete the course of study. The difficulty of attending two schools and the lack of time because of obligations to the home and to secular studies took their toll. Internal factors, the unrealistic curriculum and the inadequacy of the faculty aggravated the problem to the extent that lack of

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35 Interview with Dr. Israel Galter, 30 December 1977.
36 This is discussed in greater detail in chapter VII.
37 This is discussed in greater detail in chapter VI.
retention came to be perceived as a much greater problem than the small numbers who enrolled.

The Literary Society

Though the student body was small, it was active. In 1903 the students organized the Gratz College Literary Society, "for the purpose of discussing matters of Jewish and general interest and promoting a spirit of fellowship among the students."\(^{38}\) At a meeting in May of that year the group decided to contribute five dollars towards the relief of the Kishinev Jews.\(^{39}\) At the same time a paper on "The History of the Jewish Religion" was read by a student, Miss Carrie Hammerschlag.\(^{40}\) The following December the group met to organize for the year. Mr. Dembitz of the college faculty gave a short talk on the advantages of a literary society connected with a college. It seems that the group met quite frequently. The next session of the society was scheduled to take place only ten days later.\(^{41}\)

The Years 1908-1928

By 1908 there were over 100 thousand Jews in Philadelphia,\(^{42}\) with approximately 23 to 25 thousand in the school-age range of six- to eighteen years. Thirty-seven of them were enrolled in the regular

\(^{38}\) Ibid., p. 9.

\(^{39}\) Pograms in Kishinev had occurred during Passover of the year 1903.

\(^{40}\) Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 15 May 1903.

\(^{41}\) Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 4 December 1903.

course at Gratz College. In 1913 the total enrollment was thirty-two. Who were they? One member of the freshman class of that year, Abram Piwosky, speaks:

I entered the College department in 1913... when I entered there were no... feeder schools to Gratz College. We all went to a Heder. I went to a Heder at Second and Fairmount Avenue, on top of a grocery store.... I started when I was five and continued until I went to Gratz. I also attended the Hebrew Sunday School Society. I was graduated from there about 1914. Formal education, such as they have today, I did not have, except that I did attend the Northeastern Talmud Torah at 620 North Fifth Street, which had just opened at that time, about a year before I entered Gratz. ... For my Bar Mitzvah I was taught by a Shohet. I can still see him sitting on top of a chicken coop with his hand in blood while I was chanting my Haftarah.... I was fifteen [when I entered Gratz], still in Central High School. When I went to Gratz College, I knew no one in the class outside of one person, Abe Orlow.... He lived across the street from me and one day he said, "where are you going?" I said, "to Gratz College." "What's Gratz College?" "Come with me, you'll find out." He knew no Hebrew at all. In those days when you came to enter Gratz College in the freshman year, the principal, Reverend Henry M. Speaker, would welcome you, "Do you want to come to Gratz College?" "Yes!" He would open a book and say, "Can you read?" That was all that was necessary....

One freshman class, made up of an Abram Piwosky, an Abraham Orlow, a Samuel Noah Kramer, who knew Hebrew well, and others like them, came together to study a uniform curriculum which did not consider individual needs but required that the pupil fit himself into the fixed pattern. It is no surprise then that a large freshman class (Mr. Piwosky recalls the number of seventy-five which was, in fact, the total enrollment for the school at the beginning of the year)

44 Ibid.
45 Interview with Abram Piwosky, Class of 1917, 9 November 1977.
46 Samuel Noah Kramer is a scholar on Sumerian culture.
dwindled to fifteen in the sophomore class. Many dropped out, and some switched to the teachers course so that they would be graduated after two years. 47

In spite of the dwindling freshman classes, the overall enrollment in the College continued to rise. By 1925 the student body reached a high of ninety-nine pupils but fell back to fifty-seven by the end of the academic year 1927-1928. 48 A partial explanation for the drop might be found in the change in the College's tuition policy for the year 1925-1926. For the first time in its history, a tuition fee of twenty-five dollars per year was charged. In addition, there was a five dollar matriculation fee and a ten dollar charge at graduation for the diploma, bringing the total cost for the regular four year college course 49 to $115.00. 50 It was considered practically a nominal sum by the board and the faculty. Even so, to eliminate any hardship, the board went on record that favorable consideration would be given to applicants who were prepared and willing to learn but who were unable to pay fees either in full or in part. 51 How much publicity was given to this latter fact is difficult to ascertain. One can be

47 Ibid. The teachers course was a special two year course originally designed for teachers in the field. It was incorporated into the College program when the fourth year was added.

48 See table 7.

49 The fourth year was added to the curriculum in September 1914.

50 Principal's Report to the President and Board of Trustees of Gratz College, 8 June 1925. There was also to be a ten dollar tuition fee for the extension course without any additional charges.

51 Ibid.
certain, however, that the tuition fee was a hardship for some students and discouraged them from attending.

Even with lower numbers after the tuition fee was introduced, the pattern of enrollment remained the same. The College continued to attract large freshman classes. Beginning freshman classes of thirty-five to forty-seven pupils were recorded for various years during the two decades, but the problem of retention which had plagued the College from the beginning continued. Dropouts in any given year reduced beginning enrollment figures from 10 to 52 percent. Ephraim Lederer acknowledged that the college was still confronted with the unsatisfactory condition that the large number of students entering the freshman class were gradually reduced so that by the time of graduation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>During the Year</th>
<th>End of Academic Year</th>
<th>Percentage Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1909-1910</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913-1914</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-1917</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917-1918</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-1920</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923-1924</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Principal's Reports to the President and Board of Trustees, 1909-1924.

52 Annual Reports of the Principal to the President and Board of Trustees of Gratz College, 1908-1928.

53 See table 6.
four years later only 15 to 20 percent of those who entered completed their course. He felt that this experience was not unusual among institutions of learning but he, nevertheless, saw it as a real problem which needed solving, if such a solution was at all possible.  

Even among those who completed their freshman year, only about 50 percent would be graduated. Translated into actual numbers this meant that, with figures available for eighteen of the twenty years, of the 408 pupils who completed their freshman year, only 208 completed their senior year. Unfortunately, this problem would never really be resolved.

A comparison of the enrollment figures for men and women in the student body reveals an expected pattern. Men outnumbered women in every year and in some years by a two-to-one ratio. There is nothing unusual about this pattern given the traditional Jewish attitude of the need to educate boys, the Bar-Mitzvah ceremony insuring at least an elementary education for most Jewish boys. What is interesting is the large number of women who were prepared to undertake advanced Jewish education, particularly in the 1920s. We find such student population numbers as 42 women and 57 men and 28 women and 37 men. This probably reflected the growth in the number of Talmud Torah schools during this period, a system which attracted girls as well as boys, to

54 Report of the Gratz College Board of Trustees to the President and Members of Mikveh Israel, 5 October 1923.
55 See table 7.
56 Gratz College Registers, 1908-1928.
57 Ibid., pp. 19-21. 58 Ibid.
### TABLE 7

**GRATZ COLLEGE PUPIL ENROLLMENT, 1908-1928**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>First Year</th>
<th>Second Year</th>
<th>Third Year</th>
<th>Fourth Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Teachers Course&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Breakdown not available. . . .</td>
<td>72&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>1925</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Breakdown not available. . . .</td>
<td>65&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Gratz College Pupil Enrollment, 1908-1928.

<sup>a</sup> Margolis, Jewish Teacher Training Schools in the United States, p. 27.

<sup>b</sup>Pupils attending the course in addition to those in the regular course at the College.
its schools. It possibly reflected a rising number of girls who attended hadarim along with Hebrew Sunday School Society schools.

Two major events interrupted the year-to-year work of the pupils, World War I and the influenza epidemic. In September 1918, Dr. Greenstone informed Mr. Lederer, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, that the new draft law would affect a large number of Gratz College students, especially in the two upper classes. Many of them however, were already students at the university or were about to enroll there as students. While the exact regulations for these students had not yet been published, it appeared that they would be under military discipline and would probably have to live at the university. For that purpose, the government had taken over all the dormitories and were constructing additional barracks on the grounds.  

Dr. Greenstone requested that Mr. Lederer ascertain the facts and try to make an arrangement whereby the Gratz College students would be permitted to stay out later than the curfew on Tuesday and Thursday evenings and be out on Sunday afternoons. If this could not be effected, the present senior class would be reduced to less than half its size. Unfortunately, nothing could be done, and for more than two months nine students, mostly seniors, were prevented from attending sessions. Soon after the declaration of the armistice, all of the pupils returned to the College.

59 Julius Greenstone to Ephraim Lederer, 11 September 1918.

60 Ibid. Seven students of the senior class and one of the junior class had registered at the university in the student training army. An additional student subsequently registered.

61 Principal's Report to the President and Board of Trustees of Gratz College, 18 February 1919.
The academic work for the year 1918-1919 began late because, like that of other educational institutions in the city of Philadelphia, Gratz College was closed because of the influenza epidemic. In spite of these difficulties, when students could come they came with greater regularity than in previous years, encouraging Mr. Speaker to comment that, "the present average attendance of students shows a steady improvement as compared with earlier years of our college activities."

During the course of the two decades the Board of Trustees continued to award the two annual scholarships of one hundred dollars each to the students showing the greatest proficiency in the collegiate work of the first and second year classes, respectively. One recipient of such a scholarship expressed his gratitude in the following note:

"I cannot sufficiently express my words, my gratitude, as well as that of other students of Gratz College, for your work in keeping up the College and guiding in these troublesome days when Jewish students need an intellectual home so badly. Gratz College more than satisfies our need in this respect and we stand ready to do all we can for the college."

In addition, the pupils continued to compete for the annual prize of books, which would not exceed a value of ten dollars, offered by the Alumni Association for the best essay by a member of the graduating class on a subject named by the faculty. The winner

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62 Ibid.
63 Ibid. See table 8.
64 This probably refers to the precarious economic situation at the College in the early 1920s.
65 Koppel S. Pinson to Ephraim Lederer, 20 November 1922.
66 See chapter X. 67 See table 9.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>First Year Scholarship ($100)</th>
<th>Second Year Scholarship ($100)</th>
<th>Third Year Prize ($25 in books)</th>
<th>Fourth Year Prize ($25 in books)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Morris Golove&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Morris Flomenshoff&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Jacob Pomerantz</td>
<td>Isadore Greenberg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Reuben Rabinowitz</td>
<td>Morris Golove</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>David Chabrow</td>
<td>Reuben Rabinowitz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Anna E. Breskman</td>
<td>David Chabrow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Israel Galter</td>
<td>Louis Rosen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Samuel Kramer</td>
<td>Isadore Witkin</td>
<td>Bernard Heller</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Abraham Krakowitz</td>
<td>Samuel Kramer</td>
<td>Israel Galter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenblum</td>
<td>Julius Whartman</td>
<td>Jacob Sherman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Mathias Shalita</td>
<td>Solomon J. Cohen</td>
<td>Julius Whartman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Leon H. Midoff</td>
<td>Reba Kahn</td>
<td>Minnie Potash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Esther London&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Louis Cooper</td>
<td>Reba Kahn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Harry Cooper</td>
<td>Koppel Pinson</td>
<td>Morris Goldstein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Anna Harris</td>
<td>Benjamin Teller</td>
<td>Koppel Pinson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Louis Goldberg</td>
<td>Samuel Forman</td>
<td>Benjamin Teller</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Samuel Sperling</td>
<td>Louis Goldberg</td>
<td>Anna Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>David Mintzes</td>
<td>Nathan Pustilnik</td>
<td>Louis Goldberg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Benjamin Horovitz&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Morris Sander</td>
<td>Nathan Pustilnik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Elizabeth Berkowitz</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Samuel Glasner</td>
<td>Leonard Perlov</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Gratz College Register, 1917-1918, p. 11.

<sup>a</sup>The prize was shared equally.

<sup>b</sup>No prize was established until June 1914.

<sup>c</sup>First four year class was graduated in June 1917.
## TABLE 9

**ESSAY TITLES AND WINNERS OF THE ALUMNI PRIZE, 1909-1928**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graduating Class</th>
<th>Essay Title</th>
<th>Winner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>&quot;The Ethics of the Fathers&quot;</td>
<td>Rachel E. Gomborow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>&quot;The Jewish Elementary School&quot;</td>
<td>Samuel S. Grossman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>&quot;The Religious Activities of Ezra&quot;</td>
<td>Israel Goldstein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>&quot;The Schools of Hillel and Shammal&quot;</td>
<td>Ezekiel Klinger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>&quot;Judah Halevi as a Poet&quot;</td>
<td>David Penn Chabrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>&quot;The Origin and History of the 'Eighteen Benedictions'&quot;</td>
<td>Bernard Heller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>&quot;The Oral Law&quot;</td>
<td>Boris Leon Hurwitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Not available...</td>
<td>Abraham Orlow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>&quot;The Study of Talmud in Poland During the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries&quot;</td>
<td>Julius Whartman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>&quot;Various Theories as to the Purpose of Job&quot;</td>
<td>Louis Shocket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>&quot;Literary Activities of Abraham Ibn Ezra&quot;</td>
<td>Not available...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>&quot;The Development of the Talmud Torah&quot;</td>
<td>David Cherashore</td>
</tr>
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<td>&quot;Modern Hebrew Literature&quot;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>&quot;A Study on the Book of Misah&quot;</td>
<td>Stella Roseman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>&quot;Rabbi Yehuda Hanasi&quot;</td>
<td>William B. Rudenko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>&quot;Moses ben Nachman (Ramban): His Life and Works&quot;</td>
<td>Abraham Shelow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>&quot;The Aims of Jewish Education&quot;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Not available...</td>
<td>Not available...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>&quot;The Medieval Yeshiba&quot;</td>
<td>Sadie F. Goldman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>&quot;The Present Status of Jewish Education in Palestine&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Gratz College Registers 1908-1928.
of this prize was determined by the faculty and a representative of the alumni. This later was changed to the faculty alone.

In June 1914 a special prize of twenty-five dollars was given to the student in the senior class having the highest grade average. This became known as the Hyman Gratz prize. In 1917 this prize became twenty-five dollars worth of books. Since there was now a fourth year, a similar prize, which became known as the "Sabato Morais Prize," was awarded to the student having the highest average in the junior class. The third operating decade of the College would close with no further prizes established.

During this time, the Literary Society, the students' organization, continued to function. The group met following classes on alternate Sundays during the academic year. The purpose remained, throughout, the discussion of matters of both Jewish and general interest and the promoting of a spirit of fellowship among the students.

Although no mention is made of the formation of a student association, such an organization did exist. Quite possibly it was the same as or an outgrowth of the Literary Society. On the other hand, it may have been an independent students' organization which functioned in some capacity as a liaison between the student body and the faculty. Evidence of the existence of such an organization is found in a response to Ephraim Lederer on charges that on a specific evening students of

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69 Gratz College Register, 1918-1919, p. 11.
72 Gratz College Register, 1911-1912, p. 11.
the College had damaged the boilers, torn the asbestos insulation and hazed the freshmen. The responding letter described the activities that evening and denied the charges categorically, concluding with, "We hope the above mentioned facts will dispel the cloud under which the fair name of the students is resting and we shall once more enjoy your confidence." The letter was signed by the president and secretary of the student association and the president of the senior class.

By 1928, after thirty years of existence, the College was no closer to solving its problems of pupil enrollment and pupil retention than it had been when it opened. For the pupils who stayed to complete the course of study, however, as we shall see in the chapter on alumni, the experience was a significant and rewarding one.

Mention must be made of one other situation involving students which affected both the pupil and the community. It was that of permitting pupils to teach before completing their course of study at Gratz College. Students from the sophomore year and up did so. The following incident was not a rarity but rather in keeping with the fact that schools, hungry for teachers, hired them while they were still at the College. In this case it had the blessing of the faculty.

The reason most of us were late [for classes] at the College was that we all went to school in those days, then we taught Hebrew school in the afternoon and then had to go to Gratz College. . . . I started teaching when I was in the second

73 Officers of the Students Association to Ephraim Lederer, 20 January 1921.
year at Gratz College. At the end of my freshman year, Dr. Isaac Husik called three of us together, one from the junior Class, one from the sophomore class and one from the freshman Class--it was only a three year school in those days. . . . Dr. Husik told us that the Hebrew Education Society was opening an afternoon Hebrew school at 1529 North 7th Street, in Philadelphia, and they needed three teachers. . . . He selected Louis Fischer from the highest class.74 Harry Glatstein75 was the middle one and I was the young one. Louis Fischer received $1.25 per session, Harry Glatstein $1 per session and I received $.75.76

Along with secular studies and attendance at Gratz College these three students taught from 4:00-6:00 P. M. four days a week.77 Combining teaching in a Sunday school with a double load of secular and religious studies is manageable. In the 1920s, however, the weekday afternoon school was moving to become a major form of Jewish education in Philadelphia. To combine three or four afternoons of teaching with a double school load was much more difficult. It sharply reduced the amount of time the pupil had to prepare and study. It seems likely that both the Hebrew studies and the teaching were the victims of this situation.

Summary and Appraisal

The efficiency and value of a school is measured by many factors, of which the number of pupils attending the school is not necessarily significant. However, when a school has as its major goal the training of Jewish religious school teachers for a community, numbers become

74 He became a famous alumnus. He was an author who wrote about the life of Mahatma Ghandi and Stalin.

75 He had a lifetime career as a Jewish educator. He both taught and was a principal in the public school system.

76 Interview with Mr. Abram Piwosky, 9 November 1977. Mr. Piwosky was the principal of Congregation Adath Jeshurun (1923-1950) and a lawyer. Before becoming an attorney, Mr. Piwosky taught in a public high school.

77 Ibid.
important. From the years 1912 to 1925, the number of eligible Jewish school age children in Philadelphia increased from approximately 41,000 to about 50,000 children. Of those, somewhat more than 10,000 were receiving some Jewish schooling in 1912 and somewhat less than 20,000 in 1925. In Gratz College the student population numbered 32 in 1912, increased to 99 in 1925 and dropped to 57 by 1928. With almost 10,000 more pupils to draw upon Gratz was able to increase its enrollment at its peak during this period by only 62 pupils, and by the end of the period only by 20 pupils over the enrollment of twenty years before. There is no one simple answer to the problem of low enrollment. We must look to a combination of external and internal factors for a possible explanation.

For the most part the Philadelphia Jewish community, not unlike most of the other large Jewish communities at that time, was committed, albeit in some cases reluctantly and in others out of necessity, to minimal Jewish education. The overwhelming concerns of the community were economic survival and then success, acculturation, and the need to provide for their children the best opportunity for a college education which was the key to upward mobility. The majority concerned itself not at all about Jewish education, and about 70 percent of the Jewish children received none. Those that did usually received at most just barely enough education to become a Bar-Mitzvah. For the others there were, at the beginning of the period, educational opportunities at either

78 See pp. 62-63.
extreme, the heder which met daily, and the Sunday school. During this twenty-year period Talmud Torahs and weekday congregational schools established themselves more firmly. In spite of this, about one half of all the children attending Jewish schools were receiving only a Sunday school education.

Those attending school just two hours a week provided no population from which Gratz College could draw its students. The feeder schools had to be the hadarim, the Talmud Torahs, and, at the end of the period, the weekday congregational school. Those who came to the College were mainly from the hadarim and the Talmud Torahs. What this basically meant was that almost everyone who entered Gratz College came with a different apperceptive mass, each was at a different point on the plane of what we might call Jewish knowledge. The entrance qualifications were so minimal as to virtually allow acceptance of anyone who professed the desire to come. For those who had a minimal knowledge, the curriculum was overwhelming. For those who were well grounded in Jewish studies the curriculum offered very little. One alumnus said half in jest about a classmate of his that he was, "one man who knew more Hebrew when he entered than when he graduated."79 That probably was the fate of others who came well prepared for advanced Jewish studies and found instead a program which could more accurately be designated as Jewish high school studies. The latter, however, were few.

The majority who entered were ill-prepared to take the course of study. When you add to this the fact that to attend the College you

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78 Interview with Abram Piwosky, 9 November 1977. Mr. Piwosky was referring to Samuel Noah Kramer who, he said, could translate the entire Bible when he entered.
generally had to travel some distance, and attend classes two evenings and most of Sunday, the freshman class enrollment pattern of huge beginning numbers which dwindled during the year becomes comprehensible. Only a few survived. They were either those whose training provided a real basis for progress in the College or whose motivation was so great that they could close the gap.

With the growth in the number of Hebrew religious schools the need for teachers grew. With so few numbers being graduated from the College, there was no way to supply the schools. The serious lack of teachers became so great that pupils in the second, third and fourth year, lacking in training and experience, received teaching positions. The tacit acceptance of this situation by the faculty and the community established a pattern which plagues both of them to this day. Its double-edged effect undermined both the possible achievement at the College and the educational excellence of Philadelphia's Jewish schools. On the one hand, it put into the classroom teachers who had not finished their preparation, either in knowledge of subject matter or in methodology of teaching. On the other hand, it encouraged pupils to drop out of the program at the College. If they already could obtain a teaching position, why continue? By permitting this arrangement, the College and Jewish educational institutions in the community inflicted daily wounds on each other, effectively bleeding both, so that neither could function as healthy, vigorous entities. Complaints were heard by the principals of elementary Hebrew schools, most strongly from Mr. Ben Rosen, the director of the Associated Talmud Torah. 80 The complaints

did not alter the practice, but it was one of the factors behind the changes which took place in both the College and the community educational setup in 1928.

Gratz College Little Known

It appears that Gratz College suffered from another problem: obscurity. Even though it was the only institute for continuing Jewish education and teacher training in Philadelphia, relatively few people heard of it. Its publicity was limited to announcements of school openings and graduations. These were placed in both the Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish newspapers. During the year a few of its events were noted in the newspapers, such as a meeting of the Alumni Association or the Literary Society. Beyond that the school relied on word of mouth. The alumni considered it one of their responsibilities to spread that word. Three alumni, when asked how they heard of Gratz College told of personal family contacts with the faculty. One was the godson of Dr. Greenstone. His parents also provided a home for Mr. Dembitz who conducted services on the weekend in their neighborhood. 81 The second spoke of the friendship between her father, who was a Hebraist and Talmudist, and Dr. Joseph Medoff, 82 and a third was a personal friend of Leon Medoff, Dr. Medoff's son. 83 An article in the Jewish World on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the College hailed the value of the College and lamented the fact that

81 Interview with Abram Piwosky, 9 November 1977.
82 Interview with Rose Kötzen Landy, Class of 1927, 9 November 1977.
83 M. Robert Beckman, Class of 1923, in a letter to Gratz College, 24 June 1976. Dr. Joseph Medoff was the principal of the School of Observation and Practice, instructor of Hebrew and librarian of the College (1918-1923).
it was little known. It said:

To many a Jewish citizen of Philadelphia, however, it may be a new and astounding piece of news that such an institution as the Gratz College exists. Or if the name has been heard, what it stands for is probably a complete mystery for them. Let, then the following words be a light unto their eyes, that all our Jews may know what it is that they possess.84

What followed was a detailed description of the College and its courses.

It concluded with:

The Board of Trustees and the faculty of the college have undertaken to do all in their power and in their way to solve for the Jewish community of Philadelphia the great problem of Jewish education. But as there can be no king without a people so also a school cannot flourish without the cooperation of the community which it serves and which should be interested in it. It is therefore for the Jewish citizens of Philadelphia to remember what the Gratz College offers their youth and to take advantage of the privileges before them.85

Gratz College remained a small institution. Even if everyone who registered as a freshman had continued to graduation, the College still would have had to be considered as quite small. It was an institution which was functioning in a community that perceived no need for it. Advanced Jewish education would remain low on the list of priorities of the Philadelphia Jewish community for some time to come. However, for those pupils who attended the College there was a closely knit student community which fulfilled some of their social and intellectual needs as Jews and gave them an opportunity to become part of a Jewish teaching profession which was still struggling to establish itself. Many would take advantage of the latter opportunity for a period of time but only a few would make it their life's work.86

84 Philadelphia Jewish World, 1920 (exact date is unknown).
85 Ibid. 86 See chapter X, The Alumni.
CHAPTER VI

THE FACULTY

Faculty Members

The committee of the Board of Trustees charged with finding and recommending the faculty members for the College experienced great difficulty. It was committed to excellence and sought instructors who possessed the requisite learning as well as the requisite facility and adaptability to teach. The pool of educators from which it could choose was limited and the problem was exacerbated further by the limited income at its disposal. In late 1897 it elected three men, the Reverend Henry M. Speaker, Principal and Instructor of Jewish Literature of Gratz College; Mr. Arthur A. Dembitz, B.A., Instructor in Jewish History; and Mr. Isaac Husik, B.A., Instructor in Hebrew Language.¹

In 1905, Dr. Julius Greenstone² joined the faculty to teach Jewish

¹In the summer of 1901 Isaac Husik requested a leave of absence until the end of October so that he might finish his research in Europe for his doctoral degree, which he obtained in 1903. In 1911 he joined the faculty of philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania.

²Dr. Greenstone emigrated to the United States in 1894. He studied at City College of New York and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America where he was ordained in 1900. He was among the first American Jews to produce books of popular Jewish scholarship in English. In 1902, three years before he was appointed to the faculty of the College, he published The Religion of Israel which was later rewritten and expanded into The Jewish Religion (1901). For several years he delivered sermons at Mikveh Israel on a part-time basis.
education. Commenting on the faculty members as he saw them when he joined the staff in the middle of the 1920s, Dr. William Chomsky described the Reverend Henry Speaker as "a gentleman of both warmth and volatile disposition," whose teaching method, manner and classroom management left him unimpressed. He characterized Arthur Dembitz\(^3\) as "a warm, colorful and lovable personality," and Dr. Julius H. Greenstone as "the most scholarly and intellectual faculty member, who had acquired prominence as a pioneer in the preparation of Jewish educational surveys."\(^4\) Mr. Husik was no longer a member of the faculty at that time.

Gratz had very few changes in its faculty during the years 1905-1928. Mr. Henry Speaker remained the principal throughout. In 1916 Dr. Isaac Husik left to devote full time to his job as Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania.\(^5\) Rabbi Raphael Melamed, Ph.D., was appointed to replace him as instructor in Hebrew and as honorary librarian.\(^6\) Rabbi Melamed served until the end of 1918. His letter of resignation was accepted in September of that year\(^7\) and Joseph Medoff, Ph.D. was appointed to replace

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\(^3\) In describing his appointment to the Gratz College faculty, the *Jewish Exponent* identified Arthur Dembitz as the son of the most learned layman in America, Lewis N. Dembitz, Esq. of Louisville, Kentucky. See *Philadelphia Jewish Exponent*, 26 November 1897.


\(^5\) Minutes of the Gratz Board, 2 June 1916. Isaac Husik had joined the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania in 1911.

\(^6\) Ephraim Lederer to Raphael H. Melamed, 25 July 1916. The appointment was to take effect on 1 October 1916.

\(^7\) Minutes of the Gratz Board, 27 September 1918. The letter was dated 25 September 1918.
him.\textsuperscript{8} Joseph Medoff served as instructor in Hebrew and as librarian until his death on 20 September 1923.\textsuperscript{9} The College limped along without an instructor in Hebrew until December 1923, when Mr. William Chomsky was appointed to fill that post.\textsuperscript{10}

With Mr. Chomsky's interest in intensifying the Hebrew program, course offerings in Hebrew increased in 1923 from twelve hours to eighteen academic hours for the four years. Rabbi Max D. Klein, A.B., was added as an instructor in Hebrew at that time and he taught until 1925.\textsuperscript{11} In 1927 Joseph Levitsky, B.S., joined the Gratz College faculty as an instructor in Hebrew.\textsuperscript{12}

With the appointment of Mr. William Chomsky we have the first evidence of attention paid to the necessary qualifications of the person who would fill a faculty position, in this case, Instructor in Hebrew. Henry Speaker felt that the educational conditions were such that it was quite certain that the standards of Gratz College, in point of scholarship and efficacy, would have to be raised considerably to

\textsuperscript{8}Minutes of the Gratz Board, 18 February, 1919.

\textsuperscript{9}Gratz College Register, 1924-1925. Dr. Medoff's salary was to be paid to his widow until 31 December 1923. Ephraim Lederer to A. S. W. Rosenbach, 24 October 1923.

\textsuperscript{10}Ephraim Lederer to William Chomsky, 6 December 1923.

\textsuperscript{11}Gratz College Registers, 1923-1924, 1924-1925, 1925-1926, p.3. Rabbi Max D. Klein volunteered his services. He was not a paid member of the staff. By the year 1926-1927, course offerings in Hebrew had been reduced to fourteen hours. Dr. Chomsky taught ten of them, Mr. Dembitz taught two. Dr. Reider of Dropsie College (extension course) taught two.

\textsuperscript{12}Gratz College Register 1927-1928, p. 3. This association continued to 1946.
meet the needs of applicants and students.\textsuperscript{13} Considering that the Hebrew department was perhaps the most important in a Jewish educational institution of the type of Gratz College, he suggested that, "the new appointee be a man of scholarly attainments, of some personality, possessed of deep Jewish interest and also a man of method and pedagogic ability.\textsuperscript{14}

The following communication attests to the fact that Mr. Speaker felt the choice of Mr. Chomsky was a wise one:

Mr. William Chomsky, recently appointed instructor in Hebrew, is pursuing his work of teaching intelligently and efficiently. His manner and method seem to be educationally sound and well adapted to the principles and aims of our institution. He is likewise gradually winning the confidence, attention and good will of our students by his genial, patient and painstaking way in the classroom.\textsuperscript{15}

**Salaries**

The faculty was reelected yearly for a period of one year. With no pattern of periodic reviews of salary and in the absence of any system for providing increases, salary increases were granted intermittently and only upon personal request.\textsuperscript{16}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} The Talmud Torah Hebrew High School, which would become an important feeder school, had just been organized. William Chomsky had been brought to Philadelphia by Ben Rosen to be a member of the faculty.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Henry Speaker to Ephraim Lederer, 6 November 1923.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Principal's Report to the President and Board of Trustees, 12 June 1924.
\item \textsuperscript{16} See table 10.
\end{itemize}
### TABLE 10

**FACULTY SALARIES PER ANNUM, 1898-1908**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dec. 1, 1897 to Dec. 1, 1898</th>
<th>Dec. 1, 1898 to Aug. 31, 1899</th>
<th>1899-1900</th>
<th>1900-1901</th>
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<td>$1100</td>
<td>$1200</td>
<td>$1200</td>
<td>$1200</td>
<td>$1200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Husik</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Dembitz</td>
<td>$600</td>
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<table>
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<th></th>
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<th>1904-1905</th>
<th>1905-1906</th>
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<th>1907-1908</th>
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<td>$1200</td>
<td>$1400</td>
<td>$1400</td>
<td>$1400</td>
<td>$1400</td>
<td>$1400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Husik</td>
<td>$600</td>
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<td>$700</td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>$800</td>
<td>$800</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Dembitz</td>
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<td>$700</td>
<td>$700</td>
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<td>Dr. Greenstone</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>$900</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**SOURCE:** Minutes of the Gratz Trust, 1897-1908.

<sup>a</sup>Dr. Greenstone was engaged at a salary of $700 per annum. The $750 figure represents the additional responsibility he undertook to teach a Hebrew class.
Although teaching at the College may have been considered by the faculty as their primary occupation, some members engaged in outside activities for additional income. Mr. Speaker accepted invitations to preach during the Holydays, and Dr. Greenstone was the proprietor of a bookstore of English and foreign books. In the instance of Dr. Greenstone it appears that his main source of income probably came from the bookshop. His teaching was perhaps his primary profession, but in terms of income, it appears to have been the secondary choice.

Little is known of faculty reactions to board decisions, curriculum, and pupils, but much is known about the feelings of the faculty members concerning their salaries. They recognized that their salaries were quite low and requested increases yearly. Yet, for the most part, they were willing to accept none or small increases year after year. It was a small faculty, intimately acquainted with all the details of the College. They knew its financial situation and bore with resignation the limitations of their compensation. Yet, they did not always accept these limitations passively. On at least one occasion three members of the faculty, acting jointly, wrote a letter to the board requesting a 25 percent increase in salary, "because of extreme economic pressure." The board responded with increases ranging

17 Henry Speaker to Ephraim Lederer, 4 September, 1907.
18 See table 11.
19 Henry Speaker, Arthur Dembowitz, Julius Greenstone to the President and Board of Trustees of Gratz College, 25 May 1919.
### TABLE 11

**SALARIES OF GRATZ COLLEGE FACULTY, 1908-1921**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty</th>
<th>1908</th>
<th>1909</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1913</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1915</th>
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<th>1918</th>
<th>1919</th>
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<td>$1800</td>
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<td>1000</td>
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<td>1000</td>
<td>1100</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Dembitz</td>
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<td>900</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>900</td>
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<td>Raphael Melamed</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1100</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Medoff</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>825&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Minutes of the Gratz Board, 1908-1924.

<sup>a</sup>Rev. Raphael Melamed resigned in January 1918.

<sup>b</sup>Dr. Joseph Medoff replaced Rev. Raphael Melamed.
from 9 percent to 22 percent. These increases followed a ten-year period, 1910-1920, when only one raise was given.

Mr. Speaker appears to have made the most impassioned pleas for raises. In a letter written in 1916, he mentioned his twenty-year association with the College and pointed to the "steady, substantial and secure" though gradual progress the College had made. He noted the advancing prestige and reputation of the College and the quality and character of its graduates and made mention of the additional three hours of advanced work that had been added as a result of the change to a four-year program. He then continued on a more personal note:

It is now more than six years since my salary was raised to $1800 per annum. Since then the indispensable needs of my growing family have steadily increased, while the purchasing power of my monthly remuneration is enormously decreasing. Thus, Gentlemen, you will realize that, apart from the consideration of merit, it is the force of necessity that constrains me to apply for an increase in salary.

While somewhat reluctant to mention any definite amount I feel an additional $500 per annum would prove helpful in considerably mitigating my constantly growing economic burden.

The board granted him an increase of $150.

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20 See table 11.

21 With the exception of Arthur Dembitz, faculty members received increases in 1917.

22 Henry Speaker to the President and Board of Trustees of Gratz College, 4 December 1916.

23 Ibid.

24 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 5 June 1917.
In 1922 the Board of Trustees made an appeal to the Federation of Jewish Charities for an allowance of five thousand dollars. This request was granted, and the board was able to use the funds, which it received yearly, to increase faculty salaries. Mr. Speaker's salary was raised from $2250 in 1921 to $3084 in 1924. By that year, three of the instructors were making annual salaries of $2120, $1658 and $1280. The budgeted amount for that year had been $7033 but raises had been granted on 1 November 1924, bringing the annual expenditure for College faculty salaries to $8142. The latter amount was duly reflected in the federation request for 1925. Salaries would continue to increase steadily until the depression years caught up with the College budget.

According to statistics available from the year 1929, only Mr. Speaker received a salary equal to the average salary of $3,056 for all college teachers in the United States. Each of the other three was earning considerably less. Two of three were earning

25 Ephraim Lederer to Louis Wolf, President, Federation of Jewish Charities, 29 March 1922. The entire process will be detailed in the chapter on finances.

26 Request form to the Federation of Jewish Charities by Gratz College, 1925.

27 Ibid. There is no indication as to who received which salary. From a later financial report (1931-1932) one can infer that it was Dr. Julius Greenstone who received the salary of $2120.

28 Ibid.

substantially lower salaries than the average mean family personal income of $2,335 for the year 1929. The faculty's appeals for higher salaries seem well justified. They must have suffered considerable economic hardship. They did not, however, seek to better their lot by seeking major employment elsewhere. This may have been because there was no place else to go in the city. Gratz College was unique. It may also have been because they truly found satisfaction in their work.

In spite of no or minimal salary increases, two of the original three members of the faculty had completed thirty years of tenure at the College and were ready in 1928 to enter their fourth decade of service. A third, Dr. Julius Greenstone, had completed twenty-three years of service. Dr. Chomsky had started his long and valuable association with the College in December 1923, and Dr. Levitsky had just started an almost twenty-year career as an instructor in Hebrew and Bible. This small group of men took its task of transmitting the heritage of Judaism to its charges seriously and labored, each to the best of his ability, to fulfill this obligation. Many factors contributed to less than hoped for results, but the unquestioned dedication of the teachers was not among them.

The faculty was responsible for the curriculum and the testing. It worked closely with the board on all matters pertaining to the

30 Ibid., p. 301.

31 Most of the faculty was not qualified to teach at a secular university.

32 Dr. Greenstone was Principal of the College from 1933-1948.
educational process. The school was small and, as a result, the opportunities to develop close relationships between pupils and staff members and among the staff members themselves were great. To what extent this happened is difficult to tell. We only know that the staff and student body worked together closely under the rubric of the Literary Society. From this we might extrapolate that the opportunities inherent in a small school for close interpersonal relationships were indeed exploited to a certain extent.

Summary and Appraisal

In college teaching, more than at any of the other levels, success or failure depends on the intercommunication of two minds, a process still shrouded in mystery. It is, therefore, virtually impossible to give an exact formula for success. There are, however, certain essentials to good teaching on which there is considerable agreement. A good teacher must be a master of his subject, for good teaching is rooted in deep knowledge and understanding. In addition, a good teacher cares deeply about his subject and communicates his enthusiasm to his students. He enjoys working with young people and is willing to invest a great deal of moral, emotional, and intellectual energy.\textsuperscript{33} As far as teaching style, it should be one that best suits the teacher's abilities.

The Board of Trustees of Gratz College has left no documentation of the qualifications it was seeking in a faculty. It is fairly obvious that it gave highest priority to masters of subject matter.

The board desired proven scholars; it settled for what they judged to be potential ones. There is no doubt that Dr. Husik was a master of Hebrew language. Pupils of a later period speak with wonder and awe at the systematic training in grammar they received from Dr. Husik. His major interest, however, was philosophy. Dr. Greenstone was an expert in the field of religion but for many years he taught pedagogy. Nevertheless, in these two men the board made a good choice. As to Mr. Speaker and Mr. Dembitz the board must have considered them sufficiently knowledgeable in their respective fields of Jewish literature and Jewish history to elect them as instructors.

Two alumni with a span of ten years separating their attendance at the College, had many identical recollections about the curriculum and the faculty. They recalled great minds, poor teaching methodology and generally poor discipline.

Mr. Henry M. Speaker was characterized as, "a lecturer, rather than a teacher." He had a wealth of information and could quote from many sources. It seems that he could and did spend an entire year with his class trying to decide what was Jewish literature. The process did not involve much student participation other than listening to Mr. Speaker cite examples from his vast storehouse of knowledge. Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker had some difficulty with his enunciations

34 Mr. Abram Piwosky and Mrs. Rose Kotzen Landy. 35 1913-1917; 1923-1927.
36 Interviews with Abram Piwosky and Rose Kotzen Landy.
37 Interview with Abram Piwosky.
38 Interviews with Abram Piwosky and Rose Kotzen Landy.
which often made it difficult to understand what he was saying. Predictably, this extremely knowledgeable lecturer with speech difficulties had discipline problems in the classroom and, sadly, very few skills with which to deal with them. Reminiscing about an invitation he received to visit Mr. Speaker's class to see how things should be done, Dr. Chomsky wrote, "What I learned from observing his lesson was rather negative—how not to do things." 39

"Erratic" was the adjective used to describe Mr. Dembitz, and when pressed for a definition of the term one alumna volunteered, "If he was teaching one subject, his mind wandered off to something so tangential... I can't even tell you what he taught us." 40 He was a lecturer who asked his pupils just to listen. "You listened to him and you studied at home because you took an examination." 41 At one time, the situation in his history class had gotten so out of hand because of Mr. Dembitz's inability to establish control that the faculty recommended a rearrangement of the curriculum so that Mr. Dembitz could be relieved from teaching that class. Dr. Greenstone took over the class and Mr. Dembitz used those two hours to read additional Hebrew texts with students of the freshman class. 42

Of Dr. Husik, who left the faculty during this period, it is recalled that he was a perfectionist.

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39 Conversation with Dr. Solomon Grayzel, 4 December 1977.
40 Chomsky, "Fifty Years Ago," p. 3.
41 Interview with Rose Kotzen Landy.
42 Interview with Abram Piwosky.
43 Henry Speaker to Ephraim Lederer, 2 July 1916.
He taught and did not lecture; he questioned. By the time we finished, those who remained after the first year... could conjugate any verb. You knew your grammar through and through but it was not spoken Hebrew... I'm certain that not one member of the faculty could speak fluent Hebrew... no modern texts... just the Bible. We translated... You received a beautiful course. In fact, Dr. Sam Kramer, who has spoken to me said what he learned from Dr. Husik... systematized his Hebrew.

Dr. Greenstone is remembered with the greatest respect. He was a lecturer who never stood up in class, but his course in customs and ceremonies was described as "a fine, fine course." Dr. Greenstone made constant references to Jewish sources. "You felt you were in front of a scholar." There were no discipline problems in his class. His course in pedagogy was not mentioned. One reason for this might be that, although he wrote about and taught methodology, he had no teaching experience on the elementary level (8-13 years), and his first-hand knowledge of what would constitute good methodology for the elementary Jewish religious school pupil was, probably, extremely limited. This fact may have been recognized by himself and by the Board of Trustees for, with the reorganization of the College in 1928, Dr. William Chomsky became the instructor in pedagogy.

44 While faculty members could not conduct a conversation in Hebrew, they did know Hebrew in its classical form.
45 See chapter V, footnotes, 46 and 79.
46 Interview with Abram Piwosky.
47 Interview with Rose Kotzen Landy.
48 Interview with Abram Piwosky.
It was not until Dr. Chomsky joined the faculty that one comes across such descriptions as, "He came to the College well equipped not only in the subject matter of the courses he was to teach, but evidently with advanced and educational theories as to classroom procedure in general and the importance of extra-curricular activities in particular." 49 It was Dr. Chomsky's attention to the latter, through his establishment of the "Ivriah" that impelled one member of the group to say almost twenty years later that because of it her four years at Gratz College were not only an enjoyable and educational interlude but a formative and guiding period in her life. 50

What any pupil learns from an experience is more complex than the sum of its measurable components. The Gratz College pupils may have learned little from a quantitative point of view but, for some, there was another aspect of their learning integrally tied up with the faculty. One alumnus was quoted as saying that, "what I learned from attending Gratz College was what it was to be a teacher of Hebrew ... I learned that Jewish living and learning go hand in hand." 51 Indeed, methodology might have been poor, but the faculty provided a beautiful model for Jewish living. Its members were perceived by those students who took advantage of the small, intimate atmosphere at the College to have contact with them

49 Rose Kotzen Landy to Noam Chomsky, c. 1945. A letter containing material for an article for "Hamithorer," the student newspaper, to be entitled, "Two Decades Ago."

50 Ibid.

51 Interview with Abram Piwosky who was quoting a conversation with Samuel Noah Kramer.
on an informal basis,\textsuperscript{52} as leading beautiful Jewish lives. What accrued to each student from the exposure to men who exemplified Jewish living in his eyes can be measured only by the individual so exposed. For some it may have constituted their most significant learning at the College. This experience may have entirely eluded others.

The Philadelphia Jewish community had changed considerably during the thirty-five years of this study, as has already been documented. It is logical to assume that the pupils who attended Cratz College reflected this change. There was, however, almost no change of faculty during this period. There is also no evidence of any changes made by a majority of the faculty members in teaching methodology. This lack of change must be considered a significant factor in assessing why the College failed to establish itself at this time as a significant Hebrew teacher-training institution.

One cannot judge the board for its faculty selections. It searched hard and long. Given the circumstances under which it labored, particularly the lack of candidates, it did what it could. It can be held accountable, however, for not evaluating its choices and making necessary changes. The school and the pupils suffered greatly because of this failure.

\textsuperscript{52}Mr. Speaker taught a special class on Saturday afternoon. The pupils met with the faculty outside of class time. The faculty had its door open to pupils at any time. When the bells rang, pupils and teachers often lingered to talk.
Objectives of the Curriculum

A widely accepted definition of curriculum today is, "the totality of a pupils' experience under the guidance of the school."\(^1\) Thirty years ago the definition of curriculum singled out the society for special emphasis. The goal of the curriculum was to fit the individual for the society of which he was a part.\(^2\) The current definition expands that to include as objectives both the immediate needs and demands of the society and the development of the individual. In either case, there are specific goals the curriculum is attempting to achieve.

The architects of the Gratz College curriculum also had a specific objective. They wanted to equip the Jewish youngster with the essentials of Jewish life as they understood it. They wanted to prepare the pupils for life in a Jewish community as they wanted the community to be.

To tailor-make a definition which would describe how the builders of the Gratz College curriculum approached the problem, one would have

\(^1\) All the goals (general), objectives (specific), content, processes, resources, and means of evaluation of all the learning experiences for pupils both in and out of the school and community through classroom programs and related programs. See Encyclopedia of Education, S.v. "Curriculum Building," by Agnes S. Robinson.

to include only a statement such as, "Curriculum includes all the content material a pupil must master to be an educated Jew."\(^3\) In this respect the board differed little in their educational aims from Jewish educators dating back to Talmudic times. According to Nathan Morris,

Jewish education in Talmudic times was concerned with the preservation of that which is rather than a striving for that which might be. It aimed to perpetuate a system of life the fundamentals of which were supposed to have been fixed for all time. The task of the school consisted in the transmission of the literature in which that system of life was embodied.\(^4\)

It is not at all surprising that the board paid no attention to a definition primarily to prepare pupils for life in an expanding industrial society. The society in which the board was interested was the Jewish community. The culture it wished to perpetuate was Jewish culture. The pupils' needs were pre-determined. What the pupil needed was to "know." Curriculum building became, therefore, a simple matter. The instructors of the College had to determine which material from the vast Jewish cultural heritage should be transmitted to the pupils in an educational setting. Subject matter had to be mastered. The survival of Jewish culture and the Jewish community depended on it.

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\(^3\)The belief was deeply ingrained that an educated Jew would be a practicing Jew.

