Max Lilienthal -
Nineteenth Century Educator

by
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Max Lilienthal
Nineteenth Century Educator

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Max E(phraim) Lilienthal (November 6, 1814—April 5, 1882), son of a wealthy wholesale merchant, Seligmann Loeb Lilienthal, was born in Munich, Bavaria. He had two brothers Samuel and Silas and two sisters, Sophie and Henrietta. He received his elementary Jewish and secular education from tutors and in local schools. He then studied with Rabbi Moses Wittelsbacher while a matriculated student at the University of Munich. He also attended the Fürth yeshiva of Wolf Hamburger, receiving ordination from Rabbi Hirsch Aub of Munich. On August 17, 1838, he received a Ph.D. degree from the University of Munich for a thesis describing the origin of Judeo-Alexandrian theology. Offered a position in the diplomatic service, Lilienthal refused to accept it upon learning of an implicit understanding that he would have to convert to Catholicism were he to assume the post. His first position was to analyze and catalogue the Hebrew manuscripts in the royal library of Munich. His bibliographical findings were published from May 19, 1838 to November 16, 1839 in a literary supplement of the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums. Upon being asked to suggest someone to head the newly-founded 'modern' school for Jews in Riga, Livonia, Ludwig Phillipson, editor of the Allgemeine, named Lilienthal. Riga, which had become part of Russia in 1710, had a relatively high German-speaking population; it is understandable that the Jewish initiators of the petition for such a Jewish school should have demanded that an 'enlightened' German Jew head it.

The young Lilienthal departed from his home on October 8, 1839. He arrived at St. Petersburg on October 24 in order to discuss the situation in Riga with Count Sergius Uvarov, Minister of Public
Instruction. At the meeting, initiated at the suggestion of the Riga congregation, Lilienthal "won the friendship of many prominent men" who were helpful to him as he "sought to pave the way for a future rich in possibilities by submitting to the said ministers (i.e., Uvarov and Count Stroganoff, Minister of the Interior) a plan for the establishment of consistories, which was received with much favor." Arriving in Riga on January 12, 1840, the young German Jew formally opened the school amidst elaborate ceremony three days thereafter. He remained at the head of the school for some time, although his position had become rather nominal by the end of the first year, partially because of his other responsibilities.

The Commissioner of the University of Dorpat, under whose supervision the new school was placed, one Professor Rosenberg, examined the school then under the direction of Lilienthal. He submitted a favorable evaluation of the school to Uvarov who, in turn, showed the Rosenberg report to Czar Nicholas I. An order to appear at the royal court was extended to the young rabbi. After some delay, due to illness, Lilienthal journeyed to St. Petersburg in January, 1841. There he began planning a program whereby Jewish schools in Russia might be reorganized; he returned to Riga on March 6, 1841. While in the Russian capital, he engaged in a brief correspondence with Jewish scholars in western Europe, requesting them to send lists of the names of their students who might be persuaded to teach in the new Jewish schools, which would eventually obviate the need for hadarim.

After remaining in Riga for three months, Nathan Rosenthal, a Vilna businessman and "honorary citizen" active in communal affairs, took Lilienthal to Vilna, at the order of Uvarov. There, in the 'Jerusalem of Lithuania,' Lilienthal spoke to a group of some one
hundred persons, most of whom were communal leaders; he persuaded them to promise 5100 rubles for "school purposes." Confident of his persuasive powers and contrary to the advisement of friends, he journeyed to Minsk in order to convince the Hasidic masses therein of the beneficient intentions underlying the contemplated governmental schools. However, he was so poorly received by the Minsk populace that police protection was necessary. It has been indicated that the local melamdim, fearful that the new schools and its subject-matter would interfere with their means of livelihood—if not with their way of life—led the group of some four thousand Jews against Lilienthal. Returning to Vilna, the German rabbi was rebuffed by the local Jews. The untoward situation demanded that he return to the czarist court, in order "to counter-act the bad impression caused by the report made by civil authorities as to this uproar" (in Vilna following the Minsk fiasco.)