In literature, Mr. Speaker condensed what could have been a lifetime of study of texts, produced over a vast period of time, into three years. His sequence was chronological; his divisions arbitrary. Mr. Dembitz did the same with almost four thousand years of history, and Mr. Husik selected portions of Biblical and Talmudic texts to be studied and translated. No thought at all seems to have been given to the pupil. Certainly, one could not expect the curriculum at that time to take the needs and interest of the Jewish learner into account. However, not even the simplest consideration of whether the pupils would have sufficient prior knowledge to deal with the materials competently was taken into account. Perhaps this was so because of the board's idealism or perhaps because of its impatience to see the College opened. Whatever the reason might have been, the fact was that the principle of selectivity did not operate at all. All subjects were considered equally important, and no concern was given for the pupils' needs or abilities. Certainly no one thought to go out into the community and survey the existing schools for Jewish education in Philadelphia to ascertain what was really taking place. This is not to suggest that the curriculum should have been determined by the standard of achievement in the community. It suggests rather

5 Neither John Dewey's, The School and Society (1899) nor his, The Child and the Curriculum (1902) had been written yet. It was in these books that his view of education as a process which must begin with and build upon the interests of the child was expounded. Even if Dewey's views had already attained their destined popularity, they may have had no effect on the curriculum of Gratz College which had a much older and more sacred tradition to follow.
that the standards should have been taken into consideration and the initial curriculum of the College should have reflected a compromise between aspiration and reality. Ideally then, working together in a cooperative endeavor and with changing conditions, the standard of both the College and the community could have been elevated.

The Earliest Evaluations

On 12 June 1898 some five months after the College first opened, examination of the classes were held in Hebrew, Jewish history, and Jewish literature. It is difficult to say what material was learned or what the examinations consisted of, other than that they were written tests. The results prompted Moses A. Dropsie to say in his annual report that "the result of the examination has proved highly satisfactory which is evidence that both the instruction and the students have been earnest and conscientious in their work." Is it possible that he reviewed the examinations or, what seems more likely, did he accept the instructors' evaluations? Contrary to the statement however, a communication from Dr. Cyrus Adler from London on 15 August 1898 gives clear indication that the instructors had run into trouble.

He commented,

If the work in Hebrew should prove excessive for Mr. Husik— as is not improbable—it may be necessary to give him the assistance of another one of the instructors but it is essential that the same method of instruction should be employed.

One can only speculate why the work would prove excessive. It seems likely

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6 MGT, 25 August, 1898.
7 Chairman of the Committee on Education
8 Ibid.
the first classes in Hebrew at the College would have been comprised of students with varying degrees of competence in the language and, therefore, Mr. Husik might have been compelled to deal with individuals rather than the class as a whole. He might even have found it necessary to work with some students outside of class time. Since the principal method of instruction was to be "by regular class teaching" it seemed important to Dr. Adler that assistance be provided and that the methodology remain the same.

In the same communication, Dr. Adler, in reply to Moses Dropsie's call that it was of utmost importance that pedagogics should form a part of the instruction of the College, penned his agreement. He heartily favored such a course for the second year pupils. It was his understanding that for the year 1898-1899 there would be two distinct classes given, first year course and second year course. He cautioned that Gratz College was a graded school, and no amalgamation of courses should be allowed. Nothing more was done on the matter of pedagogics at that time.

The only change in curriculum in the second year of operation was the establishment of an advanced class in Talmud during the second semester. Mr. Speaker requested the class in order to help prepare those pupils who intended to enroll in the Jewish Theological

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9 MCT, 29 August 1895.

10 Ibid. The January classes of 1898 and the September classes of 1898 were eventually amalgamated. Probably because of attrition, in the number of pupils, it became impractical not to do so. The first graduation was held in 1901.
Seven students enrolled for the course.

It is interesting to note that a board decision was made in February of that year to ask each member of the board to visit Gratz College in a given month while it was in session, probably to gain first-hand information about the school and the workings of its curriculum as well as to provide for personal contact with the instructors.

The Introduction of Pedagogy

In the fall of 1899 the matter of pedagogy was brought up to the board again and referred to the Committee on Education. The matter was not resolved until the following year when the board adopted the recommendation of the committee that the pupils in the third year course be expected to visit the various Jewish schools in Philadelphia and write an essay, or report on some feature of Jewish education at the end of their observations. This was an extremely significant development. For the first time the College for teacher training was including a pedagogic component in its curriculum. Adopted along with it was the proposal that an hour every two weeks be added to the curriculum for the purpose of enabling the students to meet

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11 The Jewish Theological Seminary had opened in New York in 1887.
12 Average attendance was five pupils. MGT, 31 August 1899.
13 MGT, 23 February 1899.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 MGT, 30 November 1899.
and discuss the work and receive instruction from the principal.17

This meant that Mr. Speaker, who, as has already been noted in the previous chapter, had many shortcomings himself in the area of pedagogics, would be the instructor of pedagogics. Nevertheless, it was a beginning.

Problems of Implementation

A decision was made to graduate the first class in June 1901. Students would receive diplomas as teachers, after having satisfactorily passed an examination in the various departments. In 1899 the instructors had projected that the examinations would cover the following:

Literature: Prophets, Apocrypha, Talmudic literature, Jewish-Arabic literature in Spain, philosophy and tradition down to the Renaissance and possibly down to the Mendelssohn school.

History: Abraham to the period of Maimonides or possibly the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.18

Hebrew: Hebrew grammar; syntax and composition; translation and subject matter of Biblical books, representing the historical, poetical and prophetical portions; Aramaic grammar, Aramaic portions of the Bible; and possibly a treatise or two of Mishnah.19

This reflected more the material the instructors hoped to cover rather than what they actually accomplished. Least of all did the above reflect what was learned. This is substantiated by a careful look

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17 Ibid.

18 Mr. Dembitz reported that owing to the richness of material it would be impossible to reach in history down to the present time. MGT, 30 November 1899.

19 Ibid.
at an excerpt from the annual report submitted by the principal of the college at the end of the academic year 1900-1901 outlining the material covered in each class. It shows that in every class the projection was optimistic.

**Literature**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Course Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Year</td>
<td>Introductory lectures on Jewish literature; Jeremiah studied and analyzed as an illustration of Prophetic literature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Year</td>
<td>Lectures and discussions on the Jewish canon; studies in the book of Ecclesiastes; lectures on the nature and significance of Tradition concluding with introductory remarks on the Talmud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Year</td>
<td>Introductory lectures on the origin, nature and structure of the Talmud; original selections from Talmudic text—Halakha and Haggadah.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**History**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Course Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Year</td>
<td>Beginning to Simon the Just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Year</td>
<td>Hasmoneans to the rebellion of Bar Kokhba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Year</td>
<td>Periods between Amoraim and Nahmanides</td>
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**Hebrew**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Course Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Year</td>
<td>Larger part of Green's Elementary Grammar; translation from Hebrew into English; twelve chapters of Genesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Year</td>
<td>Advanced Hebrew grammar and composition; the book of Judges; parts of Proverbs; some of the early portions of the Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Year</td>
<td>First thirty chapters of the book of Isaiah from the beginning and on the Minor Prophets; study of Mishnah (Baba Meziah, Sanhedrin)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 MGT, 30 November, 1899.
An Appraisal of the Curriculum by the Board

Examining the achievements of the third year classes one can see that in literature the concentration was on the Talmud, centuries shy of the Mendelssohn school, and in Hebrew, neither Aramaic grammar nor the Aramaic portions of the Bible were taught. History most nearly approximated the projection, but one must remember that Mr. Dembitz had already made an adjustment in his expectations. In the original curriculum proposal, Mr. Dembitz had projected to devote the third year to teach the period from the close of the Middle Ages to the present.

Unquestionably, what was accomplished was a more realistic assessment of what could be accomplished in the time allotted with the given students and instructors. It should have been accepted, at least as a temporary yardstick for expectations, but the board, particularly Cyrus Adler, did not see it this way and again allowed hopes to crowd out reason. A committee of three was appointed in May 1901, to examine the curriculum and report its conclusions. There then ensued correspondence among Cyrus Adler, Mayer Sulzberger, and David Werner Amram, the appointed committee, on a number of points:

1. On the question of age Dr. Adler wanted to know by whose authority the age of admission had been changed from fourteen

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21 See note 18.

22 MGT, 25 November 1897.

23 The first mention of David Werner Amram as a member of the board is in the minutes of 7 October 1900, where his presence at the annual meeting was noted. He apparently was appointed to replace Charles J. Cohen who had resigned earlier in the year.
to fifteen. Mayer Sulzberger did not know but David Amram volunteered the information that there never were any students under fifteen years of age enrolled and the principal made the change because he thought children of fourteen were too young to do the work.

2. Dr. Adler questioned the change from afternoon to evening hours. Judge Sulzberger favored the restoration of some afternoon work the omission of which he felt probably led to the deletion of some of the outlined studies. Mr. Amram did not agree. His approach was a practical one. He pointed out that the afternoon work was discontinued because students did not attend. The students all attended school or college and most did not have the leisure to attend the College on weekday afternoons.

3. Cyrus Adler thought it unfortunate that Hebrew composition and syntax were omitted in the curriculum. These subjects, he suggested could be assigned as homework and corrected by the instructors on their own time. Mayer Sulzberger favored instruction in class, but David Amram considered it unnecessary. For the first year students he labeled it undesirable. However, he conceded that for second year students there should be classwork and homework. For third year students he suggested homework only since their schedule was very full.

4. Dr. Adler pointed out that in three and a half years less had been covered in Hebrew literature than the curriculum had specified for two years. He saw this as a radical defect and identified the problem as an attempt to go into too much detail. Judge Sulzberger favored a more thorough treatment.

24 It never occurred to him that the defect was in not knowing from the beginning what it was realistically possible to cover. On the contrary, he states that "I do not consider the course too comprehensive, provided the effort is made to carry it out in a rational way without too much attention to detail." Cyrus Adler to Mayer Sulzberger, 4 August 1901.
of a limited period of Hebrew literature since he felt that in this manner interest could be aroused and the student would be more likely to pursue his studies after graduation. David Amram agreed completely with the latter viewpoint.

5. In regard to biblical Aramaic, which had been completely omitted, Dr. Adler felt that without it much of the liturgy would remain unintelligible. Mayer Sulzberger agreed it was important and, again, with a more practical approach to the problem, David Amram opposed its introduction. It was much more important, he suggested, to give the pupils a more thorough knowledge in the Hebrew portions of the Bible. He felt that in the study of the Talmud they would get as much instruction as would be sufficient for practical purposes and was strongly against the introduction of the study of any language other than Hebrew.

6. In reference to the possibility of adding a fourth year to the course of study, apparently suggested by the principal, all three men were in opposition. David Amram, however, went on record saying that the fourth year special course, a postgraduate course soon to be offered, should be permanently established.25

So committed was Cyrus Adler to the curriculum as originally projected that it took precedence over his opposition to the addition of a fourth year to the course. He wrote, "If upon careful examination, however, it should be found that the course originally outlined cannot be given in three years, I fear that we may be forced to the conclusion that a four years course must be adopted, since I do not think that upon anything less than the curriculum laid out we can afford to give our graduates certificates as teachers."26

25 Cyrus Adler to Mayer Sulzberger, 4 August 1901; Mayer Sulzberger to Cyrus Adler, 9 August 1901; David Werner Amram to Cyrus Adler, 14 August 1921.

26 Cyrus Adler to Mayer Sulzberger, 4 August 1901.
Dr. Adler had undertaken to write the report to the board. At the annual meeting in 1901 the subject of the curriculum was discussed. It was carried that,

... the curriculum shall stand as originally laid down and that the course be completed by the Faculty in the time specified, three years, and that all other subject matters in connection with the arrangement of the curriculum shall be left with the committee on curriculum with power to act.27

This meant that Cyrus Adler's views prevailed. The original curriculum provided for a broad sampling of literature from the Biblical to the Modern Period, for the study of the entire sweep of history and for Hebrew composition and Aramaic, all to be covered in three years.

The principal's annual report for the year 1901-1902 reflected the attempt of the instructors to carry out the wish of the board.

**Literature**

**First Year Class:** Introductory lectures to Jewish literature; Prophetic literature, specifically the complete book of Amos; Deuteronomy, first eleven chapters (studied critically with a view to the appreciation of their literary features; lectures on the Hebrew Canon and on Philo with selections from the text; lectures on the *Apocrypha*; analytical study of the *Ecclesiastes*.

**Second Year Class:** Introductory lectures on the Oral Law and on Rabbinic Literature generally; Mishnah, tractate Berakhot, first five "perakim" (Chapters).

**Third Year Class:** Mishnah text and Bertinoro commentary; tractates Aboth—five chapters, and Yoma—first three chapters.28

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27 *MGT*, 29 August 1901.

28 This was done with a view towards preparing an attending member of the class, Mr. Samuel Goldberger, for subsequent admission to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.
History:

First Year Class: Abraham to Restoration under Zerubbabel.
Second Year Class: Simon the Just to period just before Bar Kokhba War.
Third Year Class: Compilation of Mishnah to the period of Alfasi and Rashi.

Hebrew:

First Year Class: Hebrew grammar—Green's Elementary Grammar; regular verbs, declension of nouns, irregular verbs; Genesis, Chapters 37, 39-42, translation.
Second Year Class: Joshua, chapters 1-4, 5-9, 14, 20, 22-24, Judges, chapters 4, 6-7; Private reading, Genesis, chapters 43-45 and Judges, chapters 8-13; Hebrew composition; exercises in irregular verbs; short compositions based on selected portions of Joshua; Proverbs, chapters 1-4, 6, 8-11, Psalms, 1 and 2.
Third Year Class: Isaiah, first 24 chapters; Aramaic parts of Daniel and Ezra and selections from the Ritual (Mr. Dembitz gave the course in Aramaic).

Changes in the Curriculum (1901-1908)

A Post-graduate Course

With the approaching graduation of the first class in June 1901, attention was given to providing an opportunity for the graduates, albeit there were only to be three, to continue their studies. The establishment of a fourth year special course for students of the College who successfully passed the examination of the third year class was agreed upon.

29 MGT, 24 September 1902. See appendices M and N for extracts from the Annual Report of the Principal for the years 1902-1903 and 1903-1904.
1. The curriculum shall consist of work in Hebrew, Jewish Literature and Jewish History; the work in Hebrew shall be made most important, and the hours of instruction shall be made less than those of the present third year class, but that more home work be required.

2. The work in Hebrew shall consist principally of Hebrew composition, translation from English into Hebrew, and readings from the Bible; the work in Jewish literature shall consist of selected readings from some of the principal works in post-Talmudic literature with illustrative lectures by the instructor; the work in Jewish history shall be a continuation of the work of the present third year class down to the Mendelssohnian period; and that the instructors in the three departments remain the same as at present.

3. The class work required shall be as follows: Hebrew two hours every week; literature one hour every week; history one hour every week.  

The course was established for the year 1901-1902. However, the attendance was uncertain and irregular. With only three students enrolled it is possible to envision days on which the instructors had no pupils to teach. As a matter of fact, in his annual report, the principal reported that little or no progress had been made in the history course because of the irregular attendance. Nevertheless, Mr. Husik reported that the class covered the first twenty-two chapters of Job and Rashi commentary to the first six chapters in Genesis. Mr. Speaker, the principal, taught Maimonides' Yad ha-Hazakah: Hilkhot Talmud Torah; Hilkhot Yesode ha-Torah and Hilkhot Teshubah. Mr. Speaker informed the board that with only a slight modification in the present work of Gratz College, graduates of the college, who so

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30 MGT, 30 May 1901.

31 MGT, 24 September 1902.
desired, would meet the requirements for admission to the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. It would simply mean an additional course in the Talmud given to those students who planned to do so. He volunteered to give this additional course to those students during the third year.\textsuperscript{32} It seems likely that the Talmud course established in the spring term of 1898 had not become a regular feature of the curriculum. A special committee was appointed to consider the advisability of changing the course of instruction at Gratz College in order to meet the entrance requirements of the Jewish Theological Seminary.\textsuperscript{33} No decision seems to have been made on this matter.

The annual report of the following year does not mention a post-graduate course but, in the year 1903-1904, one such class was taught in literature and Hebrew.\textsuperscript{34} The 1907-1908 roster\textsuperscript{35} lists a special class held on Friday from 2:30-4:30 P.M. and on Saturday from 2:30-5:30 P.M. From the material studied, Modern Hebrew, \textit{Guide of the Perplexed}, and Rashi commentary, it would seem likely that this was a post-graduate course.\textsuperscript{36} It appears, however, that a post-graduate course was not taught consistently during the first decade of operations.\textsuperscript{37}

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{31} MG T, 24 September 1902.
\item\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{34} MG T, 23 September 1903. The class studied \textit{Ecclesiastes}, Rashi commentary on \textit{Genesis} and Davidson's \textit{Hebrew Syntax}.
\item\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{36} It is surprising that the College scheduled classes for Saturday. No explanation is given and there is no evidence available of community disfavor.
\item\textsuperscript{37} In the 1908-1909 \textit{Circular of Information} of Gratz College it states, "Post-graduate courses will be given to students desiring a more intimate knowledge of Jewish learning. These courses will be arranged according to the needs and attainments of its applicants."
\end{itemize}
The three-year courses in literature, history, and Hebrew stayed relatively the same, with some minor changes. One point of interest is the inclusion of Abraham Mapu's, *Ahabath Ziyyon* in the third year curriculum of the Hebrew class of 1903-1904. This was the first time a selection from modern literature was included in the course.

A Course in Pedagogics

In the fall of 1904, Cyrus Adler raised the question of whether it would be desirable to inaugurate a course in pedagogics during the coming year. Apparently, he felt that what had already been established, observation only, was far from adequate. Action was taken on 1 June 1905, when a motion was carried that a one-year lecture course be established on pedagogics as applied to religious instruction and on the history of Jewish education. Also, if it prove feasible, that a special course be established for the instruction of those already teaching in Jewish religious schools in Philadelphia. The president was authorized to engage the Reverend Dr. Julius H. Greenstone for

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38 Abraham Mapu (1808-1867) is considered the creator of the Hebrew novel. His *Ahabath Ziyyon* (*The Love of Zion*) was published in Vilna in 1853. It represented a turning point in the development of modern Hebrew literature.

39 MGT, 28 September 1904. See appendix J.

40 Ibid.

41 MGT, 1 June 1905.

42 Julius H. Greenstone, Ph.D., was ordained at the Jewish Theological Seminary (1900). For some years, he had involved himself in pedagogics. An article in the *Philadelphia Jewish Exponent*, 23 January 1903, detailed an address he delivered before the Alumni Association of the Hebrew Sunday School Society on, "How to Teach Jewish Ethics," It stated, "He showed the various opportunities that arise for teaching ethics in the religious school and discussed the direct and indirect methods for giving this instruction." Dr. Greenstone had delivered the opening prayer at the first Gratz College graduation.
one year to undertake this work at a salary not to exceed seven
hundred dollars per annum. In his annual report, the president pro-tem,
of the Board of Trustees, Ephraim Lederer, wrote of this course,

"It is hoped that this effort to improve the qualifications of
teachers in our religious schools will be appreciated by all
Jewish teachers, who are cordially invited to avail themselves
of the facilities thus afforded. It is not necessary that
members of this class should attend the regular course of
instruction."

In 1906 the course in pedagogy was extended to two years. An
information circular, advertising the course for the year 1907-1908,
intended for prospective students (religious school teachers),
described it in the following way:

The course in "Methods of Teaching as Applied to the Jewish
Religious School" will be given again during the academic year
at the Gratz College. The course extends over two years and,
while students are admitted at the beginning of each scholastic
year, it is desirable that those who wish to take the fall course
and thus be entitled to a certificate should enroll at the beginning
of this term.

The work as heretofore will be of a practical nature, consisting
mainly of model lessons given by the students, interspersed with
lectures and discussions regarding the various problems that
confront the Jewish Religious School teacher in his work. The
value of such lessons to teachers is self-evident and it is
hoped that many will avail themselves of the opportunity thus
offered.

There is no charge for tuition, the course being arranged by the
College for the benefit of the Jewish Religious School teachers
and others interested in the problems of Jewish education.

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43 Ibid. 44 Moses A. Dropsie died on 8 July 1905.
45 Annual Report of the President of the Board of Trustees of Gratz
College, 1904-1905.
46 Information circular, advertising the course in pedagogy for
the year 1907-1908.
Still another significant change in the curriculum took place. Suggested by the faculty, a preparatory class was authorized for the year 1906-1907. Its purpose was to meet the requirements of pupils who, although otherwise qualified, were not sufficiently advanced in Hebrew to enable them to begin the regular course of instruction. In addition to four hours of language, the class had one hour of Bible history and one hour of Jewish religion. The latter course was designed to teach Jewish religious institutions. The preparatory course was instituted as an experiment but became a permanent feature in the curriculum.

One final addition was considered for the curriculum. In May 1907, the College Committee of the board was authorized to arrange for a course in liturgy and to confer with the faculty of the College on this matter. The course was not established and would not be included in the curriculum until 1914 when a fourth year would be added to the regular course.

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47 MGT, 18 June 1906.
48 Annual Report of the President of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College, 1906-1907.
49 Roster, 1907-1908. See table 12.
50 Mayer Sulzberger, Chairman; Cyrus Adler.
51 MGT, 28 May 1907.
52 Margolis, Jewish Teacher Training, p. 36.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Sunday</th>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9-10 a.m.</td>
<td>Preparatory</td>
<td></td>
<td>Teachers' Class</td>
<td>Preparatory</td>
<td>First Year</td>
<td>Second Year</td>
<td>Preparatory</td>
<td>Special Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11 a.m.</td>
<td>First Year</td>
<td>Education Greenstone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>First Year</td>
<td>Second Year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-12 a.m.</td>
<td>Second Year</td>
<td>History Dembitz Hebrew</td>
<td>Pedagogy Greenstone</td>
<td>Hebrew Literature</td>
<td>Hebrew Aramaic</td>
<td>Hebrew Greenstone</td>
<td>Hebrew Husik</td>
<td>Hebrew Dembitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-1 p.m.</td>
<td>Third Year</td>
<td>Literature Hebr Ali</td>
<td>Hebraic Greenstone</td>
<td>Hebrew Speaker</td>
<td>Hebraic Husik</td>
<td>History Hebraic</td>
<td>History Speaker</td>
<td>History Dembitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jewish Religion Greenstone</td>
<td>Hebraic Dembitz Israeli</td>
<td>Hebraic History</td>
<td>Hebraic Literature</td>
<td>Hebrew Speaker</td>
<td>Hebrew Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hebrew Greenstone</td>
<td>Hebraic Greenstone</td>
<td>Hebraic History</td>
<td>Hebraic Speaker</td>
<td>Hebrew Dembitz</td>
<td>Rashl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hebrew Literature</td>
<td>Hebraic History</td>
<td>Hebraic Literature</td>
<td>Hebraic Speaker</td>
<td>Hebraic Dembitz</td>
<td>Hebraic Greenstone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>History Dembitz</td>
<td>Hebraic History</td>
<td>Hebraic Literature</td>
<td>Hebraic Speaker</td>
<td>Hebraic Dembitz</td>
<td>Hebraic Greenstone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hebrew Greenstone</td>
<td>Hebraic History</td>
<td>Hebraic Literature</td>
<td>Hebraic Speaker</td>
<td>Hebraic Dembitz</td>
<td>Hebraic Greenstone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Years 1908-1914

During the years 1908-1914 the curriculum of the College remained essentially the same with only one basic change. Starting with the year 1912-1913 no preparatory class was offered. The college course covered three years and included four basic areas, Hebrew language, Bible and Mishnah, literature, and education. The latter included both pedagogics as applied to the Jewish religious school and the history of Jewish education. Jewish religion was taught in addition to regular studies through required readings assigned to the students. The classes were held three times a week: on Sunday from 3:00-6:00 P.M., (second year students attended from 2:00-6:00 P.M.), and on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 8:00-10:00 P.M., (third year students attended sessions from 7:00-10:00 P.M. on Thursday night). The special two-year in-service course given for teachers in Jewish religious schools met on Monday from 8:00-10:00 P.M. In addition, the special course in Talmud was scheduled. This course was open to non resident students. It was basically a course for those who intended to continue their advanced Rabbinic studies at the Dropsie College in Philadelphia or at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.

53 See table 13, Curriculum of Gratz College, 1913-1914.
54 Gratz College Register 1912-1913, p. 20.
55 Ibid., p. 5. 56 Ibid., p. 9.
57 Those who were not officially members of the student body.
58 Ibid.
TABLE 13
CURRICULUM OF GRATZ COLLEGE, 1913-1914

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Regular Course</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Hour per Week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIRST YEAR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>Grammar and exercise in translation, as in Green's Elementary Hebrew Grammar</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reading narrative portions on the Bible for vocabulary and idiom. Hebrew composition and syntax.</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>From Abraham until decree of Cyrus.</td>
<td>1st and</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>Biblical period to second century C.E.--Historical books, prophetic Literature, Poetry of the Bible, Apocrypha, Jewish Hellenistic period, Philo.</td>
<td>1st and</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECOND YEAR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>Joshua and Judges; Hebrew Composition, Private reading in Genesis.</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psalms and Proverbs. Private reading in Samuel and Kings.</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional Course</td>
<td>Reading in the Commentaries of Rashi and Ibn Ezra</td>
<td>1st and</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>From the beginning of the second commonwealth until the compilation of the Mishnah.</td>
<td>1st and</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>Talmudic period to the tenth century: Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, Agadah, Targumim, Masorah. Readings from original texts.</td>
<td>1st and</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE 13
(continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Regular Course</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Hours per Week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Education</td>
<td>From earliest times to the close of the Gaonic period.</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THIRD YEAR</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>Isaiah, Aramic Grammar, as in Morti's Aramaic Grammar.</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private reading in Kings and selected chapters in Jeremiah.</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isaiah continued; Amos; Aramaic-selected chapters in the book of Daniel;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>readings on Jewish Liturgy. Private readings in Ruth and Esther.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional Course</td>
<td>Reading a work of Jewish Philosophy.</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>From the first Amoraim until Maimonides</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>Tenth century to present time; Neo Hebraic Poetry and Literature; Jewish</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arabic Literature in Spain; Conflict between Philosophy and Tradition; The</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Renaissance and Humanism; Hebrew German Critics; Mendelssohn's School; the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Science of Judaism; Poetry and Belles-Lettres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Education</td>
<td>From the Close of the Gaonic period to the present time</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Gratz College Register 1913-1914.
The Addition of a Fourth Year

The records show that as early as 1906, Cyrus Adler favored the addition of a fourth year to the curriculum. In a letter to Abraham S. W. Rosenbach, the assistant secretary of Gratz College, he wrote,

I do not wish to pre-judge any action of the Board, but believe that such arrangements as Preparatory Classes or Post Graduate Classes are mere makeshifts which should be discontinued and a regular four year course should be established which would meet these temporary classes at either end.59

In November 1912, consideration of that matter was referred to the College Committee of the board60 and in September 1914, a fourth year was added to the college course.61 A special notice, bound into the register read:

In order to raise the standard of the college and to enlarge the scope of its work, the regular course has been extended from three to four years. The fourth year is optional with the present seniors and obligatory on all other students. Former graduates are invited to avail themselves of the additional year.62

The addition of the fourth year made possible the incorporation of the methods of teaching course into the regular work of the College during the last two years. This course had hitherto been a special course which had been scheduled in addition to the regular course. The hours for the course, however, were arranged in such a way as to enable those who were not regular students of the College to take the course and be granted a certificate after completing two years' attendance.63

59 Cyrus Adler to Abraham Simon Wolf Rosenbach, 20 November 1906.
60 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 27 November 1912.
62 Gratz College Register 1914-1915.
63 Ibid., p. 10.
### TABLE 14

**CURRICULUM OF THE FOURTH YEAR OF GRATZ COLLEGE, 1914-1915**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Regular Course</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Hours per Week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>Ezekiel and Job</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>From the expulsion from Spain to modern times</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbinics</td>
<td>Talmud and Jewish Commentaries</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Jewish Education</td>
<td>From the close of the Gaonic period to the present time</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods of Teaching</td>
<td>Theory and practice of teaching as applied to Jewish religious school</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Religious Institutions</td>
<td>Lectures on Jewish Religious observances and ethics, supplemented by collateral reading</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Liturgy</td>
<td>History and Text of the Prayer Book</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Philosophy</td>
<td>Reading a work of Jewish Philosophy (Optional Course)</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Heb. Literature</td>
<td>Selections from modern Hebrew Literature (Optional Course)</td>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Gratz College Register 1914-1915.
A course in Jewish liturgy was added. Included in the fourth year as a regular offering, were courses on rabbinics (Talmud and Jewish commentaries) and on Jewish religious institutions. Both the latter and the liturgy courses were offered on the same evening as the methods of teaching course. It was intended that special reference would be given in those two courses to the presentation of those subjects in the classroom. The time arrangement made it possible for those who were only enrolled in the methods course to take the other courses as well. 64

With the addition of the fourth year, changes were made in the time that the courses were given. Classes on Sunday started at 2:30 P.M. instead of 2:00 P.M. The four periods lasted fifty-five minutes each instead of one hour and finished at 6:10 P.M. On Tuesday and Thursday the three 55-minute periods ran from 7:30-10:10 P.M. Each day of instruction was reduced by twenty minutes. 65

The most significant addition in the fourth year program was the liturgy course, which would include both the history and text of the prayer book. There is no indication whether the prayer book studied was Sephardi or Ashkenazi, but it really does not matter. The study of Siddur, which is a compendium of Jewish life and Jewish values, intensified the religious life component of the curriculum.

The two-fold approach to teaching the courses on liturgy and Jewish religious institutions, namely, teaching the content and then teaching how to teach the content, is a particularly effective way

64 Ibid., p. 10. 65 Ibid., p. 22.
for pupils to learn content and methodology in an integrated approach. The effectiveness of such a program presupposes dual ability on the part of the teacher. There is neither any way of knowing whether Dr. Greenstone was able to give attention to both areas, nor of evaluating whether both were taught effectively. This does not prevent our recognizing the innovative approach that was attempted.

This approach seems to have been arrived at out of necessity, in order to expand in some way the amount of time the pupil devoted to pedagogy. Even with the addition of one pedagogic course in the fourth year, and taking into consideration the attempts to teach pedagogy in the integrated courses, the program was inadequate. Two hours per week for two years, plus some observation and practice teaching, constituted the total requirements for a teacher's diploma.

It is interesting to compare Gratz College to other teacher-training institutions. In 1918 the Teacher's Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary was requiring the completion of six courses in pedagogy for a professional diploma: (1) an introductory course on the problems of religious education in this country which also embraced the history of Jewish religious schools, (2) the curriculum of the religious school, (3) the teaching process which included studying the child, teachers problems, the art of questioning, measuring results, etc., (4) methods of teaching Hebrew and Bible, (5) methods of teaching history, ceremonies, liturgy, and music, (6) practice teaching.66 The Hebrew Teacher's College of Boston was offering

66 Margolis, Jewish Teacher Training Schools, p. 84. The Teacher's Institute had just that year begun to offer the last two years of courses for the professional diploma in the morning allowing for an intensification of the curriculum.

Quantity does not insure quality, but when little is offered, little can be gained. Those graduates from the College who took their places as teachers during these years lacked pedagogic training. Any future growth as teachers would depend on their on-the-job experience.

Changes in the Curriculum, 1914-1920

From 1914-1917 no further changes were made in the curriculum. Between the years 1917-1920 the program for all of the classes except the freshman year was enriched by the addition of Hebrew courses. The second year course was expanded to include a course in Hebrew on rapid reading of narrative texts. Aramaic was dropped for third year pupils and replaced by a course in Hebrew. The program was further expanded by the inclusion of a course in Hebrew composition. The fourth year now included a period of Aramaic, an additional period of Hebrew and a course in advanced composition. In the year 1920-1921 courses in advanced grammar and composition, as well as modern Hebrew reading and conversation were part of the curriculum. 68

The addition of the Hebrew courses at this time was a response to a number of phenomena. Among the East European immigrants were

67 Ibid., pp. 206, 208.

68 Gratz College Registers, 1917-1921.
Hebraists who were now exerting a strong influence on small groups of American Jews. In all large Jewish communities there were some pupils studying Hebrew texts through what was known as the Ivrit b'Ivrit method, which used Hebrew as much as possible as the language of instruction. Institutions of advanced Jewish studies in other communities, notably New York, were attempting to make Hebrew the language of instruction in all of their advanced courses.69 Spurred on by the achievements in other teacher institutes and encouraged by the growth in the number of Talmud Torahs with their daily program and of congregational three-day-per-week schools, Gratz College systematically enriched its Hebrew program over a number of years. It must be kept in mind, however, that the language of instruction in these courses was still English, and the methodology for teaching texts was still translation. The Hebrew program, before the addition of the courses, was very weak. The expansion of this department did not make it a strong department, only somewhat less weak.

The most far-reaching changes in this period began in 1924 when Dr. Chomsky joined the faculty as instructor in Hebrew. He had come from Baltimore where his pupils, aged fourteen to fifteen, studied modern Hebrew literature, Ahad Ha-Am, Mendele, Bialik and the like, in the original. He had come with a love for Hebrew and he was determined to make changes. He started to teach modern Hebrew

literature, mainly to the freshman and sophomore classes. He organized the freshman class, and those of the sophomore class, who wanted it, into an Ivriah, a Hebrew social and educational club where, among other things, efforts were made to employ Hebrew conversationally for at least one-half hour each time they met. The club met once a week on Saturday night. About twenty-five pupils participated, almost the entire freshman class. Eventually the group published a newspaper, Hamitorer, which contained a few articles written in Hebrew. Gradually, the reading of Hebrew was introduced, and a beginning was made. It would remain just a beginning for some time.

The Years 1920-1928

The curriculum would change little during the years 1920-1928, a fact which caused Mr. Ben Rosen, the director of the Associated Talmud Torahs, much frustration. In 1922 the first Hebrew high school in Philadelphia was formed for instruction to graduates of the Talmud Torah schools and congregational schools, offering a program of nine hours per week for three years. Fifty-six pupils enrolled. The subjects taught included Humash and Rashi, early prophets, later prophets, Hagiographa, Mishnah, and Gemara. An extension department was organized in the fall of 1923. In the year 1924-1925 this department enrolled 331 pupils in fourteen

70 Interview with Dr. William Chomsky, 18 June 1975.

71 This was the first time in the history of Jewish education in Philadelphia that a successful attempt was made to bring into close cooperation the work done under the auspices of the Federation of Jewish Charities and that conducted under the private auspices of the various congregational schools in the city.
classes which met in nine centers throughout the city. These classes received four hours instruction a week in Hebrew, history, and Jewish literature. The faculty of the Hebrew High School was selected from among the faculties of Gratz College, Talmud Torahs, and congregational schools. 72

The first Hebrew High School class was graduated in 1925. In that year a sub-committee of the Committee of Fifteen went on record saying that the course of instruction at Gratz College should be maintained and gradually improved and enlarged as the student material entering the College was strengthened by the graduates of the Hebrew High School. They recognized that, in order to do this, the faculty of Gratz College would have to be enlarged and some changes introduced into its administration and curriculum. 74

Nothing happened. Gratz College, no doubt for financial reasons, was not prepared to introduce any changes or to expand its program. Frustrated in his efforts to get Gratz to make special provisions and provide a more intensive program for the graduating class of the Hebrew High School, Mr. Ben Rosen, together with the high school committee, proposed instead to increase the high school program from three to five years, the last two years duplicating the days, time, and hours during which the Gratz College program

72 Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 10 July 1925, p. 10. Included among the faculty members were many Gratz College graduates, Isadore Glassman (1911), Harry Glatstein (1915), Louis Parris (1919), Abram Piwosky (1917), Samuel Sussman (1915), and George Tobias (1918).

73 See p. 357.

74 Report of the Sub-Committee on Teachers of the Committee of Fifteen, adopted 26 April 1926. Members of the committee were Dr. S. Solis Cohen, Dr. Julius H. Greenstone, and Professor Max L. Margolis.
ran. In a letter to Dr. Max Margolis he wrote,

In the main, students who complete this course at the end of two years will have received instruction which is at least equal to, or will in all likelihood, be superior to the attainment of the Gratz College graduate. In addition thereto the student will receive over a period of two years instruction in the principles of teaching in a Jewish school in addition to an opportunity for supervised observation and supervised teaching. This latter phase of the work is unfortunately almost entirely neglected at Gratz College, with the result that the graduates are inadequately equipped to enter upon teaching immediately after graduation.75

The proposal was never adopted by the high school committee. The high school program was lengthened to four years with the addition of a post-graduate course in 1928.76 With the reorganization of Gratz College in that same year, the College was able to accept the graduating Hebrew High School class as a class and offer its students a more intensive program.

A Cooperative Arrangement with Dropsie College

The first class to complete the full four year course was graduated in June 1917. At that time Dr. Adler wrote to Mr. Speaker inquiring whether any of the graduates would wish to continue their studies at Dropsie College. He was willing to arrange a special course or courses for them which would meet in the late afternoon.77 Nothing came of it at that time. Three years later a committee of

75 Ben Rosen to Max Margolis, 21 September 1927.
76 See appendix N for the curriculum of the Hebrew High School, 1928.
77 Cyrus Adler to Henry Speaker, 6 July 1917.
the faculty of Dropsie College met with a committee of the faculty of Gratz College to consider cooperation in the courses of the top two institutions. They agreed that such an arrangement would be advantageous. Mr. Speaker identified eight courses within the tentative schedule of course of instruction for Gratz College for the year 1920-1921 which might best be given by the Dropsie College and made available to Gratz College pupils. Dr. Adler responded with the proposal that Dropsie College give four hours per week, two each on Monday evenings and Wednesday evenings, one hour in Biblical Aramaic, one hour in rabbinics, reading ethical texts, one hour in medieval history, and a final hour in modern Hebrew to consist of reading and conversation. These extension courses were listed in the register and Cyrus Adler awaited the acceptance of these courses by the pupils. They rebelled. The advanced students for whom the additional courses were mainly planned felt that it would be clearly unfair for the College to enforce a new plan involving additional hours of work. Their expectation, when they entered the College had been that their status, up to the time of graduation, was to be defined entirely by the curriculum then in force. To declare a new curriculum obligatory would be tantamount to "ex post facto" legislation. In

78 Professor Margolis, Professor Malter, and Dr. Newman.
79 Cyrus Adler to Henry Speaker, 21 June 1920.
80 Henry Speaker to Cyrus Adler, 1 July 1920.
81 Cyrus Adler to Henry Speaker, 14 July 1920.
82 Ibid. There is no mention of the fact that these courses were obligatory. However, from the pupils' reaction, it appears that they were led to believe that they were.
addition, they felt that to devote one or two more evenings to Jewish studies would prove a real hardship since the pupils were already finding it difficult to do justice to the claims of both their secular institutions and Gratz College, which almost all of the advanced students attended simultaneously. They requested that the courses offered by Dropsie College be optional. Since most of the other students already enrolled were of the same mind, Dr. Adler agreed that their claim was just and the courses were made voluntary. Mr. Speaker made the constructive suggestion that if some of the courses could be given on Thursday evening between 7:30 and 8:30 P.M., most of the advanced students would probably attend since instruction at Gratz College for juniors and seniors did not begin that night until 8:30 P.M. Accordingly, the classes were scheduled on Monday and Thursday. There were Gratz College students registered in all of the extension courses held that year. For this the College faculty was grateful. For some time they had felt the need to introduce additional courses and extend and strengthen existing ones. However, the College was too limited in its resources to accomplish such an extension. With the cooperative arrangement making Dropsie's special evening courses accessible and convenient to

83 Henry Speaker to Cyrus Adler, 8 October 1920.
84 Ibid. 85 Ibid.
86 Cyrus Adler to Henry Speaker, 11 October 1920.
87 Six pupils were in the history course, ten pupils in the Hebrew conversation class, two pupils in the Hebrew composition class and an unknown number in the Aramaic class. Dropsie College students also attended these classes.
Gratz College students, the problem was partially solved. The extension course became a regular feature of the curriculum, usually offering two courses, two hours each, annually.

This was quite a fortunate arrangement for both colleges and the Gratz College pupils. For the pupils it meant the opportunity to study with at least two great scholars, Henry Malter in medieval literature and Max L. Margolis in Bible, as well as with some of the other teachers, perhaps not of the same calibre, but quite capable. For Gratz College it meant an expansion of its program at no expense and for Dropsie it meant an increase in potential students.

Admission Requirements

In the attempt to attract only students who might be prepared to do the work offered in the College, attention was paid to admission requirements. By 1909 admission standards began to be formalized. Applicants had to be fifteen years of age and possess, in the judgment of the faculty, sufficient preliminary education to profit from the courses offered. Those unable to pursue all the prescribed studies could be admitted to any of the courses at the principal's discretion. They would be known as special students. The following year the admission age was raised to sixteen and admission was predicated on an examination. Only those found to possess sufficient preliminary

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88 Principal's Report to the Board of Trustees of Gratz College, 14 April 1921. This arrangement continued until June 1929. With the enlargement of the Gratz College faculty following the reorganization, Dr. Adler felt that Gratz College could take care of its own courses of instruction. Cyrus Adler to Henry Speaker, 25 June 1929.

89 Gratz College Register 1909-1910, p. 4.

90 Ibid.
education in secular and Jewish subjects to profit by the courses offered were admitted to the first year.  In 1911 the recommendation that applicants should have completed at least two years of a high school course was added. In the 1919-1920 register, the admission standards indicated that prospective students had to have a reading knowledge of Hebrew in addition to taking the entrance examination. This suggests that prior to this date it was possible to become a pupil at Gratz College with no reading knowledge of Hebrew. As more emphasis was being put on Hebrew in the curriculum the phrase "reading knowledge" gave way to "an elementary knowledge of Hebrew." In addition, applicants were now required to have completed at least two years of a high school or its equivalent. In 1923 the phrase "elementary knowledge of Hebrew" was precisely defined. Admission standards now required that applicants possess a knowledge of the elements of Hebrew grammar, such as the declension of the noun, and the conjugation of the regular verb, and be able to translate narrative Hebrew, such as the texts of Judges, Samuel or Kings. They were

91 Gratz College Register 1910-1911, p. 4.
92 Gratz College Register 1911-1912, p. 4.
93 Gratz College Register 1919-1920, p. 4.
94 That this was so confirmed in the following excerpt from a letter written by M. Robert Beckman (1923) on the occasion of the reaccreditation of Gratz College in 1976. He wrote, "I became interested and decided to attend if possible. I applied and was interviewed by Mr. Speaker the Principal. He asked me if I read Hebrew. I had sporadic instruction during my early years. I was not able to read Hebrew when I tried. He said, that will be alright. I started." Letter from M. Robert Beckman, 24 June 1976.
95 Gratz College Register 1922-1923, p. 7.
96 Ibid.
also required to possess a knowledge of Biblical history in order to be admitted to the freshman class.\textsuperscript{97} No further changes were made until the academic year 1928-1929 when, with the merger of the College with the Hebrew Education Society,\textsuperscript{98} the College offered three distinct courses in three separate departments.

Organizing on a Unit System

Again, with the objective of formalizing requirements, this time requirements for graduation, the course of study was organized on the basis of a unit system.\textsuperscript{99} In the fall of 1921, thirty-six units of work, constituting the full course of study prescribed by the College, was offered to the pupils. A unit was equivalent to an academic hour. To receive a diploma from Gratz College, students would have to complete the full course of study and pass the necessary examinations. Students who had done work elsewhere which was equivalent to any of the courses prescribed by the College could receive credit for such work upon presentation of a certificate or by satisfactorily passing an examination in the particular subject. However, at least two years attendance at the College was required for graduation.\textsuperscript{100}

For promotion to the sophomore class, students would have to receive credit for seven units; for promotion to the junior class, fifteen units; and for promotion to the senior class, twenty-five units.

\textsuperscript{97}Gratz College Register 1923-1924, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{98}See chapter XIII.

\textsuperscript{99}Henry Speaker to Cyrus Adler, 1 July 1920.

\textsuperscript{100}Gratz College Register 1921-1922, p. 7
To be eligible for admission to any of the advanced courses, the student would have to pass successfully all courses numbered below the advanced course or secure written permission of the principal and the instructor concerned. These requirements and those for graduation remain unchanged up to 1928.

Summary and Appraisal

During the two decades 1908-1928 the curriculum had been strengthened, notably with the addition of a fourth year of study and extension courses offered by Dropsie College. Admission and graduation requirements were formalized and modern Hebrew language was finding its place in the curriculum. Even with all of this, however, the changes from the curriculum of the first decade of operation were not great. More radical changes would take place with the reorganization in 1928.

A curriculum is more than a list of subjects which comprise the course of study. It is the sum total of all the experiences an individual receives under the guidance of the school. Even if one were to address oneself only to the course of study, it would, at the very least, involve the subject matter, the teaching materials, and the methodology. If one were to attempt to evaluate the results of a course of study, the additional components of objectives, pupil readiness, pupil achievement, and teacher competence would have to be considered, among other things.

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101 Ibid., p. 9.

102 Gratz College Register 1926-1927, p. 7.
No Hebrew high school existed in Philadelphia before 1922. For most of this period, therefore, as has been previously noted, the gap between the curriculum and the pupil was so great that, in attempting to make the leap, most of the pupils fell into the intervening space and disappeared forever.

The examination referred to so consistently in the admissions requirement consisted "of opening a narrative book of the Bible like the books of Joshua or Samuel and having prospective pupils read. If they could read (mechanically) and catch a few expressions here and there in the book, they were admitted." In response to the high rate of dropouts in the freshman class, Mr. Speaker wrote, "The first year is practically to be regarded as a probation period testing the capacity, the perseverance power and the conscientiousness of each student." What he never considered was the possibility that, given their preparation, it was virtually impossible for many of the students to do the work required. If the pupil survived the first year, however, there was greater likelihood that he would reach the advanced classes and be graduated. No doubt, many of the pupils came to the College with high hopes. They must have experienced deep frustration and keen disappointment when they failed.

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103 Dr. William Chomsky was brought to Philadelphia from Baltimore in 1922 by Mr. Ben Rosen, the head of the Associated Talmud Torahs. One of his responsibilities was to teach in the nascent Hebrew High School.

104 See p. 158.

105 Interview with Dr. William Chomsky, 18 June 1975.

106 Principal's Report to the President and Board of Trustees of Gratz College, 18 February 1919.
The lack of understanding of who the pupils would be also led the board to overestimate how much time the pupils could give to their Jewish studies. Both the board and the instructors expected the pupils to study and prepare outside of class hours. They did not realize that the amount of time necessary to attend classes at the College would be all the time the pupil could afford to give to Jewish studies. The requirements of the curriculum exceeded the time available to accomplish them leading once more to disappointments and frustrations.

The Board of Trustees had approved a curriculum which sought to teach all of those texts which formed the essence of Judaism, texts which Jewish scholars throughout the ages had made their personal possessions. They did not foresee that there were requisites necessary to make the study of those texts possible and that these the majority of pupils did not have.

It was extremely difficult for the pupils to learn Hebrew. An understanding of Aramaic was even harder to achieve. The pupils experience with Hebrew was confined to the College classroom. For many of them, being children of immigrants, Yiddish was the first language they learned. They, therefore, had to spend a lot of time acquiring the use of English, which was foreign to their home life. This alone made mastery of Hebrew almost an impossibility. In addition, the entire approach to teaching Hebrew language worked against its mastery. Hebrew was to be learned so that the pupils could study Hebrew texts in Hebrew. At the same these texts were the vehicles for studying the language. Except for the very bright, the very dedicated, and those who have the leisure to be intensively
involved in such study over a period of time, it is an extremely difficult task to learn language in this manner. There is no organization of language structure and often insufficient repetition of word elements. Even assuming that the instructor believed language mastery was possible with that approach, some attention should have been paid to the linguistic problems presented by the portions selected. There is no indication that this factor entered into the selection process at all.

When Hebrew was employed, such as in the teaching of Bible or Talmud, the procedure was to translate everything. Grammatical forms were mastered as forms in isolation and grammatical rules were memorized from texts by Davidson and Gesenius. There was very little Hebrew composition and no Hebrew conversation. The language for teaching and learning, even here, was English.

A look at the curriculum, particularly the area of Hebrew literature would lead one to conclude, given the problems of Hebrew language mastery, that almost no one could succeed. It is important to know, therefore, that Hebrew literature, until the very end of the first three operating decades, was taught in English. The courses in Hebrew literature consisted of reading Israel Abraham's books, *Chapters of Jewish Literature* and *By-Paths in Hebraic Bookland*. Samplings from the entire range of Jewish literature were offered. Reference is made to "readings from the original texts" in the description of the

107 Chomsky, "Fifty Years Ago," p. 3.

108 Ibid.
literature course for the second year. If, indeed, these readings took place they were only a small fraction of the year's work. Perusal of the annual examinations in literature shows questions which basically require the pupil to give back to the instructor the contents of the instructor's lectures. Only here and there is there a question that would require the pupils' input and not necessarily his memory. An example of such a question as, "What characteristics in style in Isaiah impressed you as distinctive in comparison with other prophetic writings? Give illustrations."\(^{109}\)

In defense of the course in literature, it must be said that the pupils could not have handled anything but an English course at this time. In teaching it in a language they comprehended, Mr. Speaker made it possible for the pupils to gain some knowledge of Jewish literature.

It seems almost incomprehensible that a teacher's college to train teachers for Jewish religious schools would pay so little attention to the Hebrew language. Language reflects a group's experience and registers in its words the richness and uniqueness of that experience. It is commonly recognized that in each language there are words which are impossible to translate which have very little in common with their equivalents in other language. Dr. Chomsky eloquently expressed this when he wrote, "It is only through the channels of the Hebrew language that the message of the Hebrew prophets, singers and sages flows freely and purely and reaches the heart undiluted and

\(^{109}\) See appendix 0 for freshman and junior class examination in Jewish literature.
The members of the board did not have as fine an appreciation for the language. They saw Hebrew as the language of texts whose content it was imperative to comprehend in order to be an educated Jew. Hebrew was the medium not the goal. If necessary, the key to unlocking the treasury of Jewish literature could be the English language. Considering the deficiencies in Hebrew competency with which most of the pupils came to Gratz, the board probably thought instruction in English was the only possible method.

By the year 1919-1920 the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America had reached the point where Hebrew could be used as the language of instruction in advanced courses. The results may not always have been satisfactory, but, apparently, the attempt was made, and the pupils were prepared to accept it. The entire picture of Jewish education in New York was quite different from that of Philadelphia. The achievement in its Talmud Torahs was high and the Hebrew High School, which has been established by the Bureau of Jewish Education in 1912, succeeded in extending the period of Jewish training of a number of young people from three to four years beyond their stay in the Talmud Torah schools. This meant that the Teachers Institute, which required a secular high school education to enter, could draw


111 They wanted to teach Judaism, and for that objective a certain amount of Hebrew, as the language of Judaism (Siddur, Bible), was unavoidable. Dr. Chomsky, on the other hand, wanted to teach Hebrew. Teaching Judaism, in his scheme, became incidental.

upon a student body whose Jewish training paralleled their secular high school training. 113 The number of Jews in New York was so great that a base of support could be found for almost every expression of Judaism. In the much smaller Jewish community of Philadelphia this was not so, and Gratz College had no such student body from which to draw. Gratz did, however, recognize the need to strengthen the area of Hebrew language, and gradually did so. The irony was that when a Hebrew High School was established giving the College a qualified student body from which to draw, the College was unable to meet its needs. 114

The intent of the College, was, clearly, to prepare its pupils to be teachers in the Jewish religious schools. They hoped through the curriculum to turn out teachers who were both informed in their lore and skilled in their craft. Their success with the former was at best modest; their success with the latter was highly questionable. The curriculum closely resembled in its teacher-training aspects the normal school of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. There the main stress fell on academic subjects with pedagogy reduced to a somewhat subsidiary position. Pupils in the latter were taught largely from a volume produced in 1829 called Lectures on Schoolkeeping, 115 which was supplemented in the mid-nineteenth century by some newer texts, such as David Page's, Theory of Practice and

113 Ibid., p. 127.

114 It was not until the College was reorganized that an advanced course for graduates of the Hebrew High School could be offered.

115 The volume was written by the Reverend Dr. Samuel Read Hall who opened the first normal school in America in Concord, Vermont, in 1823.
By the early twentieth century, the emphasis in teacher training shifted to demanding an understanding of education's very nature, its philosophic underpinnings, its aims and principles, its social meaning and implications and the problems inherent in the learning and teaching acts. It was still essential for the teacher to be at home in what he taught, but the teacher also had to be able to understand the child confided to his care and teaching. In normal school, psychology became the pedagogic master key.

The two courses offered at Gratz College were the History of Jewish Education and the Theory and Methods of Teaching. The rest of the program was devoted to academic study. There is no mention of a textbook for the history course. For the methods course there were several books on the subject available that had been written for the Chautauqua Society, but, since these were on teaching in the Sunday School, it was hardly likely that any of them, outside of Dr. Greenstone's Methods of Teaching the Jewish Religion in Junior and Senior Grades (1915), were used. Even Dr. Greenstone's book must have been of limited value, since most of the College pupils who eventually taught did so in elementary schools.

Despite the fact that many of its early hopes were not realized, the board could justifiably take pride in having instituted a first in this

117 Ibid., p. 408.
118 The Jewish branch of Chautauqua Society was part of a movement set up in 1874 by the Reverend John H. Vincent, a Methodist clergyman, and Louis Miller. Its purpose was to give instruction to Sunday school teachers through a system of summer-school and correspondence school education.
Dr. Adler felt that the College could serve as a model for establishing other such institutions and took some steps in that direction.

"Dear Mr. Speaker

"As you know it is proposed to establish Jewish Teachers' Colleges in New York and Cincinnati. If you have anything concerning the Gratz College more in detail both as to curriculum and in methods than is contained in the last Circular of Information, I wish you would let me have it. In view of the great interest being taken in this subject, I think it is very desirable that the Circular of Information for 1909-1910 should be got ready as soon as possible after the closing of the College term, and be made so full as to give detailed information, because it would be of use in other places and would serve to show the pioneer work done by Gratz College."

Passing judgment on the College twenty years later, Alexander Dushkin would not credit Gratz College as being such a first. He wrote that in the year 1910, "there was not a single Jewish teachers' training school in the country for the training of professional teachers." He considered the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary, organized shortly thereafter, as the first school whose purpose was, "to train professional teachers for the week-day schools (as distinguished from the training of semi-professional Sunday school teachers)."

Dushkin did a disservice to the Board of Trustees, which had taken its responsibility seriously and had labored to build, within the framework of fiscal responsibility, the best possible teacher-training institution it could. On the other hand, the supplementary organization of the

119 Cyrus Adler to Henry Speaker, 11 April 1909.

120 Alexander M. Dushkin was Director of Chicago's Board of Jewish Education (1923-1924) and founded that city's College of Jewish Studies (1924). He was Executive Director of the Jewish Education Committee in New York City (1939-1949).


122 Ibid.
school, the insufficiency of pedagogic courses and the difficulties with the academic curriculum lent some justification to Dushkin's remarks. The board itself would recognize the inadequacies and attempt to remedy them in subsequent years.

For Gratz College to begin to meet the needs of the Philadelphia community it would have to offer more than one course of study for all pupils. Objectives would have to be more clearly defined and curricula more carefully constructed to achieve these objectives. Entrance and graduation requirements for each course of study would have to be determined. Consideration would be given to the above when talks began with the Hebrew Education Society around 1926 in reference to a merger between the two institutions. Almost no consideration, however, was given to increasing the number of pedagogic courses, an absolute necessity if Gratz College was to become a college for training teachers. This area was destined to remain weak for many years to come.
CHAPTER VIII

THE LIBRARY

Library Beginnings

No mention is made of how much space was given to the library when the Assembly Room in Mikveh Israel was fitted up to accommodate Gratz College or where the books were housed. Perhaps bookcases were set up in the fourth classroom, which would remain unused until 1905 when Dr. Greenstone was added to the faculty. Perhaps there were other facilities in the building. The lack of any indication as to how the matter of the library was resolved is evidence that the problem was not an acute one. The College had too few books at that time for the board to be concerned about adequate space.

However, the Board of Trustees was keenly aware of the importance of a library. They knew that books were both the tools for and the products of scholarship and that a library is one of the criteria by which a school is judged. As early as 1895, more than two years before Gratz College opened its doors, the board suggested that a committee on library be appointed.¹ Some attention was given to the acquisition of books for the library even then. Dr. Adler suggested that Jahrbücher [für] Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur 1884-1890 be purchased as well as a subscription for the publication. The board allocated one hundred dollars for the purchase of this and other

¹MGT, 29 August 1895.
books. A committee on library apparently was not appointed because the selection and purchase of books for the one hundred dollar allocation was left to the discretion of the Committee on Education. Dr. Adler reported that the following purchases and subscriptions had been received:

2. Hamburger's Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud.
3. Complete set of Revue des Etudes Juives and a subscription of future numbers provided the set can be supplied for one hundred francs.
5. Back numbers and subscription to the current volume of the Revue Sémitique, Professor J. Halevy.

On the recommendation of the Committee on Education a decision was made to bind all completed volumes in the library.

It was obvious that the limited income provided by the trust could not provide sufficient money to build the kind of library that would be required. Therefore, in August 1896, a motion was carried that notice be given to the public,

... that the college is desirous of making a pedagogical collection consisting of school books from Hebrew primers up to Biblical Histories and Hebrew School books in general for educational purposes and relating to the Hebrew Language, the Jewish religion, the Bible or Jewish literature.

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2 MGT, 27 February 1896.
3 Ibid. Cyrus Adler was Chairman of the Committee on Education.
4 MGT, 11 June 1896.
5 MGT, 27 August 1896.
Even before that decision, books were being donated to the College. The Misses Mordecai had presented a set of the Pentateuch with English translation and two books from a set of prayer books for Spanish and Portuguese Jews. The New Year's and Day of Atonement prayer books had been the property of Miriam Gratz, the mother of Hyman Gratz. Miss Rachel Gratz Nathan presented the School with the rest of the set of prayer books. Books and pamphlets were received from Charles Henry Hart, Esq., Literary Executor of the estate of Henry Phillips, Jr. Most of these books, however, were not of Jewish content. Some pamphlets were received from Moses A. Dropsie, Esq. and Dr. Morris Jastrow.

Dr. Adler continued ordering books, acquiring the

1. Bibliotheca Rabbinica, Prof. Dr. Aug. Wunsche.
2. Bibliotheca Judaica, Dr. Julius Furst.
4. Subscription to Lazarus Goldschmidt's Babylonian Talmud—a German translation.
   b. Guide of the Perplexed, Maimonides, translated from the original text and annotated by M. Friedlander, Ph.D., 3 vols.

All told, the Publications of Gratz College, No. 1, published in 1897, listed as additions to the library, thirty-nine book titles, some with multiple volumes, and nineteen pamphlets.

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6 Ibid. 7 Ibid. 8 Ibid.
The insert in that publication from David Sulzberger stating that Gratz College would, "be glad to receive in return any publications relating to Jewish or Oriental subjects..." met with some measure of success as can be seen by the fact that ten dollars was paid to a Miss Grace M. Newhouse for cataloguing the books and pamphlets received in exchange for the Publications, as well as other books received. Since some of the books presented to the College were of no value, authority was given to David Sulzberger, Honorary Custodian of the Library, to dispose of such books as he saw fit.

Following no set pattern, the board from time to time allocated between $50 to $150 to purchase books, sometimes in exact amounts to pay for particular purchases, such as $29.96 for ten volumes of the *Magazine für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, and sometimes in round figures, so that money would be available to pay for books and subscriptions as ordered. The library would grow more from donations and bequests than from purchases. In February 1898 the trustees gratefully acknowledged the receipt of one hundred volumes of Hebrew literature, bequeathed by the late Hayim Polano, thereby greatly enriching the library of the fledgling institution.

With the anticipated move into the Mikveh Israel synagogue building in 1899 the Committee on Education was requested to draw up

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10 Ibid.

11 Mr. Polano was a Hebrew teacher in Philadelphia and the author of a work entitled, *Selections from the Talmud*, which was published in 1876. He was also on the faculty of Maimonides College.

12 MGT, 24 February 1898.
rules for the government of the library and for its removal to the synagogue building.\textsuperscript{13} The library, just after its removal to the synagogue, was the recipient of two volumes of prayer books, Daily Prayers and Fast Day Service, each bearing the signature of Hyman Gratz, both donated by Miss Laura Mordecai.\textsuperscript{14}

With the growth of the library and the move to new quarters it became necessary to appoint a librarian. It was felt that the shammash of the Congregation, Mr. Isaac Feinberg, a man of some literary talent who was in the building at all times, would be desirable. It was understood that the library would be open and available at any time to the teachers and pupils of Gratz College, as well as to the members of the board, and that the college library would be available to readers interested in any particular branch connected with the College. A compensation of one dollar per session (three dollars weekly) was suggested without any extra charge for any reasonable services beyond the hours stated, as might be required. It was finally agreed that Mr. Feinberg would be hired as both librarian and caretaker for the sume of $150 per annum.\textsuperscript{15}

Apparently, the congregation appropriated the library for its own use when it needed it, a practice to which the Board of Trustees objected. A motion was carried,

\textsuperscript{13} MGT, 31 August 1899.
\textsuperscript{14} MGT, 30 November 1899.
\textsuperscript{15} MGT, 26 February 1900.
that it is the sense of this Board that the Library of the Gratz College be used for library purposes only; that doors with locks be provided for the book-shelves, and that a committee of two be appointed to see that the foregoing instructions be carried out and to confer with synagogue authorities regarding the removal of the chairs from the room. . . .16

In order to be informed about the use and development of the library, the board requested the librarian to submit quarterly reports.17 In one such report, in 1902, the librarian noted that there were 702 volumes in the Gratz College library.18 This was expanded in some measure when Morris Jastrow, librarian at the University of Pennsylvania, informed the Gratz Board that his father's library19 had been presented to the University of Pennsylvania and that the trustees of the university, by formal resolution, had extended the privileges of the collection to the students of Gratz College. The only formality necessary for anyone to take advantage of this offer would be for him to come to the library with a letter of introduction from the principal of the institution.20

Attempts Made to Establish the Library on a Professional Basis

In November 1905, it was decided to relieve Mr. Feinberg of his responsibilities as librarian. Dr. Isaac Husik was appointed honorary librarian and Miss Ethel Chodowski, assistant (clerk) to the librarian.

16 MGT, 28 November 1901. 17 Ibid.
18 MGT, 24 September 1902.
19 His father was Rabbi Marcus Mordecai Jastrow, Rabbi of Rodeph Shalom, who had delivered one of the lectures in the second series sponsored by Gratz College. See p. 86. Rabbi Jastrow was the author of a Dictionary of Targumin, Talmud and Midrash.
20 MGT, 29 November 1905.
The latter was responsible for the active work of indexing, caring for the books and keeping all records of outgoing and incoming books. The former would supervise and direct the classification of the books and their arrangement on the shelves. The position of honorary librarian carried with it no compensation. 21

It appears that Miss Chodowski had been hired several months earlier and given the responsibility of cataloguing the library. From correspondence, we can deduce that she felt quite insecure about this responsibility. In seeking guidance in the task, she was advised by Dr. Solis Cohen to consult with Dr. Jastrow, librarian at the University of Pennsylvania or with Dr. George Alexander Kohut (former assistant librarian, Jewish Theological Seminary of New York) or Dr. Cyrus Adler (librarian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.). 22 A rather lengthy letter from Dr. Kohut detailed a few guiding principles, but basically explained that even the simplest form of cataloguing required considerable explanation and could not be set forth by letter. He advised her to send fifty cents to the Library of Congress for a copy of Cutter's Rules for Dictionary Catalogue, the standard work on the subject, and suggested that by reducing this work to a minimum she would, no doubt, be able to carry out the

21 Solomon Solis Cohen to Isaac Husik, 2 March 1906. In 1907 he would be compensated fifty dollars per annum over and above his regular salary, NGT, 24 February 1907.

22 Solomon Solis Cohen to Esther Chodowski, 22 January 1906.
recommendations given in that book, without overmuch study. 23

Correspondence between Dr. Solis Cohen and Miss Chodowski indicated that she was still having some difficulty, particularly with the Hebrew books. Dr. Solis Cohen, in addition to a steady correspondence met with Miss Chodowski at the library and laid down the lines for cataloguing. He urged her to complete the cataloguing as soon as possible and wrote "In regard to the Hebrew books, if you are not certain what heads to put them under, doubtless Mr. Husik or Dr. Greenstone will help you. I've asked them to do so." 24

The following letter is typical of many that ensued and illuminates the serious effort that Dr. Solis Cohen made to establish the Gratz College library on a completely professional basis, befitting an institution of higher learning. No detail was too small for his attention.

"My Dear Dr. Husick[sic]:-

". . . I find that I have not answered some of your questions. Keep college reports; arrange them according to institutions and years, they are very useful for reference. Collect the Jewish Theological Seminary reports and divide them into two classes, one of the old Seminary, and one of the new Seminary. Have the reports of the old Seminary bound in one volume, label it Reports of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, date to date. Have Miss Chodowski arrange all the files of journals which you have and let me know what they are and how complete or incomplete. Of the Gratz College publications take two copies of each for the shelves of the library, give each one a card, stating on the card 'two copies.' Arrange the balance of the publications together for distribution and keep a record of the number of copies on hand. In your report to the Committee state that you

23 George Alexander Kohut to Ethel Chodowski, 5 January 1906.

24 Solomon Solis Cohen to Ethel Chodowski, 23 February 1906.
have so many copies of such and such reports in addition to the two copies of each kept upon the shelves for the archives of the college. If you desire any other information concerning these or other points, let me know. I presume you received the Theological Seminary classification which I sent you from Dr. Marx. Keep this filed for reference where it can be readily found."25

In other letters Dr. Solis Cohen concerned himself with two missing volumes of Gratz's history, who had authority to buy books, what issues of periodicals were needed to complete sets, whether precautions were being taken to insure that books given to students for textbooks were returned in good condition, getting adequate paper supplies for the library, and bookbinding.26

On the matter of the instructors' access to the books in the library and in response to an inquiry by Dr. Husik, Dr. Solis Cohen replied,

The books to which you refer, which are needed by the teachers, may be loaned for one week and renewed for one week, making two weeks in all. After this the same teacher cannot have the same book until after two weeks more. This gives all the teachers and the students a chance to consult it. Books are not purchased to be taken away by teachers and kept indefinitely.27

A report for the month of March 1906 noted that 140 books were used by the teachers and students and that, on the average, eighteen students applied for books at each session. With a total of forty-nine students matriculated in all courses offered, this seems like a fairly

25 Solomon Solis Cohen to Isaac Feinberg, 28 March 1906.

26 Solomon Solis Cohen to the Honorary Librarian or his assistant, February-March 1906.

27 Solomon Solis Cohen to Isaac Husik, 28 March 1906.
high percentage and would indicate that good use was made of the library facility.\textsuperscript{28} On the other hand, since it is not known which books were taken out and for what purpose, it is impossible to make a valid judgment on how well the library was being used.

In 1907 it was decided that beginning with the scholastic term in September of that year the library would be kept open one hour before the college session, for three sessions weekly, and that the clerk's salary would be increased to $125 per annum.\textsuperscript{29} Miss Chodowski never received the increased salary. By September she had resigned. No reason was recorded.\textsuperscript{30}

Dr. Isaac Husik put the name of David J. Galter\textsuperscript{31} before the Board of Trustees to fill the position of clerk to the librarian. He described him as,

\ldots a graduate of Gratz College, Class 1907, and a student of Central High School. He has studied Hebrew and Jewish Literature outside of Gratz College, and is generally well informed for his age. Faithful and intelligent as he has proved himself to be as a student, he will no doubt exhibit the same qualities in his work in the library.\ldots \textsuperscript{32}

Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen approved of Mr. Galter's candidacy and he was appointed to the position for one year at a salary of $125 per annum.\textsuperscript{33} With this appointment the first operating decade came to

\textsuperscript{28} Ethel Chodowski to Solomon Solis Cohen, 3 April 1906.

\textsuperscript{29} MGT, 28 May 1907.

\textsuperscript{30} Isaac Husik to Abraham S. Wolf Rosenbach, Clerk, Board of Trustees, Gratz College, 27 September 1907.

\textsuperscript{31} He later became editor of the Jewish Exponent.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid. \textsuperscript{33} MGT, 27 May 1908.
a close. The library had about one thousand volumes.\footnote{Gratz College Register 1909-1910, p. 6.}

\textbf{The Years 1908-1928}

The academic year 1909-1910 opened in the new building with a library twice the size of the one the year before. The library of the late Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal\footnote{Dr. Bernard Felsenthal (1822-1908) was a Reform rabbi.} had been offered for sale to Gratz College which acquired it for five hundred dollars.\footnote{Minutes of the Gratz Board, 4 April 1909.} The collection contained about one thousand titles in all subjects of Jewish literature. This brought the total number of books in the library to about two thousand.\footnote{Gratz College Register 1909-1910, p. 6.} The register for that year described the library in some detail:

To supplement the work of the class room by referring the students to the literature of the various subjects of study as well as to encourage the habit of independent reading, general as well as special, a good working library has been fitted out with metal stacks for the books. It contains works in Hebrew, English, German and French in the various branches of Jewish literature such as Bibliography, Philosophy, Bible, Talmud, Midrash, Philosophy, Religion, History and Literature. The library subscribes to the best scientific Jewish periodicals published in Germany, France, England and America and the Jewish Publication Society of America and the American Jewish Historical Society. A special feature is the collection of Jewish text books and works on Jewish Pedagogics which the library is collecting. \footnote{Ibid., pp. 5-6.}

The library was open to the public during college sessions.\footnote{From the years 1914-1919 the library was open during the summer on Monday through Thursday from 9:30 A. M. to 1:30 P. M.}
Faculty and students were allowed to take books out for home use. Others could obtain this privilege at the discretion of the librarian. It was permissible to keep a book out two weeks and to renew once for two more weeks provided there had been no request for it in the interim. 40

In that year a book label for the library was designed with the seal of the College, the words "Library of Gratz College" on top and a space left below for putting in the name of the donor of a given collection. 41

The budget did not allow for large expenditures for the purchase of books. The board, authorized amounts ranging yearly from two to three hundred dollars for the purchase of books and binding. 42 Donations from private sources were gratefully accepted and recorded. Simon Gratz, the grandnephew of Hyman Gratz, made a donation of a number of volumes which were considered by the board to be of special interest because they had belonged to his father and grandfather. 43 Among them was a set of Joseph Karo's Shulhan Arukh, published in Amsterdam in 1698. 44 Others made small donations as well. In 1913 an exchange of

40 Gratz College Register, 1909-1910, p. 6.
41 Cyrus Adler to Abraham S. W. Rosenbach, 12 October 1909.
42 Minutes of the Gratz Board, March 1910 to November 1913. No appropriation is recorded for the year 1911.
43 Annual Report of the President of the Board of Trustees, 1909-1910. His grandfather was Simon Gratz, Hyman Gratz's brother.
44 There was also a comparative grammar of Semitic languages, Grammatica Hebraeo-Harmonica, published in Amsterdam in 1758 and a Hebrew grammar and dictionary, Lingua Sacra, published in four volumes in London, 1785 and 1786.
duplicate books with Dropsie College was made to the mutual benefit of both institutions.\textsuperscript{45} In 1914 Dr. Cyrus Adler turned over to Gratz College a copy of Isaac Leeser's translation of the Bible which had been delivered to him by Simon Gratz. The Bible was the one constantly used by his sisters and as a matter of sentiment Simon Gratz wanted it preserved in the Gratz College library. He did not intend to put the book on the shelves but wished it to be put into the locked case that had been provided for the few other books and relics of the Gratz family.\textsuperscript{46}

The total number of books rose gradually. In 1911 there were 2,200 volumes.\textsuperscript{47} By 1914 the library had grown to about 3,000 volumes.\textsuperscript{48}

Upon his retirement in February 1918 as chairman of the library, an office he had held for thirteen years, Dr. Solis Cohen submitted a report to the board with his observations and recommendations. He was particularly concerned about the number of books missing\textsuperscript{49} from the library at the annual stock-taking, 200 at the end of 1916 and 150 at the end of 1917. He felt that the number was out of all proportion to the size of the library and to the annual expectation of

\textsuperscript{45} Cyrus Adler to Isaac Husik, 26 November 1913.

\textsuperscript{46} Cyrus Adler to Isaac Husik, 8 April 1914.

\textsuperscript{47} Gratz College Register 1911-1912.

\textsuperscript{48} Gratz College Register 1914-1915.

\textsuperscript{49} Those books taken without any record, not books which were loaned out and not returned.
theft and loss in other libraries.\textsuperscript{50} He was convinced that the
College was dealing not with casual losses but with systematic
pilfering by "someone acquainted with the routine, or lack of routine,
of the institution; and of the value of the books taken."\textsuperscript{51}

After a series of conversations with Mr. Speaker and the librarian,
Dr. Melamed, Dr. Solis Cohen determined that there was a laxity in
seeing that an attendant was present in the library whenever it was
open.\textsuperscript{52} He recommended that the Board of Trustees adopt the following
rules in order to concentrate responsibility:

1. Keys to the library room shall be in the possession only
   of the following officers: The Librarian and the Librarian's
   clerk; the janitors, as required by law.

2. The janitor shall be required to open the library room for
   all meetings authorized therein, and shall lock it immediately
   upon adjournment of such meetings. Other than for meetings
   duly authorized by the Board of Trustees or by the President
   of the College, or for necessary purposes of cleansing and
   the like, the library room shall not be opened, except by
   the Librarian and his clerk, and shall be locked by them
   when leaving.

\textsuperscript{50}A memo from Dr. Jastrow, Librarian of the University of Penn-
sylvania noted that from the approximate number of 450,000 books no
more than a dozen in any year were lost from the stacks, about ten
or fifteen from various seminar rooms where there was no attendant
and about twenty to twenty-five books from the reading room open to
the general public. The librarian of the Jefferson Medical College
reported that only two books were missing in the year 1917 from
their book collection.

\textsuperscript{51}Report of the Chairman of the Library Committee to the Board of
Trustees, 26 February 1918.

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid. Mr. Speaker frequently called upon the librarian's
clerk during library hours to assist him in maintaining the discipline
of the College or to act as clerk to the principal. In addition,
the library was frequently left unlocked after meetings had been held
there.
3. The Librarian's clerk shall not leave the library room during the hours that it is open to readers.

4. No one shall take books from the library without signing the form provided.

5. Stock shall be taken monthly.

In addition to the above five rules, Dr. Solis Cohen also recommended that a reading room separate from the shelf room be designated, notwithstanding the principal's continued objections. 53

In response to Dr. Solis Cohen's recommendations a number of steps were taken. An assistant librarian was hired 54 and a partial transfer of college sessions to the lower floor was effected. This had the combined effect of diminishing the various disturbances in the library and the danger of loss of the volumes. 55 The library remained open only during those hours when the College was in session. 56

The will of Judge Mayer Sulzberger, who died in 1923, revealed a bequest of books to Gratz College. The following year, the College took possession of about one thousand volumes from the late Mayer Sulzberger's library. This brought the total number of books in the library to about four thousand volumes, a figure which remained constant until the close of the third operating decade, 1928.

53 Ibid.

54 Principal's Report to the President and Board of Trustees of Gratz College, 27 February 1918. Mr. Isaac Feinstein was hired at a salary of fifteen dollars per month for nine months.


56 Librarian's Report, 26 February 1918.
During this period four men served as librarians, Dr. Isaac Husik, Dr. Raphael Melamed, Dr. Joseph Medoff, and Dr. Julius Greenstone. Each man held an additional position as instructor in the College and Drs. Melamed and Medoff were also superintendents of the School of Observation and Practice.

Summary and Appraisal

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of a library. In reference to this, the Middle State Association\(^{57}\) says that it, 

...evaluated a library in terms of the objectives and programs of the institution of which it is a part, therefore, the association prescribes no general pattern or specific requirements which apply to all libraries. The intent of the Association always is to assess the library of a given institution in relation to that institution's needs.\(^{58}\)

What the Middle States Association looks for is quality, not quantity, an adequate number of appropriate books to meet the needs of the teachers and pupils of any given institution. Therefore, the number of books in the Gratz College library is no criterion for judging its effectiveness. The quality of the books available seems a more logical basis for an evaluation of the library.

One goal which has guided the building of collections in every academic library has been to gather the indispensable basic collection in the subjects of the curriculum.\(^{59}\) It appears that the board was

\(^{57}\)An accrediting organization for high schools, colleges, and universities in the Middle Atlantic States.


making attempts to do so but in a haphazard rather than a systematic manner. There is no evidence of a plan for acquisitions. Books were purchased upon recommendation by board or faculty members, very often without any consideration of the pupil's needs or their reading comprehension abilities. Many of the books, written in languages other than English, were probably useless to the pupils.

With a minimum of funds available to purchase books only a very limited number of books could be acquired each year. The College had to rely heavily on donations. The bulk of the books acquired came from two private collections, those of Rabbi Bernard Felsenthal and Judge Mayer Sulzberger. Private collections have always been a means for enlarging established libraries. The question one must ask in connection with Gratz College's library is whether these books indeed filled the institution's needs. In connection with Mayer Sulzberger's collection we might assume that many of them did.

The bulk of his rare book collection had gone to the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1904 in the hope that the Seminary would become the

60 Average annual expenses of the College for the years 1899-1905 was $4,696. The average expenditure for the library was $100 per year, a little more than 2 percent of the budget. According to the American Library Association, an academic library should receive at least 5 percent of a college's budget.

61 In 1904 Judge Sulzberger turned over to the Seminary 2,400 rare books and 500 manuscripts of his own plus 5,500 books and some 200 manuscripts from the library of Solomon Hayyim Halberstam, a Polish scholar and bibliophile from Poland, which he had purchased.
center for original work in the science of Judaism. 62 We must conclude that he bequeathed to the College those volumes in the remainder of this collection that he thought would be most useful for its purposes. It is more difficult to defend such a conclusion in connection with Rabbi Felsenthal's library. Nevertheless, there may have been some valuable and useful books in his collection, a sufficient number for the board to want to pay for its acquisition.

A college library, as opposed to a university library which is specialized is oriented toward the student rather than toward the faculty member as researcher. It is characterized by open-ended bookstacks, liberal borrowing policies and an emphasis on providing staff to aid in the use of library materials. The book collection is purposefully lean and spare, chosen with specific courses in mind. 63 From the titles available to us it would seem that the Gratz College library, although lean and spare in terms of the number of volumes was oriented much more toward the faculty and the researcher than towards the pupil. It did, indeed, have open-ended bookstacks and some personnel to aid in the use of its materials, but how extensively it was or could have been used by the pupils is open to question. As for the community, to which the library was open during school hours there is no evidence to indicate that it used the facility at all.


One must conclude that the library was inadequate and ineffective. The choice of books was hardly sensible. The board and faculty failed to coordinate the library with the curriculum, and the management was careless. Still, it was up to each pupil to utilize what materials he could from the library. There is no doubt that there were some who did.
CHAPTER IX

THE SCHOOL OF OBSERVATION AND PRACTICE

The First Proposal

As far back as 1899 a committee of the Board of Trustees was appointed to consider in what manner the school of Congregation Mikveh Israel could be used for a school of practice. The seriousness with which they undertook the assignment was demonstrated by the details of the report they brought back to the board.

The committee kept in view the two purposes to be served: the creation of an adjunct to Gratz College, which would be entirely in harmony with the workings of the institution and completely within the purview of the trust created under the will of Hyman Gratz, as well as the almost unanimous desire of the members of the congregation that their Sunday and religious school be under the control and supervision of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College. The committee cited the Teachers College of Columbia University (New York) as a precedent for such an undertaking. A letter from Mr. James E. Russel, Dean of the Teachers College, outlined in detail the different approaches of the two schools, the Horace Mann School and the Experimental School, which together comprised the Teacher's College. The committee quoted the following from his communication:

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1 Samuel Hyneman, Charles J. Cohen, Horace A. Nathans.
2 MGT, 30 November 1899.
3 Teachers College became affiliated with Columbia University in 1898.

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The Horace Mann School, as planned, is a school for observation where a full corps is employed and the work done in the best manner of which we are capable. The Experimental School, on the other hand, is in charge of supervisors and critic teachers, the intention being to have most of the work done by students in training.

The Observation School is a pay school. Teachers in the Observation School are paid large salaries because we demand the best that can be had.

The student teachers in the Experimental School receive no compensation, but on the other hand, are required to do work as part preparation for the professional diplomas.4

The report continued with an outline of pertinent features of the two schools, the most important of which was that the Horace Mann School was in charge of a principal who ranked with directors of departments in the College, while the Experimental School was under the immediate supervision of the college professor of the theory of practice and teaching. Both schools were under the general direction of a superintendent of schools who was also the college professor of school administration. Both schools formed a working laboratory for professional study and research in which the college students shared with their teachers both the processes and the results of investigations.5 The committee concluded the report with the following suggestions:

1. A course of pedagogics would greatly enhance the usefulness of the curriculum and broaden the scope of its work.
2. A school of practice should be organized along the lines of the Experimental School of the Teachers College of Columbia.

4 MGT, 6 February 1900.
5 Ibid.
University, New York and placed in charge of the students in pedagogics.

3. The Sunday and religious school of K. K. Mikveh Israel should be utilized as the basis of the school of practice.

4. At its inception the school should be conducted by the Gratz College faculty.

5. After complete organization and upon attainment of the necessary proficiency the classes should be taught by the pupils.

6. Teaching the classes in the school of practice should be mandatory for pupils of the College as a regular part of the course in pedagogics.

7. The classes in the school to be taught by the pupils should be elementary and advanced Hebrew and Bible and Bible history.

8. Other than the above, classes should be taught by volunteer teachers, either pupils of the College or others approved by the Board of Trustees.

9. The instructors and pupils of Gratz College should be paid for teaching in the school of practice.

After presenting the report, the committee recommended that a committee of three be appointed to carry into effect the suggestions contained in the report and that this committee be authorized to prepare a complete plan as outlined in the report submitted and to present same at the next meeting of the board with a suggested roster and an estimate of expenditures in connection with the school. Nothing was done about this report at that time. No further mention of it was made and no explanations were offered.

By 1900 the normal school, designed to prepare teachers for work in elementary schools, was a generally accepted institution of teacher education. There was great variety in the courses taught at individual schools.

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6 Ibid. 7 Ibid.
What they had in common, however, was that eventually nearly all schools included some sort of observation and practice teaching in a "model" school conducted by the normal school or in the public schools.\textsuperscript{8} In a study of normal schools in 1887, fifty-five institutions out of seventy-four already provided for practice teaching in a school for children.\textsuperscript{9} Provision for observation was provided by about half of the schools.\textsuperscript{10} In 1895 a summary of information from sixty-three normal schools showed only four of the schools making no provision for practice teaching.\textsuperscript{11} Papers presented at the 1896 meeting of the department of normal schools, which was devoted to the "practice school," indicated general agreement in regard to the desirability of including observation and/or practice teaching in the training of teachers. In fact, the feeling prevailed that actual teaching was probably the most valuable experience for the pupil since it furnished both theory and practice at the same time.\textsuperscript{12}

In showing a desire to establish such a school, the Board of Trustees demonstrated its recognition of the importance of this for the professional training of its future teachers. It seems strange, then, that it was the commitment of only one member of the board which gave impetus to the actual establishment of a school of observation and practice ten years after the initial report had been submitted. When for business reasons, it became necessary to decide a

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\textsuperscript{8}Butts, History of Education, p. 493.

\textsuperscript{9}As opposed to practice upon classes formed from peers playing at being children.


\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 382. \textsuperscript{12}Ibid.
building scheme for Gratz College, the original proposal before the board was to put up a small structure for the purpose of the college alone. Dr. Adler, however, held the opinion that Gratz College, which was mainly a teacher's college, would not be properly equipped until the members of its higher classes had the opportunity to do some actual teaching, or to see teaching conducted under proper direction as part of their course of study. His opinion prevailed and, accordingly, the new building was planned to provide for both the college and a school, which would be used as a school of practice.

The Second Proposal

Projecting the opening of such a school in the new building to take place in the fall of 1909, in the summer of 1908 Dr. Adler requested the faculty to consider the matter and make some recommendations. He suggested that the plan require students in the last year of study or possibly in the last two years, depending on the ages at which students were graduated, to observe one year at the model school as part of their studies in pedagogics and to give actual instruction there the second year.

Dr. Adler further suggested that the instructor in pedagogics ought to be the initial person to sketch out the working plan. However, Rev. Speaker, having been asked by both Judge Sulzberger and Ephraim

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13 Dr. Cyrus Adler to Henry M. Speaker, 12 August 1908.
14 Ibid.
15 Henry M. Speaker to Dr. Cyrus Adler, 11 August 1908.
Lederer for his contributions to the plan, took the initiative and assumed leadership for effecting a workable plan. In November he reported that he was visiting various normal schools in the city and was in correspondence with teacher's colleges of other cities. After gathering sufficient information, he intended, after consultation with other members of the faculty, to draw up a complete report and submit it to Dr. Adler. 16

In April a proposal for a school of observation and practice was approved. The rules and regulations dealt primarily with the organization of the school and the relationship of the Gratz College students to the school as observers and student teachers. In connection with the organization of the school the following rules were adopted:

1. This school shall be known as the "K.K. Mikve Israel: The School of Observation and Practice of the Gratz College."

2. This school shall serve as a place of instruction for the children of the members of the Mikve Israel Congregation and such others as it may be possible to admit to the capacity of the school. It shall likewise serve as the school of observation and practice for the students of the Gratz College.

3. The school shall consist of a Primary and Secondary department.

4. The course in the Primary department shall extend over a period of two years, and shall be under the control of a teacher and an assistant teacher.

5. The average age of admission to the Primary department shall be six years.

6. The Secondary department, extending over a period of six years, shall consist of six classes, each class being under the control of a teacher.

7. The average age of admission to the Secondary department shall be eight years.

16 Henry M. Speaker to Cyrus Adler, 10 November 1908.
8. No pupil shall be permitted to graduate from the school who has not reached the age of fourteen.

9. Sessions in the Primary department shall be held from 9:30 to 12. [Presumably, Sunday A.M.]

10. Sessions in the Secondary department shall be held three times every week, viz.: Sunday afternoons, from 3 to 5:30, and Tuesday and Thursday afternoons from 4:30 to 6.

11. A complete but necessary briefier course, shall be provided in the Secondary department for such children as are unable to attend three sessions a week. This briefier course shall be given on Sunday mornings from 9:30 A. M. to 12 P.M. 17

The relationship of the Gratz College pupil to the school was defined in the following stipulations:

1. Students of the Junior Class of the Gratz College shall be admitted to the School of Practice to observe, and students of the Senior class to practice teaching.

2. Students of the Senior Class of the Gratz College shall be given an opportunity to teach every subject in every class at least twice a year, and later to teach every class at least twice during the year.

3. Every Junior of the Gratz College shall be given the opportunity to observe the teaching of every subject in every class at least twice during the year.

4. Arrangements shall be made with other religious schools to allow Juniors and Seniors to observe the teaching in said schools.

5. The regular teacher in charge shall act as the critic of the pupil-teacher's work, and take notes regarding the nature of the work, presentation of the subject, discipline, etc., and present a report to the Instructor in Education.

6. The Superintendent of the School shall present a monthly report to the Principal of the Gratz College regarding the nature and progress of the work in all the classes.

17 Complete Report from Henry M. Speaker to Cyrus Adler, 20 April 1909.
7. There shall be a monthly Conference between the Superintendent of the School and the Faculty of the Gratz College, when points included in the above-mentioned report may be discussed.

8. The Instructor in Education shall present a quarterly report to the Principal of the Gratz College regarding the nature and progress of the work done by the pupil-teachers.

9. The Faculty of the Gratz College shall be invited to all meetings and conferences held by the teachers of the school.

10. The instructors of the Gratz College shall visit the school at stated intervals to observe the teaching of their respective subjects and discuss it with the pupil-teachers at appointed hours. 18

An analysis of the proposal for observation and student teaching reveals very little similarity to the organization of the Experimental School of the Teachers College, Columbia University, the model originally proposed for the School of Observation and Practice. 19 The most obvious differences were that the Gratz College pupils would not be the regular teachers of the class, nor would the principal of the school of observation and practice be the professor of pedagogy. Instead, the classroom teacher to be observed by the student teacher was to be the critic of the student teacher's practice teaching, presenting a report to the instructor in education.

The proposal also differed significantly from the one originally suggested in 1899. 20 In the earlier proposal the pupils were to practice teach in the area of Hebrew language, Bible and Biblical history only.

18 Ibid.
19 See p. 244.
20 See p. 245.
They were to be paid for their work. In the new proposal, pupils would be given the opportunity to teach every subject in every class. No mention of remuneration is made. In addition, the new proposal stipulated that arrangements would be made with other religious schools to allow juniors and seniors to observe the teaching there. 21

The new plan which was adopted depended heavily on the engagement of capable teachers for its success. Unfortunately, as we shall see, there was not sufficient money available to employ the best teachers, or even good ones for the most part. While there were, of course, some good teachers, there were also those who were in need of teacher training themselves so that the observation-teacher process often became a matter of 'the blind leading the blind.'

The Curriculum

At the same meeting on 20 April 1909 at which the rules and regulations were adopted a curriculum for the school was approved. 22 In every class of the elementary school (ages 8-14) of the five and one-half hours for instruction available, one-half hour each week would be spend on what was described as religious exercise. This probably meant a prayer service of some kind. In classes one to four, two and a half hours weekly would be spent on Bible history (from Creation to the Restoration including readings from the Prophets). Grades one to three would study Biblical geography within that time period as well. During the last two years history would be allotted only one and

21 There is no evidence that these arrangements were ever made.

three-fourths hours weekly and would cover the period following the Restoration up to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. The study of Jewish history ended with the fifteenth century. In the fifth year, three quarters of an hour weekly would be devoted to Religion, ceremonial laws, their meaning and development. Beliefs, ethics, ceremonies and sources of Jewish Religion would be taught in the sixth year.

As for Hebrew, decoding (mechanical reading) and grammar were taught for the purpose of reading and translating prayers and selections from the Bible. Exercises in translating from English into Hebrew were a regular feature of the curriculum and in the sixth year short compositions were attempted. Only in the sixth year was some time taken away from the two and a half hours per week set aside for Hebrew. In that year three-fourths of an hour was devoted to an introduction to Jewish literature.