In St. Petersburg, Lilienthal proposed that Uvarov convene a conference of men chosen by the Jews, "in order to inspire them with confidence in his (i.e., Uvarov's) own good intentions." Consequently, an ukase was issued on June 22, 1842 creating The Commission on Jewish Education. From May 6 to August 27, 1843, four representatives—Rabbi Isaac of Voloshin, Rabbi Mendel Schneersohn, Israel Halprin and Bezalel Stern—met with Lilienthal and Russian governmental officials.

In order to publicize the convening of the Commission as well as to reassure the Jews that the Commission had been planned for their ultimate benefit, Lilienthal wrote a pamphlet, Magid Yeshuah. He also travelled through some nineteen towns in the Pale of Settlement, at
government expense for several reasons beyond the immediate scope of this sketch. Setting out on this trip on July 22, 1842, he visited the above-mentioned rabbis, who were leaders of large groups of Russian Jews. He assured them of the government's good intentions, which might be further executed by their attendance of Commission meetings. Lilienthal spent much of the time on this trip speaking in public and in talking to wealthy communal leaders. He did not, it would seem, devote much time to an actual investigation of the extant hadarim in order to advise Uvarov as to what governmental measures would be necessary in order to train willing ex-students of the hadarim so that they might teach in the proposed governmental schools. He did spend three days observing the Jewish school in Odessa, during which time Bezalel Stern, its director, absented himself. He examined the students in German classics and in other subjects and visited the girls' school (Mädchen schule), which experience he regarded as a respite from his "difficult mission." He viewed this noted school as exemplary for other schools which he then hoped to establish, noting with pride its curriculum of Russian, German and French, geography, world and Russian history, arithmetic, bookkeeping, rhetoric and literary history. During this trip, Lilienthal estranged himself from the support of the Maskilim by not visiting their leader, Isaac Ber Levinsohn, as he had promised, and by having catered to the Orthodox.

An ukase was issued on November 13, 1844 establishing the Crown schools. As late as December 8, 1844, we have evidence that Lilienthal planned to remain in Russia. Be that as it may, upon the pretense of going to Germany to visit his parents, he left Russia in the summer of 1845. He then married Pepi Nettre, to whom he had been engaged before he had come to Riga, on August 27, 1845. They sailed for the United States, arriving in New York City in November, 1845.
Upon arrival in the New World, Dr. Max Lilienthal was elected as 'chief rabbi' of the German congregations Anshe Chesed, Shaarey Shamayim and Rodeph Shalom on December 23, 1845; he assumed contractual obligations on January 1, 1846. A factor contributing to his election was his renown attained in Russia, from which country he had corresponded to the American readers of the Allgemeine. Anshe Chesed, the largest of these three congregations, it should be noted, was engaged in a competitive campaign for membership with Emanu-El. Lilienthal, an eloquent speaker and noted figure, was therefore chosen for the post.

In his new position, Lilienthal had to supervise shehitah as well as the baking of matzot, preach every Sabbath and holiday (both Jewish and secular), teach Menorat HaMaor (a 14th century work by Rabbi Isaac Aboab), visit the sick, perform weddings, answer halachic questions and supervise religious education, i.e. the elementary school (Kinderschule) and the confirmation class. He was to have received an annual salary of $1,000.00, payment of which sum was divided amongst the three congregations which he served. Apparently he delivered a series of popular lectures on Jewish history from the destruction of the First Temple until modern times.

Some eight months after he had assumed his post, a day school, sponsored by Rodeph Shalom and Shaarey Shamayim, was opened. It was not, however, until October, 1847, that Anshe Chesed (which had hitherto maintained its own day school) agreed to join this school. Lilienthal headed this school, known as The Hebrew Union School (see Appendix I for curriculum). Although dismissed from his rabbinical post on December 23, 1847 (due to a congregational dispute with him) he remained with the school until its collapse on April 30, 1848.