The curriculum of the Sunday school, which had been retained in deference to congregation members whose children could not attend three days per week, was arranged as an epitome of the longer weekday curriculum. 23

There was no articulation of a framework of curriculum construction which might have served as a guide to developing the curriculum. However, it is very clear that text was considered central. The curriculum was heavily weighted on the side of text and reflected a covering-the-waterfront philosophy, a philosophy which lacks selectivity. It

23 Complete Report from Henry M. Speaker to Cyrus Adler, 20 April 1909. It is possible that the introduction to Jewish literature was done in Hebrew, i.e., small Hebrew literary pieces were studied.
allowed for very little in-depth learning. The curriculum appears to have been pieced together to include the essentials and the available time then apportioned among them.24

Congregational Concern with the Organization and Curriculum

There was concern in the congregation about both the organization of the school and its curriculum. On the former the concern was that children of members and seatholders should be admitted to the school before outsiders were admitted. On the latter, Mr. Levy wrote,

The Committee (School Committee of the Congregation's Religious School) yet desires to point out the necessity of so adjusting the relations of the College and the school so as to avoid possible subordination of the religious purpose for which the latter is primarily intended to the mere purely intellectual culture held in view in the organization of the College. In other words, it is regarded essential to the purposes of the congregational school that the children be so instructed and to lead them to become earnest members of the Synagogue as well as cultured members of the community.25

On the question of admission Dr. Adler replied that should the children of members ever total the capacity of the school, about 125 pupils, no others would be admitted. However, in as much as the current number was no more than sixty, other children would be admitted up to the number of 125 pupils.26

With regard to the curriculum, Dr. Adler made it very clear that the Board of Trustees of Gratz College agreed completely with the

24 This probably was the approach to curriculum construction in most religious schools at that time.

25 Louis E. Levy to Cyrus Adler, 22 May 1909. Mr. Levy was Chairman of the Religious School Committee.

26 Cyrus Adler to Louis E. Levy, 28 May 1929.
school committee of Mikveh Israel that part of the function of the school was religious training. That he was intensely concerned with this aspect of the school is attested to by the quote:

The whole purpose of the Gratz College and of the School of Practice is ultimately towards this end and not merely for cultural purposes, however interesting these may be in themselves. To me, personally, they are somewhat indistinguishable. 27

On the point that had been raised that the children of a congregational school should be so instructed as to lead them to become earnest members of the synagogue, Dr. Adler did not show complete agreement. He explained that in following the liberal policy of admitting children other than those of the congregation, it was important to bear in mind that they may be accustomed to another ritual, their parents might be members of another congregation which has no school, or their parents might not be members of any congregation. He suggested, however, that the prayer book which would be used largely as a text book in the school, should be the Sephardi rite and the pronunciation of the Hebrew should be Sephardi as well. The chanting and hymns used in the school should be those used in Mikveh Israel. In this way he hoped that children of members of Mikveh Israel would be retained as future members of the congregation and probably other pupils as well. 28

He also agreed with the committee that the minister of the congregation should retain such relations in the religious school as were fitting in view of his function as religious head of the congregation. He suggested that the minister have complete charge of the religious exercises at the opening and closing the school session and that, if his commitments

27 Ibid. 28 Ibid.
allowed, he teach a regular class in the school. 29 This arrangement would later create friction between the minister and the principal of the school.

At the 30 May meeting of the Board of Managers of Mikveh Israel it was resolved that the board accept the plan of the Board of Trustees with the exception of the provision relating to children of non-seatholders. Children of non-seatholders would be admitted only on application to the Committee on Religious School of the Congregation. 30 Since this applied only to the Sunday morning religious school, Dr. Adler considered the matter, for all practical purposes, settled. The majority of the seatholders sent their children to the Sunday school rather than to the weekday school. The members of the congregation must have reasoned that there would be greater interest in the community in the Sunday school. By requiring prospective pupils to apply directly to the Committee on Religious School for admission, the committee would have an opportunity to encourage these parents to become members of Mikveh Israel. Dr. Adler, however, was more concerned with the weekday school which was to be the School of Observation and Practice and therefore was amenable to accepting the requirement that children of non-seatholders would be admitted to the Sunday school only on approval by the congregation's school committee.

Opening the School

The most important matter at hand was the selection of a principal

29 Ibid.
30 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 9 June 1909.
for the school. Dr. Adler had suggested a young man, Rabbi Raphael Melamed, who, in addition to being a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary, had applied for a fellowship at Dropsie College to continue his studies. At a special meeting of the Board of Trustees, 20 June 1909, Rabbi Raphael H. Melamed was invited to accept the principalship of the School of Observation and Practice for one year, beginning 1 September 1909, at a compensation of five hundred dollars per annum.

This done, the Gratz Board then recommended to the congregation that a joint committee be appointed to supervise the conduct of the school, to consist of:

1. a member of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College
2. the minister of the congregation
3. two members of the Committee on Religious School of the congregation
4. the principal of Gratz College
5. the principal of the school of observation and practice
6. the instructor in pedagogics.

Those who would serve on this committee would be, in the order listed above, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Rev. Leon H. Elmaleh, Mr. Louis E. Levy.

31 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 9 June 1909.
32 Minutes of the Board, 20 June 1909.
33 Louis E. Levy was Secretary of the Adjuncta of Congregation Mikveh Israel as well as Chairman of the Religious School Committee.
and Miss Mary M. Cohen,34 Rev. Henry M. Speaker, Rev. Raphael H.
Melamed and Dr. Julius Greenstone.35

At the same meeting the Collegee Committee of the Board of Trustees, which consisted of Cyrus Adler (Chairman) and Mayer Sulzberger, was charged with the responsibility of making all appointments to the faculty of the school.36 An advertisement was placed which read

Three teachers with good knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish History are required for the School of Practice of the Gratz College and the Religious School of the Congregation Mikveh Israel. Applications should be sent in writing to Dr. Cyrus Adler, 2041 North Broad Street. . .37

Three persons were selected: Samuel A. Rabinowitz, David Galter, and Anna Grossman and were appointed at an annual rate of three hundred dollars. The salaries were put on a monthly basis to allow the possibility, in the event of teacher undesirability, to make a change with a month's notice.39 The committee, acting on a request from Rabbi Melamed, also engaged a teacher, Mr. Gabriel Hines, to give instruction in Hebrew and English hymns. He was to be paid one hundred dollars per annum, and Dr. Adler commented that Rabbi Melamed would, "probably get as much work out of him for that money as he can."40

34 Mary M. Cohen had been for many years the superintendent of the religious school of the congregation. In his comments on the make-up of the school committee, Dr. Adler said, "It is also deemed advisable that some of the members selected by the Congregation for such a joint committee should be ladies." See Note 23.


37 Cyrus Adler's correspondence, 1909. There is no specific date on the advertisement nor is mention made of the paper or papers in which the advertisement was placed.

38 David Galter and Anna Grossman were graduates of the College and Samuel A. Rabinowitz had completed the teachers course.

39 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 10 October 1909. 40 Ibid.
The opening of the school, with an enrollment of 129 pupils, brought an immediate request from Raphael Melamed for an additional teacher. The president of the board was somewhat skeptical about filling the request because the board had only authorized the expenditure of one thousand dollars and that amount had already been exhausted by the teachers already employed. Mr. Melamed continued to instruct the class until November, when a fourth teacher was added, Miss Judith Goepp, a member of the senior class who had volunteered her services. 41

In November, Mr. Speaker reported that junior and senior class students had already begun to observe in the school and plans were being made to enable members of the senior class opportunities to teach there at regular intervals. 42 At the same time the college committee was authorized to take action regarding the change of hours in the School of Observation and Practice. 43 The annual report of that year mentioned that at the beginning, the School of Observation and Practice met on Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday afternoons, and the Sunday school met on Sunday mornings. 44 However, it was found necessary and more satisfactory to hold all the Sunday sessions in the morning, necessitating the employment of three additional teachers for the Sunday school. 45 Three pupils of the College were employed for that purpose. 46 That

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41 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 25 October 1909.
42 Report from Henry M. Speaker to the president and Board of Trustees, 22 November 1909.
43 Ibid.
44 Annual Report of the President of the Board of Trustees, 1909-1910.
45 The teachers of the School of Observation and Practice had taught in the Sunday school as well.
46 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 23 November 1909.
summer, a summer school program which ran three times per week during the months of July and August attracted sixty-five pupils.  

Growth, Changes, and Financial Problems

From the beginning, the expenses needed to run the School of Observation and Practice exceeded the amount of money allocated. In the second year the salaries of the Sunday school teachers had to be increased; the employment of an additional teacher was necessary; the singing teacher, whose instruction was considered an important feature was retained and Mr. Melamed's salary was increased to $720 per year. The projected total pay of teachers was $2,230, a considerable increase over the $1,400 annual outlay originally projected. This made it necessary for the Board of Trustees to look to the congregation for an equitable apportionment of the expenses of the school between the College and the congregation. This, in spite of the fact that when the school opened in 1909 the congregation had agreed that, except for the salary of the superintendent and the caretaker, it would contribute 25 percent of the expense of conducting the school. A special meeting of the board was held in October to announce that Jules E. Mastbaum

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47 Annual Report of the President of the Board of Trustees, 1909-1910.
48 Sunday school teachers were to be paid two dollars per session.
49 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 21 September 1910.
50 Annual Report of the President of the Board of Trustees, 1909-1910.
51 Minute Book of the Board of Adjunta, Congregation Mikveh Israel, September 1909, p. 119.
52 Jules E. Mastbaum, philanthropist, became a member of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College in 1914 and the Adjunta of Congregation Mikveh Israel in 1926.
had agreed to underwrite a sum amounting to seven hundred dollars to be used by the school to secure additional teachers, supply textbooks, and buy equipment. The board immediately appropriated seventy-five dollars to buy a stereopticon, a slide projector, for the school.\footnote{Minutes of the Gratz Board, 20 October 1910.}

In May 1911, Rabbi Melamed tendered his resignation, which was regretfully accepted by the board. Rabbi Jacob B. Grossman was elected as principal in his stead for a period of one year dating from 1 July 1911 at the same salary.\footnote{Minutes of the Gratz Board, 30 May 1911.} In addition to being principal of the school, he would be in charge of the summer school and would be required to be in attendance at the Mikveh Israel Synagogue on Sabbath and holidays, in general charge of the boys who formed the volunteer choir.\footnote{Ephraim Lederer to Jacob B. Grossman, 14 June 1911.}

The school continued to grow. Table 15 reveals that enrollment grew from 180 pupils in the year 1910 to 1911 to 250 pupils in the year 1912-1913.\footnote{See table 15.} Evidence of this growth is substantiated by the addition of an extra class, necessitating the hiring of an additional teacher,\footnote{Minutes of the Gratz Board, 4 October 1911.} and the request in March 1912 by the principal that two additional classes be formed in the regular department to meet on Monday, Wednesday, and Sunday in the afternoon, and an additional class be formed in the Sunday department, also to meet on Sunday afternoon.\footnote{Minutes of the Gratz Board, 6 March 1912.} The latter recommendation was transmitted to the Adjunta of the Congregation Mikveh Israel with a statement that the Board of Trustees of Gratz College did not have the funds to
# TABLE 15

**ENROLLMENT AT THE SCHOOL OF OBSERVATION AND PRACTICE OF THE GRATZ COLLEGE, 1909-1927**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Regular Department</th>
<th>Sunday Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1909-1910</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1911</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1912</td>
<td>---&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-1913</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913-1914</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914-1915</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1916</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-1917</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917-1918</td>
<td>232&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918-1919</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-1920</td>
<td>237&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1921</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1922</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922-1923</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923-1924</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924-1925</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-1926</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-1927</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Annual Reports of the President of the Board of Trustees, 1909-1913; Reports of the Superintendents of the School of Observation and Practice, 1916-1927.

<sup>a</sup>Not available.

<sup>b</sup>The beginning enrollment in September was 265 pupils. Thirty-three pupils dropped out during the year. The breakdown figures are based on the 265 figure.

<sup>c</sup>The beginning enrollment in September was 166.
undertake the work, although it was deemed advisable that these classes be formed.\textsuperscript{59} The Adjunta of the congregation concurred that the classes were necessary and voted to appropriate the six hundred dollars for the purpose of maintaining the additional classes for the year 1912-1913.\textsuperscript{60} During the rest of the period, according to the table, enrollment fluctuated, staying above two hundred but ending with a net decrease of twenty-five pupils from the academic year 1912-1913.

The financial picture continued to alarm the board so much so, that a special meeting was held in June 1912 to consider the financial affairs of the College, particularly with relation to the expense for the maintenance of the school. It was decided that Dr. Adler would take the matter up with members of the congregation to discover their opinions.\textsuperscript{61}

There were other problems as well. Rabbi Grossman resigned, and Mr. Samuel A. Rabinowitz was appointed to succeed him at the same salary.\textsuperscript{62} The School of Observation and Practice had been operating for three years and this was the third principal appointed. It is logical to assume that no man would consider the job, at the $720 per year salary offered, as more than an expedient while he was attending school\textsuperscript{63} or perhaps looking for a more remunerative position.

\textsuperscript{59}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{60}Minute Book of the Board of the Adjunta, 10 March 1912, p. 157.

\textsuperscript{61}Minutes of the Gratz Board, 13 June 1912. Apparently the congregation agreed to share the expense. In the Quarterly Financial Report, for quarter ending 25 November 1913 (the first report available following June 1912) we find an item marked, "From Congregation Mikveh Israel-salaries of the teachers-$566." The total expenditure for school salaries that quarter was $798.79.

\textsuperscript{62}Minutes of the Gratz Board, 24 September 1912.

\textsuperscript{63}Raphael Melamed and Samuel A. Rabinowitz were both attending Dropsie
The school building was overcrowded. The school had doubled its pupil enrollment in three years. More room was desperately needed. Fifty-one pupils had been turned away during the year because of space problems. The congregation requested that the trustees of Gratz College consider the feasibility of enlarging the Gratz College building. 64

In order to meet the demands of older children who had no Hebrew background, a special class was established in 1913 for beginners in Hebrew who were ten years of age or above. The curriculum for this class was the same as those of Classes 1 and 2 combined. The objective was to prepare these oldest beginners as quickly as possible and have them enter classes at their own age levels. 65

The class first met in the summer of 1914. The following was reported in the Jewish Exponent:

An unusual feature of the Summer School this year will be a special class for beginners above 10 years of age. There have been so many applications from beginners that had to be rejected during the regular term, that it was decided by the School Committee to have a class for older beginners. They will be taught sufficient Hebrew during the summer to place them in advanced classes when the regular school opens in September and thus speed such older pupils in their work. 66

The summer school became an established feature of the school. It opened in the summer of 1914 with an enrollment of 102, the largest in its history. Sessions were held on Tuesday and Wednesday mornings from

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College while they were superintendents of the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice.

64 Minutes of the Board of the Adjunta, 25 September 1913, p. 183. See pp. 123-126 for a description of the enlargement.

65 Gratz College Register, 1916-1917, p. 20

66 Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 10 July 1914.
9:30 A.M. to 12:15 P.M. The session opened with an assembly from 9:30 to 10:00, followed by an hour of Hebrew, a fifteen-minute recess, and an hour of history. The *Jewish Exponent* reported,

The work taken up is not a part of the regular curriculum of the year, but consists of special studies in Hebrew and Jewish History, not otherwise taken up. Especial attention is paid during the summer term to translations from the prayer book. As part of the work in history, a series of lectures on Biblical History, illustrated by lantern slides will be given each week by the superintendent, Mr. Samuel A. Rabinowitz.

The studies have been so arranged that all the work is done in the classroom, so that the children need do no studying at home.

The regular curriculum remained essentially the same as originally formulated. In 1915 a rule was approved admitting graduates of the school to Gratz College without examination or further question.

The school now had a faculty of eleven teachers and enough school rooms for all sessions in the school to be held at one time, on Sunday morning, and Tuesday and Thursday afternoons. Everything seemed set, but financial problems started to become acute. For the first time in the history of the College, the financial account for the year 1914-1915 showed an excess of expenses over income of $406.12, an omen of things to come.

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67 The prayer book which was used as a text was called Shirei Tefillah. In March 1914, the book, which was full of mistakes, according to Mr. Samuel Rabinowitz, the superintendent of the school, was corrected by him and sent out for reprinting.

68 Ibid. 69 See appendix P.

70 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 2 June 1915.

71 See table 16.

72 Limited space had made it necessary for some classes to meet on Monday and Wednesday.
TABLE 16

FACULTY AND SALARIES OF THE SCHOOL OF OBSERVATION AND PRACTICE OF GRATZ COLLEGE, 1914-1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Annual Salary</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samuel A. Rabinowitz (Principal)</td>
<td>$720.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mollie Grossman</td>
<td>306.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Goldman</td>
<td>291.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyman H. Cohen</td>
<td>296.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice Silver</td>
<td>476.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Levi</td>
<td>495.42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elinor Solis Cohen</td>
<td>249.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolph Cohen</td>
<td>80.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Pomerantz</td>
<td>80.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edith Grossman</td>
<td>70.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodman A. Rose</td>
<td>80.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miriam Solis Cohen</td>
<td>78.</td>
<td>$3,222.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnett Cohen</td>
<td>4.50&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Rubenstein</td>
<td>9.</td>
<td>&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isador Solis Cohen</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuben Breskmman</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Breskmman</td>
<td>5.</td>
<td>&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Twenty-first Annual Account of Gratz College, 1 September 1914 to 31 August 1915.

<sup>a</sup>Appears to be substitutes.
Net Income $9,798.29
Share of Expenses from Cong. Mikve Israel 787.22
Sale of Books 40.00 $10,625.51

Current Expenses: College 7,469.42
School of Practice 3,562.21 11,031.63
Excess of expenses over income 406.12

It was time to consider a tuition fee for pupils of the school. On 16 March 1916, it was carried that the Board of Trustees of Gratz College recommend to the congregation,

...that the parents of children attending the School, and who can afford to become seat-holders in the Congregation, should be approached by the Congregation and invited to become seat-holders; and to those not willing to do so the Gratz College be permitted to make a charge not exceeding $10. per annum per child. ... that the proposed policy not to run counter to the policy of the Congregation of admitting free to the services and School all who cannot afford to pay.74

Shortly, thereafter, parents were informed that because of the growth of the school the expenses of its maintenance had far exceeded the income of the congregation and its trust funds. In order to meet the greatly increased outlays, parents who were not seat-holders75 were requested to become members of the congregation. Parents who chose not to become seat-holders and who could afford to pay would be charged ten dollars per year for each child enrolled in the school.76

73 Twenty-first Annual Account, 1914-1915.
74 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 16 March 1916.
75 Not more than 25 percent of the children attending the school were children of seat-holders in the congregation.
76 William Morris to parents with pupils in the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice, March 1916.
In December 1916, of the 225 pupils enrolled 55 had paid tuition.\textsuperscript{77}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congregational children</th>
<th>55</th>
<th>57</th>
<th>112</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuition children</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free children</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>129</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once more the School of Observation and Practice faced a change. In June 1916 both Mr. Samuel Rabinowitz and Dr. Isaac Husik resigned. A decision was made to choose one successor who would replace both of these men. He would be appointed as instructor in Hebrew, honorary librarian, serve as superintendent of the School of Observation and Practice and be competent to assist in the services of the congregation.\textsuperscript{78}

Rev. Raphael H. Melamed, now, Reverend Dr. Raphael Melamed, the first principal of the school, made inquiries about the job. He suggested that a combination of superintendent, instructor in Hebrew, and teacher of the graduating class would bring the compensation to the $2500 per annum he desired.\textsuperscript{79} The request to add the teaching position was denied. In its stead Dr. Melamed suggested a position as assistant minister of the congregation. This plan was presented to the Reverend Leon Elmaleh who vetoed it. He felt strongly that any man attempting to hold three

\textsuperscript{77}Report of Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice, 5 December 1916.

\textsuperscript{78}Minutes of the Gratz Board, 2 June 1916.

\textsuperscript{79}Raphael Melamed to Cyrus Adler, 2 June 1916.
positions could not fulfill the duties of any of them and that even a strong man would break under such demands. The idea was, therefore, dropped. In July, Dr. Melamed made formal application to the Board of Trustees and the board named him Instructor in Hebrew and librarian at a salary of $1,100 and Superintendent of the school for $720. He would serve for only two years.

The Relationship to the School of the Superintendent and the Minister

Those two years were marked by tensions and problems. Rabbi Melamed constantly pressed hard for an increase in salary, and relations between him and the Reverend Leon Elmaleh were so strained that both the Gratz and congregation boards had to intervene. On the matter of salary he wrote

But how much more humiliating it is to know that the college values my work as Principal $3 a week more than one of the teachers... that does not even give as much time to the school notwithstanding the extra work he does.

On the matter of his relationship with Mr. Elmaleh, he resented the fact that the latter insisted on taking full charge of the assemblies, which Dr. Melamed considered an insult to the principal of the school and destructive of the discipline of both teachers and pupils. He also bitterly resented the fact that he had no responsibility with the congregation. He wrote

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80 Minute Book of the Adjunta, Congregation Mikveh Israel, 17 September 1917, p. 228.


82 Raphael Melamed to Ephraim Lederer, 13 December 1917.
Is it not possible to get an appointment for present, from the Board of Mikveh Israel Congregation to preach alternately with Mr. Elmaleh and to read part of the services every Sabbath? It would be preferable, of course to have Mr. Elmaleh consent to this but I would suggest that it be done even without his consent for the present.83

The relationship between Dr. Melamed and Mr. Elmaleh continued to deteriorate, and Mr. Elmaleh threatened to withdraw entirely from the school if the arrangement of alternating leadership of the school assembly was adopted. He voiced the opinion that the school had always been and still was the religious school of the congregation and that the superintendent of the school and its teachers were the employees of Gratz College. The only representative in the school of the synagogue and the principles for which the synagogue stood was the minister of the congregation. Mr. Elmaleh showed his passion on the matter by declaring,

The only way that the Synagogue has of reaching the children of its members, and its own future members during the most impressionable and formative years is through the Minister. . . . Is this too much; is it really enough?84

Dr. Melamed, therefore, capitulated on that matter and consented to Mr. Elmaleh conducting the assembly as he had heretofore done. At the same time he offered his resignation as superintendent of the school.85

On 27 May 1918 a little more than two weeks after the above communication, the school committee met to deal with, among other

83 Raphael Melamed to Cyrus Adler, 9 December 1917.

84 Leon N. Elmaleh to Louis E. Levy, 21 December 1917. Included in the Minute Book of the Adjunta, Congregation Mikveh Israel, 26 February 1918, p. 255.

85 Raphael Melamed to Ephraim Lederer, 10 May 1918.
things, the relations of the rabbi of the congregation and the superintendent of the school. The committee which had been appointed to consider the matter reported that it had had several interviews with the minister of the synagogue and the superintendent. It had studied the whole question of the relationship of the two functionaries to the school and had come to the conclusion that both functionaries ought to be in intimate contact with the school. Specifically it delineated the following division of labor between the minister and the superintendent:

1. The Superintendent should be charged with all the duties pertaining to a successful management of the School, which it is not necessary to specify now.
2. Minister and Superintendent should address the School Assembly on alternate Sundays.
3. The Minister should lead in prayer every Sunday.
4. When the Minister is away, the Superintendent should take his place.
5. The Minister should meet the graduating class once a week at such time as will be convenient to both.86

The school committee unanimously adopted the report and the entire matter was thus resolved.

On 25 September 1918, in spite of his reelection for one year at an additional compensation of seven hundred dollars,87 Dr. Melamed submitted his resignation to take effect when his successor was chosen.88

86 Louis Levy, Chairman of the School Committee, to Ralph Melamed, 27 May 1918.
87 The increase was granted with the understanding that Dr. Melamed would accept no outside employment, would teach a class, and attend services regularly in Mikveh Israel.
88 Raphael Melamed to Ephraim Lederer, 25 September 1918. Dr. Melamed received an appointment as rabbi of a congregation in Montreal. He was an ordained rabbi.
After Nine Years of Operation

At the end of the school year 1917-1918 there were 232 pupils in attendance, a drop of 33 pupils over the starting figure for that year. Ninety-one pupils were children of congregational members, 70 were full or partial paying tuition pupils, and 71 were free pupils. The average attendance in the regular department was 73 percent and in the Sunday department, 61 percent. The curriculum and the rules and regulations were essentially the same as they were when the school first opened. The school had a choir composed of pupils who came regularly to Mikveh Israel Synagogue and took an active part in the services. There were two clubs, one for boys and another for girls, called the "Shoshanot Mikveh Israel," which were composed of the older pupils of the school. These clubs read and discussed Jewish literature and their members did charity work in the Jewish community. Three major prizes were being awarded annually. "The Judith Laure Frechie Prize" of twenty dollars was given to the pupil attaining the highest average in Hebrew during the term. "The Hyman Gratz Memorial Prize" and "The Sabato Morais Memorial Prize," consisting each of a set of Graetz's History of the Jews was presented to the graduate of the regular and

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89 Tuition fees collected that year were $550.50.

90 Report of Superintendent of the School of Observation and Practice, 28 May 1918.

91 See pp. 248-249.

92 The boys club was renamed "Shomere Emunah" the following year.
Sunday department, respectively, who attained the highest proficiency in his studies. In addition, a number of smaller prizes were given for general proficiency and for synagogue attendance.

The Years 1918-1923

The search was on for a new principal. Three men were considered, Rabbi Reuben Rabinowitz, Dr. Julius Greenstone who was approached by the committee, and Dr. Joseph Medoff. Dr. Greenstone declined. Of the two remaining, Dr. Joseph Medoff's name was canvassed with the result that the majority of the school committee thought him the most likely person who could be secured. Dr. Medoff was elected to the post at an annual salary of nine hundred dollars per year. He was also named Instructor of Hebrew and librarian at the College for additional salary. He would serve in those capacities until his death in October 1923.

93 Originally, these two prizes were awarded to the boy and girl of the graduating class who attained the highest proficiency in their studies.

94 Gratz College Register 1916-1917, p. 22.

95 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 8 October 1918.

96 Ibid.

97 Twenty-fifth Annual Account of the Treasurer of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College for the year ending 31 August 1919.
During Dr. Medoff's years, registration in the regular department increased from 142 to 210. The Sunday department, which had experienced a loss from 121 pupils in the year 1917-1918 to 64 just before Dr. Medoff came, maintained the latter registration for the five years. There was some concern over the almost 50 percent drop in Sunday school enrollment which was not recovered. At a school committee meeting Dr. Medoff postulated that this had occurred for two reasons: first, because children from the Sunday department had gone over to the regular department, and second, because a charge of ten dollars was made for the children of the Sunday department and one of fifteen dollars for the others. He thought that the charge in the Sunday department was considered too high. Dr. Adler asked Mr. Lederer whether the reason for the falling off might not be that the children found the school physically unattractive. If so, he suggested, every effort should be made to have the school pleasant as well as pedagogically sound. No one considered that a significant factor might have been the establishment in Philadelphia of several conservative synagogues with schools attached.

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98 The tuition appears to have been increased by five dollars at the beginning of the year 1918-1919 which coincides with the 50 percent loss of pupils.

99 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 9 June 1920.

100 Ibid.

101 By this time Beth Shalom, Adath Jeshurun, Beth Israel and Beth El were congregations which were conducting schools. B'nai Jeshurun also may have had a school. Beth Shalom, located at Broad and Courtland streets, was in the same area as the School of Observation and Practice.
The Years 1923-1928

Mr. Chomsky Is Appointed Superintendent

With Dr. Medoff's death in the fall of 1923 a special committee was appointed to consider filling the vacancy he left in the College and the school. The committee recommended the appointment of Mr. William Chomsky. They described him in the following words:

Mr. Chomsky is twenty-seven years of age and is a B.A. of Johns Hopkins University (1921) and has pursued Pedagogics at the University of Pennsylvania. This is his second year of study at the Dropsie College. He had taught in a Talmud Torah in Baltimore and is now a teacher in the High School of the Talmud Torah system of Philadelphia. He is well known to most of the members of the Committee, has a pleasing personality and the Committee believe that he is qualified both for the post in Gratz College and as Superintendent of the School.

On 6 December 1923 Mr. Chomsky was informed of his election as superintendent of the school and instructor in Hebrew in Gratz College at the salary of two thousand dollars per year. He started his work immediately, relieving Rev. Leon H. Elmaleh who had taken charge of the school after the death of Dr. Medoff. In March, Mr. Chomsky made two requests, one for clerical help so that he would be free to devote his entire time and attention to supervisory duties and the

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102 Dr. Cyrus Adler, Dr. Max L. Margolis, Rev. Henry Speaker, Dr. Julius Greenstone, Dr. Isaac Husik.

103 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 15 April 1921.

104 Special Committee to elect a successor to Dr. Joseph Medoff to the President and Board of Trustees of Gratz College, 20 November 1923.

105 Ibid.

106 Ephraim Lederer to William Chomsky. So began a long and fruitful association with Gratz which would continue in a number of capacities until his death in 1977.

107 Ephraim Lederer to Leon H. Elmaleh, 2 January 1924. A letter of thanks.
second for a room to be turned into a recreation room and equipped accordingly. 108 In answer to his first request he was informed that lack of funds made it impossible at this time. A suggestion was made that he try to get a volunteer. 109 Nothing came of this, and in July the board authorized the expenditure of twenty dollars per month for a clerk during ten months in the year. 110 The arrangement for a room for recreational purposes was referred to the building committee, chaired by Dr. S. Solis Cohen. 111

Enrollment figures submitted by Mr. Chomsky showed a total registration of 295 with 240 in the regular department and 55 in the Sunday department. Of these, 103 were children of members of the congregation, 120 were tuition paying pupils and 72 were admitted free. 112 With the number of pupils in the regular department averaging 30 per class and one class actually having 47, it was only a matter of time before the new superintendent recommended a return to the double shift. This he did at the end of the school year with the school committee accepting the plan for implementation in the fall of 1925. 113

108 William Chomsky to Ephraim Lederer, 11 March 1924.
109 Mr. Chomsky was asked to try to arrange such volunteer service through the Clearing House Committee of the Federation of Jewish Charities of Philadelphia.
110 Ephraim Lederer to William Chomsky, 25 July 1924.
111 Ephraim Lederer to William Chomsky, 19 March 1924.
112 William Chomsky to Ephraim Lederer, 17 April 1924. See table 17 for a breakdown among classes.
113 Report of the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice of Gratz College, June 1925.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
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<th>Tuition</th>
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<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1BR</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
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<td>26</td>
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<tr>
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<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>6R</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S^b</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2−3S</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Letter from William Chomsky to Ephraim Lederer (undated).

^aR indicates Regular.

^bS indicates Sunday.

Initial Observations

At the end of his first six months, Mr. Chomsky made certain observations about the school in his report. He felt that it was necessary to establish a definite rule that no children be admitted to the school after registration was closed, except when transferred from another school.\(^{114}\) Average attendance in the school was 84

\(^{114}\) Twenty new pupils were admitted during the last three months of
percent, a percentage with which he was quite pleased, considering the fact that most of the pupils did not live in the vicinity of the school and, therefore, found it impossible to attend during inclement weather. About the teachers he commented that under the circumstances, he found them rather satisfactory, congenial, responsive, and cooperative. However, he made it clear that some of the teachers in the school were inadequately prepared for their work. He felt that as far as teaching technique and pedagogic training they ranked higher than the average Hebrew school teaching staff but in Jewish scholarship they were below this standard. He showed his deep concern by declaring

Now, if we really want to make of this School a model school, and I have unreserved faith that this can be done, the teaching problem will have to be dealt with seriously and carefully.\textsuperscript{115}

There was no way he could make the School of Observation and Practice into the school it was intended to be with the teaching staff he had inherited.

Mr. Chomsky found it necessary to preface his remarks on extra-curricular activities by noting that

\begin{quote}
...the progress of a school, educators have come to agree, is not measured by the amount of information inculcated into the minds of its pupils, but rather by the degree to which positive studies and tendencies are developed with them. Extra-curricular activities are, therefore an essential element of school work. "Learn through doing"\textsuperscript{116} is the principle underlying modern educational reforms.\textsuperscript{117}
\end{quote}

the school year 1923–1924. Others who were thought not qualified to join their respective classes were advised to wait till the next term.

\textsuperscript{115} Report of the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice of Gratz College, June 1924.

\textsuperscript{116} A philosophy espoused by John Dewey.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid.
He therefore instituted a series of weekly campaigns, Attendance Week, Charity Week, Synagogue Week, Club Week, Library Week, and Discipline Week. During Charity Week, the pupils contributed $217 for an orphan fund, and during Library Week thirty new volumes were added to the school library and a sum of twenty-five dollars was contributed by the pupils for new books. Five clubs were actively functioning as well as a student council consisting of representatives from all classes and clubs. The council coordinated and stimulated various activities.  

The modern Hebrew School should aim to provide not only instruction but also a proper environment, which is to counteract the non-Jewish influences to which the children are subjected to most of their time.

wrote Mr. Chomsky at the conclusion of his report in support of his plea for a playground or playroom where the children would come together before and after class hours and spend their leisure time.

Changes

The following year Mr. Chomsky submitted a detailed report of the more important changes that he had effected in the school as well as some of his plans for the school. Basic changes had been made in the curriculum based on the decisions of a sub-committee that had been appointed for that purpose. Details of the curricular changes are

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118 Ibid.  
119 Ibid.  
120 See appendix Q for a complete report of the Mikveh Israel School of Observation 1924-1925.  
121 Rev. Leon H. Elmaleh, Dr. Julius Greenstone and William Chomsky.
unknown, but they involved a definite distribution of subject matter and an allotment of time for each subject, the use of new textbooks based on modern pedagogic principles, the use of which would lead to a more vivid understanding of the Bible and prayer book, and the teaching of a book from the Bible in its entirety and not in the piecemeal fashion suggested by the books which were previously used in the school.\textsuperscript{122} The double shift had been introduced and the school building was being used all week as well as on Sunday with four classes meeting on Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday, and four classes meeting on Sunday, Monday, and Wednesday. On Sunday, the six lower grades were divided into two groups, each receiving an hour's instruction alternately in history and religion with the aid of stereoptican slides. Each teacher on the double shift was engaged for eight hours instead of five with a corresponding increase in salary. This arrangement, Mr. Chomsky felt, made provision for expansion of the school which could accommodate 150 more pupils and also offered a better opportunity for effective supervision, there being fewer classes to observe on a single day and fewer teachers to train.

He pointed out that, in spite of an increase in teachers' salaries from an average of $48.81 per month to $68.56 per month and the addition of $200 for clerical services, the double shift arrangement and the grouping of the lower grades on Sunday were responsible for a savings of about $600 in annual expenses for teachers.\textsuperscript{123}

\textsuperscript{122}Report of the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice of Gratz College, 1924-1925. Unfortunately, a thorough search did not reveal any additional information on changes and texts.

\textsuperscript{123}Ibid.
The superintendent then detailed changes of staff, dismissals, transfers to a different department, resignations, and hirings, and reported that one of the rooms in the school had been set aside and properly equipped for recreational purposes where the children assembled before and after class hours. Mr. Chomsky felt that this room engendered, "a spirit of sympathy, intimacy and cordial relationship among pupils, teachers and the School." 124

A special class had been organized for the benefit of pupils who were not well adjusted to their respective classes. They were either overage or behind in one or more subjects of the curriculum. An attempt was being made to give these children individual attention and to help them prepare to join an appropriate class. Attendance in the class was voluntary. Yet, about twenty-five pupils were enrolled, too many for a class of this nature. Mr. Chomsky felt it would be necessary to eliminate those who least needed the work. 125

A Plan for Supervision of Instruction

The remainder of the report was devoted to the course he wished to pursue, particularly in that current year. He set himself two objectives, greater teaching efficiency and better attendance. He saw supervision of instruction as an essential duty of a school principal, especially in the Hebrew schools, where teachers were very often deficient in the most elementary knowledge of the subject matter that they were teaching as well as method and technique. He proposed a plan of supervision to remedy the inefficiency and inadequacy of instruction in the

124 Ibid. 125 Ibid.
school which contained the following elements:\textsuperscript{126}

a. Classroom visits by the Superintendent with follow-up conferences with each teacher for the purpose of analyzing the lesson, its strengths and weaknesses.

b. Opportunities for teachers to visit parallel classes in the School and in other schools of good standing in the city.

c. Demonstration lessons taught once a month by the Superintendent or by a teacher proficient in a particular phase of work.

d. Teachers' Meetings devoted to discussion of special school and classroom problems.\textsuperscript{127}

In his concluding remarks he presented his version of what the school should be. He saw the school not as a detached educational unit, but as an essential part of the system of Jewish education in Philadelphia. He visualized the school as a sort of experimental station for Jewish education, where teachers would be trained in service and where efficient methods of instruction were devised and improved. He wanted the school not only to supplement Gratz College but also to complement it. He suggested that to accomplish this two things were needed:

a. Adequate and constructive supervision.

b. A staff of teachers who have at least a theoretical knowledge of the principles of teaching, and who are well-grounded in the subject matter which they are teaching.\textsuperscript{128}

His plan of supervision was calculated to meet the first need. The second would be met, he hoped, by improving, as far as possible, the teaching staff, by gradual changes in the staff and particularly by

\textsuperscript{126}See appendix R for complete proposal. Apparently he changed his evaluation of the teaching staff. See p. 277. He now felt that the teachers were inadequately trained in teaching technique as well.

\textsuperscript{127}Ibid. These are models still used today.

\textsuperscript{128}Ibid.
raising the scholastic standard of Gratz College. Reacting to Mr. Chomsky's report, Ephraim Lederer wrote a letter to Dr. Max Margolis, Chairman of the School Committee. He pointed out that there was a considerable deficit in the finances during the past year and with no additional funds in sight the board felt it would be unable to authorize an increase in the number of pupils in the school unless they were tuition-paying members. Only if the revenue from this source would meet the increased expense could the expansion be justified. He emphasized that the board desired the school committee to share with the superintendent at discussions concerning the employment and dismissal or particular teachers so that the matter would not be left entirely to the discretion of the superintendent. He concluded by saying

I wish to add for your private information that I believe Mr. Chomsky is trying to do his very best and that he is a young man of ability and is thoroughly interested in his work. He has set a high standard of qualification for the teachers of the school, but we are of course handicapped by the same financial considerations which have obtained in the past.

1925, A Year of Decision

The year 1925 was a year of decision for Mr. Chomsky. His approaching graduation from Dropsie College and his decision to get married caused him to stop and assess his situation. In a detailed memorandum to Dr.

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129 Ibid.

130 Tuition at this time was twenty dollars per pupil per year in the regular department. The increase had become effective for the school year 1920-1921.

131 Ephraim Lederer to Max Margolis, 9 June 1925.

132 William Chomsky was married to Elsie Simon in 1925.
Adler he sought to clarify his status at the school. He fully appreciated the educational possibilities of the Gratz College and the school but found that it would be economically impossible for him to remain without a substantial increase in his current salary. He was primarily interested in the school insofar as it promised to become a School of Observation and Practice "par excellence." In addition to a staff of teachers who were knowledgeable in the subject they taught and who had at least a theoretical knowledge of the principles of teaching, Mr. Chomsky wanted

... at least two teachers of professional caliber, whose work and attitude is to give the tone, as it were, to the School, and is to serve as an example worthy of being emulated by the younger and inexperienced teachers.133

He also wanted a more cooperative attitude on the part of the authority toward the school and the staff. He registered his disappointment at having had to abandon his plans to start negotiations with highly professional teachers, after being authorized to do so, because there were no funds available and rebuked the board for withholding the teachers' automatic annual increases for the year 1925. The issue was that the teachers anticipated the increases and were not informed in due time. "Such an attitude," he wrote, "on the part of the Board... is not calculated to foster the professional morale among the teachers and to stimulate, or even maintain, enthusiasm in the work."134

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133 William Chomsky to Cyrus Adler, 8 December 1925.

134 Ibid.
considered the warning not to attempt to increase enrollment if it meant 
incurred additional expenditure as well as the other restrictions mentioned 
above as "chafing limitations" which tended to dampen enthusiasm and 
to dim the prospects and hopes for future progress. He mentioned as a 
minor obstacle of an annoying nature the procrastination in attending 
to the physical needs of the school because of the board's pattern of 
appointing committees and waiting for them to act. He ended with the 
hope that Dr. Cyrus Adler would give his attention and consideration 
to what was contained in the letter. 135

In April, Mr. Chomsky pressed for an answer since he had to decide 
among several offers made to him of positions outside of Philadelphia. 136 
There is no evidence as to the nature of the agreement reached but, 
obviously, it was acceptable to the parties involved. The year 1926-1927 
found the new Ph.D., Dr. Chomsky, continuing in his post as superintendent 
of the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice of Gratz College.

A Report on the New Curriculum

About the new curriculum in the school which he had introduced in 
1924, 137 Dr. Chomsky wrote that he felt it had, on the whole, proven 
beneficial by vitalizing the work in the classroom through a more inter-
esting teaching procedure and by reducing, through the textbooks used, 
the temptation and opportunity for the teacher to get into ruts and

135 Ibid.
136 William Chomsky to Cyrus Adler, 7 April 1926.
137 See p. 279 for features of the new curriculum.
come to class unprepared. However, Dr. Chomsky admitted that there were problems. The teachers had difficulty, particularly at the beginning, adapting themselves to the working content and to the method implied by the new curriculum. The curriculum was only partly effective because of the inefficient preparation of both teachers and pupils. He felt it would take at least one year or more, depending on changes in the faculty, before it could be fully in effect.

Not only was the staff not prepared to teach the new curriculum, it was not prepared to teach. Dr. Chomsky poured out his frustration on this matter pointing out time and time again that

...our teachers are still generally deficient in the most elementary and essential prerequisites for the teaching, namely, knowledge of subject matter, let alone method and teaching technique, and no amount of supervision and guidance can make up for this deficiency.

The solution he proposed was to dismiss certain members of the faculty and engage one or more well equipped teachers for a salary of about one hundred dollars per month.

Opposition to the Curriculum

During the first year of the new curriculum, at least one voice was raised in opposition in the person of Solomon Solis Cohen who

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138 The textbooks previously used had vocabulary lists attached to them which made the road easy and smooth but served as an incentive for a more formal and mechanical teaching procedure. The new textbooks called for more initiative and preparation on the part of the teacher and for more vital methods.

139 Report of the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice of Gratz College, 1925-1926.

140 Ibid. 141 Ibid.
criticized the manner of teaching Hebrew. He suggested that the reading and translation taught should be from selected passages of the Bible and liturgy, instead "of the inane textbooks now used."\textsuperscript{142} He felt that a conference of the school committee, the proper authorities of Gratz College and the minister of Mikveh Israel should be held to discuss the subject.\textsuperscript{143}

In the second year, opposition to the curriculum grew. A report was submitted to the Adjunta that there was much dissatisfaction with the method of instruction in the school. Five or six families had withdrawn their children from the school\textsuperscript{144} and would probably withdraw from the synagogue as well.

The children are taught Hebrew grammar and not religion. A child's sentence and story book is used in teaching Hebrew and not the Bible nor the Prayer Book.\textsuperscript{145}

The superintendent was asked to report on the matter.

The members of the congregation felt threatened by the changes Dr. Chomsky had introduced. Up to that time Hebrew was taught with one objective in mind, to master the contents of the Siddur and the Bible. The purpose in maintaining a religious school, in the minds of the congregants, was to give the pupils the tools necessary for them to become active members of Mikveh Israel, Rev. Elmaleh expressed it clearly when he wrote,

\textsuperscript{142}Minute Book of the Adjunta Congregation Mikveh Israel, 8 February, 1926, p. 89.
\textsuperscript{143}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144}Total enrollment dropped from 280 in 1925-1926 to 225 in 1926-1927 with all but three coming from the regular department.
\textsuperscript{145}Minute Book of the Adjunta, Congregation Mikveh Israel, 27 October 1918, p. 268.
I dare not avoid the obligation of trying at least, through prayer and precept to reach the hearts and the minds of these young children, with the message of what our Synagogue means to them... 146

To that end the Siddur was used as a textbook and Hebrew was taught basically through translation of portions of the Siddur. Grading was articulated by what elements of grammar were to be mastered and on the subjective judgement of the complexity of the prayers to be translated. By the third year of the regular department, age ten to eleven, some selected portions from Pentateuch were introduced.

Dr. Chomsky, however, saw an additional dimension to Hebrew. It was the language of a growing and significant body of modern Hebrew literature. This, he believed, along with the classical literature, would be a worthy objective for the religious school. Reading was an open-ended objective. It was a skill that would allow for an ongoing experience. One could continuously dip into the storehouse of Hebrew literature for growth and pleasure. He, therefore, made the decision to use simple stories as the vehicle for learning Hebrew and to lessen the dependence on translation.

In his philosophy of Jewish education Dr. Chomsky was a maskil. 147 Hebrew was a living, vibrant language, a language through which contemporary thinkers, poets and novelists could give expression to their deepest thoughts and feelings. This literature, Dr. Chomsky felt, deserved

146 Minute Book of the Adjunta, Congregation Mikveh Israel, 27 October 1918, p. 268.

147 A Jewish intellectual who was a proponent of Haskalah, a movement in Eastern Europe, rooted in Hebrew language and thought, and having as its aim the "enlightenment" of masses of Russian Jewry. For a discussion on the neo-Hebraic renaissance see Simon Dubnow, History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, 2, trans., J. Friedlaender (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1918), pp. 224-233.
a place in the curriculum of the Hebrew school. In order to study it, a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language, its grammar, and structure was essential.

In general education, Dr. Chomsky was deeply influenced by John Dewey. Dr. Chomsky's insistence on an open-ended objective reflects Dewey's understanding that growth is not terminal. It leads to further growth. "Knowledge, in the sense of information," Dewey wrote, "means the working capital, the indispensable resources of further inquiry; of finding out, or learning more things."\textsuperscript{148}

The curriculum changes that were made in the School of Observation and Practice reflected both philosophies, the importance of Hebrew literature, and the need for continuous growth. His decision to use simple stories as the vehicle for learning Hebrew language initially, rather than the prayer book and the Bible, distressed the congregation greatly. They saw it both as a threat to their link with the school and to their expectations from the school. Their reaction was legitimate. They were following sound educational principles. They had determined their objectives. The congregants saw in these changes a subordination of the religious purpose of the school and their disappointment and fear caused them to speak up and oppose them.

A Defense of the New Curriculum

Dr. Chomsky, however, strongly defended his curriculum and his achievement. The drop in registration was mostly due, he suggested,\textsuperscript{148}

to the active membership campaigns conducted by the congregations in
the neighborhood, the late afternoon sessions in the freshman year of
the high schools which lasted until 5:00 P.M. and to the raising of
the scholastic standard of the school, which entailed transitional
readjustments and claimed more time and effort than some parents
were willing to have their children invest. 149

He pointed with pride to the establishment of the intermediate
department 150 which served a two-fold purpose; it provided a more
thorough grounding in Jewish studies for those graduates who were
either unable or unwilling to enter Gratz College and it equipped them
more adequately for their courses in the College, thereby helping to
raise the scholastic standard of the College. 151

He had effected a reorganization of the Sunday school department,
which he felt was sorely needed, with a view to making it ultimately
a congregation school, a plan the school committee had set forth.
The aim of this department was to impart to the children an under-
standing of Judaism and of Jewish history and to prepare them for active
participation in the synagogue service by an ability to read and translate
the prayer book. 152 Henceforth, no one would be admitted into the

149 Report of the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice
of Gratz College, 27 April 1927.

150 The intermediate department consisted of one class of twelve
pupils who did work parallel to that of the freshman class of Gratz College.

151 Report of the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice
of Gratz College, 9 October 1927.

152 Minute Book of the Adjunta Congregation Mikveh Israel, 26 May
1926, p. 99.
Sunday department whose parents were not members of the congregation.

He had organized a group of recent graduates and senior students of the Gratz College to serve as pupil-teachers. They were under Dr. Chomsky's careful supervision and guidance and were undergoing an intensive course of training for their work. He recognized their inexperience and immaturity but hoped that, in the course of time, they would develop into a devoted and well equipped teaching staff and would help solve the problem of the inadequately trained teachers the low salary scale at the school insured. 153

And, finally, he reported that of the class graduated in 1923 only one student continued his studies at Gratz College with some degree of success, in 1924 five students continued, in 1925 eight students, and of the class of 1926 fifteen students were successfully pursuing advanced studies in Hebrew. The opinion of the Gratz College faculty was that the recent graduates were more adequately equipped than those of previous years. 154 This, Dr. Chomsky believed, was the most definite criterion by which the efficiency of a school education could be judged—the extent to which it aroused the curiosity and interest in the students to continue after graduation. 155 The school committee agreed wholeheartedly. They were already on record that,

... judgement on what the School is doing will be best derived, not from a single lesson in a particular grade, but from the achievement of the graduating class as a summing up of all the years of instruction a pupil is undergoing in school. 156

154 Ibid. 155 Ibid.
156 Minute Book of the Adjunta Congregation Mikveh Israel, 26 May 1926, p. 99.
In his pioneering efforts, Dr. Chomsky had experienced some critical moments. The year 1925-1926, the first year of the new curriculum, was a difficult and trying year. Both the children and the teachers were unprepared for the change, and Dr. Chomsky wrote that the progress made that year was not sufficient to warrant the time and effort expended. But he felt that clearing the stones to make the land arable was back-breaking but necessary work which had to be done before one could proceed. Progress demanded it. The school, aiming to become a model and experimental school could not afford to remain as it was.\footnote{Report of the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice of Gratz College, 1926.}

The following year, 1926-1927, the school was ready for more productive educational work. The quality of instruction seemed improved and the new curriculum was underway. Whatever objections members of the congregation may have had were silenced, if not satisfied, and Dr. Chomsky would continue as superintendent well into the next decade, never ceasing in his efforts to turn the school into a model school which could truly function as a school of observation and practice.

Summary and Appraisal

The Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice of the Gratz College, at which Gratz College students did observation and practice, never totally became either a school of observation or a school of practice in the accepted understanding of those terms. It became, instead, a little of both. To have become a school of observation would have entailed the employment of a highly trained and qualified corps of teachers...
who would have served as models to the observers. From the beginning, the Board of Trustees understood that such a school would have entailed an expenditure far beyond their income and, therefore, they rejected that model outright. It was suggested instead to set up a school along the lines of the Experimental School of the Teachers College of Columbia University. Such a school called for classes to be taught by practicing student teachers under a team of supervisors. The school would be under the immediate supervision of the College professor of pedagogy. In actually setting up the School of Observation and Practice, the board opted to set up a school which would employ outside teachers. The students of the junior class would be observers in the school and those of the senior class would do practice teaching. The regular teacher in charge of the class would be the critic of the pupil-teacher's work and present a report on the pupil's efforts to the instructor of education. Presumably, this report would be the basis for some kind of input by the instructor of education into the professional growth of the student-teacher. Unfortunately, the plan was doomed from the start. A plan such as this is predicated on the assumption that the regular teacher is a professional, one who is knowledgeable in the subject matter and trained in methodology. Only such a person could act as a critic-teacher. Those who do not know cannot teach those who do not yet know. The persistent cries of Dr. Chomsky make it very clear that the teachers at the School of Observation and Practice, while personable and dedicated, lacked qualifications, knowledge, and 'know-how.' There is no reason to believe that the situation had been any different in previous years. It impels one to conclude that very little professional growth resulted from the observation and practice experience.
Had the school been set up so that the instructor of education was, at the same time, the superintendent of the school, some benefit might have accrued. The instructor-superintendent could have made first-hand observations which would then have provided the basis for supervisory conferences. However, as it turned out, when a position in the College was offered to the superintendent of the school, it was as instructor in Hebrew, so that even this small path was cut off. Dr. Chomsky did attempt to salvage some of the positive results which might have resulted had he been the instructor in education at the time. He prepared a questionnaire for the pupils who were to do the observing, alerting them to what to look for when they were student observers. In addition, he accepted the responsibility to take over Dr. Greenstone's classes to explain and discuss this instrument to the pupils in the education class so that, in fact, he became, temporarily, an instructor in education. 158

It would be too extreme a judgment to conclude that no benefit resulted from the observation and practice-teaching experiences which were provided by the College. Experience itself is recognized as a teacher and cannot be overlooked. However, all factors point to minimal rather than maximal results.

One positive outcome may have resulted from the exposure of Jewish pre-adolescents and younger adolescents to older adolescents who served as desirable role-models. In the book on Functions of the School in Modern Society, David Goslin wrote that the school, in addition to teaching skills, must be expected

158 Interview with William Chomsky, 18 June 1975.
... to persuade future citizens of the society of the necessity of behaving in accordance with these the society's principles and practices. Learning that results from more or less formal pedagogical procedures constitutes only a part of the preparation of the child for behaving in accordance with the roles of a participating member of the society. Perhaps the most important part of the socialization process involves the unconscious assimilation and internalization of beliefs, values and patterns of behaviour of significant others with whom the individual comes in contact. 159

The importance of the influences of qualified older teens on their younger peers is noted in Dr. Rela Monson's article, "Reaching the Jewish Adolescent Today: A Sociologists' Approach."160 In addition to the teacher, and perhaps even classmates, the Gratz College practice teachers may have served as role models for the students in the school, young men and women who were continuing their own Jewish learning and preparing to become transmitters of this heritage.

The school was essentially a partnership. It was simultaneously the Religious School of Mikveh Israel and the School of Observation of Practice of Gratz College. Each parent body had its own expectations, and the partnership was at best an uneasy one. "This partnership," Dr. Chomsky wrote, "caused conflicts and differences of opinion."161 It is not difficult to see why. The mere fact that in creating the partnership the congregation had to relinquish, in great measure, its control over the school would have been cause enough. Correspondence


161 Chomsky, "Gratz College on Its Seventieth Anniversary", p. 351.
detailed in this chapter\textsuperscript{162} indicates how the congregation, particularly the Rabbi, chafed under this situation. Conversely, the superintendent of the school was responsible to two institutions, multiplying the pressures on him. The fact that the entire question was raised of whether the religious school should continue to be conducted as the Gratz College School of Observation and Practice\textsuperscript{163} gives credence to the fact that each considered the arrangement less than optimum. Nevertheless, the decision was made to continue as before. The congregation had very specific objectives for running a religious school. They wanted the pupils to be so instructed that as adults they would opt to be earnest members of the synagogue. Their objectives, however, were too narrow for a man of Dr. Chomsky's vision. He saw a much broader application of the Hebrew language in America and set about to reorganize the curriculum to realize those goals.

In view of the vast difference in approach, one wonders why Dr. Chomsky did not have more trouble than he did. It seems certain that he did not succeed in converting the congregation to his point of view. In all likelihood, they simply gave up the struggle, perhaps because they themselves did not reflect the high ideal they espoused, that of going to synagogue regularly. Besides, they must have known that it would have been almost impossible to find anyone to replace Dr. Chomsky, whose professional expertise and personality had breathed life into the school. In spite of these tensions, Dr. Chomsky's views prevailed.

\textsuperscript{162}See pp. 268-270.

\textsuperscript{163}Minute Book of the Adjunta, Congregation Mikveh Israel, 27 October 1918, p. 268.
His vision, however, of the School of Observation and Practice as an integral and essential part of a complete system of Jewish education was destined to go unfulfilled for many years. The partnership between the school and Mikveh Israel would last until 1947.

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164 Dr. Chomsky may have been partly influenced by Ben Rosen, the director of the Associated Talmud Torahs, with whom he had a close relationship. Mr. Rosen envisioned such a role for Gratz College and its school.
CHAPTER X

THE ALUMNI

The Years 1904-1928

By 1904 the graduates of Gratz College had organized a society for the alumni, "for the purpose of advancing the interest of Gratz College and bringing its graduates in touch with the various religious schools of the city of Philadelphia." Its president was Miss Judith Goepp, a member of the first graduating class. The society, in turn, organized a study circle "to continue the study of Jewish history and literature." An example of a discussion topic is the "History of Jewish Bible Exegesis," which was studied during the year 1907-1908. The group met once a month from October through May. The format was always the same, a paper was delivered by a member of the faculty or the society and then a discussion was led by two designated individuals, again either members of the faculty or the society.

The alumni were not only concerned with their own continuing intellectual growth but with furthering such growth among the current student body. The association decided in December 1907, to offer a ten dollar prize to the College pupil who wrote the best essay on, "The Hasmonean Revolt, its Causes and Effects." This offer was accepted by

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1 Gratz Register 1909-1910, p. 9.
2 Ibid. 3 Ibid.
At the same time that the offer was accepted, the president of the board was authorized to offer a prize of twenty-five dollars to be competed for by members of the alumni association, the subject of the prizes being left to the president of the board and the faculty of the College.

At its third annual meeting held in March 1908, Miss Judith Goep, President, said in speaking of the association:

I may record with gratitude the healthy growth of our association, which now numbers twenty-seven members...

If our study circle can help us to understand the great interpreters of Judaism and to cultivate a love for Hebrew and Jewish literature, whose roots reach back to the remote antiquity of our people, then we shall foster a noble pride in the high moral standard of our ancient traditions which can but make us better Americans and citizens of the world.

The pride was justifiable. Twenty-three of the twenty-eight graduates had joined the association and four additional members who apparently had attended the College for a period of time joined as well. The association was destined to become more involved in college affairs.

Over the next twenty years, the alumni association grew to 301 members. How many of these alumni were active in the association?

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4 Jacob Markman, Secretary of the Alumni Association, to Ephraim Lederer, 7 March 1908.

5 MGT, 26 February 1908.

6 The Society was now called "The Alumni Association of Gratz College."

7 One member, Abraham Shallom, class of 1907, had died in January 1908. See Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 17 January 1908.

8 Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 20 March 1908.

9 Gratz College Registers, 1909-1910, 1928-1929. This number includes members who were graduated from the regular course and the teachers course as well as five people who took a partial program.
is difficult to assess but there is ample evidence that the association itself was a functioning one. The *Jewish Exponent* in 1914, reporting on a joint planning meeting of the executive committee and the college committee of the alumni association, listed three activities which had been projected:

1. A musicale and informal dance for the Hanukkah meeting.
2. A series of addresses by Alumni to the members of the Literary Society.
3. A mailing to be sent to all members of the Association inviting them to avail themselves of the fourth year which had been added to the Gratz College course.10

The number of alumni teaching during this period also grew, as shown in table 18. In 1909, the overwhelming majority of them were

### TABLE 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage Teaching</th>
<th>Total Number of Alumni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


10 *Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 13 November 1914, p. 3.*
teaching in one-day-a-week-, two-hour- schools, a fact which reveals what was the most popular form of Jewish education at the time.  

By 1922 the majority of alumni were teaching in congregational schools.  

By this time the Jewish population was spilling out of neighborhoods of initial settlement into other neighborhoods in sufficient quantities to form new congregations. Some of the congregations organized schools, thereby opening opportunities for the Gratz College graduate who desired to teach. The communal schools were also multiplying. The very small numbers of alumni teaching in them, however, confirms the fact that only a very few graduates were qualified to teach a more intensive program. 

Several other statistics are worth noting. Thirty-four of the alumni who were teaching in 1922 were still teaching in 1928. This means that while we see a steady drop over the twenty-year period in the percentage of alumni who were teaching we also see a small percentage (12 percent) about whom it might be said that teaching in a Jewish religious school was part of their career. Another interesting point is that of the thirty-one alumni whose occupation is listed in the register as some form of secular teaching, mainly in public schools, twenty-two were also teaching in religious schools. One can only speculate whether

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11 Gratz College Register 1909-1910, pp. 23-25. Thirteen were teaching in the Hebrew Sunday School Society system, two were at Mikveh Israel, two at the Hebrew Education Society School and one each at a private school and the Jewish Foster Home. The latter also taught in a Hebrew Sunday School.

12 Gratz College Register 1922-1923, pp. 26-35. Thirty-two taught in congregational schools, three in private schools and the rest in other types of Jewish schools.

13 See table 18.

14 Gratz College Register 1928-1929, pp. 25-35. Information is available for 210 out of 301 alumni.
these teachers would have opted for a full-time career in Jewish education had conditions of employment, particularly salary, been the same as in the public school system.

For those active in it, the alumni association filled a great need. During this period, pupils who had gone to Gratz College were often unique, isolated individuals. They were few in number, with no peer support group in their neighborhood to provide the social and intellectual stimulation they valued. At Gratz College they found other boys and girls who were, like them, interested in getting a Jewish education. As alumni these men and women from all over the city still wanted to associate with people who shared their interests. Needing a place to get together and desiring to keep their contact with Gratz, they gathered there to discuss matters of cultural interest and to have personal contact with each other. The alumni association had several very serious aspects to it, not the least of which was that it afforded an opportunity for young people to meet each other. As one alumnus said, "It was a mating ground."\(^{15}\)

The alumni association was not a fund raising group for the College. That would come later. Aside from their cultural interests, the basic motivation of the alumni was to get Gratz College "on the map," to tell others about the school, to advertise the good experiences they had had in order to motivate others to attend.

\(^{15}\) Interview with Mr. Abram Piwosky, 9 November 1977. Mr. Frank J. Rubenstein, class of 1911, met Mary Weinberg (class of 1916) at Gratz College. They were married 4 August 1918. This is only one example of a number of such occurrences.
At the very end of this period the association was given even greater vitality by the interest and careful attention given to it by Dr. William Chomsky. It would become very active in the thirties.

A National Survey of Gratz College Alumni

A questionnaire sent in the spring of 1976 to all Gratz College alumni whose whereabouts were known brought responses from twenty who were graduated between the years 1913 and 1928.

Their responses reveal the following:

1. The majority of students were motivated to enter Gratz College primarily to further their personal Jewish education and secondarily to become equipped to teach in a Jewish school.

2. Eighty percent taught Judaica for some time after graduation.

3. Those responding asserted that their preparation in the areas of methodology, Hebrew language, subject matter mastery and classroom management was adequate to excellent for the teaching responsibilities they assumed.

4. All respondents, but one, had received a secular education beyond high school.

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16 Interview with Mrs. Rose Kotzen Landy, class of 1927, 9 November 1977.

17 See appendix S for a copy of the Gratz College-Self Study Questionnaire for Alumni of the College Department. The questionnaire did not require a name therefore it is impossible to identify the responding alumni.

18 Sixteen indicated this as primary.

19 Twelve taught in a Sunday school; eight (including five who taught in a Sunday school also) taught in an afternoon Hebrew school and one in a university. The latter, the only alumnus to identify himself, was Dr. Cyrus Gordon.

20 Three to five alumni indicated that their preparation was fair to poor in each of the areas mentioned.

21 Only eighteen alumni answered this question.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Normal School</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Arts</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Science</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Law</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master of Science</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor of Education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor of Jurisprudence</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor of Medicine</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor of Philosophy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. All of the respondents were involved in the Jewish community in at least one of the following ways:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Involvement</th>
<th>Percentage Involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Member of a synagogue</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of a Zionist organization</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of other Jewish organizations</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributor to FAJA-IEF</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officer, board or committee member of any of the above</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Seventy-five percent considered themselves to be Conservative Jews.  

7. Eighty percent had visited Israel at least once.

8. The alumni ranked objectives of Gratz College for the community in the following order:
   - Preparation for teaching in Jewish schools
   - Preparation of an informed Jewish laity
   - Services to Jewish schools in the community
   - Training of future rabbis and Jewish leaders

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22 Two were Reform; one was Orthodox; two were unaffiliated. It is more probable that the alumni answers to this question were based on their current affiliation.

23 This objective was ranked far below the other three.
9. They reported the greatest values of their education at Gratz College were in the following areas: education, the Jewish community, and social.\textsuperscript{24}

Item nine warrants some elaboration for it is from the perceived value of one's education that one assesses its worth. Individuals expressed the greatest value derived from their Gratz College education in the following terms:

1. Education
   a. Good Jewish background and attachment to Jewish studies
   b. Appreciation of Jewish history, literature, and language
   c. A modern (for that time) secular education in Judaica
   d. Became one of the "Educated Jewish Laity"

2. Jewish Community
   a. Used it in my activities in the community
   b. Developed an interest in Jewish affairs
   c. Became a better member of the Jewish community

3. Personal-Social
   a. Friendships that are lasting
   b. Jewish fellowship
   c. Met my wife

The respondents' perceptions of how important their education at Gratz College was in motivating them to become involved in Jewish affairs as interested lay persons is reinforced by item five. Here we see that three-quarters of them replied in the affirmative to membership in a synagogue and a Zionist organization. Of these, two-thirds

\textsuperscript{24} Nine mentioned education; four indicated community interest; three specified a personal and social value and one singled out teaching skills.
were either officers, board member or active committee members, indicating that here we have more than lip service, here we have a committed Jewish laity, giving time and effort to the Jewish community.

Summary

The national survey of Gratz College alumni has provided us with insight into the motivation of students during the last fifteen years of the period of this study, their evaluation of the Gratz experience and some measures of the fulfillment of the goals of the institution. All of these former Gratz College students not only felt personally enriched by their experience but contributed the skills and subjects learned at Gratz to the community as professional Jewish educators and as involved lay leaders.
CHAPTER XI

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The Board of Trustees of Gratz College, duly constituted by amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws of Congregation Mikveh Israel on 6 February 1895, became, on the establishment of the College, its governing body, charged with the responsibility to manage the assets (funds and property) of the College as well as its internal affairs. The nine men chosen at that time were divided into three groups to serve two, four, and six years respectively, with the two-year term expiring in February 1897.¹ At the annual meeting of the congregation in 1896 this was changed by resolution. It was decided that

... the terms of office of the Trustees of the Gratz College next to expire, shall expire at the time of the Annual meeting of the Congregation and that the terms of the Trustees, already elected, expire in the years 1898 and 1900 and that all subsequent elections for Trustees shall be held in even numbered years.²

So it was that at the annual meeting Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Dr. Cyrus Adler, and Mr. Charles J. Cohen were elected as trustees, their term expiring in 1902.

Elected as president in 1895 was Moses A. Dropsie, as secretary, David Sulzberger, and as treasurer, Charles J. Cohen. Over the next ten years two men would serve as president, five as secretary, and three as treasurer.³

¹MGT, 17 February 1895.
²MGT, 26 November 1896.
³See table 19.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>President</th>
<th>Secretary</th>
<th>Treasurer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February, 1896</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td>David Sulzberger</td>
<td>Charles J. Cohen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 1896</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td>David Sulzberger</td>
<td>Charles J. Cohen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November, 1896-1897</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td>Gratz Mordecai</td>
<td>Charles J. Cohen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-1898</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td>David Sulzberger</td>
<td>Charles J. Cohen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-1899</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td>(not available)</td>
<td>Charles J. Cohen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td>Samuel Hyneman</td>
<td>Charles J. Cohen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March, 1900</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td></td>
<td>A. M. Frechie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November, 1900-1901</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td>David Werner Amram</td>
<td>A. M. Frechie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1902</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td>David Werner Amram</td>
<td>A. M. Frechie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-1903</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td>David Werner Amram</td>
<td>A. M. Frechie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-1904</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td>David Werner Amram</td>
<td>A. M. Frechie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904-1905</td>
<td>Moses A. Dropsie</td>
<td>David Werner Amram</td>
<td>A. M. Frechie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July, 1905</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer (pro tem)</td>
<td></td>
<td>A. M. Frechie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November, 1905-1906</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>David Werner Amram</td>
<td>A. M. Frechie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September, 1906-1907</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>A. M. Frechie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October, 1906-1907</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Samuel Hyneman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907-1908</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Samuel Hyneman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Minutes of the Gratz Trust, 1896-1908.
The Board of Trustees, anxious to have a portrait of Hyman Gratz hanging in the College, commissioned a young artist, Mayer Dantzig, to copy the portrait painted by Healy which was in the possession of the Pennsylvania Company. They also made arrangements to have the first publication of Gratz College compiled under the editorship of Judge Mayer Sulzberger. Contained in the publication would be a copy of the portrait of Hyman Gratz, a memoir of Hyman Gratz, the president's report of the establishment of the College and the lectures delivered by Solomon Schechter in 1895 and by a series of lecturers in the year 1895-1896. The printing was completed in 1897 and five hundred copies of Publications of the Gratz College were bound in cloth at the cost of ten and one-fourth cents per volume. In the front of each volume was an enclosed card reading:

"The Gratz College of Philadelphia takes much pleasure in sending you its first publication. If you desire to receive these publications in the future, kindly indicate the fact by informing the undersigned.

"The Gratz College will be glad to receive in return any publications relating to Jewish or Oriental subjects which you issue or the distribution of which you control.

"D. Sulzberger
"Custodian Gratz College Library
"336 N. 3rd St.
"Philadelphia, Pa.,
"U.S.A."8

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4 MGT, 26 November 1896. They appropriated one hundred dollars for the copy and thirty-five dollars for the frame. This portrait hangs in Gratz College today.

5 MGT, 11 June 1896. 6 See p. 79.

7 MGT, 27 May 1897.

8 Publications of the Gratz College, 1897.
The inclusion of the letters "U.S.A." indicates that a number of copies were sent abroad. There is no need to speculate on how many responses there were requesting subsequent publications. All interested parties were destined to be disappointed for no subsequent publications were produced.

The Years 1898-1908

During the years 1898-1908 three members of the board died, Horace A. Nathans (1903), Moses A. Dropsie (1905), and Abraham Meyer Frechie (1906). The board members wrote a special minute into the record upon the death of each of these men expressing their gratitude for the devoted service each man had rendered. About Moses Dropsie they noted among other attributes, his love for Philadelphia, and its people, his ardent enthusiasm for Jewish education, and his involvement with it through the councils of the Hebrew Education Society and the Board of Trustees of Gratz College. They wrote

President of the Gratz College since its foundations, the infirmities of advancing age and the special misfortune of loss of vision did not cool the earnestness or abate the energy with which he managed its concerns. . . . A citizen of distinction, a far seeing advocate of educational provisions, he closed his long life of honor and usefulness by devoting his fortune to the creation of an institution broadly liberal in its activities which should benefit at once Judaism and mankind.

9 MGT, 28 June 1903; 20 July 1905; 25 October 1906.

10 Moses Dropsie instructed the executors of his will to use his estate to establish a graduate school which would be devoted to Hebrew and cognate learning. It is known today as Dropsie University.

11 MGT, 20 July 1905.
Upon completion of the above minute, the board elected Ephraim Lederer president pro tem.\textsuperscript{12}

Just at this time the Gratz Board decided to organize itself into permanent committees. Heretofore, it had appointed committees to deal with particular matters as they came up. Now they created four standing committees: college, library, finance, and classrooms. Two members of the board were elected to each committee, one to serve as chairman.

Committee on College, Mayer Sulzberger, chairman
Cyrus Adler

Committee on Library, Solomon Solis Cohen, chairman
Samuel Hyneman

Committee on Finance, A. M. Frechie, chairman
D. W. Amram

Committee on Classrooms, William Morris, chairman
Charles J. Cohen\textsuperscript{13}

Temporary committees would still be formed to take care of particular matters as they arose.

Before the first operating decade ended the board was involved in a decision which would enlarge the scope of the College. Ephraim Lederer, President and Charles J. Cohen were appointed as a committee to confer with the Board of Governors of Dropsie College, a graduate school for Hebrew and cognate learning to arrange a plan of cooperation between the two institutions.\textsuperscript{14} These men effected a workable arrangement of cooperation which became operative in subsequent years.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{13}MGT, 27 September 1905. The members of the standing committees would change somewhat according to the make up of the board during any given year.

\textsuperscript{14}MGT, 25 November 1906. See note 10.

\textsuperscript{15}See pp. 208-211.
Involvement in Internal Administration

There are indications that the board occasionally took a direct hand in the internal administration of the College. In 1899 the board moved that the matter of records of the classes of the Gratz College be referred to the Committee on Education so that "they may draw up such rules and regulations that would render the government and instruction in the Gratz College better than it is at present."\(^{16}\) The following year a motion was carried that a record be kept of attendance of the faculty and the hours of their attendance.\(^{17}\) In 1904, Henry M. Speaker, the principal, was requested to report on the hours each student was obliged to attend the College and how many hours of home study various courses required,\(^{18}\) and in 1906 he was requested to submit a list of textbooks, used in all departments of the College, with a memorandum of the dates when such books were introduced and by what authority.\(^{19}\) It seems apparent that, since the board, as far back as 1899, had arranged to have one of its members visit the College for each month that it was in session,\(^{20}\) many of the situations prompting the above actions were seen first-hand. The evidence seems to point to a disappointment in the way the College was being administered and an attempt by the board to introduce more stringent administrative procedures.

\(^{16}\) MGT, 31 August 1899.

\(^{17}\) MGT, 29 November 1900. One must speculate on why this record keeping was necessary. Was it merely a routine administrative procedure that was being introduced, or did some incident and incidents make it necessary?

\(^{18}\) MGT, 30 November 1904. \(^{19}\) MGT, 28 February 1906.

\(^{20}\) MGT, 23 February 1906.
The Years 1908-1928

From 1908 to 1923 there was virtually little change in the Board of Trustees. Ephraim Lederer was president, William Morris, who had been secretary, became treasurer in 1914 with the death of Samuel Hyneman, and Abraham S. W. Rosenbach, the assistant secretary, became the secretary at that time. The position of assistant secretary was eliminated.21

In 1923, a reorganization of the Board of Trustees took place. Amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws of Congregation Mikveh Israel which had been proposed as early as 1917 finally passed.22 A requirement of a quorum of one-half of the entire congregational membership had made the adoption of the proposals extremely difficult. The new board would have twelve members instead of nine, four of whom would be re-elected every two years. In addition to the president, treasurer, and secretary, a vice-president would be elected who would preside at all meetings in the absence of the president. In the event both were absent a chairman would be chosen by those board members present.23

No reasons are given for this reorganization. It is just possible that the existing board was growing tired of carrying the entire responsibility of the College, a burden most of them had shouldered for many years. They were growing older and, perhaps, were looking for a new source of energy to carry on the work, a source of energy which could be supplied by the addition of three men to the board.

Charles J. Cohen, who had held the position of treasurer from 1896-1900 was elected to fill the post of vice-president. The following year


22 Notice of Annual Meeting of the Congregation Mikveh Israel, 15 October 1917.

23 Ibid.
### TABLE 20

**OFFICERS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, 1908-1928**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>President</th>
<th>Vice-President</th>
<th>Treasurer</th>
<th>Secretary</th>
<th>Assistant Secretary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Samuel Hyneman</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Samuel Hyneman</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Samuel Hyneman</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Samuel Hyneman</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Samuel Hyneman</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Samuel Hyneman</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Ephraim Lederer</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>William Morris</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Howard Levy</td>
<td>Isaac Husik</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Howard Levy</td>
<td>Isaac Husik</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Abraham Rosenbach</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Howard Levy</td>
<td>Isaac Husik</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 SOURCE: Gratz College Registers, 1908-1928.

 a Office not in existence.

 b Discontinued office.
Abraham S. W. Rosenbach, the secretary of the board, succeeded him to the post. Isaac Husik became the new secretary and on the death of William Morris, Howard Levy became treasurer. In 1925, on the death of Ephraim Lederer who had served as the second president of the board for twenty years, Abraham S. W. Rosenbach became president and Jules Mastbaum was elected to the vice presidency.

Throughout most of these two decades there were few changes in the leadership positions on the board. Following the reorganization, of the College in 1928, only Abraham S. W. Rosenbach from the previous officers continued to hold office. Among the board members, however, there were three in 1928 who had been on the board in 1908 and one of them, Cyrus Adler, had served since its inception.

One unique occurrence is worth mentioning. In 1924 the board, in response to the deficit of that year, called upon themselves to subscribe amounts of money to the College. Eight members of the board pledged $1,050 in amounts varying from 50 to 250 dollars. There is no record of such an event occurring before this time. In 1910, Jules Mastbaum had agreed to underwrite a sum of seven hundred dollars for the School of Observation and Practice. This appears, however, to have been an individual act by a member of the board who was a philanthropist. In

24 Cyrus Adler, Samuel D. Lit, A. S. W. Rosenbach.

25 Isaac Husik to Ephraim Lederer, 22 October 1924.

26 There is some evidence to indicate that Mr. Mastbaum raised a part of that sum from among congregants of Mikveh Israel. See Gratz Annual Report to Mikveh Israel, 1911.
all likelihood the board, foreseeing no increased funding from Federation, adopted this means of meeting the financial problems of the school. If nothing else, it showed concern and commitment.

Profiles of Some Prominent Members of the Board

The board was truly a group of extraordinary men. On first glance one would be tempted to conclude that it was remarkable that one synagogue would number among its members so many men who not only were leaders in the local community but were concerned with the fate and future of Jewish life throughout the country. However, when one considers the place of that Sephardi synagogue in the hierarchy of Philadelphia Jewish society, it is not at all surprising that the most successful men of the community, who had roots in America prior to the East European immigration and who had both the desire and the capability to lead would attach themselves to what was considered, by many, to be the most prestigious synagogue in the city.

Moses A. Dropsie, the first president of the board, was the son of a Dutch-Jewish immigrant father and a Christian mother. He embraced Judaism at the age of fourteen and ultimately became a proponent of traditional Judaism in America. He was a scholar in legal history and was active in the development of a transportation system for Philadelphia. He was an admirer and disciple of Isaac Leeser and gave his time and effort to the Jewish community as a leader and as an officer of many Jewish communal activities.

127 Deficit that year was $2,657.36. However, the congregation had not paid the College the sum of $2,500 for its share of the expenses of the School of Observation and Practice. The actual deficit, therefore, was only $157.36. It must be remembered that the Federation was giving the College an annual appropriation of $5,000.
He did not, however, leave his money to Gratz College. Perhaps, if he had done so, the entire development of the College would have taken a different course. Instead, he used his money to establish a bequest for a totally new institution for higher learning. Dropsie believed that there was a need in this country for an independent, non-theological academic institution dedicated to graduate instruction and research in Jewish studies and related branches of learning. His will directed that in the admission of students there should be no distinction on account of creed, color or sex, a reflection of his devotion to American ideals. This he could not accomplish at Gratz College since, by direction of the deed of trust which established it, only Jews could attend. In addition, Dropsie had experienced a great deal of frustration in his serious attempts to draw pupils to the College. One can only speculate on what conclusions he must have drawn about the future of the College. During his tenure on the board, the College experienced almost no growth, and he had nothing on which to base an optimistic prediction.

Mayer Sulzberger, who was made a judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1895 turned down an opportunity offered to him by President Taft to be U. S. Ambassador to Turkey. He refused to run for reelection to the bench in 1915 so that he might devote himself to his Hebrew studies.

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28 Dropsie harbored a grudge against New York leaders who failed to give their full support to Maimonides College. He, therefore, refused to lend a hand when the Jewish Theological Seminary was established. He was, also, deeply angered by what he considered the extremism of Reform Judaism. See Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972, ed., s.v. Dropsie, Moses Aaron.

In 1906 he helped organize and was first president of the American Jewish Committee and was founder and first president of the Young Men's Hebrew Association of Philadelphia. It is almost impossible to list all of his involvements and activities, which would include The Jewish Publication Society of America, The American Jewish Historical Society, Dropsie College, Jewish Theological Seminary, Jefferson Medical College, and others.

Cyrus Adler, nephew of David Sulzberger and cousin of Mayer Sulzberger, both of whom did much to shape his religious traditionalism and devotion to scholarship, was one of the founders of the Jewish Publication Society of America and the Jewish Historical Society. He served the Jewish Publication Society as chairman of its various committees throughout his life and he was president of the Jewish Historical Society for more than twenty years. He became president of Dropsie College in 1908 and eventually served Dropsie and the Jewish Theological Seminary at the same time. He was a founder of the American Jewish Committee and The United Synagogue of America, serving as its president. This is only a partial list of Dr. Adler's activities because of the extraordinarily large number of institutions and causes to which he devoted his efforts. He was a tireless worker. The minutes of the Gratz Trust reveal that he was completely involved in the smallest detail of the College. It is easy to assume that this was his full-time concern. How he managed to give so much of himself everywhere is incomprehensible.

Abraham S. W. Rosenbach, the last president of the board during this period, rose to national prominence in the rare-book field. He was a person with deep Jewish interests. He compiled a pioneer bibliographical study, *An American Jewish Bibliography* (1926). He was for many years
the president of the American Jewish Historical Society as well as the founder and first president of American Friends of the Hebrew University.

The above were four of the most prominent men on the board. The others, however, were all men who were successful in their respective professions and businesses—all active in Mikveh Israel, all seriously involved in the operation of the College and dedicated to it. Each member saw in these efforts a way of working for the welfare of the Philadelphia Jewish community. Unfortunately, these men failed to realize that Jewish education could not make a significant contribution to the primary preoccupation of the community, that of economic and cultural adjustment. Their efforts were destined to be largely ignored.

Summary and Appraisal

The Board of Trustees, the men who made policy, by definition, had an important impact on the development of the College. During all of this time the College and the Congregation Mikveh Israel were bound together. Gratz College was an institution whose function was to serve a community, but it was not a community institution. Its Board of Trustees was selected from among the congregants with only one stipulation: that its officers were not to hold corresponding offices in the congregation and Board of Managers. The synagogue was Sephardi. Its members, however, were mostly German Jews who enjoyed economic success, either through their own efforts or that of their families, and who gained status by belonging to a Sephardi synagogue. Many saw themselves as leaders in the community

30 Constitution of the Congregation Mikveh Israel, Article II, Section 3.
and invested much of their time and energy in that role. The Board of Trustees for a long time viewed Gratz College as its own possession. Dr. Chomsky wrote, "The greatest obstacle to the development and advancement of the College in its early years was the atmosphere of excessive family pride that permeated the College." In financial matters, as far as the College was concerned, the congregation took a very grudging attitude. Its philosophy, which was echoed by the Board of Trustees, was that if there was insufficient income from the trust then it was up to the College to operate within narrow financial boundaries. "Far be it for us," they said, "to stretch out our hand to charitable institutions." With the establishment of the School of Observation and Practice, the income became insufficient to run both the School and the College. This prompted the Board of Trustees to keep salaries unchanged for many years and to otherwise maintain the existing program at the College. The Board of Trustees did not have its hand on the pulse of the Philadelphia Jewish community and its educational needs, a community by now made up mainly of East European Jews and their children. If it was aware of the needs of the community, it had neither the imagination nor the funds to create new programs or to expand the existing program at the College. Instead, it strove to maintain the status quo with the result that growth was minimal.

32 Ibid.
By 1928 the College and the Philadelphia community had grown away from Mikveh Israel. In a sense, the synagogue regarded the College as a white elephant. This was, in part, the motivation behind the acceptance on the part of the synagogue of the reorganization of the College. The synagogue kept the School of Observation and Practice, which it considered its religious school.

In the final analysis, what existed was a Hebrew teacher-training school in search of pupils and a Jewish community in search of teachers, with the lines of communication and the means of funding so poorly developed that they passed by each other almost without touching.
The Years 1895-1908

Under the plan of the organization of Gratz College the Board of Trustees was charged with the management of the trust fund. They were to receive the income from it and invest and reinvest the fund in legal securities in the name of the "Hyman Gratz Trust."\(^1\) The name in which investment transactions were to be made was later changed to the "Board of Trustees of Gratz College."\(^2\) The treasurer of the board was responsible for opening a regular set of books, making necessary entries and keeping a true and correct account of all funds, receipts, and disbursements. He was to have custody of all monies belonging to the Board of Trustees which would be kept in a distinct and separate account. In addition, he was required to submit at every regular meeting an exact statement of receipts and expenditures during the intervening period, and at the annual meeting of the board present an annual report of his account, current of receipts and payments made during the preceding year, which had been audited by a committee of the board.\(^3\) This report would be made in August, following the close of the fiscal year on 15 August.\(^4\)

\(^1\)MGT, 7 May 1894.

\(^2\)MGT, 17 February 1895. In August of that year it was found to be a very undesirable practice to use the name of the board. Instead, "Moses A. Dropsie, President of the Board of Trustees and his successor in office" was designated as the legal name in which the title was taken. See MGT, 9 August 1895.

\(^3\)MGT, 24 February 1895. \(^4\)Ibid.
The treasurer was to be bonded in the sum of ten thousand dollars and all checks drawn by him required the countersignature of the president of the board.5

On 31 March 1895, the Committee of Finance,6 composed of Moses A. Dropsie, Esq., President, Charles J. Cohen, Treasurer, and David Sulzberger, Secretary, met and made a basic decision. They recommended that the 156 shares of the Pennsylvania Company, the Pittsburgh Water Loan, and the mortgage of Mrs. Kim [Kind], a sum of over $100,000, be converted as soon as they could advantageously be reinvested in Philadelphia first-mortgages at not less than 5 percent. This was approved by the board at its next scheduled meeting.7

In his first report to the Board of Trustees, spanning the period of 20 March 1895 to 6 May 1895, the treasurer reported $8,736.91 in income received. Expenditures during that period had totalled $804.65. The balance of $7,932.26 was deposited in a cash account at the Real Estate Title Insurance and Trust Co. The main expenses incurred at this time were $500 to pay for the Solomon Schecter lectures, $150 for the rental of the Academy of Fine Arts for these six lectures, $51.25 for printing the syllabus, and $8.00 for stamps and envelopes in connection with the lectures.8 The cash account actually amounted to $16,084.48, with the successful calling in of the $8,000 Kim [Kind] mortgage and with

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5 MGT, 7 May 1895.

6 There was a change in the rule in reference to the Committee of Finance in 1896. The president alone was to constitute the finance committee with full power to sell, make, or change investments, either by direction of the board or when in his own judgment he deemed it advisable. MGT, 11 June, 1896.

7 Ibid. 8 Ibid.
interest of $152.22. The finance committee was then authorized to invest up to $12,000 of the above sum and also, at its discretion, to sell the shares of the Pennsylvania Company at a price not less than $480 per share.  

In presenting his report for the fiscal year ending 15 August 1895, the treasurer stated that, pursuant to the authority given to the finance committee by the board, ten shares of stock of the Pennsylvania Company had been sold and the proceeds invested in mortgages on real estate.  He suggested that one-half the total number of shares should be disposed of before the end of the year and authority given to reinvest the funds in the projected loans of the city of Philadelphia if suitable mortgages were not obtainable. The sale of seventy shares of this stock would yield nearly $34,000. The point he emphasized was that an institution such as had been proposed by the Hyman Gratz Trust committee should have an income of an absolute character to depend upon, even if its value were less than could be derived from stock dividends, which he felt did not have the desired permanent nature. Mr. Cohen pointed out that great care had been exercised by the finance committee in the placing of the mortgage loans with absolute security preferred to a high rate of interest, yet without materially lessening the income. His commitment to obtaining mortgages was such that he recommended using the $5,000 City of Philadelphia bonds, which were to mature on 1 January 1896, for this purpose

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9 Ibid.

10 The term of the report extended over the period from 20 March 1895, the date on which the funds came into possession of the treasurer.

11 The sum of $4,850 was received from the sale of the ten shares.
and reinvesting the funds in new city loans only if the mortgages were unobtainable. 12

At the annual meeting in 1896, the treasurer's report, which had been audited by Messrs. Frechie and Mordecai and found correct, revealed that the income for the year was $6,300.31 and that the expenses amounted to $1,530.19. This left a cash balance of $4,770.12 which added to the cash on hand brought the cash balances of 19 August 1896 to $10,360.85. 13 It must be remembered that at this time the College was not yet open.

The decision to convert most of the investments to low-risk first mortgages, whenever possible, was strictly adhered to, and gradually more and more such mortgages were acquired. 14 Most of the stock of the Pennsylvania Company was not sold. By August 1899 the 156 shares had only been reduced to 120 shares. Analysis of the market value of the investments on 24 August of that year shows a total value of $161,680.15, an increase of $25,450.07 from 1895. The total consisted of cash on account and the following investments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash, Principal Account</td>
<td>$8,777.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash, Income Account</td>
<td>$4,606.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 Shares of the Penna. Co.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling value $500.00</td>
<td>$60,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$300 City Phila. 3's due Dec. 31, 1902</td>
<td>300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,850 Commonwealth of Penna. 4's due February, 1912</td>
<td>2,035.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Insurance Policies, value</td>
<td>261.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>704 Market St., assessed</td>
<td>27,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1010 Bainbridge St., assessed</td>
<td>2,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortgages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$56,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$161,680.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 MGT, 29 August 1895. 13 MGT, 27 August 1896.
14 See appendix T for a listing of securities, including a detailing of all mortgages, as of 21 August, 1899.
15 Treasurer's Account, 24 November 1898 to 23 February 1899.
Charles Cohen's decision to resign as treasurer in March 1900 prompted him to draw up a comparative chart of selected financial information for the years 1895-1899. During that period receipts had increased 211 percent while expenses had increased only 103 percent. Cash and investments had appreciated by 19 percent. With his refusal to withdraw his resignation, Abraham Meyer Frechie was elected treasurer, and the president of the board appointed him and Mr. Horace A. Nathans to audit the accounts. Mr. Frechie was authorized to continue the account as treasurer with the Real Estate Title and Trust Co.

Charles Cohen's final report was for the period 15 August 1899, to 15 May 1900, covering debits, credits, and investments, every detail of which was recorded in the minutes. The auditing committee verified the accuracy of the statement.

In 1906 a contract was entered into to sell the property at 704 Market Street for a sum of $50,000 ($10,000 cash and a $40,000 mortgage at 4 percent per annum). There was a difference of opinion on the advisability of selling the property. David W. Amram was against the transaction. Mr. A. M. Frechie, Treasurer, advocated the sale. His opinion prevailed.

The last detailed annual report available during the first operating decade covered the period 30 August 1905 to 30 August 1906. It showed a

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16 See table 21.  
17 MGT, 29 March 1900.  
18 Ibid.  
19 MGT, 31 May 1900.  
20 MGT, 3 April 1906.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loss on Value of Securities</td>
<td>$2,798.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gain on Value of Securities</td>
<td></td>
<td>$1,154.00</td>
<td>$1,355.50</td>
<td></td>
<td>$1,163.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gain on Value of Real Estate</td>
<td></td>
<td>$1,000.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>$4,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipts</td>
<td>$2,493.76</td>
<td>$6,300.31</td>
<td>$6,999.44</td>
<td>$7,405.07</td>
<td>$7,766.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenses</td>
<td>$1,555.94</td>
<td>$1,530.19</td>
<td>$1,921.44</td>
<td>$2,883.15</td>
<td>$3,159.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash and Investments</td>
<td>$136,230.98</td>
<td>$142,155.10</td>
<td>$148,588.60</td>
<td>$151,910.52</td>
<td>$161,680.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Treasurer's Reports, 1895-1899.
consistent increase in both receipts and expenses. The most significant item was the increase in the value of the estate. This consistent growth in the value of the original trust fund gives evidence of the skill and care with which the board handled it. The economy of the United States was generally prosperous during that time. This factor, coupled with the careful attention the board gave to this aspect of its responsibility, contributed to the successful results. The treasurer kept meticulous records which were examined by an auditing committee of the board. Through the treasurer's report made at the quarterly and annual meetings of the board, each member was apprised of the current fiscal situation and, as a result, was in a position to make knowledgeable decisions. For the first operating decade the board had done a commendable job.

TABLE 22

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF SELECTED FINANCIAL INFORMATION 1899, 1906

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1899</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>Percentage Increased</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Receipts</td>
<td>$7,766.15</td>
<td>$9,591.82</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenses</td>
<td>$3,159.52</td>
<td>$6,232.01</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>$2,366.68</td>
<td>$3,958.27</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment Expenses</td>
<td>$559.96</td>
<td>$992.80</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library Expenses and Supplies</td>
<td>$130.88</td>
<td>$411.10</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of the Trust Fund</td>
<td>$161,680.15</td>
<td>$205,354.72</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Treasurer's Reports, 15 August 1899 and 20 August 1906.

21 See table 22.
The Years 1908-1928

The era of operating comfortably within its income came to a close for Gratz College in 1909 with the erection of the College building and the establishment of the School of Observation and Practice. The estimated budget for 1909-1910 projected receipts of $8,600, mainly from stock dividends ($1,800), and interest on mortgages ($6,560) against expenditures of $7,830. The latter did not include expenses for heat and lighting, and sundry supplies. It also did not include the allowance from the congregation for the School and for the share of the heating and lighting expenses incurred by the School and Dropsie College. The board had estimated $1,000 in teachers' salaries as the total expense for the School. The following year this item increased to $1,910 and Gratz College was dangerously close to having an operating deficit. What saved it from such an eventuality was the $4,533.88 operating cash balance in the bank.

In September 1911, Ephraim Lederer reported to the congregation that the expenses of conducting the College and the School of Observation and Practice were such that the entire income of the fund was necessary for the purpose of meeting payments.

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22 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 23 November 1909.
24 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 21 September 1910.
25 Annual Report of the President to the Parnas and Members of K.K. Mikveh Israel, 14 September 1911.
The following year the problem became so serious that a special meeting was called to discuss the financial affairs in general and the expense for maintaining the school in particular. Apparently, it was decided to deal with the situation by raising money from among the congregants of Mikveh Israel to help meet the expenses of operating the school. In October 1913, checks amounting to one thousand dollars were turned over to the board for this purpose.