In January, 1849, he founded a private boarding school for boys,
called "The Rev. Dr. Lilienthal's Hebrew and Classical Boarding School," at 21½ Eldridge St., near or in his own house. Classes were moved to larger quarters at 307 Tenth St. by May, 1850. The school, which attracted some seventy boys from Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore and New Orleans (including Mordeccai Manuel Noah’s ten year old son), was headed by Lilienthal until he moved to Cincinnati in July, 1855 to head the B’nai Israel synagogue and day school.

Before tracing his career in Cincinnati, we should note that Max Lilienthal was reinstated as honorary rabbi (Ehrenrabbiner) by Shaarey Shamayim on April 20, 1851 and by Anshe Chesed on October 12, 1851. Rodeph Shalom named him as head of its school, which task also entailed supervision of two Gemeindeschulen, or communal schools, conducted by the other two German congregations. He was evidently successful in his second attempt at an association with Anshe Chesed, which gave him a testimonial of thanks for solemnizing the services, delivering edifying sermons, "participating and leading the chief movements for the improvement of our school," and for often contributing to synagogue funds. He resigned from this gratitious post in order to accept a life-time contract at $1,500.00 per year at Congregation B’nai Israel in Cincinnati.

Lilienthal had been invited to apply for the rabbinical post at B’nai Israel in Cincinnati by parents of that congregation, who had educated their sons in his New York boarding school. Offered the position after having preached there in May, he arrived in the midwestern town as a "moderate Reformer" on June 19, 1855. He was formally installed as rabbi on July 14, 1855. He headed the short-
lived congregational day school, the Noyoth Institute, and its Sabbath School.

In Cincinnati, which, by 1856, housed as many Reform congregations as did the larger city of New York, Lilienthal became active in Reform Jewish circles. Elected in the very year of his arrival in Cincinnati as secretary of the Cleveland Conference, he engaged in disputes about Reform theology and observance on the side of Isaac Mayer Wise against David Eichhorn of Baltimore. He wrote for Wise's newspaper, The American Israelite, serving as associate editor in 1856, and for Die Deborah, which was founded in 1856 as the German language ladies' supplement to the Israelite. He re-initiated his attempt to found the Rabbinical Literary Association, which he had tried to inaugurate in 1850 (following the failure of a Bet Din) and edited its journal, The Hebrew Review, from 1880 until his demise.

In the Ohio locale, Lilienthal was expected to be less of a builder of schools and more of a public speaker and figure in order to present the public with an eloquently liberal image of the Jew. He therefore went out of his way to preach from church pulpits. He held honorific roles on various local school boards; a member of the Cincinnati School Board as early as 1857 or 1859, he also served on the Union board of high schools and the School Board, representing the 13th Ward during the school year of 1868-69. He also served on the Board of Trustees of the University of Cincinnati as of 1872. He taught Latin and French on the faculty of Zion College on a voluntary basis; from 1876 until his death, he lectured on Jewish history and homiletics at the Hebrew Union College.

The writings of Lilienthal during this period of his life are more numerous than previously. In collaboration with Robert
Allyn, the Pestalozzian who founded the Rhode Island Schoolmaster and headed the Rhode Island public schools between 1854-57, he wrote (at the order of the Cincinnati School Board) an object lesson text, "Things Taught," in 1862. He founded and edited the first Jewish children's weekly, The Sabbath School Visitor in 1874. Among his non-pedagogical writings is his translation from the German and enlargement of Emanuel Hecht's History of the Israelites (1857) and a collection of German poems which he wrote, Freiheit, Frühling und Liebe (1857). He wrote an account of his experiences in Russia, entitled "My Travels for In Russia," for the Israelite and the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums (1854-55); this aspect of his career provided him with material for several other articles. He wrote four plays in German; the whereabouts of only one of which, Die Schauspieler, a three-act comedy written in 1860, is presently known.