An Operating Deficit

The inevitable finally occurred in the year 1914-1915. An operating deficit appeared on the books. A summary of income expenses revealed the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Net Income</td>
<td>$9798.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of Expenses from Congregation Mikveh Israel</td>
<td>787.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of Books</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Expenses of College</td>
<td>7469.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Observation &amp; Practice</td>
<td>3562.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excess of expenses over income</td>
<td>$402.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The capital fund, however, showed an appreciable gain over the $135,000 to $150,000 value it had had when it was first acquired. It

26 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 13 June 1912.

27 Samuel D. Lit to Samuel Hyneman, 31 October 1913. This item was recorded among receipts in the quarterly financial report (ending November 1913) as "School Fund collected by Samuel D. Lit."

28 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 23 November 1915. The Twenty-first Annual Account from September 1914 to 31 August 1915.
was now worth $249,680.30. The gain was effected in part by the appreciation of each share of Pennsylvania Company stock by about one hundred dollars. Since they owed only 90 of the original 156 shares, the rest having been sold and invested in mortgages, this accounted for only a small portion of the appreciation. They still owned one piece of real estate with an assessed value of $2,600. The greater part of the estate was invested in 32 mortgages with a combined value of $134,300. The Gratz College building rounded out the capital account with a value of $57,472. It is apparent that much of the appreciation of the estate came from the careful handling of the mortgage investments. Additional money for such investments was accumulated through the excess funds generated by the estate which were not needed for operating expenses during the first ten years. This source now ceased to exist.

It was probably the results of the investment activities, which over the years increased the capital fund by 67 percent, which gave the board the confidence that it could support both a teachers' college and a school. The board never envisioned that the growth of the School and its concomitant expenses and the need for so much capital outlay would erode the capital account to the point where it could no longer meet the expenses of operating both the College and the School. Amounts to meet small deficits could be raised from the congregation, but this approach would not succeed for the larger amounts which would eventually be needed.

Faced with the reality of the situation, and realizing that it was not just a temporary phenomenon, the board agreed in 1916 to institute a policy of tuition for the School of Observation and Practice for children.

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29 Ibid.
of non-seatholders. 30 Tuition fees that first year amounted to $561. 31 In addition to the $1,000 which was the congregation's share of maintaining the School, $835 was raised by subscription to help cover any deficit. With all this, School expenses still exceeded receipts by $1,300. Expenses in the College, however, were less than the income, making it possible to balance the books for the year 1916-1917. 32

For the first time, the following year, both the College and the School had deficits. Expenses in the College exceeded income by $164. The School, however, had a deficit of $3,007. There were no subscriptions to cover the deficit and another 'first' occurred. One thousand seventy-three dollars was transferred from the capital account to cover the deficits. The value of the estate had decreased by $6,609 that year and by $13,000 since 1909. 33

The College frankly needed financial support. In Philadelphia, the federation was on the verge of a grand scale reorganization. As far back as 1910 Dr. Adler had moved at an annual Federation meeting that a committee be formed to make recommendations whereby the scope of Federation could be broadened to permit the affiliation with Federation or organizations that had not

30 See p. 266.

31 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 16 March 1916. By 1920 tuition in the regular department was $20 and in the Sunday school it was $15. Minutes of the Gratz Board, 16 October 1917. Twenty-third Annual Account for the year ending 31 August 1917.

32 Ibid.

33 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 27 September 1918. Twenty-fourth Annual Account for the year ending 31 August 1918.
participated in the original foundation. In the spring of 1919 Federation finally expanded its constituency from fourteen to thirty-nine. Gratz College was not among them. Why? Certainly Dr. Adler, who was such an active member of the Gratz College Board and had served on the federation board, knew well the possibilities of receiving funding from that source. Yet, not even the suggestion to apply to become a constituent of Federation was made, even when it was obvious that the College was in financial trouble and that the federation was reorganizing. The answer probably lies in the attitude of the board towards the College. It becomes very clear that they did not consider Gratz College a community school but rather an undertaking of Congregation Mikveh Israel, a private enterprise, with the board having the responsibility of operating it. What one received from Federation was charity. Private enterprises do not ask for charity. There may have been another fear, that of control. It is just possible that the board saw Federation support as a threat to their control over the College. This was not an idle fear, since Federation had periodically expressed such opinions and did finally adopt a statement of policy in 1923 which reflected these sentiments:

No organization whose budget is being supported by Federation should increase the scope of its activities, take on new activities, drop old activities, or increase its census without first having received the approval of the Federation.

In case any organization fails or refuses to obtain such preliminary approval . . . the Federation will not include in subsequent budgetary allowances to such organization any amounts for expenditure, either by way of construction or maintenance made necessary by such an action.

At this time, with the phenomenon of deficits relatively new, the board was not ready to accept outside help or outside intervention.

The deficit became a regular feature of the annual accounting. In the next two years amounts of almost fifteen hundred dollars each year were transferred from the capital account to cover the differences between expenditures and income. Unable to resolve this problem, and with some educational institutions already receiving aid from Federation, more and more members of the congregation, one may assume, started viewing Jewish education as a community problem. After five years of operating deficits, a more secure means for funding had to be found. Application to Federation, the overarching fiscal arm of the Jewish community, was a logical plan to consider. Initially, a number of board members had negative reactions to the idea.

My opinion has not changed regarding a connection between the Federation and Gratz College and I am more firm in my belief that any aid we might be able to obtain from Federation would be of little value to the College. I agree with you that now more than ever we need to adopt some plan to raise funds so that the College can go on with its work. I think with your aid, the approval and active interest of Colonel Lit, some plans could be devised whereby we could obtain proper financial support for the institution.

Considering this, Cyrus Adler pondered certain policy questions, of which the basic one was: Should the request for funds be limited to congregation Mikveh Israel or should the board appeal to the general public? He favored the latter. He considered an adequate endowment fund of at

37 Minutes of the Gratz Board, Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Annual Accounts for years ending 31 August 1919 and 31 August 1920. In addition, the value of the invested funds was declining. By 1923 the value was $156,558. Annual Report of President, 5 October 1923.

38 Jules E. Mastbaum to Cyrus Adler, 19 November 1920.
least $250,000 impossible to secure. He therefore suggested instead a fund of $10,000 a year, either subscribed indefinitely or for a period of five years. He favored the annual subscription for an indefinite term if it could be secured. 39

Ephraim Lederer disagreed. He felt that asking the public to contribute $10,000 would weaken the federation and would not be likely to succeed in any event. 40

Application to the Federation for Funding

The growing deficit in the funds of the College required some definite action by the board which finally yielded on the matter of application to the federation. In March 1922 the board adopted the following resolution:

RESOLVED, that an appeal be made to the Federation of Jewish Charities for an annual allowance of $5,000 for the maintenance of the Gratz College for the purpose of carrying out the work of preparing teachers for the Jewish religious schools of the City of Philadelphia, and that the President of the College prepare a memorandum setting forth the facts applicable to the case and the reasons on which the request is based and present the same to the President of the Federation.41

In anticipation of approval or, in the absence of that, of a successful general appeal for funds, the board authorized the treasurer to borrow a sum, not exceeding five thousand dollars, to be used for operating expenses. 42

39 Cyrus Adler to Ephraim Lederer, 21 November 1920.
40 Ephraim Lederer to Cyrus Adler, 26 November 1920.
41 Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen to Ephraim Lederer, 22 March 1922. The letter informed Lederer of the resolution which the College committee passed. At the same meeting it was moved and carried that measures be taken to divorce, if possible, the College proper from the School of Observation and Practice of the College.
42 Minutes of the Gratz Board, 18 April 1922.
In making application to become a constituent of Federation, Mr. Lederer in addition to submitting the proper Federation forms and annual financial records, gave Federation some details about the financial history of the College. In discussing the School of Observation and Practice he noted that receipts from pupils' tuition fees, payments for books, and the contribution from Mikveh Israel totalled about one-half of the $5484 used to operate the school. This amount was found, on analysis, to cover fully the cost of tuition of pupils of the school who were affiliated with Mikveh Israel as well as the pupils whose tuition was paid for.

Therefore the balance of $2,717, which represents the expense of conducting the School over and above the amount of such payment, is properly chargeable to the general public in view of the fact that the tuition of the pupils outside of the class paid for is absolutely free of charge and said pupils are not members of the Mikveh Israel Congregation, being accepted without regard to any such membership on the part of their parents or families. 44

He reasoned that the community, and in this case 'community' meant Federation, was obligated to provide Jewish education for children who could not afford it. Federation had traditionally been interested in philanthropic activities and had concerned itself very little with Jewish education. Now, Jacob Billikopf was its executive director and Ben Rosen, the head of the Associated Talmud Torahs, was the director of its educational group. Both men were deeply interested in Jewish education. They exerted a strong influence on Federation in the matter of

43 See appendix U for an example of this form.

44 Ephraim Lederer to Louis Wolf, President, Federation of Jewish Charities, 29 March 1922. The $2,717 represented the amount of money it cost to educate those pupils accepted from the community free of charge.
Jewish education. The convening of a committee of fifteen members to study Jewish education in Philadelphia in 1925 and make recommendations for its improvement, as well as attempts to introduce Jewish studies at the University of Pennsylvania in 1927, were their handiwork. Mr. Lederer had every reason to hope that the request for funds to provide education for those who could not afford it would get sympathetic consideration.

Mr. Lederer also pointed out that since the College was training teachers for the religious institutions of the community and, to some extent, for the educational institutions which were constituents of the Federation of Jewish Charities, the board thought it proper to put the situation before Federation and ask for the appropriation. The request for $5,000 was to cover the annual $2,500 deficit and to provide funds to increase the faculty by at least two instructors. Mr. Lederer strongly urged that the amount requested be granted in its entirety.

The request set in motion a six month process. There is no evidence about what transpired at Federation between the receipt of the request in March, and June of that year. At best it seems there was only a general discussion on the advisability of taking affirmative action. In June, Mr. Jacob Billikopf, the executive director, wrote a letter to Mr. Louis Wolf, President of Federation, reversing his stand on the

45 See pp. 61-66. 46 A reference to the Talmud Torahs. 47 Ibid.
48 During the first ten years of operation the College had at first three and then four instructors. The student body numbered around thirty. The teacher-pupil ratio was about one to eight. In 1922 there were still only four instructors but the student body numbered about eighty, making the ratio one to twenty. That ratio is considered an almost ideal one today. The board, however, felt that it did not allow for any expansion.
49 Ibid.
application. In the beginning he had expressed some doubt concerning the advisability of favorable action. He informed Mr. Wolf that he had not been fully informed concerning the facts. Now that he was, he strongly urged the federation to grant the request. 50

He emphasized that Gratz College was the only agency in the city engaged in the work of preparing teachers for Jewish religious schools in Philadelphia, adding that without a trained staff of teachers all other efforts towards the development of a proper educational scheme for religious education in the community would be seriously handicapped. 51

The federation by this time had committed itself to a policy of providing for religious education in its program of activities, numbering among its constituents the Associated Talmud Torahs, Hebrew Education Society schools and Hebrew Sunday School Society schools. It therefore would have been an extension rather than a radical departure from established policy to support Gratz College. Mr. Billikopf, in using the phrase, "it behooves" 52 the federation to support this, actually saw it as a moral obligation as well as an advantageous decision. He mentioned the alternative, that of a general appeal by Gratz College for annual subscriptions from members in the community at large as being contrary to the policy of the federation in that an institution would be making a separate appeal to the community for annual contributions. 53

Most important, however, was his feeling that perhaps, in the course of time and as a result of the financial encouragement which the federation

50 Jacob Billikopf to Louis Wolf, 7 June 1922.
51 Ibid. 52 Ibid. 53 Ibid.
might give to Gratz College, a closer relationship might be established between the College and the other educational institutions supported by Federation. He cited, as a precedent for Federation support, the Boston Hebrew College and Teachers' Training School which had been organized in 1919 and was almost wholly supported by the Boston Federation. In Boston, however, there already was a much closer relationship between the Teachers' Training School and the Talmud Torah and Sunday schools supported by Federation.54

Acting to bring about this closer relationship immediately, two days later, Mr. Billikopf wrote to Ephraim Lederer, highlighting the excellent work that Mr. Ben Rosen had done "in stressing interest in Jewish educational matters and in bringing unity among the various factions in the Orthodox group.55 He spoke of Mr. Rosen's vast experience as the superintendent of one of New York's largest Talmud Torahs, a position he held before coming to Philadelphia, and his brilliant record as a student in pedagogy at Harvard. He thought Mr. Rosen's approach to Jewish educational problems was remarkably sympathetic and intelligent. He then came to the purpose of the letter:

It would be a splendid idea if Mr. Rosen could be added as a member of your Board or else be made an instructor in your school. He would be quite an accession to the College. Coming intimately in contact, as he does, with the teachers, and knowing the needs of the Talmud Torahs and other religious organizations in the community, his presence, either as a member of your Board or on the staff, would be most desirable, in that he could interpret one so successfully to the other.56

54 Ibid.

55 Jacob Billikopf to Ephraim Lederer, 9 June 1922.

56 Ibid.
He assured Mr. Lederer that he was writing of his own volition because of the likelihood of the College getting a subvention from the federation.\(^{57}\)

In time the subvention would be granted but this letter would go unheeded. It seems futile to speculate on what might have been had Mr. Billikopf's suggestions been followed or on the reasons why they were not.\(^{58}\) but there can be no doubt that Mr. Rosen would have done all in his power to move the College in a direction he felt would be advantageous to the community. In his capacity as director of the education group of Federation, Mr. Rosen submitted a memorandum in 1923 listing eight recommendations for improvement of the College.\(^{59}\) The following year, in a letter to Mr. Billikopf, he wrote,

I believe that very little has happened in Gratz College within the last year or so which has altered its status as then described to you. One important change, however, did take place. That was the appointment of Mr. Chomsky . . . whom I brought to Philadelphia . . . as a principal in one of our Talmud Torahs and . . . a member of our High School staff. Mr. Chomsky, by virtue of his previous affiliations and because of the close personal contact which I am maintaining with him will serve as an opening wedge into the Gratz College and School of Observation and can do a great deal of boring from within.\(^{60}\)

What Mr. Rosen could not do himself, he would try to do through an intermediary, so strong was his conviction that Gratz College had to make changes.

The original request to Federation in March 1922 was eventually referred in June of that year to the educational group of Federation

\(^{57}\) Ibid.

\(^{58}\) Ben Rosen had a strong interest in Jewish education and perhaps in his desire to improve it there was an element of wanting to control it. It is possible that the Board of Directors did not want to deal with that.

\(^{59}\) The memorandum is not known to exist. See appendix V for a later memorandum (1927) from Ben Rosen to Jacob Billikopf recommending changes in the College.

\(^{60}\) Ben Rosen to Jacob Billikopf, 22 July 1924.
which "recognizing the fact that Jewish religious institutions, now constituents of Federation, require trained teachers, and are largely dependent on the Gratz College to supply that need," recommended that Gratz College be accepted as a beneficiary of the federation.

The federation board decided that it could not admit the College as a member without the vote of the whole federation. It did, however, agree to make the appropriation of the requested five thousand dollars and to channel it through another constituent. At a meeting of the Board of Directors on 29 September 1922, an additional appropriation of five thousand dollars was awarded to the Associated Talmud Torah for the use of Gratz College. The first payment, twenty-five thousand dollars, was forwarded to Gratz College through the Associated Talmud Torahs in February 1923.

In March of that year the Board of Trustees of Gratz College renewed its application for admission to the federation as a constituent member. Unofficially, Louis Wolf told Ephraim Lederer that he was not in favor of the application for membership as the federation board had decided that it would not aid any unendowed memorials. Mr. Lederer explained that Gratz College did not come under that designation since the money had come to it after the death of a number of life beneficiaries, without any conditions whatever, except that the congregation was to

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61 Ben Rosen to Ephraim Lederer, 26 June 1922.
62 Ephraim Lederer to Colonel Samuel D. Lit, 27 September 1922.
63 Maurice E. Stern, Executive Secretary of the Federation of Jewish Charities of Philadelphia, 29 September 1922.
64 Maurice E. Stern to Ephraim Lederer, 12 February 1923.
65 Ephraim Lederer to Colonel Samuel D. Lit, 9 April 1923.
establish a college for the education of Jews in Philadelphia. The deed did not specify that it be a memorial or that the College be named after Mr. Gratz. The name was chosen out of gratitude and because it was among the historic ones in the Philadelphia community. However, the federation board decided not to admit the Gratz College as a constituent in the same sense that other institutions were admitted. They cited legal grounds, the fact that the College was not a separate corporation but rather a trust conducted by Mikveh Israel Congregation. They did decide to continue the arrangement effected the previous year, to allocate to Gratz College funds through one of the other constituent agencies.

In 1925, Judge William Lewis, Chairman of the Committee on Admission of Gratz College as a constituent organization, wrote to Ephraim Lederer after the committee's favorable recommendation had been turned down, expressing his regret. He commented that the majority of the members were still of an opinion that physical relief as expressed in hospitals, sanitoria, and such were of greater importance than education. He, himself, did not concur. He wrote, "With that view I thoroughly disagree and will endeavor in my limited capacity to get as many converts to my way of thinking as I possibly can."

66 Ephraim Lederer to Samuel D. Lit, 9 April 1923.
67 Maurice E. Stern to Ephraim Lederer, 24 May 1923.
68 Ephraim Lederer to Jules E. Mastbaum, 14 April 1924.
69 Maurice E. Stern to Ephraim Lederer, 24 May 1923.
70 Judge William Lewis to Ephraim Lederer, 25 March 1925. Judge Lewis served in the lower court and was a Zionist leader in Philadelphia.
The legal grounds cited in 1923 as the reason for rejecting Gratz College's application to become a constituent member appear to be little more than expedient excuses, in light of Judge Lewis' letter. Many members of the federation board had not yet accepted Jewish education as a legitimate area for their support.

Each year between 1923-1927 Gratz College submitted its request for a somewhat higher allocation, making a plea for the full amount requested and citing the need to increase salaries of the staff as a primary reason. This was the era of 'the booming twenties' and inflation and the cost of living were on the rise. Salaries were far from adequate and the board was sensitive to this fact. By 1925 the net request was for $8,305,\textsuperscript{71} and presumably was higher in the subsequent years. During these years, however, Federation never changed its original allocation of five thousand dollars which it paid through the Associated Talmud.

One explanation for Federation's intransigence might have been the fact that several members of the Budget Committee of Federation felt that the money was going toward operating the School of Observation and Practice which they considered as being conducted in conjunction with Mikveh Israel. Ephraim Lederer's assurances that the congregation paid fully for all the children of its members who were taught in the school did not alter the situation.\textsuperscript{72}

Apparently, Mr. Lederer was quite concerned. On the matter of making the application to Federation for an allocation we find a directive saying,

\textsuperscript{71}Request Form--Federation of Jewish Charities, 1925. See appendix U.

\textsuperscript{72}Ephraim Lederer to Jules E. Mastbaum, 14 April 1924.
The receipts from the Federation should not be assigned to the School of Observation and Practice for which they are not intended, and if our present method of reporting the receipts and expenses appears to require this, the method should be changed. 73

The method may have been changed but the allotted allocation remained the same.

Other Financing

Two additional actions by board members regarding financing are pertinent here. One, cited previously, was the subscription of funds for the College which the board imposed upon itself in October 1924. This subscription demonstrated the feeling that the board still saw the College as theirs and that it was therefore incumbent upon them to keep it solvent, especially if additional funds were not to be forthcoming from outside sources. The second event was the death of Mayer Sulzberger and his bequest to the College of twenty-five hundred dollars to become operative after the demise of his brother. 75 Another donation of five thousand dollars was made by Mrs. William Morris in memory of her husband who had been the treasurer and a trustee of the College for many years. None of these monies could help the College find its way out of its financial bind. 76

73 Ephraim Lederer to Isaac Feinberg, 13 March 1925.

74 Judge Mayer Sulzberger died in April 1923.

75 Cyrus Adler to Rosa Mordecai, 14 May, 1923. Miss Mordecai had read of the Sulzberger bequest in the Jewish Exponent and had written suggesting the bequest be used to honor the man "who was really the inspiration of the Gratz College," Isaac Leeser, by having his portrait copied and placed in the College. Rosa Mordecai to Cyrus Adler, 10 May 1923. Rosa Mordecai was a niece of Rebecca Gratz and quite old at this time.

76 Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 10 April 1925, p. 3.
Summary and Appraisal

The financial picture of the College underwent a radical change from surplus to deficit during the thirty-five years from its inception to 1928. In spite of the fact that the available funds were carefully invested and the board always administered the affairs with rigid economy, they could not reverse the trend which started with the drain of funds to erect the building and the establishment of the School of Observation and Practice under the aegis of Mikveh Israel, but administered by the College. No board member could have foreseen the inflationary economic trend after World War I, which further eroded the available income. The board struggled for some time to remain self-sufficient and to rely for aid on family people, the congregants of Mikveh Israel, when they could no longer hold out. Gratz College was, in the final analysis, and rightly labelled so by Federation, a trust administered by Mikveh Israel. It was with great reluctance that the board finally succumbed and applied for a subvention from Federation. They knew that part of the price for receiving aid would be a loss of autonomy.

The federation during the 1920s had very little sympathy with Jewish education. It saw itself primarily as a philanthropic organization. It is true that Federation supported the Talmud Torahs, but the motivation probably was the fact that it wanted to eliminate individual drives for funds. Perhaps, if Gratz College had conducted a private drive, the threat of such competition might have been more persuasive than the

77 It was not until the 1940s and 1950s that the personnel of the Federation began to change, primarily through the rise and influence of East European Jews.
annual application. The College might then have ended by negotiating with Federation from a position of strength which could have translated itself into many more dollars than the five thousand dollars annual subvention allocated to it through the Associated Talmud Torahs. In addition, such a drive would have had the additional benefit of advertising the College and might have resulted in more students.

The director of the education group of Federation, Ben Rosen, was one of the few of its personnel who did have real sympathy for Jewish education. He was familiar with the Jewish educational institutions in Philadelphia. He understood the aims and purposes of Jewish education in general, and had the desire to coordinate the various programs in the city and the energy and drive necessary for the task. He found himself in a position to alert the federation board to the need for changes in the College and to make suggestions about those changes. Dependent for its annual allocation from the federation, the board of the College would at least have had to hear, if not listen to, these suggestions. Mr. Rosen's suggestions were not arbitrarily made. They were designed to bring the College into a closer relationship with the educational institutions in the

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78 Giving money to the Associated Talmud Torahs, instead of directly to Gratz, might have been an attempted rebuke to the Gratz College board for not accepting Ben Rosen in some capacity. Mr. Billikopf and Mr. Rosen were close friends.
community, particularly those affiliated with the federation. Suggestions such as "the college needs to expand so that it may train . . . Sunday School teachers and club leaders and teachers for the upper classes of the Talmud Torah" and, "the College could render a much needed service in keeping in close professional contact with its graduates after they have entered upon their teaching positions in various schools throughout the city" began to find their way into memoranda. In addition, he suggested that the College would, of necessity, have to cooperate with the Hebrew High School recently established by the Associated Talmud Torahs, as a source from which to draw a student body better equipped to pursue a teacher-training course. He said that the College would also have to establish post-graduate courses for teachers and summer institutes to promote this work.

Mr. Rosen was no idle dreamer. He was a realist. He recognized, which perhaps the Gratz College board did not, that the College, insofar as it trained teachers for the local schools, was intimately bound up with the progress of these schools and in that sense was the backbone of the educational system. He also knew that to accomplish

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79 Memorandum from Ben Rosen, 22 January 1925.

80 Ibid.

81 The view of some who followed the situation closely was that, given the opportunity, Ben Rosen might have transformed Gratz College. Perhaps the Gratz board recognized this and was afraid of it. It meant losing control. That he was not given the opportunity to become director of Jewish education in Philadelphia was partly due to his own aggressive personality. Ben Rosen was a Jewish intellectual, a Zionist in the broadest sense, and a secularist. Perhaps it was for the latter reason that Conservative rabbis in the community called upon him for advice but did not support his ambitions. A few of them opposed him openly. Eventually he left the Philadelphia area.
these things would take funds the College did not have and therefore he, and the committee to consider the constituency of Gratz College vis-a-vis Federation, strongly urged that the College be admitted as a member.  

The committee was of the opinion that the various schools in the Philadelphia community had a right to look for greater service, not only in securing qualified teachers through Gratz College, but also in educational direction. By virtue of its possible influence over its graduates, the College would be in the unique position to exercise such educational direction. Affiliation with Federation would be a long step in this direction.

The report of the Committee of Fifteen echoed and affirmed these recommendations adding that, "it is believed, moreover, that through the Hebrew Education Society, in particular, the work in view might attain a closer touch with the general community and especially with the federation.

In addition the committee articulated a strong feeling which, heretofore, had not surfaced in any written form. They voiced the conviction that

... in the training of teachers of higher as well as lower classes, religious inspiration should never be sacrificed to intellectual attainment or pedagogic efficiency. While it is self-evident that teachers in religious schools should possess, as a primary requisite, religious feelings, the fact may need some additional emphasis at the present time.

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82 Ibid. 83 Ibid. 84 Report of the "Committee of Fifteen, 4 November 1926. 85 Ibid.
The language was vague but it seems that where they wrote "religious feelings" the committee probably meant "religious practice." There would be no way of measuring religious feeling except through concrete acts expressing Jewishness. The committee obviously felt that Gratz College did not place sufficient emphasis on Jewish living and went on record that they considered it a desiratum.

At Gratz College it seemed that the status quo was being maintained and all pressure for change was being ignored. In fact, negotiations were underway for a merger with the Hebrew Education Society. 86 In January 1926 Mr. Rosen expressed his fear that, judging by the length of time these negotiations had been in progress, a successful conclusion would probably not be reached. He sought to exert some pressure through Federation's control over the budget of the Hebrew Education Society to bring the matter to a head. 87 The negotiations would take some time longer, but in 1928 such a merger would be agreed upon and a new era for Gratz College would begin.

86 See Chapter XIII.
87 Memorandum from Ben Rosen to Jacob Billikopf, 3 January 1926.
The fiscal problems faced by the College and the pressure for change brought about by the report of the Committee of Fifteen motivated the Board of Trustees to seek a reorganization of the College. The former forced the congregation and the Board of Trustees to realize that the days of the College as a private enterprise were over. In order to ensure sufficient funds to operate the College and the school, Gratz would have to move to community control. The latter, with its recommendations for the expansion of the program at Gratz to meet various community needs, dictated the framework for the reorganization.

In April 1926, the federation sub-committee which studied the question of religious school teachers in Philadelphia submitted its report. This report, eventually included in the comprehensive report of the Committee of Fifteen, suggested that three courses of instruction should be offered by the college: a program to train teachers for Talmud Torahs and more intensive congregational schools; a course of study for those who desired to teach in Sunday schools or to qualify as club leaders; and special advanced courses for those who were to become teachers in the Hebrew high schools or who wished to engage in advanced Jewish studies. The latter courses could be supplied, in the

\[1\text{Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, Dr. Julius Greenstone, Professor Max L. Margolis.}

\[2\text{Cyrus Adler to Jacob Billikopf, 21 April 1926.} \]
committee's opinion, by an arrangement with Dropsie College and with the Hebrew Education Society, institutions which according to their charters\(^3\) had the right to grant degrees in Hebrew learning.

There is evidence that suggests that negotiations with the Hebrew Education Society had begun before this time,\(^4\) probably as a reaction to the rejection by Federation of Gratz College's application to become a constituent member. An affiliation between the two institutions would automatically give Gratz College the benefit of membership which the Hebrew Education Society enjoyed.

Early in 1927 an announcement was made to the Adjunta of Mikveh Israel about the pending affiliation. They were informed that the Board of Trustees of Gratz College and the Board of Directors of the Hebrew Education Society were considering the appointment of a board of overseers to administer the affairs of the two institutions. By combining the two institutions, funds for a "proper teacher's college" could be secured and courses arranged for the training of teachers for all forms of Jewish instruction. The fund of each institution would remain intact, each to be administered by its own board, but the management of the united institutions would be carried on by the Board of Overseers. This arrangement would make it possible to confer degrees on the graduates of the College.\(^5\)

\(^3\)Report of the Committee of Fifteen, pp. 9-10.

\(^4\)A memorandum from Ben Rosen to Jacob Billikopf dated 3 January 1926 opens with, "The negotiations for the merger of the Hebrew Education Society and Gratz College have been going on now for some time."

\(^5\)Minute Book of the Adjunta of Congregation Mikveh Israel, 17 January 1927.
The Agreement

Mr. D. Hays Solis Cohen and Mr. Bernard Frankel were appointed by the Board of Trustees to draft an agreement with the Hebrew Education Society. As details of the proposed clauses in the agreement became known there was one which caused grave concern. Dr. Abraham Neuman, Rabbi of Mikveh Israel, reacted strongly to the clause in the new plan which stated, "Judaism is to be taught from an impartial standpoint. It shall be neither Orthodox, Conservative, nor Reform." He offered the opinion that if such an idea were faithfully carried out it would utterly destroy the usefulness of a school for training teachers.

It is clearly the duty of a training school for teachers to give its students a positive conception of Judaism, be this traditional or reform--and to guide the students to relate these practices and principles to their own lives and the lives of the children who are to become their religious charge. This, an institution which is committed to a neutral point of view cannot do.

He suggested as a solution that the College should have two departments, one with a traditional point of view for training teachers through an intensive curriculum for Orthodox and Conservative congregations as well as Talmud Torahs and another department specifically for Sabbath and Sunday schools, where a special course could be offered from the standpoint of Reform Judaism to serve the Reform congregations.

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6 Minute Book of Gratz College--Hebrew Education Society, 5 May 1927 (henceforth: Minute Book of GC-HES).

7 Dr. Abraham Neuman, Rabbi of Mikveh Israel, was a member of the Board of Trustees and an instructor of history and head of the department at Dropsie College.

8 Abraham Neuman to Cyrus Adler, 9 May 1927.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.
saw "neutral" Judaism as a threat to Judaism's existence. Acquiring knowledge of Judaism was not enough; commitment was necessary.

Dr. Adler agreed that it was possible to be fair to all points of view without being neutral. On the other hand, he felt that this arrangement would mean having two sets of teachers in areas such as history and religious institutions. He, nevertheless, forwarded Dr. Neuman's letter to the committee engaged in drawing up the agreement. 11

On 6 February 1928 an agreement between Gratz College and the Hebrew Education Society was approved by the boards of the two organizations. It provided for the conduct of a college for training of religious school teachers and stipulated the following provisions:

1. The Board of Overseers

There shall be established a committee to be known as "The Board of Overseers of the Gratz College and the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia" which shall consist of fifteen members, five elected by the Board of Trustees of Gratz College, five elected by the Board of Officers of the Hebrew Education Society and five by the Board of Overseers from the community, from among persons who would be eligible for election as members of the Board of Officers of the Hebrew Education Society or as Trustees of Gratz College.

2. Location of the College

The seat of the College shall be in the Gratz College building, and at such other places as might be designated by the Board of Overseers.

3. Approval of Decisions Concerning Conduct of College

The conduct of the College shall be subject to the joint approval of the affiliating Boards.

4. Components of Fiscal Support

The funds for maintenance of the College shall be derived from the contribution of the entire income of the Gratz Trust, from all of the income of the Hebrew Education Society except that portion necessary for the conduct of their other activities, and from an

11 Cyrus Adler to D. Hays Solis-Cohen.
appropriation from the Federation of Jewish Charities, acting for the general community, to and through the Hebrew Education Society.¹²

The objectionable clause of neutrality was deleted from the agreement but not forgotten. At a board of overseers meeting held in June it was reported that Rabbi Louis Wolsey,¹³ of Rodeph Shalom had raised the question whether the members of the faculty had had the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the terms of the agreement. It was important, he had stated, that they understood that the spirit of the merger definitely prohibited the teachers from imposing their own viewpoints and opinions about Judaism on their students. In reply, the members of the faculty made it clear that every subject of instruction at the College was approached by the instructor from an historical point of view, and that the professional ethics of the teacher did not permit him any partisan or biased attitude.¹⁴

There is a vast difference between being committed to a point of view and carrying on propaganda for it. To the extent that a teacher influences a pupil, what he is as a total person becomes part of that influence. For teachers who become 'significant others,' that is, persons who exert a strong influence on a pupil's life, there is no need for propaganda. The pupil seeks to emulate such a teacher. In the event that the teacher exerts little or no influence on the pupil, even a

¹² Memorandum of Agreement between the Board of Trustees of Gratz College and the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia, 6 February 1928. See appendix W for the complete agreement.

¹³ Rabbi Louis Wolsey was a member of the Board of Overseers representing the Hebrew Education Society.

¹⁴ Minute Book of GC-HES, 22 June 1929.
conscious effort to propagandize fails. Certainly the faculty members had partisan or biased attitudes for themselves. They refrained to the extent possible, from imposing them upon their pupils. Under the circumstances there could be no clear resolution to their basic problem.

The Board of Overseers

The members of the Board of Overseers were elected, on the day the agreement was signed, to serve for one, two, or three years. Thereafter, members would serve for three years. The following members became representatives on the first Board of Overseers.

Gratz College
Dr. Cyrus Adler
Dr. Isaac Husik
Rabbi Abraham A. Neuman
Mr. David Hays Solis-Cohen
Dr. Abraham S. W. Rosenbach

Hebrew Education Society
Rabbi William Fineshriber
Rabbi Louis Wolsey
Dr. Louis Nusbaum
Mr. Bernard L. Frankel
Mr. Clarence L. Marks

Community
Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen
Judge Horace Stern
Judge William Lewis
Dr. Jacob Goldbaum
Mr. Leon J. Obermeyer

Organization of the College and Its Curriculum

At the first meeting of the Board of Overseers, 22 February 1928, Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen was elected president, Mr. Clarence L. Marks, treasurer, and Mr. Bernard L. Frankel, secretary. A committee of five was appointed to prepare an outline of the scope of activities of the College and a tentative budget so that an application for funds could be made to the federation. 16

15 Minute Book of GC-HES, 6 February 1928.

16 Minute Book of GC-HES, 22 February 1928.
The committee returned with a plan for the College which offered two courses, a normal course and a college course, and the consideration of the establishment of a graduate course leading to the granting of a degree. Details were worked out for the first two courses only.17

The normal course would extend over two years and was intended to prepare its graduates to teach in those congregational and other schools in which the course of instruction was limited to one session a week, and in which the teaching of Hebrew did not go beyond the elements or was omitted entirely. The age requirement for admission was sixteen years. The applicant was required to have completed at least two years of high school training and have a knowledge of Biblical and post-Biblical history to the year 70 C.E., to be determined to the satisfaction of the principal and faculty. Sessions would be held four hours per week and a certificate awarded on completion of the course.18

The following courses were proposed:

1. Hebrew—the elements of Hebrew grammar and the narrative portions of the Bible
2. Biblical History and Literature
3. Post-Biblical History and Literature
4. Customs and Ceremonies
5. Pedagogy: Theory and Practice
6. Jewish Current Events
7. Services and Rituals, including Jewish Music
8. Essentials of Judaism19

The college course would extend over four years, ten hours per week and remain essentially the same as outlined in the College Register

18 Ibid.
19 Minute Book of GC-HES, 22 June 1928.
1927-1928 with the following additions:

1. Jewish Music
2. Principles of Judaism
3. Handwork (as part of applied pedagogy)
4. Practice teaching

The plan would necessitate the addition of two faculty members.

The normal course was adopted as proposed. Jewish Current Events was subsumed under Post Biblical History and Literature and Customs and Ceremonies was combined with Essentials of Judaism and renamed Principles and Institutions of Judaism. The course was structured to run for two sessions, three periods weekly.

First Year

a. Hebrew--2 units per week
b. History and Literature--2 units per week
c. Pedagogy--1 unit per week
d. Customs and Ceremonies--1 unit per week

Second Year

a. Hebrew--2 units per week
b. History and Literature--2 units per week
c. Pedagogy--1 unit per week (practice teaching twice a month)
d. Services and Rituals (including Jewish Music)--1 unit per week

The proposed college course was also accepted as reported. The recommended Principles of Judaism course became part of Dr. Greenstone's institutions course which was renamed the Principles and Institutions of Judaism. In connection with the practice teaching course it was suggested that Dr. Chomsky's duties be changed in part so that he could specialize in the teaching of pedagogy and supervise the students' practice teaching.

20 See pp. 178-179 for a discussion on the approach to curriculum construction.

21 Ibid.
What was most important from the standpoint of the community was the agreement that, in addition to the four year course in Hebrew already offered in the College, a parallel course of a more advanced character would be introduced. The course would be designed especially to meet the needs of the graduates of the Hebrew High School and others who had had equally intensive Hebrew training. As a result of that decision all eleven graduates of the Hebrew High School would enter Gratz College in the fall.

Faculty

The answer to how many additional faculty members could be obtained depended on the amount of financial support Federation was prepared to give. A budget request of $18,597 was submitted for the Gratz College—Hebrew Education Society activities. The federation appropriated $13,000 for the fiscal year beginning 1 May 1928. Under the circumstances, the College committee thought it inexpedient to recommend the engagement of two full-time instructors. They felt it was more advisable to utilize the services of the present staff to its full capacity and to engage the services of an additional instructor as well as the part-time services of an instructor in music. This meant, of course, additional remuneration

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22 Ibid.
23 Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Associated Talmud Torahs, 28 September 1928.
24 Minute Book of GC-HES, 15 May 1928.
25 Minute Book of the GC-HES, 22 June 1928. The total budget for the year was $30,000.
26 Minute Book of the GC-HES, 16 July 1928.
for the faculty for the additional hours of teaching. The following revisions in salary were made.

Dr. Julius Greenstone from $2,309.88 to $3,000.
Dr. Joseph Levitsky from $800.00 to $1,500.
Dr. Arthur Dembitz from $1,957.00 to $2,000.

No specific salary for Dr. Chomsky was recorded. It was recommended, however, that his request for an increase of $1,000 be met in part. 27

As the new full time instructor, the College committee recommended Dr. Solomon Grayzel, "a rabbinical graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary, a Ph.D. of Dropsie College, a devoted research student and a man of excellent personality." 28 They recommended the music teacher, the Reverend Jacob Meimel, Cantor of Adath Jeshurun, a man who had advanced Yeshiba training and had studied music in Odessa and Berlin. Before coming to Philadelphia he had taught music at the Mizrachi Teachers' Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Solomon Grayzel was engaged for $3,000 per year and Jacob Bermel for $300. 29

Rabbi Wolsey and Rabbi Fineshriber 30 volunteered their services to give a series of lectures or courses of study in the College. These were to be in addition to the curriculum and roster already planned which included, besides the normal and college course curricula, two hours

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27 Minute Book of the GC-HES, 16 July 1928.
28 Ibid. He is currently a professor of history at Dropsie University.
29 Ibid.
30 The rabbis, respectively, of Rodeph Shalom and Keneseth Israel.
of graduate work. It was resolved that courses be added which would utilize the services volunteered by the two rabbis.

Articulation with the Community

To articulate further the new status of Gratz College as a community school a decision was made to make the Hebrew Education Society School at 1529 N. Seventh Street part of the School of Observation and Practice now conducted by the College. Dr. Chomsky was assigned the responsibility of supervising the school. The Hebrew Education Society would pay him $500 for his services out of its school budget.

The normal course which up to this time had been conducted by the rabbis of Congregation Rodeph Shalom and Congregation Keneseth Israel, was incorporated into the normal course at the College. A plan was initiated to invite representatives of Jewish educational and social institutions to the College from time to time to acquaint the students with the character and management of the institutions with which the speakers were identified. This plan completed the tie-in to the community.

31 The beginning of an academic course leading to a degree, which it was hoped would be inaugurated in a reasonable period of time.
32 Minute Book of GC-HES, 16 July 1928. Only Rabbi Wolsey taught a course, fifteen lectures entitled "Midrash in Pedagogy."
33 Ibid.
34 Gratz College Register 1928-1929, p. 6. This course was organized in 1925 to train young men and women for teaching in Jewish religious schools (Reform) and to fit its pupils for higher studies in the history and achievement of Judaism. This apparently was the motivation for the offer made by Rabbi Wolsey and Rabbi Fineshriber to teach.
35 Ibid., p. 9. This approach is very much in use in education today.
The reorganization was completed. In September 1928, the College would open as a community school. No tuition would be charged. To attend, a pupil had only to pay a $10 registration fee for the college course or a $5 registration fee for the normal course. Even here, scholarships in the amount of the registration fees were provided for deserving pupils to be awarded by the Committee on Student Welfare, on the recommendation of the faculty.36

Summary and Appraisal

From the point of view of Jewish education, the Philadelphia community had taken a giant step forward. With the reorganization of the College, the individual links of Jewish education were forged into one continuous chain. The College, through its structure, had become responsible to the community. The press gave excellent publicity to the reorganization and almost one hundred new pupils registered. In order to provide for the efficient registration of new students and to introduce a systematized academic record keeping, Dr. Grayzel was appointed registrar of the College.37

The progress of the college department was very gratifying to the College committee which reported accordingly.38 The normal course, however, did not go well. At first glance, this course seems to have been well thought out. It is only when one considers that the course was designed to run only four hours per week for two years can it be

36 Ibid., p. 11.
37 Minutes of GC-HES, 30 October 1928.
38 Minutes of the GC-HES, 4 February 1929.
seen as unrealistic. To study only the narrative portions of the Bible, such as the Pentateuch, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, as suggested, would easily require full time student attendance. The proposal reflected the approach to curriculum construction that had operated at the College since its beginning, a what-should-they-know approach rather than what is possible, given the limitations of organization and the background of the pupil. Predictably, many students dropped out. In the main, the eighteen students who dropped out were either young persons who were below the minimum age level or members of the oldest group, who were already teaching or who had some other occupation. The pupils of the normal course articulated the general feeling that the curriculum was too intensive and required more preparation and homework than they were able to give. The committee recommended a revision of the course, with the goal of giving the pupils a general appreciation of Jewish history, literature, and religion. \(^{39}\)

The decision to postpone the inauguration of an academic course leading to a degree was made in order to allow more time to consider the content of the course and its relation to a secular college. It was decided instead to concentrate on the development of the existing normal and college courses. \(^{40}\)

Philadelphia now had a system of Jewish education for its pupils from kindergarten to post-high school. It may not have been a perfectly coordinated system but the machinery for continuous learning had been

\(^{39}\) Ibid. \(^{40}\) Ibid.
established. It was now up to Gratz College to meet the needs of the
community, which was in a continuous state of development, and it was
up to the Philadelphia Jewish community to take advantage of its educational
system. Both would try but, as in all human endeavors, the results would
be less than perfect. Factors beyond the control of both the College and
the community would interfere. There would be a severe prolonged
depression and a world war. In the final analysis, only the participants'
efforts to make the system work, regardless of results, would be a
fair target for evaluation.
CHAPTER XIV

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

Gratz College has lived through three stages: It has operated under the supervision of a board of trustees appointed by Congregation Mikveh Israel (until 1928); under a board of overseers appointed by the Board of Trustees of Gratz College and Board of Officers of the Hebrew Education Society (until 1945); and under a board of overseers in which Federation in the beginning had a direct voice in the selection of members. The board became self-perpetuating with the Board of Trustees of Gratz College permitted to nominate 25 percent of the members. In each phase of its development, the College changed in staff, curriculum, and approach to its task. This dissertation is limited to the first phase; it concludes with the year 1928.

During the nineteenth century, Philadelphia was certainly the 'cradle' of American Jewish education. While the new German-speaking Jewish immigrants were working to realize for themselves the economic and social promise of America, often to the neglect of their commitment to their Jewish heritage, Isaac Leeser, the hazan of Congregation Mikveh Israel, was working to preserve and to nourish that heritage. He was alarmed by the state in which he found Jewish education in Philadelphia, by the scarcity of Jewish educational institutions, and by the paucity of time available to students to learn Jewish sources. He saw a new generation grow up with the barest knowledge of the Jewish way of life. He saw this lack as the central problem of American Jewry and almost single-handedly set about to change it. He devoted his life to an effort to revive Judaism. Through his influence and efforts Philadelphia gave birth to the
Philadelphia Hebrew Sunday School Society (1838), the Hebrew Education Society (1848), and Maimonides College (1867). He was one of the motivating forces which influenced Hyman Gratz to write his will so that when there existed no heirs to inherit his fortune it would be used to establish a college for Jewish education in Philadelphia. It was therefore fitting that, in 1893, the money from the trust was turned over to Mikveh Israel, and Philadelphia became the seat of the first Hebrew teacher's college in the United States.

By the time Gratz College was established in 1895 the Philadelphia Jewish community was vastly different from the one that existed at the time of Hyman Gratz’s death in 1857. By 1895, the first waves of East European immigrants had reached the shores of the United States and had settled primarily in the large industrialized cities. Their arrival created social and economic problems both for themselves and for those already established as members of the Jewish community. The latter did not fully appreciate the enormous economic and social difficulties facing the immigrants. They did, however, materially assist the newcomers through a network of philanthropic organizations which were eventually united in 1901, into an alliance called the Federation of Jewish Charities. The newcomers were, like their German predecessors, preoccupied with the dual efforts of establishing themselves economically and of acculturation. There was no energy to devote to problems which did not contribute directly to those all-important tasks. Jewish education was such a problem.

The immigrants saw the public school and subsequent higher education as the keys to success in the United States. The desire to provide their children with general culture and to prepare them for careers
predominated over the desire to prepare them for Jewish living. Even for those who valued it, Jewish education became a secondary activity. For most there was no time for it at all. So we find that throughout the period of this study no more than 30 percent of the Jewish school population was receiving any form of Jewish education and of those, in the 1920s, about 40 to 50 percent were receiving two hours of instruction per week in a Hebrew Sunday school. The others were studying two, three, or five days a week, mostly in supplementary schools.

In this community Mikveh Israel discharged the responsibility of the Hyman Gratz Trust Fund by opening a college with the express purpose of training teachers for Jewish religious schools. Neither the synagogue nor the Board of Trustees appointed to carry out the work realized that the Philadelphia Jewish community was not ready for a teachers' school. Even the large New York Jewish community was not prepared to support such a school. Gratz College opened in 1898. New York did not have a Hebrew teachers' college until 1909.

There existed at that time no philosophy of American Jewish education. In establishing the curriculum the Board of Trustees of Gratz College attempted to include everything it considered necessary to produce an educated and cultured Jewish community. It wanted to keep Judaism alive through a thorough study of sacred texts, classical literature and history, and it did not consider the reality of the community situation. The men of the board miscalculated by not understanding the pressures of the time on the immigrant family, how the adjustment to American life would interfere with continuing Jewish tradition. Nor did they consider how the experience of the American youngster was different from either a European youngster or even an American youngster of their own
youth. They also failed to take into consideration the level of Jewish learning of a fourteen or fifteen year old youth in Philadelphia at that time. They proceeded to create a curriculum completely beyond the capacity of most youngsters. For all these reasons relatively few pupils were attracted to the school, and among those who did matriculate, the rate of attrition was high. In thirty-five years Gratz College graduated a little more than three hundred pupils. Although many of the graduates taught for a brief period of time, most did not make a career of teaching in Jewish religious schools. At best, the community offered only supplementary work to its religious school teachers.

There was great difficulty in obtaining adequate faculty for the College. Without a pool of competent, proven instructors from which to draw, and without the finances to obtain well-known scholars and teachers, the Board of Trustees selected young men whom they considered knowledgeable. This was the first requisite. No doubt they hoped that these men would prove to be good teachers as well. Their failure was that, when the opposite proved to be true as it did with at least two of the four faculty members, the board took no steps at all to make any changes. The situation was allowed to continue until these men were retired thirty-five years later (1933).

Earnest and dedicated as the men of the board undoubtedly were, they nevertheless failed to grasp the nature of the community for which they labored so devotedly. The community changed. Gratz College stayed relatively the same. With the growth of Talmud Torahs and three-day-a-week congregational school, Philadelphia youngsters were receiving a more intensive Jewish education. With the establishment of an intensive Hebrew High School in the 1920s, there was, at last, a pool of academically
qualified students for advanced Jewish learning. The Gratz College curriculum was too elementary for them. They had no place to go. Those few Federation members interested in Jewish education realized that the College must be structured and funded to meet the needs of all segments of the Philadelphia Jewish community and urged that a reorganization of the College take place.

In spite of the fact that Gratz College had received from Federation, through the Associated Talmud Torahs, an allocation of five thousand dollars per year for five years (1923-1928), sufficient funds were still not available to stimulate and vitalize the institution. The trust fund no longer generated the income necessary for the College to function, even at the status quo. The Board of Trustees realized that Gratz College could no longer remain a private school, a trust of Mikveh Israel. It had to become a community school. In the subsequent merger with the Hebrew Education Society in 1928, Mikveh Israel gave up its College, its contribution to the perpetuation of Judaism. The fate of Gratz College was now literally in the hands of the Philadelphia community which, heretofore, had been so busy with economic and cultural adjustment that it failed to notice that the College was in its midst.

Although Gratz College was unable to serve the educational needs of the Philadelphia community during the first thirty-five years of its existence, it was not without its successes. The Board of Trustees must be given credit for recognizing what the community did not perceive, that Judaism in the United States was and would increasingly be endangered without a cadre of trained competent teachers and an informed laity. Outside the homes of observant Orthodox Jews, Jewish tradition was weakening and in many cases disappearing altogether. The Jewish school would have
to assume more responsibility for transmitting the culture. It was at best an imperfect solution, but it was a realistic one. In spite of the fact that there was no community support, the Board of Trustees labored to keep the College alive and functioning. In doing so it gave the College and the community the time and the opportunity to close the gap between them and to become more responsive to each other's needs.

For its finest achievement one must look into the lives of the individuals who spent from two (special teachers course) to four years at the College between the years 1897-1928. The College provided them with a locale for the social interaction and intellectual stimulation they sought with other similarly motivated young people. Gratz College offered them the opportunity to study Jewish culture through history and texts. In the survey of alumni conducted in 1976, seventeen alumni who attended the College during the years 1913-1920 responded to the question, "What was the greatest value you derived from your education at Gratz College?" by naming the following:

1. Jewish knowledge (nine responses)
2. interest in Jewish affairs and community (four responses)
3. fellowship (three responses)
4. teaching skills (one response)

Gratz College made an impact on each of these people and intensified the Jewish component of his life. One alumnus, who was accepted as a pupil at the College with a minimal reading knowledge and stayed to complete the four years, felt compelled to attach a letter to his questionnaire expressing his gratitude at having had the opportunity to attend the College.

... In two weeks, I read adequately and was launched on my quest for Jewish learning. I learned my Hebrew grammar, became fascinated
with Jewish history, Jewish literature and the courses offered. I graduated with my class after 4 years.

I mention this because it opened up for me an understanding of Jewish learning and life. If I had not had the opportunity, I am sure that I would have grown up ignorant of Jewish learning and its value and without the special Jewish interest I feel that I acquired.

I mention this because I feel that I had the opportunity to enjoy Gratz College without having a Jewish background, I wonder if there is today a Jewish institution that would do the same for one, in this day and age. For all I received I am grateful.

This was the significance of Gratz College. This was its value. In the final evaluation a school must be judged by its effect on the behavior of its pupils when they become adults. From the responses of the alumni we can conclude that Gratz College made an important contribution towards developing their sense of Jewishness. This was an achievement of consequence. Through the few who chose to involve themselves Mikveh Israel and its Gratz College did indeed make a contribution to the perpetuation of Judaism.
## APPENDIX A

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF PHILADELPHIA FIRST ANNUAL REPORT 1911-1912

### PUPILS AND TEACHERS

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<th>School</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Average Attendance</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
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<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
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<td>I--Congregational Schools</td>
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<td>60</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Beth Israel (Hebrew)</td>
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<td>Mikve Israel of Gratz College (Sunday)</td>
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<td>Gratz College (Hebrew)</td>
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Total: 76 Paid
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<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
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<td>Isaac Leeser</td>
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<tr>
<td>School for Jewish Deaf</td>
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</tr>
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<td>(Hadarim) (continued)</td>
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<td>Mr. Yoffe</td>
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## APPENDIX B

### THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF PHILADELPHIA FIRST ANNUAL REPORT 1911-1912

#### AVERAGE COST PER PUPIL AND TEACHERS' SALARIES

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<th>No.</th>
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<td>63 13</td>
<td>$12,865.00</td>
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<td>4008</td>
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<td>5 3</td>
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<td>67</td>
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<td>157 145</td>
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APPENDIX C
THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF PHILADELPHIA FIRST ANNUAL REPORT 1911-1912

SCHOOLS, LOCATION, SUPERINTENDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>I--Congregational Schools</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Adath Jeshurun School</td>
<td>Broad &amp; Diamond Sts.</td>
<td>Rabbi Max D. Klein</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Ahawas Israel School</td>
<td>2302-4 N. Mascher St.</td>
<td>Joseph Rabinowitz</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Beth El School</td>
<td>2730 Haverford Ave.</td>
<td>E. M. Bloomberg</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Beth Israel School</td>
<td>32nd &amp; Montgomery Ave.</td>
<td>Rabbi Marvin Nathan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Mikve Israel School of Gratz College</td>
<td>York near Broad St.</td>
<td>Rabbi Jacob B. Grossman</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Hebrew Cong. of W. Phila.</td>
<td>5326 Chestnut St.</td>
<td>A. Shapiro</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Kesneth Israel School</td>
<td>Broad &amp; Columbia Ave.</td>
<td>Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 Ohel Jacob School</td>
<td>7th St. &amp; Columbia Ave.</td>
<td>Rabbi Raphael H. Melamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Ohev Zedek Sunday School</td>
<td>7th below Oxford St.</td>
<td>Louis Klein</td>
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<td>11 Rodeph Shalom School</td>
<td>Broad &amp; Jefferson Sts.</td>
<td>Rabbi Henry Berkowitz</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>II--Hebrew Sunday School Society Schools</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>12 Northern School</td>
<td>984 N. Marshall St.</td>
<td>Miss Amelia J. Allen</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 Southern School</td>
<td>1000 Carpenter St.</td>
<td>Miss Florence M. Newhouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 Isaac Leeser School</td>
<td>8th below Lombard St.</td>
<td>D. Hays Solis-Cohen</td>
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<td>15 Ellen Phillips Schools</td>
<td>416 N. 2nd St.</td>
<td>Miss Miriam E. Newhouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 Morais School</td>
<td>4115 Lancaster Ave.</td>
<td>Miss Carrie Hammerschlag</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 Love of Israel School</td>
<td>2302 N. Mascher St.</td>
<td>Miss Charity S. Cohen</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 Port Richmond School</td>
<td>2854-8 Weikel St.</td>
<td>Miss Lena I. Cohen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Manayunk School</td>
<td>4254 Main St., M'y'k</td>
<td>Willard M. Rosenthal</td>
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<td>Schools</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 Grace Aguilar School</td>
<td>719 Dickinson St.</td>
<td>Leon J. Obermayer</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 Ahawas Chesed School</td>
<td>29 W. Rittenhouse, G't'n</td>
<td>Miss Claudia Oppenheimer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Glen Hills School</td>
<td>Glen Mills, Pa.</td>
<td>Isaac Feinberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Darlington School</td>
<td>Darlington, Pa.</td>
<td>Miss Charity S. Cohen</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 School for Jewish Deaf</td>
<td>7103 Germantown Ave.</td>
<td>Isadore Oppenheimer</td>
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<td><strong>III--Hebrew Education Society Schools</strong></td>
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<td>25 School No. 1</td>
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<td>26 School No. 2</td>
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<td>Samuel G. Schwartz</td>
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<td><strong>IV--Institutional Schools</strong></td>
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<td>28 Jewish Foster Home and Orphan Asylum</td>
<td>Germantown</td>
<td>Aaron D. Faber</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 Hebrew Orphans' Home</td>
<td>12th &amp; Green Lane</td>
<td>L. W. Sor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Hebrew Sheltering Home</td>
<td>510 N. 4th St.</td>
<td>Miss M. Winokur</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>V--Talmud Torahs</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>31 Central</td>
<td>316-20 Catherine St.</td>
<td>Dr. J. Lilienbloom</td>
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<td>32 Independent</td>
<td>623-629 Dickinson St.</td>
<td>J. Lieberman</td>
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<td>34 Yeshibah Mishkan Israel</td>
<td>526 Wharton St.</td>
<td>S. Zitomirsky</td>
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<td>35 Hebrew School of United Brotherhood</td>
<td>2265 William St.</td>
<td>Philip Nicholson</td>
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<td>36 Anshe Bessarabia</td>
<td>1625-29 S. 6th St.</td>
<td>Pincus Guck</td>
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<td>37 Island Road</td>
<td>82nd &amp; Eastwick Ave.</td>
<td>Tolichinsky</td>
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# Schools

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>VI--Other Schools</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>38 Frankford</td>
<td>Frankford &amp; Unity Sts.</td>
<td>Israel Goldstein</td>
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<tr>
<td>39 Ethical School of Hebrew Literature Society</td>
<td>310 Catherine St.</td>
<td>Maxwell Pestcoe</td>
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<tr>
<td>41 Southwestern Sunday School</td>
<td>20th &amp; Federal Sts.</td>
<td>Samuel Newmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 Parkside Hebrew Sunday School</td>
<td>4035 Girard Ave.</td>
<td>Albert S. Braun</td>
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<td><strong>VII--Private Schools, (Hadarim)</strong></td>
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<td>43 Cheder</td>
<td>419 Watkins St.</td>
<td>Elijah Abelson</td>
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<td>44 Cheder</td>
<td>455 N. 8th St.</td>
<td>Aronoff</td>
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<td>45 Tikwath Zion School</td>
<td>505 Lombard St.</td>
<td>David Brasofsky</td>
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<tr>
<td>46 Cheder</td>
<td>526 DeLancey St.</td>
<td>Jacob Drob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 Beth Sefer Ivri</td>
<td>7th &amp; Columbia Ave.</td>
<td>S. Edelman</td>
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<td>Levin</td>
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<td>58 Cheder</td>
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<td>S. Rabinowitz</td>
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<td>Solomon Rose</td>
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<td>61 Cheder</td>
<td>6th &amp; Winton Sts.</td>
<td>William Shomer</td>
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<td>Silver</td>
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<td>926 N. 6th St.</td>
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<td>65 Beth Sefer Ivri</td>
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APPENDIX D

COPY OF A DEED OF TRUST FROM HYMAN GRATZ
TO THE PENNSYLVANIA COMPANY
FOR INSURANCES ON LIVES AND GRANTING ANNUITIES

THIS INDENTURE, Made the eighteenth day of December, A.D. 1856,
BETWEEN Hyman Gratz, of the City of Philadelphia, gentleman, of the
first part, and The Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and
Granting Annuities, of the second part, WITNESSETH, that the said
Hyman Gratz, for and in consideration of the sum of one dollar, lawful
money, unto him well and truly paid by the said party of the second
part at the time of the execution hereof, the receipt whereof is hereby
acknowledged, and with the intention and for the purpose of settling
and assuring the real and personal estates and premises hereinafter
described and mentioned to, for, and upon the uses and trusts and
purposes hereinafter expressed and declared of and concerning the same,
HATH granted, bargained, sold, released and confirmed, assigned, trans­
ferred and set over, and by these Presents, DOTH grant, bargain, sell,
release and confirm, assign, transfer and set over unto the said party
of the second part, their successors and assigns, ALL the hereinafter
described and mentioned real and personal estates, that is to say--

ALL THAT CERTAIN three-story brick messuage or tenement and lot
or piece of ground, situate at the north-east corner of Shippen and
Erie Streets, in the Fourth Ward of the City of Philadelphia, contain­
ing in breadth on Shippen street 18 feet, and in depth along Erie
street 49 feet to a three feet wide alley leading into and from Erie
street. ALSO, ALL THAT CERTAIN lot or piece of ground (composed of
two contiguous lots) situate on the west side of Seventh street and on
the south side of a ten feet wide alley leading westward therefrom at the distance of about 124 feet southward from the south side of Market street, in the Ninth Ward of the said city, containing in front or breadth on the said Seventh street 34 feet, and in length or depth 104 feet; bounded northward by the said ten feet wide alley, and eastward by the said Seventh street: ALSO, ALL THAT CERTAIN messuage or store and lot or piece of ground situate on the south side of Market street at the distance of 32 feet westward from the west side of said Seventh street, in the Ninth Ward of the said city, containing in front or breadth on said Market street 18 feet, and extending thence southward in length or depth 45 feet to a space or open piece of ground, left open for light and air, to said messuage or store and the premises adjoining said space to the eastward and southward; which space or open piece of ground contains in breadth, north and south, 11 feet 7½ inches, and in length east and west, 18 feet, and communicates with a five feet wide alley, extending therefrom southward at the distance 45 feet 2 inches westward of and parallel with Seventh street to the ten feet wide alley before mentioned. TOGETHER with the free use and privilege of the said open space of ground and the aforesaid five feet wide alley communicating therewith, extending from said open space to the said ten feet wide alley. AND ALSO of the ten feet wide alley in common with Simon Gratz, his heirs and assigns, owners tenants and occupiers of the premises bounding on the same respectively. AND TOGETHER, ALSO, with all other the easements and appurtenances described and granted with said premises in and by a certain indenture executed by George Sheaff and others, bearing date the 20th February, A.D. 1835, and recorded in Deed Book A.M., No. 58, page 407, &c. AND ALSO the following mentioned
stocks—that is to say, 50 shares in the Capital Stock of the Franklin Bridge Company, 87 shares in the Capital Stocks of the Belmont and Easton Turnpike Company; 100 shares Cleveland and Mahoning Railroad Company; 8 shares Northern Bank, Kentucky; 25 shares Wisconisco Canal Company; 100 shares Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives &c. TOGETHER with all and singular the rights, liberties, privileges, hereditaments, and appurtenances whatsoever unto the hereby granted and assigned premises belonging or in anywise appertaining; and the reversions and remainders, rents, incomes, dividends incomes property, claim, and demand whatsoever of him, the said Hyman Gratz, of, in, and to the same and every part thereof.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, RECEIVE AND TAKE all and singular the hereditaments and premises hereby granted and assigned, or mentioned or intended so to be with the appurtances, unto the said party of the second part hereto, their successors and assigns, to and for their proper use and behoof. IN TRUST, nevertheless, for the said Hyman Gratz during all the term of his natural life, without impeachment of waste, so that he may take and receive all the income and interest thereof for his own use.

AND FROM AND IMMEDIATELY after the decease of the said Hyman Gratz, then to hold all and singular the real and personal estate hereby granted and assigned, IN TRUST for the uses and purposes, and subject to the limitations hereinafter mentioned and expressed concerning the same—that is to say, to permit Martha Ellen Sprigg (the present occupant of the premises) to reside in and occupy the messuage and lot of ground on Shippen and Erie streets, first herein described, with the appurtenances, free of any charge for rent, or, at her own option, to let and demise the same, and take and receive the rents, issues, and profits
(she paying the taxes and water rent charged thereon, and for the necessary repairs done to the said premises) during all the term of her natural life, for her own separate use, notwithstanding any coverture, and so that the same shall not be in any way liable for or subject to the debts, engagements or control of any husband she may marry; and after her decease, to let and demise the said premises, and collect and receive the rents, issues and profits thereof, and add the same to the general income of the trust estate hereby conveyed and assigned, to be applied and appropriated as hereinafter directed.

ALSO, to sell and dispose of the lot or piece of ground and premises on the west side of Seventh street, second herein described, at public or private sale, or to let the same on ground rent; when and as they shall think proper, and thereupon to grant and convey the same unto the purchaser thereof, his, her or their heirs, and assigns forever, with or without the reservation of an yearly ground rent or ground rents, and to receive the purchase monies paid therefor, and invest the same in mortgage, securities, or in the purchase of ground rents or stocks, as they shall think proper, (but the purchaser or purchasers shall not be bound to see to the application of the purchase money) and to collect and receive the ground rent or ground rents that may be so reserved, and the interest, income and dividends of such investments from time to time, adding the same to the general income of the said trust estate, to be appropriated and applied as hereinafter directed.

ALSO, to let and demise the said messuage or store and lot of ground on Market street, being the premises third herein described, and to collect and receive the rents, issues, and profits thereof, and after paying the taxes and water rent charged thereon, and for the necessary repairs of said premises, to apply and appropriate the surplus income
derived therefrom from time to time to the payment of the interest on a mortgage debt of $6,000, to which the said premises are subject, as the same shall become due and payable, and also the reduction and ultimate payment and discharge of the principal of said mortgage as soon as may be, and afterwards to add said nett income of the last mentioned premises to the general income of the trust estate, to be appropriated and applied as herein after directed. AND ALSO, to receive the interests, dividends, and income of all and singular the stocks and personal estate hereby assigned, as the same shall become due and payable respectively, and to appropriate and apply the nett income of all and singular the trust estate, real as well as personal, aforesaid (except so far as the same or any part thereof is hereinbefore directed to be otherwise appropriated) in manner following—that is to say, to the payment of the sum of $200 to said Martha Ellen Sprigg for her own immediate use as soon after the decease of the said Hyman Gratz as the amount shall be realized. ALSO, to the payment of an annuity or sum of $1,200 per annum to the said Martha Ellen Sprigg for her own, sole and separate use for and during all the term of her natural life, in monthly payments of $100 each, on the first day of every month, the first monthly payment thereof to be made on the first day of the month next ensuing the day of the decease of the said Hyman Gratz; and it is hereby expressly declared that the said annuity shall be paid to the said Martha Ellen Sprigg, as aforesaid, into her own hands or upon her own orders and receipts, signed not more than one month before the same shall become due and payable from time to time, and the same shall not be subject to any anticipation, sale or alienation, or disposal by her own act or by any act of law, whether for or without consideration, nor to any debts,
liabilities, or engagements of any husband she may have to take, or to any attachment or execution against her in any way whatsoever.

ALSO, to the payment of the sum of $500 per annum, in even and equal quarterly payments, for the maintenance and education of Robert Gratz (the son of the said Hyman Gratz, born in the month of March, A.D. 1840) until he shall attain the age of seventeen years, and after that period, and until he shall attain the age of twenty-one years, the sum of $600 per annum, or as much more as the said trustees, acting by its board of directors, shall think proper, such payment to be made to and receipted for by the legally appointed and authorized guardian of the said Robert Gratz, and when and as soon as the said Robert Gratz shall have attained the age of twenty-one years, then to pay over to him for his own use, upon his own receipt, any surplus income of the said trust estate that may remain, if any, after the payment and appropriations hereinbefore mentioned and directed; and from and after the time the said Robert Gratz shall have attained so long, but if he shall die before that time, then including the said stocks), subject, nevertheless, to the life estate of the said Martha Ellen Sprigg in the premises first herein described, and also to the annuity of $1,200 directed to be paid to her if she be then living, to and for the only proper use and behoof of the lawful issue of the said Robert Gratz, if any, as shall live to attain the age twenty-one years, if one person solely, and if more than one in equal shares as tenants in common, his, her or their heirs and assigns forever.

But if the said Robert Gratz shall die without leaving any lawful issue as aforesaid, or if such issue, be there any, shall die under the age twenty-one years, then, in trust, to pay over the nett income of
the said trust estate in manner aforesaid to HORACE MOSES, nephew of
the said Hyman Gratz, during all the term of his natural life; and after
his decease to stand seized and possessed of the said trust estate to
and for the only proper use and behoof of the lawful issue of the said
Horace Moses, if any, as shall live to attain the age of twenty-one
years, if one person solely, and if more than one in equal shares as
tenants in common, his, her or their heirs and assigns forever; and in
case there be no such lawful issue of the said Horace Moses, or if any,
none shall live to attain the age of twenty-one years, then to convey
and assign all the said trust estate and premises to the PORTUGESE
HEBREW CONGREGATION "KAAL KADOSH MICKVE ISRAEL", of the city of Phila-
delphia, and their successors, in trust for the establishment and sup-
port of a college for the education of Jews residing in the city and
county of Philadelphia, for which purpose the rents and income only of
the said trust estate shall be used and applied from time to time, and
to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever.

Provided, however, and it is hereby expressly declared, that the
said Hyman Gratz reserves the right at any time during his natural life
to sell and convey in fee simple or otherwise any or all of the real
estate and stocks hereby granted and assigned, should he be so minded,
or to revoke and annul all or any of the uses, trusts, powers and
authorities hereinbefore created or declared, anything herein contained
to the contrary notwithstanding.

In witness whereof, the said Hyman Gratz hath hereunto set his
hand and seal, dated the day and year first herein written.
Sealed and delivered in
the presence of us:
S.W. Thackara,
C.M. Gatchel,
Jno. B. Keeney.

Hyman Gratz. L/. S/.
APPENDIX E

INCOME FROM INVESTMENT BEQUEST

156 shares of Pennsylvania Co.  $2,808
1300 Philadelphia 6's           78
5000 Philadelphia 6's           300
1850 Pennsylvania 4's           74
9000 Pittsburgh 7's            630
300 Philadelphia 3's            9
Kim Mortgage - Pittsburgh       400
Rent - 1010 Bainbridge St.      200
Rent - 704 Market St.           1,300

Total $5,799

1As noted in the minutes of the Gratz College Trust, 31 March 1895.
AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF
CONGREGATION KAAL KADOSH MIKVEH ISRAEL

Constitution, Article 1, Section 1. The congregation shall also elect at its first meeting, after the adoption of this amendment, nine (9) trustees of the college to be established by it, who shall constitute a Board of Trustees of the Gratz College.

Section 2. The Board of Managers and the Board of Trustees of the Gratz College shall have power to fill vacancies which may occur in their own bodies.

Article 2, Section 3. At the first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Gratz College after their election, they shall divide themselves by lot into three classes whose term of office shall be two, four and six years respectively, and at every subsequent (alternate) annual meeting of the congregation three trustees of the Gratz College shall be elected for six years. The election of the trustees shall be by ballot, and those having the highest number of votes shall be declared elected. They shall at the first meeting after their election choose from among their number a secretary, president, and treasurer, none of whom shall hold a corresponding office in the Congregation or Board of Managers; these officers shall serve for one year and until their successors be chosen.

Article 6, Education. The congregation shall establish, as early as may be, a college for the education of Jews residing in the city and county of Philadelphia. The rules and regulations for the establishment and government of the college shall be prepared and adopted by the Board of Trustees, but shall not be valid until ratified by the congregation. The college, when established, shall be under the government of the Board of Trustees who shall have the exclusion custody and management by their officers of all funds, assets and general property in anywise applicable to the purpose of the college. All investments and re-investments shall be in the name of the Board of Trustees of the Gratz College.

By-Laws - Article 12. Board of Trustees of the Gratz College:

1st. The president shall preside at all the meetings of the Board of Trustees, and in his absence a chairman shall be chosen by the meeting.
2d. He shall have the general superintendence of the college and of all professors, teachers and salaried officers or employees, and shall report any neglect of duty to a general or special meeting of the Board of Trustees.

3d. He shall sign all orders drawn up upon the treasurer of the Board of Trustees, and countersigned by the secretary, which shall be from a printed book, having a marginal reference, which reference shall state the sum drawn, for what purpose, and the persons in whose favor drawn and the date of the said order.

4th. The president shall not, without the consent of the Board of Trustees, draw orders on its treasurer to an amount exceeding twenty-five ($25) dollars, except for the payment of salaries due.

5th. He shall have the custody of all the title papers, books, papers and seals of the college. He shall, if required, submit them to the inspection of the Board of Trustees at their meetings or to the congregation at its annual meeting, and shall within thirty days after the expiration of his term deliver them over to this successor in office.

6th. The treasurer of the Board of Trustees, before he enters upon the duties of his office, shall give a bond for the faithful discharge of the same, in such sum or sums as the Board of Trustees may deem sufficient, with one or more sureties to be approved by the Board, which bond shall be kept by the president.

7th. He shall open a regular set of books, and make therein the necessary entries, and keep a true and correct account of all the funds, receipts and disbursements. He shall have the custody of all moneys belonging to the Board of Trustees, which shall be kept in a distinct and separate account, in the name of the Trustees of the Gratz College, ________, treasurer. The depository is to be designed by the Board.

8th. He shall pay all orders drawn on him by the president.

9th. He shall at every regular meeting of the Board of Trustees submit an exact statement of the receipts and expenditures during the period intervening.

10th. He shall at all times, when required by the Board of Trustees, give them a statement of the moneys and securities in his hands.

11th. At the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees he
shall exhibit his account current of the receipts and payments made during the preceding year, which shall first have been audited by a committee of its Board.

12th. He shall not pay any sum unless on the order of the president.

13th. The secretary shall keep correct minutes of the meetings of the Board of Trustees, and in general perform such other duties as may be required of him by the Board.

14th. The Board of Trustees shall hold their meetings quarterly, and as often as occasion may require. They shall also hold an annual meeting within one month prior to the annual meeting of the congregation.

15th. They shall submit to the congregation, at its annual meeting, a full and complete report of their proceedings for the preceding year.
APPENDIX G

FIRST GROUP OF PUPILS ENROLLED AT GRATZ COLLEGE

Regular Students

Carrie Amram
Mary Chesney
Ofelia Grepp
Bessie Klein
Esther Levi
Mary Pach
Sadie Satinsky
Miriam Lavanburg
Sallie Sheftelson
Hettie Gillis
Ida Sperling

David Sertar
Harry Lipschutz
Robert Rosenberg
Bernard Shapira
David Husik
Isadore Goldstein
Samuel Shapira
Israel Gomborow
Adolph Klein
J. Serbet
R. Stoloff
John Abramoun
Felix Bach

Hebrew: Edward Nathan
Eugene Nathan
A. Sakasskansky
Solomon Heller
Solomon Segal

History: David Ang

Special Students

Hebrew: Isabel Jacobs
Emily Jacobs
Cecelia Sandheim

Literature: Mrs. Bertha Hirschberg Baruch
Isaac Websenstein

_________

1Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 28 January 1898.
APPENDIX H

AGREEMENT BETWEEN GRATZ COLLEGE AND
HARRY B. SHOEMAKER, BUILDING CONTRACTOR

THIS AGREEMENT, Made and entered into this Twenty-sixth day of
May on the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-nine, BY AND
BETWEEN Harry B. Shoemaker & Co., of No. 113 North Seventh St., Phila-
delphia as one party, hereinafter called the Builder AND the Congrega-
tion of Mickve Israel of No. 117 North 7th St., Philadelphia as the
other party, hereinafter called the Owner.

WITNESSETH, The said Builders do hereby, for themselves, their
heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, convenant, promise and
agree to and with the said Owners, their heirs, executors, administrators
or assigns, that they, the said Builders, their heirs, executors,
administrators or assigns, shall and will, for the consideration here-
inafter mentioned, on or before the Fifteenth day of August, in the
year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-nine, well and sufficiently
provide, erect, finish and deliver, in a complete and thoroughly work-
manlike manner, all the materials and labor required in the construction
of certain alterations and additions for the said Owners in ground sit-
uated at No. 117 North Seventh St. in the City of Philadelphia, County
of Philadelphia, and State of Pennsylvania, conformably to the Drawings
and Specifications prepared for the said works by Charles M. Burns,
Architect, to the satisfaction and under the direct and personal super-
vision of said Architect, and that said Builders will find and provide
such good, proper and sufficient materials, of all kinds whatsoever, as
shall be proper and sufficient for completion of all the said works
within the time aforesaid, for the sum of Two Thousand One Hundred and
Fifty 100 Dollars ($2,150.100).

That the said Owners do hereby for themselves, their heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, will and shall in consideration of the covenants and agreements being strictly executed, kept and performed by the said Builders, pay or cause to be paid to the said Builders, their heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, the sum of Two Thousand One Hundred and Fifty 100 Dollars ($2,150.100) Dollars lawful money of the United States in manner following:

First payment of $2150 100
Second payment of $
Third payment of $
Fourth payment of $
Fifth payment of $
Sixth payment of $
Seventh payment of $
Eighth payment of $

when the work is all complete, and after the expiration of Ten days, and when all said Drawings and Specifications have been returned to the said Architect, and a full release of Liens presented by the said Builders for all work done and materials furnished in and about the erection of said structure

PROVIDED, That in each case of these payments a certificate shall be obtained from the said Architect stating that the work is done in strict accordance with Drawings and Specifications, and that he considers the payment properly due; said certificate, however, in no way lessening the total, and final responsibility of the said Builders;
from liability to rectify work, if it be afterwards found to have been
improperly done or not according to the drawings and specifications,
either in execution or material; and PROVIDED also, that said Builders
shall in each case get, from the Clerk of the Office where liens are
recorded, a certificate by said Clerk, that he has carefully examined
the records, and finds no liens or claims recorded against said works,
or on account of the said Builders.

FURTHERMORE IT IS AGREED, BY AND BETWEEN THE SAID PARTIES:

First.---That the said Drawings and Specifications must be consid­
dered and construed as a whole. Whatever is marked on the Drawings,
at the time this Contract is signed, in the form of written or figured
memorandum or otherwise, is of equal force with the requirements set
forth in the Specifications.

Second.---That should any dispute arise respecting the intent or
meaning of the Drawings or Specifications, the same shall be decided
by the said Architect, and his decision shall be final; or in the event
of his death or unwillingness to act, then of some other known capable
Architect, or a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects; but
should any dispute arise respecting the true value of any material or
works omitted by the said Builders, the same shall be appraised by
two competent persons, one employed by the said Owners, and the other
by the said Builders, and these shall have the power to select a third
party whose decision shall be binding on all parties.

Third.---That the said Builders at their own cost must provide all
the labor, materials, scaffolding, machinery, and carriages, of every
kind, needful for the completion if the said works; must show, whenever
required by said Architect or Owners, such vouchers as will prove the
quality of materials used; and supply every sufficient facility to the
Architect Superintendent or Clerk of Works, for inspection of the works
and materials. That the said Architect may require the said Buildings
to dismiss any workman, or workmen whom he may consider detrimental to
the work. That the workmen and Builders being admitted only to the
premises for the purpose of the proper execution of the works, have no
tenancy. That the said Builders shall deliver up the works to the said
Owners, clean and in good condition, when complete. The said Builders
shall not sublet the works or any part thereof, without the consent in
writing of the said Owners.

Fourth.—That should the said Builders, during the progress of
the works, become bankrupt, refuse or neglect to supply a sufficiency
of material or of workmen, or cause any unreasonable neglect or sus­
pension of work, or fail, or refuse to follow the Drawings or Specifi­
cations, or comply with any of these Articles of Agreement, the said
Owners, or their Agents, shall have the right and power to enter upon
and take possession of the premises, and may at once terminate this
Contract, whereupon all claim of the said Builders, their executors,
administrators, or assigns, shall end; and the said Owners may provide
materials and workmen sufficient to complete the said works, after
giving forty-eight hours notice, in writing, directed and delivered to
the said Builders, or at their residence or place of business; and the
expense of the notice, and the completing of the various works will be
deducted from the amount of Contract, or any part of it due, or to
become due, to the said Builders; and in such case no scaffolding or
tacke of any kind, belonging to said Builders, shall be taken away so
long as the same is required for the work. But if any balance on the
amount of this Contract remains after completion in respect of work done during the time of the defaulting Builder, the same shall belong to the person or persons legally representing them, but the Owners shall not be liable or accountable to the said representative or representatives in any way for the manner in which they may have had the work finished.

Fifth.---That the said Builders alone, and not the Owners, must be answerable and accountable for any loss or damage that shall or may happen to the said works or material, or any part or parts thereof, or for injury to any person or persons, either workmen or the public, or for damage to any adjoining property, from any cause which might have been prevented by the said Builders, or their employees; and said Builders must make good all damage from whatever cause, being strictly responsible for the same. Where different Contractors are employed on the works, each shall be responsible to the other for all damage to work, person and property for any loss caused by neglect, by failure to finish work at proper time, or from any other cause; and any Contractor so damaged shall call the attention of the said Owners or Superintendent to the same.

Sixth.---That the said Builders must insure the work to cover their interest in the same, as the said Owners will not under any circumstances be answerable or accountable for any loss by fire. The said Owners may insure to cover their interest after payments have been made.

Seventh.---That should the said Builders fail to complete the work at the date named, they shall pay to or allow the said Owners, by way of all liquidated damages the sum of Ten Dollars per diem, for
each and every day after the date named until the works shall be completed, provided the work is completed on or before August 31st, 1899, but should the work not be completed on August 31st, 1899, the amount shall be $20.00 per diem from or after August 31st, 1899.

(Note: Nothing in this article contained shall in any manner abridge the right of the Owners under the 4th article to enter and take possession).

Eighth.—That should the said Builders complete the work prior to the aforesaid date, then the said Owner shall pay the said Builders, by way of bonus or premium, the sum of Five Dollars.

Ninth.—That should the said Owners, at any time during the progress of the said works, require any changes of, deviations from, additions to, or omissions in the said works, they shall have the right to make such changes or changes without in any way impairing or making void this Contract; but the value of the difference either in addition or deduction shall first be agreed upon in writing, in duplicate, and signed by both parties to this Contract, before such change is made; and such agreement shall state also the extension of time (if any), which may be allowed on this account, otherwise no work of any kind shall be considered as an extra or so paid for.

Tenth.—That all work and materials, which may be delivered on the premises to become part of the works, must be regarded as the property of the said Owners, and are not to be removed without their consent; but the said Builders shall have the right, unless herein otherwise agreed, to remove all surplus materials when the work is completed.
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said Harry B. Shoemaker & Co. have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year above written, and the said Congregation Mickve Israel has caused its corporate seal to be hereto affixed, duly attached by its Secretary.

Owner, Viz. A.M. Frechie
President

Builder, Viz. Harry B. Shoemaker & Co.
113 N. 7th St. Phila.

Witnesses. Viz.
Hettie P. Feinberg, Attest
Isaac Feinberg, Secretary.
APPENDIX I

THE SEAL OF THE COLLEGE
INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION
OF THE GRATZ COLLEGE BUILDING, 1909

We have assembled today to dedicate this building to the uses of the College founded by Hyman Gratz "for the education of Jews residing in the City and County of Philadelphia". Modest and unpretentious as it is in appearance, we believe that this house of learning will answer all the requirements of Gratz College for many years to come. The architects and builders have labored with skill and thoroughness to carry out the ideas which the efficient Building Committee of the Board of Trustees have formulated, and the building now stands completed, to be used for the high and worthy objects for which it was designed.

On this occasion the personality of the founder of Gratz College will naturally claim the attention of those who are interested in the institution which was created by his beneficence.

Hyman Gratz was the son of Michael Gratz, a native of Silesia, Germany, who settled in the province of Pennsylvania in the year 1759. He married Miriam Simon, the daughter of Joseph Simon, a prominent merchant of Lancaster, then an active mart of trade for the central and western parts of the province. Hyman Gratz was one of the nine children of this worthy couple, and was born in the City of Philadelphia in 1776, the year in which the Independence of the United States was declared. He was trained to business pursuits and in early manhood achieved an honorable position in the staid and conservative mercantile circles of the Philadelphia of his time. In these circles a
high sense of probity prevailed, together with a measure of enterprise that sent the ships of the Quaker City to the four corners of the earth. A member of a family that had left its impress upon the annals of the City, Mr. Gratz in his early manhood attained a position of prominence which he maintained throughout his life. Those were days which were less strenuous than our own times, but the things that were undertaken were done at least as thoroughly and efficiently as they are now, even though the doing of them was not accompanied by the same demonstrative methods.

The position of Mr. Gratz in the mercantile world gained for him the confidence and esteem of his business associates, so that he became identified with a number of movements to advance the financial interests of the City and to improve its position as a centre of culture and learning.

In 1818 he was elected a Director of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities which was chartered by the legislature in the year 1812 for the purposes indicated in its title, and by a subsequent enlargement of its powers became the first Trust Company in this Country, a distinction which has had coupled with it that of exceptional standing amongst the financial institutions of the City. In 1837 he was elected President of the Company. This office he held during the remainder of his life, a period of twenty years. He was a Director of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts for five years, and Treasurer of that Institution during the last fifteen years of his life.

This exemplary record in the affairs of the City was supplemented
by his whole hearted devotion to the Congregation Mikve Israel. His father had been one of the signers of the agreement of 1782 by means of which the Congregation was organized in its present form. Hyman Gratz was elected Treasurer in September, 1824, and continued to hold that office for a period of thirty-two years. In this capacity and in his every day life he manifested his love for the religion to which the Congregation is devoted. His services to the Kahal to which he was so strongly attached, were marked by the sense of duty and the high regard for the responsibility of a trust, that characterized all his actions. In this Congregation he was associated with men of eminence in the affairs of the City, men who, to an ardent devotion to the nation and the municipality, added an equal measure of fidelity to their religion and its teachings. Mikve Israel has just reason to be proud of these men, amongst whom Hyman Gratz was a leader in all good works. This fidelity to Judaism was not an accidental or unaccountable manifestation. It had been inculcated by the teachings and example of pious parents and by a family tradition which made the name he bore famous wherever, in all the wide world, the faith of Israel has its votaries. The name of his sister, Rebecca Gratz, founder of the Hebrew Sunday School Society, who was also numbered amongst the founders of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, and the Jewish Foster Home and Orphan Asylum, is more widely known than that of any American Jewess. Her elder brother, to whose home she contributed the charm of her womanly grace and her affection for the customs of their religion which both of them practiced in unaffected sincerity, possessed the same traits of steadfastness and of benevolent public spirit.
When Hyman Gratz died on the 27th day of January, 1857, he left behind him a record, which we of the present generation can cherish with gratitude and high regard.

The historian of the Pennsylvania Company, in commenting on the resolutions of eulogy adopted by the Directors of the Academy of the Fine Arts, at the time of his demise, wrote:

"The warmth and evident sincerity of this eulogium indicate the high regard in which Mr. Gratz was held, not only by the Academy of the Fine Arts, but also by his fellow-officers of the Pennsylvania Company, as well as by the community at large."

"Mr. Gratz began his business career early. He became a Director of the Pennsylvania Company in 1818. He is said to have retained his mental and physical vigor up to a short time before his death, and his wise intelligence and keen foresight as an executive officer are shown by his whole career in the office of President of the Pennsylvania Company, which he held until his death on January 27th, 1857."

There are still with us members of his family who delight in recalling his gracious personality, combining the gentle manner of a Philadelphian of the old school, with the firmness, self-reliance and energy of the active and capable man of affairs.

The trust which has devolved upon the Congregation Mikve Israel was a contingent one. The trust estate, created by a deed executed in 1856, vested in the Congregation on the death of Horace Moses, a nephew of the donor, in 1893. It was eminently in accordance with the fitness of things that this faithful officer of the Congregation, who
enjoyed the ministry of those staunch and able leaders in the cause of Jewish education, Isaac Leeser and Sabato Morais, should testify his interest in that cause by a provision such as that which has called Gratz College into being. The few terse words creating this trust manifest to his love for his people, his solicitude for their welfare, his faith in the venerable congregation for which he labored during the greater part of his life. The Congregation honored itself in bestowing his name upon this College, although there was no requirement in the deed of trust that this tribute or any other mark of distinction be accorded the founder.

It is therefore a sacred trust which has been committed to us, one which we and those who come after us should carry out with a degree of care, of foresight and of fidelity that will justify the confidence thus reposed.

And in dedicating this building to the cause of higher Jewish education in the City of Philadelphia, we can only express the hope that the teachings imparted within these walls will be permeated by the spirit of devotion to our religion, of serious concern for the truth and the right, and so prove a source of permanent blessing not only to the students of Gratz College, but to the goodly City in which Hyman Gratz labored honorably, usefully and well.
APPENDIX K

REPORT OF THE PRINCIPAL OF GRATZ COLLEGE FOR THE
SCHOLASTIC YEAR ENDING 15 JUNE 1900 WITH
DETAILS OF RECRUITMENT EFFORTS

Gentlemen, this communication which I have the honor to submit to
you, being somewhat in the nature of an annual report I beg your kind
permission to make the following remarks.

On January the third, 1901, the Gratz College will have completed
the third year of its existence as an institution imparting instruction
direct from teacher to pupil in matters of higher Jewish education.
During this comparatively short time the College passed through various
Vicissitudes. At its opening the College attracted a considerable number
of students by the mere novelty of the matter. Soon, however, the
students found that the nature and the amount of the work pursued demand
steady application and regularity in attendance. Owing to this discovery
the average attendance gradually decreased and only a few faithful and
studious young men and women remained to work and to accomplish.

This regrettable condition repeated itself during the second year
of the existence of the College as well as during past year when a total
number of twenty students at the opening dwindled away to the average
attendance of nine and ten at the end of the year as the details in my
last report indicate.

This unwelcome situation caused me to observe and to reflect.
Being a matter of deep conviction with me, a conviction based on
knowledge and sympathy, that the College must ultimately recruit its
best and most creditable students from among the Jewish youth living
downtown I naturally directed my attention to Jewish educational condi­
tions existing in that quarter. It is a matter of regret for me to state
that Jewish education downtown is in a sadly disorganized, crude and
unmethodical state. There is a complete lack of gradation in the vari­
ous Hebrew studies not calculated to advance the mind of the young
pupil from the easy to the difficult and from the simple to the complex.
But the worst feature of this manner on instruction is the medium of
translation generally used by the teacher, which is the Jewish jargon.

The student born in this country or who ascribed to this land very
young is but imperfectly familiar with the jargon used by his own
parents. Thus many of the terms employed by the teacher remain mean­
ingless to the pupil. The student gradually learns to despise and to
reject the jargon in the same proportion as he learns to understand
and to appreciate the English language. And as Hebrew and jargon are
intimately associated in the mind of the youth, if not blunderingly
identified, the boy or girl grows up to detest the Hebrew and other
kindred Jewish subjects as heartily as he detest the jargon. Such are
the educational conditions that confront us in the downtown districts.
This evil I have pointed out clearly to a few of the most intelligent teachers and other influential persons residing downtown. After explaining to them the work, the method, and the aim of the Gratz College, laying particular stress on the idea that graduate teachers from the College could and would be the proper persons to devote their energies to the removal of the evils mentioned and towards the introduction of light, system and intelligence in matters of Jewish education among their brethren after pleading with them repeatedly in the Course of the College I have succeeded, in a measure, in enlisting the active sympathy of a few with our Institution. Some of these teachers and leaders are now in active cooperation with your principal in the attempt to carry on a propaganda in behalf of the causes of higher Jewish education as it is imparted through the medium of the Gratz College.

As a result of this and by means of addresses on this subject delivered by your principle before a literary society of young people that meet downtown I have in my possession a list of 22 young men and women who gave their names and addresses with the intention of entering the College on its reopening for the next term. Some of these prospective students I met and was favorably impressed with their intelligence, earnestness and willingness to work. They seemed to realize the truth that nothing worthy may be learned without exertion and steady application.
EXTRACTS CONCERNING CURRICULUM FROM
THE PRINCIPAL'S ANNUAL REPORT, 1902-1903

Literature (Mr. Speaker)
First Year Class: Introductory lectures to Jewish Literature
generally with specific reference to Prophetic Literature;
Isaiah, almost entire book studied analytically with a view of
bringing out literary and historical aspects of the book.

Second Year Class: Introductory lectures to Oral Law with special
reference to the Mishnah and Talmud.

Third Year Class: Hebrew text of various Chapters in Yad Ha-Ha-
zakah (Code of Maimonides); additional instruction in Talmud,
Masekhet Brakhot given to students intending to pursue a rabbin-
cical career.

History (Mr. Dembitz)
First Year Class: Abraham to period of the Sopherim.

Second Year Class: Simon the Just to the revolt against Trojan
and Hadrian.

Third Year Class: Establishment of the Sanhedrin in Jabne to the
epoch of the Gabirol.

Hebrew (Mr. Husik)
First Year Class: Green's Elementary Hebrew Grammar, almost
completing irregular verbs. Almost the entire year devoted to
grammar because the students had acquired a reading knowledge of
Hebrew before entering the college.

Second Year Class: Joshua, almost entire book with exception of
geographical portions; Judges, first eight chapters; Proverbs,
thirteen chapters; completed irregular verbs and did exercises in
Hebrew composition based on selected portions of the texts read.

Third Year Class: Isaiah, twenty-eight chapters; private reading-
Second Kings, 6 chapters; Aramaic grammar and reading, chapters in
Daniel and Ezra, with Mr. Dembitz; portions of the Jewish Ritual;
Rashi Commentary to Genesis - a special course for those who
wished to do advanced work with a view to entering the Jewish
Theological Seminary.
APPENDIX M

EXTRACTS CONCERNING CURRICULUM FROM THE PRINCIPAL'S REPORT, 1903-1904

Literature (Mr. Speaker)
First Year Class: Introductory lectures on Jewish literature; Deuteronomy, twelve chapters; Psalms, fifty psalms historically and analytically expounded.

Second Year Class: Portions of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira, found and edited by Professor Solomon Schechter; introductory lectures on the Oral Law; study of the nature and contents of the Talmud.

Third Year Class: Mishna, entire tractate of Aboth with Bartenor commentary.

History (Mr. Dembitz)
First Year Class: Abraham to Babylonian exile.

Second Year Class: Accession of Simon, the Just to the compilation of the Mishnah.

Third Year Class: Establishment of Sanhedrin at Yabne to the period of the Geonim and contact with Moslem power.

Hebrew (Mr. Husik)
First Year Class: Green's Elementary Hebrew Grammar, through the regular verbs and part of the irregular verbs; reading of selected portions of Genesis.

Second Year Class: Davidson's Hebrew Syntax; Deuteronomy, selected portions; Amos and Micah; selected commentaries of Ibn Ezra and Samuel David Luzatto; private reading — Jeremiah, first ten chapters.

Third Year Class: Isaiah, chapters 1-30; Davidson's Hebrew Syntax; Aramaic grammar and readings with Mr. Dembitz; private reading, Mapu's, Ahabath Ziyyon.

Post Graduate Class: Ecclesiastes; Rashi commentary on Genesis, Davidson's Hebrew Syntax.
APPENDIX N

CURRICULUM OF THE HEBREW HIGH SCHOOL
OF THE ASSOCIATED TALMUD TORAH, 1928

March 5, 1928

Statement of the work covered by the present post-graduate class during its four years at Hebrew High School up to February 1928.

Pentateuch:

First 2 1/2 years: Genesis, Exodus, selections from Leviticus and Numbers, Deuteronomy.

Last 1 1/2 year: Portion of the week; selections from Rashi.

Prophets and Hagiographa:

Review of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings.

Ezra and Nehemiah, Selections from Daniel and Macc. I.

Amos.

Isaiah I: 16 chs; II: 13 chs.

Jeremiah: 20 chs.

Esther and Ruth.

Lamentations.

Job: 8 chs.

Psalms: 15 chs.

Proverbs: Selections

Language, Composition and Grammar:

Fundamentals of Grammar – nouns, verbs, other parts of speech, general review.
Composition

Selected readings - Texts: Ben Yisroel II; Loshon Vesefer III.

Collateral Reading: From the series of "Livnei Hansurim,"
"ai" [illegible] and "Omonuth."

History of Literature:

Brief discussion of lives and works of modern Hebrew writers.

Historical books of the Apocrypha.

History:

General Survey - Teacher Jack Meyers - "Story of the Jewish People," and Bilderone's "Jewish Post-Biblical History Through Great Personalities";

Review of Biblical History till the Assassination of Gedaliah.

Text: Margolis & Marx: "History of the Jewish People,"

Aggadah:

Text: Lekkutei Aggadoth

Ceremonies & Liturgy:

Shulhan Aruch - Text: Lerner & Hurwitz

Study of the Prayer Book

Mishna:

Text: Bragin's "Pirkei Mishna"; Sanhderin 11 chs.; Makkoth 1 ch.
GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF COURSE FOR HEBREW HIGH SCHOOL
OF ASSOCIATED TALMUD TORAHS

1. Torah and Rashi
   Review of the most important books of the Pentateuch, with
   reference to the Commentary of Rashi for the elucidation of the text.

2. Bible
   Review of the text of the earlier prophets; study of the text of
   the latter prophets, and Hagiographa, selected chapters; brief sketch
   of the life, character and conceptions of the prophets studied,
   accompanied by a presentation of the historic background of the books
   studied.

3. Agadah
   Selected Aggadoth from the Talmud and Midrash.

4. Mishna and Talmud
   Introduction of the study of the Mishnah; reading of selected
   portions from Zeraim, Moed, Nezikin; reading of selected portions from
   B'rochos and Baba Mezia.

5. Ceremonies and Liturgy
   A study of the ceremonial practices of Jewish life and the
   Prayer Book, supplemented by the study of Rabbinic and Liturgic texts,
   aiming to give an insight into the development of Judaism.

6. Language and Literature
   To develop ability to express one's self both in writing and con-
   versation in Hebrew; survey of the fundamentals of Hebrew grammar,
   readings from representative Hebrew writers, with attention to idiomatic
Hebrew usage and style; general sketch of modern Hebrew Literature; collateral readings.

7. History

Survey of Jewish history to modern times, showing the development of the institutions and ideals of the Jewish people; a study of contemporary Jewish life, thru systematic study of Jewish current events.
1. (a) What is Literature? (b) What is Jewish Literature? (c) By what test do you decide whether a given book is worthy to be called Jewish Literature?

2. (a) State briefly but clearly the supreme importance of the Bible from the point of view of Jewish Literature. (b) Explain the twofold division of the Biblical books, namely the Massoretic and the Literary. (c) Mention two books of each Massoretic division.

3. (a) What are the distinctive marks of Bible Poetry? (b) Mention some of the most essential principles taught by the Prophets.

4. (a) State briefly what you know about the personal life and character of Isaiah. (b) What were the prevailing religious, social and political conditions of Judah when Isaiah received his call to prophecy?

5. What characteristics of style in Isaiah's prophecy impressed you as distinctive in comparison with other prophetic writings? Give illustrations.

6. What are the peculiar importance and deep significance attaching to the opening of Isaiah? Give something of its contents.

7. Mention some of the striking figures of speech employed by Isaiah to describe the destruction of the Assyrian Army in its siege of Jerusalem in the reign of Hezekiah.
1. (a) What do you understand by the Canon of the Bible? 
(b) What is the traditional division of the Biblical Books and on what principle is it based?

2. (b) What was required by the Rabbis of any given book in order to be admitted into the Canon of the Bible?

3. (a) State briefly the origin and general nature of the collection of books known as Apocrypha. (b) Why were these books excluded from the Bible?

4. (a) When, by whom and for what purpose was the book of Ecclesiasticus written? (b) State the general nature of the Book. (c) What do you know about recent discoveries of the larger part of the Hebrew text of this book?


7. (a) Define Halachah and Haggadah. (b) Give an illustration of Haggadah.
APPENDIX P

CURRICULUM OF K.K. MIKVEH ISRAEL
SCHOOL OF OBSERVATION AND PRACTICE
OF GRATZ COLLEGE, 1909

CURRICULUM OF THE SCHOOL OF
OBSERVATION AND PRACTICE

Regular Course of the School of Observation
and Practice of the Gratz College

PRIMARY DEPARTMENT

Course - Two years. Age - 6-8. Hours - Sunday, 9:30-12 in the morning.

Subjects of Study: Of this one-half hour shall be given to religious
exercises in every class.
Lives of Bible Characters.
Explanation of Holidays.
Memorizing Bible Texts from the Prayer Book, Hebrew and English.
Hebrew signs and letters and syllables.
Beginnings of Hebrew.
Hebrew alphabet.

SECONDARY DEPARTMENT

Course - One year. Age - 8-9. Hours - Sunday, 3-5:30 P.M.; Tuesdays
and Thursdays, 4:30-6 P.M.

Subjects of Instruction:
Reading and Rudiments of Grammar (Orthography), 2½ hours weekly.
Bible History, from Creation to Death of Moses, including
explanation of Pentateuachal Laws, Festivals, etc., 2½ hours
weekly.

CLASS 2.

Course - One year. Age 9-10. Hours - Sunday, 3-5 P.M.; Tuesdays and
Thursdays, 4:30-6 P.M.

Subjects of Instruction:
Hebrew-Reading from Prayer Book. The Noun and the Verb.
Exercises from Hebrew into English. Translation of easy portions
of the Prayer Book, 2½ hours weekly.
Bible History - From Joshua to the Division of the Kingdom.
Biblical Geography made prominent feature, use of maps and charts,
2½ hours weekly.
CLASS 3.

Course - One year. Age - 10-11. Hours - Sunday, 3-5:30 P.M.; Tuesdays and Thursdays, 4:30-6 P.M.

Subjects of Instruction:
Hebrew - Grammar continued. Translation of Prayers and Psalms. Selections from the Pentateuch, 2½ hours weekly.
Bible History - From the Division of the Kingdom to the Fall of Samaria and end of Hezekiah's reign, including readings from Isaiah, Micah, Hosea, Amos, etc. Biblical Geography, 2½ hours weekly.

CLASS 4.

Course - One year. Age - 11-12. Hours - As above.

Subjects of Instruction:
Hebrew - Grammar continued. Selections from the Bible. Translation of Holiday Prayers. Exercises from English into Hebrew, 2½ hours weekly.
Bible History - From the death of Hezekiah to the Restoration, Life in Babylon, including readings from Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Psalms and Proverbs, 2½ hours weekly.

CLASS 5.

Course - One year. Age - 12-13. Hours - As above.

Subjects of Instruction:
Religion.

CLASS 6.

Course - One year. Age - 13-14. Hours - As above.

Subjects of Instruction:
Hebrew - Selections from Prophets and Psalms.

BRIEFER COURSE.
SECTIONS SUNDAY MORNINGS, 9:30-12

CLASS 1.

Hebrew - Reading and Rudiments of Grammar (Orthography) - One hour.
Bible History - From Creation to Death of Moses, including explanation of Pentateuchal Laws and Festivals. One hour.

CLASS 2.


CLASS 3.

Hebrew Reading - Translation from Prayer Book continued. The Verb. One hour.
Bible History - From Saul to Division of the Kingdom. One hour.

CLASS 4.

Hebrew Reading - Translation of Sabbath Prayers. The Verb continued. One hour.
Bible History - Division of Kingdom to the Fall of Samaria. Reading from Isaiah. One hour.
Bible History - From Hezekiah to the Restoration from Babylon. Readings from the Prophets. One hour.

CLASS 6.

One session weekly for instruction in Religion and Jewish Literature.
The following is the report of the Mikveh Israel School of Observation and Practice of Gratz College:

I wish to confine myself in this report to a description of the more important changes that have been effected in the School of Observation and Practice this year, as well as to a statement, in general terms, of my plans for the School and the lines along which I am proceeding this year in order to put them into effect. The changes in the School are as follows:

**Curriculum:** The curriculum which the Committee of the School decided last year to submit to revision, and for which purpose a sub-committee, consisting of Rev. Elmaleh, Dr. Greenstone and the Superintendent, was appointed, is now completed and in effect in the School. The special features of the revised curriculum may be indicated as follows:

a. **Definite assignment and distribution of subject matter and allotment of time for each subject.**

b. **Textbooks based on modern pedagogic principles and leading to a more vivid understanding of the Bible and the Prayerbook.** The Bible is taught in its entirety, as far as possible, and not in the fragmentary piecemeal fashion suggested by such textbooks as were used in the School previously.

c. **The newly introduced textbooks challenge the best efforts and attention of the teachers and do not allow them to get into ruts and become phlegmatic in their work.**

**Double Shift:** At its last meeting the Committee approved of the plan suggested by the Superintendent to have the School organ-
ized on a double shift basis, that is, to have classes meet on Sunday, Monday and Wednesday, and on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday, alternately. The plan is in effect this year. Four classes of the Regular Department meet on Sunday, Monday and Wednesday, and four other classes on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday. On Sunday, the six lower grades are divided into two groups, each receiving an hour's instruction alternately in history and religion with the aid of stereoptican slides. Each teacher on the double shift basis is thus engaged for eight instead of five hours, as before, and receives a proportionate increase in salary.

The reasons for introducing this plan may be summed up as follows:

a. Better chances to attract and to retain efficient teachers.

b. Greater claim by the School on the teacher's time and attention.

c. Provision for expansion and growth of the School. The School is now spacially prepared to accommodate one hundred and fifty more pupils.

d. Better opportunity for effective supervision. There are fewer classes to observe on a single day and fewer teachers to train.

This arrangement seems to be greatly appreciated by the teachers, as evidenced by greater devotion to their work and to the best interests of the School.

Changes in the Staff: The following changes in the Staff have taken place. Two teachers, one in the Regular Department and another in the Sunday Department, were dismissed for reasons of in-efficiency; two teachers were transferred from the Regular Department
to the Sunday Department; one teacher resigned because her request for an additional class had not been granted; and one new teacher, highly recommended for efficient work in one of the Schools of the A.T.T., was engaged for the coming year at a salary of Eighty Dollars per month, for eight hours a week. On the whole, the Teaching Staff is now much better organized and equipped for its work than last year. However, there is still room for improvement.

Recreation Room: One of the rooms in the School has been set aside and properly equipped for recreation purposes. The children assemble there before and after class hours and spend their leisure in their own fashion. One of the chief benefits derived from this arrangement is the fact that the children are not roaming about all over the Building before School hours, and teachers are left in their classrooms undisturbed and able to prepare their lessons and to put their rooms into working order. Another advantage of, perhaps, even greater significance gained by this room, is the spirit of sympathy, intimacy and cordial relationship among pupils, teachers and the School, engendered in this easy and genial atmosphere. Bonds of attachment are established there which may be lasting and may be a determining factor in the future attitude of the pupils towards Jewish life and traditions. This function cannot so easily and effectively be performed by the more or less stiff and formal procedure in the classroom. Suitable equipments and quiet games are being provided for this room.

Mass Instruction: A plan of combining adjacent grades in the teaching of History and Religion with the aid of stereoptican
slides is being gradually introduced into the School and is promising great results. The motives for this innovation are both economy and effective instruction. Fewer teachers for these subjects will be needed, and the illustrated lessons will leave valid and lasting impressions with the children. Thus far only the six lower grades, divided into two groups, are affected by this arrangement. It will be possible, it is hoped, to extend this method of instruction to the higher grades next year. An old stereoptican machine found in the School has been repaired and put into working order.

I might note in passing, that in spite of the fact that teachers' salaries have increased from an average of $48.81 a month last year to $68.56 a month this year, and that $200 are expended this year on clerical services, the introduction of mass instruction together with the double shift arrangement into the School is responsible for a curtailment of about Six Hundred Dollars in our annual expenses for teachers.

Special Class: A special class has been organized recently for the benefit of the children who are not well adjusted to their respective classes, either because of being over age or of being in one or more of the important subjects of the curriculum. An attempt is being made to give these children individual attention and to adjust them to the class where they will be best fitted by reason of age or preparation. Attendance in this class is voluntary. No special pressure is being brought to bear upon them to attend. Yet about twenty-five pupils are already enrolled in this class, which is too large a number for a class of this nature, and it will be necessary
to eliminate those who are least in need of this special work.

As to my plans for the future and the course I wish to pursue particularly this year, I have set for myself two main objectives, to the attainment of which I shall bend all my efforts this year. They are greater teaching efficiency and better attendance. These two objectives, if reached, will I hope, set a standard which will determine the character of the School in the future as a School of Observation and Practice.

The supervision of instruction is now universally regarded as the one supreme duty of the public school principal. To what extent supervision is a crying need in our Hebrew Schools, where teachers are very often deficient in the most elementary knowledge of the subject matter that they are teaching, let alone method and technique, can hardly be appreciated, except by one who is in intimate touch with the work in the classroom. I have tried to point out in my report to the Committee last year the inefficiency and the inadequacy of the instruction in our School and the vital need of remedying the situation. The following is in general terms the plan of supervision which is designed to meet this need, as far as possible, this year:

a. Classroom visits by the Superintendent. These visits are arranged in accordance with a definite plan and time schedule based on the Time Distribution Programs presented by each teacher for each class. The lessons observed are analyzed into their positive and negative elements and discussed with the respective teachers after classes in individual conferences. Strong points in the lesson are commended and remedial suggestions made for the weak ones.

b. Intervisitation: Teachers are given an opportunity at definite intervals to visit parallel classes in the School and in other schools of good standing in the city. A visiting outline suggesting definite elements to be
looked for in the lesson observed is given to each visiting teacher, and a report on the visit is called for to be presented at the following teachers' meeting. An arrangement is under consideration whereby it will be possible to relieve one teacher once in two weeks and to have the Superintendent take charge of this teacher's class. This will incidentally afford an opportunity to the Superintendent to become more intimately acquainted with the work and the standing of each class.

c. Demonstration lessons: At least once a month a demonstration lesson is taught either by the Superintendent or by one of the teachers proficient in certain particular phases of the work, in the presence of the entire staff. Individual demonstration lessons are also taught by the Superintendent occasionally, for the benefit of those teachers who are particularly weak in certain points of their work. Criticism and discussion of the lesson taught follows collectively or individually, as the case may be.

d. Teachers' Meetings: At these meetings, some of which have already been held, special school and classroom problems are discussed. Reports on classroom visits by the Superintendent, emphasizing points of general interest, are presented, as well as reports by the teachers of their visits in this and other schools. An attempt is being made to give these meetings a genuine educational character, and to make them a vital force in welding the group of teachers together; in maintaining unity of purpose, as far as possible, in the School, and in arousing and stimulating a professional attitude and an interest in the wider aspects of the problem of Jewish education.

As to attendance, although our School compares rather favorably in this respect with other Schools, our average attendance being about 90% percent, there is still room for improvement. We must bear in mind that the number of hours of instruction in our School is comparatively very small. Regularity of attendance is therefore of vital importance. Efficient instruction and regular attendance are so closely linked together that they can hardly be treated apart. Improvement of instruction is bound to react favorably on the attend-
ance. However, special means are being considered by the faculty which are calculated to encourage and stimulate better attendance, into the details of which, I do not deem it advisable to enter just now.

May I remark, in conclusion, that I am particularly interested in this School not as in a detached educational unit, but as in an essential part of the system of Jewish education in Philadelphia. I visualize this School as a sort of experimental station for Jewish education, where teachers are being trained in service and where efficient methods of instruction are being devised and improved. The School should not only supplement but also complement the Gratz College. In order to accomplish this result two things are needed:

a. Adequate and constructive supervision.

b. A staff of teachers who have at least a theoretical knowledge of the principles of teaching, and who are well-grounded in the subject matter which they are teaching.

The plan of supervision outlined herewith, is calculated to meet the first need. The second will be met, it is hoped, by improving as far as possible, the present teaching personnel, by gradual changes in the staff, and particularly by the raising of the scholastic standard of the Gratz College.

Now, I am not at all unmindful of the limitations under which we are laboring, and will have to labor for some time to come. Our teaching staff is still, with few exceptions, inadequately prepared in the most elementary requisite for teaching, namely, the knowledge of subject matter. I have, however, unreserved faith that these handicaps will be eventually overcome and that the possibilities of this School will be realized.
I beg leave, herewith, to call the attention of the members of the Board to the following immediate physical needs of the School:

1. About seventy-five more lockers. At present there are about seventy-five lockers available in the School, just enough for One Hundred and Fifty children or half the number attending our School. This makes it necessary for them to keep their hats and coats in the classrooms, spoiling, thereby, the aesthetic appearance of the classroom and incidentally affecting unfavorably the attitude of the pupils towards their work.

2. A stage in the Assembly Hall, where the children might give occasional dramatic performances. This would, in my judgment, contribute considerably to the social life of the School.

Both these needs could be met, according to estimates I was able to procure, by an expenditure of about One Hundred and Twenty Dollars.

May I also suggest that the members of the Board consider the advisability of increasing the enrollment of the School next year by one hundred and fifty more pupils. The double shift arrangement introduced into our School this year, makes it possible for us to accommodate this additional number. Through some arrangement with the Associated Talmud Torahs, or through an independent educational campaign, this increase in the enrollment could be effected.
PLAN OF SUPERVISION OF TEACHERS OF
THE SCHOOL OF OBSERVATION AND PRACTICE
PROPOSED BY DR. WILLIAM CHOMSKY

a. Classroom visits by the Superintendent: These visits are arranged in accordance with a definite plan and time schedule based on the Time Distribution Programs presented by each teacher for each class. The lessons observed are analyzed into their positive and negative elements and discussed with the respective teachers after classes in individual conferences. Strong points in the lesson are commended and remedial suggestions made for the weak ones.

b. Intervisitation: Teachers are given an opportunity at definite intervals to visit parallel classes in the School and in other schools of good standing in the city. A visiting outline suggesting definite elements to be looked for in the lesson observed is given to each visiting teacher, and a report on the visit is called for to be presented at the following teachers' meeting. An arrangement is under consideration whereby it will be possible to relieve one teacher once in two weeks and to have the Superintendent take charge of this teacher's class. This will incidentally afford an opportunity to the Superintendent to become more intimately acquainted with the work and the standing of each class.

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1Report of Mikve Israel School of Observation and Practice of Gratz College, 1924-1925.
of teachers together; in maintaining unity of purpose, as far as possible, in the School, and in arousing and stimulating a professional attitude and an interest in the wider aspects of the problem of Jewish education.
APPENDIX S

GRATZ COLLEGE SELF-STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE
FOR ALUMNI OF THE COLLEGE DEPARTMENT, 1976
(B.H.L. AND/OR HEBREW TEACHER'S DIPLOMA)
SPRING 1976

Instructions: Please fill out this questionnaire as completely as possible. In most cases you need only circle the number to the left of the most appropriate response. You need not put your name on this questionnaire.

1. In what year did you receive your B.H.L and/or Hebrew Teacher's Diploma?

   BHL --------- - HTD

2. When you entered the College Department at Gratz, what was your main motivation? (rank all relevant alternatives, giving the most significant a '1' and so forth.)

   ___ to further my personal Jewish education
   ___ to become equipped to teach in a Jewish school
   ___ because many of my friends did
   ___ to prepare for entrance to rabbinical school or Jewish scholarship
   ___ to teach Hebrew in a public school
   ___ other (specify)

3. After completing your degree at Gratz, did you receive any further formal Jewish education?

   1 No
   2 Yes (specify, e.g. college courses)

4. Did you attend the Gratz High School or Normal Department before entering Gratz College?

   1 Yes, the High School
   2 Yes, the Normal Department
   3 No, but I attended another Judaica program in high school (specify)
   4 No, I did not study Judaica during high school

5. What was the greatest value you derived from your education at Gratz College?

6. Have you taken on any administrative responsibilities in Jewish education such as Hebrew or Sunday school principal?
1. No
2. Yes (specify)

7. Since graduation, have you taught Judaica in any of the following types of institutions? (please fill in the chart below where applicable. If you have not taught since graduation, go on to question 9.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSTITUTION</th>
<th>NUMBER OF YEARS TAUGHT</th>
<th>SUBJECTS TAUGHT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afternoon Hebrew School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Day School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public High School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Do you feel that your preparation in the College was adequate in the following areas for the teaching responsibilities you assumed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEACHING AREA</th>
<th>DEGREE OF PREPARATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Excellent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew Language</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Matter Mastery (e.g. Bible, History)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom Management</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. What is the highest secular degree you have completed? ____________

10. What is your current occupation? __________________________

11. Are you currently involved in the Jewish community in any of the following ways? (circle all that apply)

1. member of a synagogue
2. member of a Zionist organization
3. member of other Jewish organization (specify) ______________________
4. Officer, board of committee member of any of the above
5. contributor to FAJA-IEF
6. other (specify) ____________________________

12. How would you rank the following objectives of Gratz College for the community? (1 would represent the objectives you consider most important)

   ______ preparation of teachers for Jewish schools
   ______ training of future rabbis and Judaica scholars
   ______ preparation of uninformed Jewish laity
   ______ services to Jewish schools in the community
   ______ other (specify) ____________________________
13. If you have children, please tell us their ages and the type of Jewish education they are receiving. 

14. Are you: 1 female 2 male

15. Are you between the ages of:

1 20-25 3 36-45 5 over 55
2 26-35 4 46-55

16. Do you consider yourself:

1 Reform 4 Orthodox
2 Reconstructionist 5 Unaffiliated
3 Conservative 6 Other (specify)

17. Have you ever been to Israel?

1 No 2 Yes (specify length of stay and auspices)

18. About how often do you attend religious services?

1 once a week 3 once a month 5 high holidays only
2 about twice a month 4 every few months 6 never

Please feel free to make comments about your experiences with Gratz or your thoughts about its future on another piece of paper. Then return the completed survey in the stamped envelope provided. Thank you for your cooperation.
APPENDIX T

LIST OF SECURITIES, 1899

Contents of Safe No. 2527
REAL ESTATE TITLE INSURANCE & TRUST CO.
Examined August 21st, 1899

120 shares of Penna. Ann'y. Co.
$300 City of Phila. 3's, due 1902,
$1850 Penna. 4's due 1912,
4 Insurance Policies on 1010 Bainbridge St. )
704 Market St., Deposit-money value net. ) $261.25
Deeds of Real Estate, 704 Market St.
" " " 1010 Bainbridge St.
Mortgage papers as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Interest</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 2, 1895</td>
<td>2121 Bolton St.</td>
<td>5 yrs.</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>$1,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2, 1895</td>
<td>2105-9-13 Percy St.</td>
<td>5 yrs.</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 5, 1888</td>
<td>901 So. 11th St.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 6, 1895</td>
<td>Emlen &amp; Frank Sts.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 15, 1895</td>
<td>915 Master St.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 4/10%</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apl. 11, 1896</td>
<td>235 Poplar St.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1332 Poplar St.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>730 Jefferson St.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2519 Franklin St.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2521 Franklin St.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 1, 1881</td>
<td>1232 No. 10th St. due Feb. 1/91</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 13, 1896</td>
<td>925 Spring Garden St.</td>
<td>5 yrs.</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3,300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 25, 1892</td>
<td>2128 Master St.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 4/10%</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 5, 1895</td>
<td>1618 Marshall St.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 5, 1895</td>
<td>1616 Marshall St.</td>
<td>3 yrs.</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 8, 1896</td>
<td>2102-4-8-10-12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warnock St. as security</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for Collateral Note</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 5, 1892</td>
<td>1627 Cayuga St.</td>
<td>5 yrs.</td>
<td>5 4/10%</td>
<td>7,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 15, 1888</td>
<td>2435-7 No. 2nd St.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 4/10%</td>
<td>3,500.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 4, 1897</td>
<td>Woodland Ave. &amp; 63d Street,</td>
<td>5 yrs.</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 15, 1899</td>
<td>Cash Balance in Bank,</td>
<td>5 yrs.</td>
<td>5 4/10%</td>
<td>3,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Real Estate T. I. &amp; Tr. Co.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principal a/c $8,777.27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Income a/c $4,606.63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13,383.90</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The securities contained in box No. 2527 agree in all particulars with the list above stated.
Philadelphia, August 21st, 1899

(Signed) A.M. FRECHIE, Committee
(Signed) HORACE A. NATHANS

Philadelphia, August 21st, 1899
## Federation of Jewish Charities

1512 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

### Estimate of Expenditures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>COL. 1 Actual Expenses May 1, 1925</th>
<th>COL. 2 Estimated Expenses March 1, 1925</th>
<th>COL. 3 Totals of COLS. 1 and 2</th>
<th>COL. 4 Budget for 1924</th>
<th>COL. 5 Request for 1925</th>
<th>COL. 6 Do not Write in this Column</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance of Bldg. and Eqip.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Repairs &amp; Replacements to Bldg. &amp; Eq.</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Wages for Repairs</td>
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<td>3. Materials for Repairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Extensions of Library Stack</td>
<td>942.90</td>
<td>942.90</td>
<td>1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Physical Operation of Plant</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Janitorial Wages</td>
<td>308.30</td>
<td>6166</td>
<td>369.96</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>370</td>
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<td>10. Purchased Light, Power &amp; Water</td>
<td>1416.60</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>186.60</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>190</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Fuel</td>
<td>57150</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>76750</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>800</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Engine Room Wages</td>
<td>1016.66</td>
<td>2166</td>
<td>1233.32</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>1300</td>
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<td>13. Engine Room Supplies</td>
<td>8336</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8336</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td>14. Motor Vehicle Supplies</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Gardening &amp; Agricultural Wages</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Gardening &amp; Agricultural Supplies</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Feed &amp; Care of Animals</td>
<td></td>
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<td>18. Abating Scales</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cost of Administration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Salaries of Officers, Clerks, etc.</td>
<td>262.50</td>
<td>8950</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>352</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. Office Supplies</td>
<td>16684</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17684</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>180</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Telephone Service</td>
<td>5811</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7811</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>80</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Electricity - Register &amp; Advertising</td>
<td>23185</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24685</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Institutional Operation</td>
<td></td>
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<td>35. Food Supplies</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. Refrigerating Supplies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>37. Household Supplies &amp; Equip.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Linens &amp; Bedding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Wages of Household Help, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Wearing Apparel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Medical &amp; Surgical Supplies &amp; Equip.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Salaries of Nurses, Orderlies, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Professional Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 375812 72082 44789 5300 3937
# ESTIMATE OF EXPENDITURES (Cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMS</th>
<th>COL. 1</th>
<th>COL. 2</th>
<th>COL. 3</th>
<th>COL. 4</th>
<th>COL. 5</th>
<th>COL. 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brought Forward</td>
<td>3758 12</td>
<td>720 82</td>
<td>4478 94</td>
<td>5300</td>
<td>3937</td>
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<tr>
<td>INSTITUTIONAL OPERATIONS (Cont'd)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>44. Educational Cost—Salaries - College</td>
<td>6193 88</td>
<td>1338 76</td>
<td>7532 64</td>
<td>7033</td>
<td>8142 56</td>
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<tr>
<td>45. Educational Cost—Supplies—College</td>
<td>192 69</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>217 69</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>220</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Relief</td>
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<td>47. Outing &amp; Recreation</td>
<td>80 89</td>
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<td>100 89</td>
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<td>48. Payments for Boarding out Dependents</td>
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<td>49. Salaries of Social Workers</td>
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<tr>
<td>50. Salaries of Social Stenog., Clerks, etc.</td>
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<td>51. Educational Cost—Salaries—School</td>
<td>5216 10</td>
<td>1201 24</td>
<td>6417 34</td>
<td>6750</td>
<td>6826 60</td>
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<td>52. Educational Cost—Supplies—School</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>209 14</td>
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<td>53. Library—Salary</td>
<td>302 50</td>
<td>60 50</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>291 50</td>
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<td>54. Library—Supplies</td>
<td>227 60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>247 60</td>
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<td>55. Scholarships and Prizes</td>
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<td>56. Commencement Expenses</td>
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<td>FIXED CHARGES</td>
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<td>61. Rent</td>
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<td>62. Interest</td>
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<td>64. Insurance—Liability &amp; Fire</td>
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<td>138 13</td>
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<td>70. Transportation (Include Carfares)</td>
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<td>71. Freight &amp; Cartage</td>
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<td>90.</td>
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<td>94. Total Expenditures</td>
<td>16666 33</td>
<td>34683 22</td>
<td>20134 65</td>
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### ESTIMATED RECEIPTS FROM SOURCES OTHER THAN FEDERATION

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SOURCE OF INCOME</th>
<th>COL. 1 Actual Income May 1, 1924 to Feb. 28, 1925</th>
<th>COL. 2 Estimated Income March 1, 1925 to April 30, 1925</th>
<th>COL. 3 Totals of Columns 1 and 2</th>
<th>COL. 4 Budget for 1924</th>
<th>COL. 5 Estimated Income for 1925</th>
<th>COL. 6 Do not Write in this Column</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. College - Interest on Mortgages</td>
<td>5134.32</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>5684.32</td>
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<td>2. Liquidation Bank Deposits</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>7837</td>
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<td>5. From Public - Tuberculosis</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>1825</td>
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<td>6. Purchase of Stock</td>
<td>1166.50</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1196.50</td>
<td>1780</td>
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<td>7. Special contributions to income</td>
<td>227.60</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>242.60</td>
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<th>Estimated Income March 1, 1925 to April 30, 1925</th>
<th>Totals of Columns 1 and 2</th>
<th>Budget for 1924</th>
<th>Request for 1925</th>
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<td>Total Income</td>
<td>11980.16</td>
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**NET REQUEST**

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<th>Totals of Columns 1 and 2</th>
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<td>Total Expenditures (Page 2, Line 94)</td>
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<td>Less - Income from sources other than Federation (Page 3, Line 39)</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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Net Request: 4686.17

THIS BUDGET WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY:

Member of Staff

Chairman of Finance and Budget Committee

Signature
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item No.</th>
<th>Nature of Position (Title)</th>
<th>No. of Employees</th>
<th>Individual Annual Salary Rate (as at March 1, 1925)</th>
<th>Total Salaries (as at March 1, 1925)</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>250</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>44</td>
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<td>Salary increased Oct 1, 1925</td>
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<td>Aspirants, Oct 1925</td>
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<td>Librarian</td>
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**NOTES**

1. Schedules should be submitted for Items 2, 9, 12, 24, 37, 42, 44, 49 and 50 of the estimate of expenditures.
2. Group Employees holding identical positions with identical salaries.
3. In the case of part-time positions, indicate in Remarks Column period of employment for 1924 and period to be employed during 1925.
4. The total salaries paid to March 1, 1925 should agree with the total entered opposite the particular items in column 1 of Estimate of Expenditures, and the total salaries estimated for 1925 should agree with the total entered in column 3 for each item.
APPENDIX V

November 8, 1927

MEMORANDUM

From: Ben Rosen
To: Jacob Billikopf

An adequately trained corps of teachers is prerequisite and indispensable for the proper development of religious education in this community. Without a trained staff of teachers all other efforts toward the development of a proper educational scheme are seriously handicapped.

The various religious schools in the community, including those affiliated with the Federation, as well as the non-affiliated schools, engage in all the services of 500 or more teachers. In all these schools together provision for religious instruction is made for no more than 30% of the Jewish children of school age. Assuming that the proportion of Jewish children receiving a Jewish education remains the same, there will be a need each year for an additional number of teachers to provide merely for the normal growth in Jewish population. Moreover, if we take into account, as we must, that the proportion of Jewish children in Jewish schools must increase, provision will have to be made to accommodate a still larger number of trained Jewish teachers.

Gratz College is today the only agency in this city engaged in the work of preparing teachers for Jewish religious schools for this and neighboring communities. It is a fact that about one-third of the teaching staff of the weekday schools subsidized by the Federation, is made up of teachers who received their training at Gratz College. More than one-half of the staff of the congregational schools in this city have received their training at Gratz College. The indications are that Gratz College will be called upon to supply an increasing number of teachers, both in a relative and absolute sense, for the various schools in this community, because:

1. The source of supply of foreign trained Jewish teachers is rapidly being depleted because of the restriction of immigration.
2. The schools are recognizing more and more the need for American trained Jewish teachers.

The development of the educational work in this community has emphasized the need for various types of Jewish teachers, trained to teach in specific types of religious schools. While every prospective teacher must pursue a basic minimum course, the program of studies can be differentiated for the several types of schools and thus conserve the funds and energy of the community and the time of the students in training. Specifically there is need for four types of curricula:
1. For teachers in Sunday Schools.
2. For teachers in congregational schools.
3. For teachers in Talmud Torahs.
4. Continuation courses for teachers in service.

There is no reason why separate agencies should make independent efforts in our community to train these various types of teachers. Such a procedure is decidedly unwise and harmful, because:

1. It is costly.
2. It leads to duplication of effort.
3. It results in friction among competing institutions.
4. It confuses the mind of the community by the semblance of feverish activity in behalf of the training of teachers, when, as a matter of fact, there is no broad and comprehensive plan in effect.

There are, as you know, the beginnings of independent efforts for the training of teachers being made by the Hebrew Sunday School Society, and by the Reform congregations. There is likewise the important work heretofore unprovided by any other agency, carried on by the Hebrew High School of the Associated Talmud Torahs which should, in reality, serve as a preparatory department to Gratz College. I am letting you have a supplementary statement as to the need of the four types of curricula (see page 4). [page 4 of this letter]

Aside from its function as a training school for teachers, Gratz College is in a strategic position to cooperate with the Talmud Torahs, congregational schools, etc., in the development of the educational program. To this and a more systematic and conscientiously planned relationship must be established between the school of Observation and Practice of Gratz College and the various types of schools in the community. Some of the methods whereby the College can stimulate the professional growth of its own graduates, as well as other teachers in service, are as follows:

1. Appointment of a critic teacher to supervise the practice teaching of the students while at the College; and the graduate students who are engaged as teachers.
2. Provision to have the students of the College visit classes in Talmud Torahs and congregational schools and to apprentice them for definite periods to skilled teachers.
3. Provision to have teachers in Talmud Torahs and congregational schools visit classes in the Practice School of Gratz College, where of course the most competent available teachers will constitute the staff.
4. Organization of study circles to discuss practical educational problems and the larger implications of these problems.
5. The conduct of a Summer Institute for Jewish Teachers.
6. Private conferences with individual teachers.
7. Arrangement for brief Teacher-Institutes extending from ten days to two weeks.
8. Organization of demonstration lessons attended by large groups of teachers.

Some of these suggestions are now being carried out, although not in as systematic or as comprehensive a manner as is necessary.
The College should make provision for representation on its Board, of persons from key educational organizations in the community, so that the College may be in a position to feel the pulse of the other agencies with which it cooperates. Thus, for example, it should certainly establish relationship with the Board of License, which at present certifies teachers for Talmud Torahs, as well as congregational schools.

In order to carry out this enlarged program, the College will have to be provided with a staff which is large enough and which is competent to put into effect the reorganized plan. Even if all the funds needed are made available, the whole scheme depends essentially upon the personnel of Gratz College. Money in itself will not solve the problem. I have several times discussed this phase of the problem with you, and I believe very strongly that we must be in a position to influence the choice of the personnel.

Assuming that these various matters will be properly taken care of, the immediate obstacle is the question of funds. The College can not even carry on its present activities - limited as they are, under the present budget. The expansion will probably require altogether an appropriation from the Federation of upwards of $20,000. A precedent for the appropriation by Federations of funds for a Teachers' Training School was established by the community of Boston. The Hebrew College and Teachers' Training School, organized in 1921, is now almost wholly supported by the Federation of Jewish Charities, their appropriation this year amounting to $30,000. Since then Chicago, through the Board of Jewish Education has made an appropriation of [no amount was listed] to the Teachers' Training School; Cleveland, in its first year, made an appropriation of $5,000 toward the training of teachers, through the Bureau of Education. Other communities which maintain Teachers' Training Schools are Baltimore, Cincinnati, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and New York, which has four such schools. The twelve most important Teacher Training Schools in the country have an annual budget of $180,000, of which sum $140,000. was contributed by central bodies, such as the Federation, and the Bureau of Education. There is, of course, a much closer relationship between the Teachers' Training School and the institutions - that is the Talmud Torahs, congregational schools, and Sunday Schools - supported by the Federations of Jewish Charities and the Bureaus of Education, than there is in this community. But there is no reason why in the course of time, and as a result of the financial encouragement which the Federation may give to Gratz College, a closer relationship may not be established between the corresponding agencies in this city, and thereby making a real and vital contribution to the development of the educational system here in Philadelphia.
1. The Hebrew Sunday School Society each year has to make a considerable number of replacements in its staff, as well as additions due to the expansion of its work. I am confident that this organization would welcome a higher standard in its teaching staff. Even if it were equipped to train its own teachers, and it is not - if for no other reason than that it lacks the finances, - it ought to be in a position to call upon Gratz College to train its teachers.

2. The graduates of Gratz College are not sufficiently equipped because of their inadequate preparation upon entrance to teach in many of the Talmud Torahs. With the cessation of immigration it becomes all the more important, aside from other valid reasons, that the College prepare American trained teachers whose Jewish training is sufficiently intensive to qualify them to teach in Talmud Torahs and Hebrew School.

3. Spasmodic efforts have been made in this community to have training courses for club leaders. They have served a useful purpose. There is no reason, however, why courses in club leadership should not be given regularly and systematically and it could be done by Gratz College at far less expenditure of energy and money than by any independent agency.

4. A fourth type of curriculum would be continuation courses for teachers in service. Teachers in service are often in a position to take unit courses which require but a few hours a week attendance in order to keep abreast with their teaching.
AGREEMENT BETWEEN GRATZ COLLEGE AND
THE HEBREW EDUCATION SOCIETY

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT made by and between the BOARD OF TRUSTEES
OF GRATZ COLLEGE, acting for and on behalf of the Congregation Mikveh
Israel, Trustee under Deed of Trust from Hyman Gratz to The Pennsyl-
vania Company for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities, party
of the first part and THE HEBREW EDUCATION SOCIETY OF PHIALDELPHIA, a
corporation chartered and existing under the laws of the Commonwealth
of Pennsylvania, party of the second part,

W I T N E S S E T H:

In and by the terms of the Deed of Trust from Hyman Gratz to The
Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities
providing that the trust estate mentioned in said Deed of Trust shall
be assigned to the Portugese Hebrew Congregation Kaal Kadosh Mikve
Israel of the City of Philadelphia and their successors, in trust, for
the establishment and support of a College for the education of Jews
residing in the City and county of Philadelphia, and the said trust
estate being so assigned, the said Congregation did in 1893 establish
Gratz College and did create the Board of Trustees of Gratz College
for its administration. Since 1897 the College has been engaged in
the training of teachers for Jewish religious schools.

The Hebrew Education Society was duly incorporated by Act of the
Legislature of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania on April 7, 1849. In
and by the terms of its charter it is provided in Section 3 thereof,
as follows:

It shall be lawful for the said corporation to establish, whenever
their funds will permit the same to be done, a superior seminary
of learning within the limits of this Commonwealth, the faculty
of which seminary shall have the power to furnish to graduates
and others, the usual degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts,
Doctor of Law and Divinity, as the same is exercised by other
Colleges established in this Commonwealth.

In order to provide increased facilities for the training of
teachers of Jewish religious schools, the Board of Trustees of the
Gratz College and the Board of Officers of the Hebrew Education Society
have agreed as follows:

1. There shall be established a committee to be known as "The
Board of Overseers of the Gratz College and The Hebrew Education
Society of Philadelphia," which shall consist of fifteen members, five
of said members to be elected by the Board of Trustees of Gratz College,
five of said members to be elected by the Board of Officers of the
Hebrew Education Society, and five of said members to be elected by the Board of Overseers from among persons who would be eligible for election as members of the Board of Officers of The Hebrew Education Society or as Trustees of Gratz College.

Of the five members originally to be elected by the Trustees of Gratz College, one member shall be elected to serve for one year, two members shall be elected to serve for two years, and two members shall be elected to serve for three years.

Of the five members originally to be elected by the Board of Officers of The Hebrew Education Society, two members shall be elected to serve for one year, one member shall be elected to serve for two years, and two members shall be elected to serve for three years.

Of the five members originally to be elected by the Board of Overseers, two members shall be elected to serve for one year, two members shall be elected to serve for two years, and one member shall be elected to serve for three years. Thereafter, members of the Board of Overseers shall be elected for terms of three years.

2. The seat of the College shall be in the College Building of the Gratz College, and at such other places as may be designated by the Board of Overseers.

3. The conduct of the College shall be subject to the joint approval of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College and the Board of Officers of the Hebrew Education Society.

4. The funds for the maintenance of the College shall be contributed as follows:

(a) The Trustees of Gratz College shall annually appropriate for the use of the Board of Overseers, their entire income.

(b) The Officers of The Hebrew Education Society shall annually appropriate for the use of the College all of its income, except such portion thereof as they may deem necessary for the conduct of their other activities.

(c) The appropriation from the Federation of Jewish Charities shall be requested through The Hebrew Education Society.

5. The Board of Overseers shall elect the following officers from among its members; a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer and a Secretary.

6. The Board of Overseers shall adopt rules and regulations for their government and for the administration of the College.

7. If at any time during the administration of the joint undertaking by the joint committee defined as the Board of Overseers, either the Board of Trustees of Gratz College or the Board of Officers of The Hebrew Education Society shall deem it in the interest of either
institution to terminate the arrangement, such arrangement may be terminated by notice on or before March 1st, of any year, effective as of the date when the students then in attendance shall have completed their respective courses of instructions.

WITNESS the hands and seals of the joint committee on behalf of the Trustees of Gratz College and the Board of Officers of The Hebrew Education Society.

(Signed by)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For Gratz College</th>
<th>For The Hebrew Education Society</th>
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<tr>
<td>A.S.W. Rosenbach</td>
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<td>Cyrus Adler</td>
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<td>Solomon Solis-Cohen</td>
<td>Bernard L. Frankel</td>
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<td>Abraham A. Neuman</td>
<td>W.H. Fineshriber</td>
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<td>D. Hays Solis-Cohen</td>
<td>Louis Woolsey</td>
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Primary materials were found in private homes and in various archives and museums. Originals or duplicates of almost all Gratz College minutes, correspondence, and reports can be found in the Gratz College library. A few reports and some correspondence are among Abraham Simon Wolf Rosenbach's papers which can be found in the Rosenbach Museum. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Associated Talmud Torahs are in the Gratz College library. The minute books of Congregation Mikveh Israel and its Adjunta, and Congregation Keneseth Israel, can be found in the respective archives. Material on Federation and Ben Rosen is in the Philadelphia Jewish Archives.
PRIMARY SOURCES

Abraham Simon Wolf Rosenbach's Papers on Gratz College
Charter of the Associated Talmud Torahs, 28 January 1919
Gratz College Correspondence and Reports, 1907-1928
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