Max Lilienthal was the father of eight children, one of whom--Dina--died in infancy. When he died, he left an estate estimated at $200,000. We do not know much about his personal life. His family correspondence, published in the works written by David Philipson, his disciple and Sophie Lilienthal, his sister, leave much to be desired by the student of his career and life. Undoubtedly, there exist yet untapped sources of information concerning and by him which students of nineteenth century Jewish institutional history may be encouraged to seek out through this study.
Having traced the plans and activities of Dr. Max Lilienthal in the various schools with which he had been associated, let us now examine his views on and practices in various areas of pedagogy. We define pedagogy as those theories and methods of educating the young which are employed to adjust them to, and enable them to perpetuate and advance the institutions of their parent society. In this chapter, we shall state Lilienthal’s view of child behavior, after which his methods of motivating, teaching, disciplining and rewarding students will be traced.

Lilienthal seems to have viewed the child almost intuitively, with the outlook, presuppositions and value-judgments of the adult, rather than in the light of the findings of an educator well-versed in child psychology, epistemology and educational philosophy. His thinking on why children learn was part of his general Weltanschauung, rather than a result of scientific and theoretical investigation. (His ideas on child psychology and its relation to contemporary psychology will be dealt with below in the chapter dealing with his educational writings.) The German teacher maintained that children regard parental and teacher recognition to be more important than that of their peers. Nellie, the stereotype of the 'good girl' in the Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor, was satisfied not by material rewards (such as cake) for teaching her peers and siblings; the satisfaction of her parents was, in itself, sufficient reward.

Lilienthal conceived Nature to be systematic and orderly. Man, "who is Nature's masterpiece," should be trained to function according to his nature, which is one of orderliness and neatness. If the student were trained properly, he would "naturally" be obedient, retentive and neat. Sam, the male counterpart of Nellie, would return all books which he had used to their proper place in the library. Although Lilienthal
did admit that children have certain egotistic needs; nevertheless, adult values were the criteria of determining means of satisfying juvenile "self-interest." Thus, a child exclaims: "School's a way of doing one's duty" to himself as well as to his parents. In short, the child was regarded as a microcosm in the macrocosmic world of the adult.

How could and should children be motivated to learn? This was answered through adult, rather than juvenile, needs and interests. Nellie stated that she would begin a review of lessons—regardless of the interest of her students; were she to always wait until the students review their work, they would never do so. The secret of successful motivation lies in the child's respect for and emulation of parents. Lilienthal therefore noted with pride the success of a plan whereby compositions, writings and maps of Nooyoth Institute pupils were shown to the School Board for its approval. This plan, in addition to it serving as a check on the school progress, served to motivate the students to do good school work. These students passed a resolution lamenting the demise of one M. Klaw, treasurer of the School Board; the group in charge of formulation of the resolution was thereby motivated to exert care in penmanship, spelling and style. Such a resolution was, of course, modelled after similar adult expressions of grief. Furthermore, the children of the Visitor were often motivated to learn through the example of the paternal image of Lilienthal, who was thinly guised under the name of "the Visitor." The scholarly figure of this elderly minister pervaded the articles on history, theology, and study; through the example and image of his erudition, Lilienthal sought to motivate his readers and students to emulate his example.

Our subject of study demonstrated several interesting tech-
niques whereby students could be motivated to learn in specific
classroom situations. Apparently, he would challenge their sense of
curiosity, as he understood it, by asking them surprising questions.
Thus, he would initiate a lesson on the Omer by asking them: "Who of
you knows how to count?" Often he would stir their desire to verbalize
their past lessons by suggesting that they know the material as well
as he does if they would only review it aloud. We see an example
of his theory that the child learns through emulation and identifi-
cation with adults in the fact that he sometimes would initiate a
review of facts by stating "We must try to master them," as knowledge
is "a pleasure and treasure in itself." He presupposed the child to
have an adult's interests, which could be stimulated more through
 emulation of those adult interests than through competition.

What methods of teaching did Lilienthal use? It would seem that
he used drill—which demanded memorization—and catechisms. A good
teacher would, he suggested, write a biblical passage on the clas-
room blackboard; he would then explain the passage word by word in such a
way that all attentive students would "understand it and... never for-
got it." There were repeated drills on the names and order of the
months of the Jewish calendar as well as on the names and dates of
the rulers of the post-Solomonics kingdoms of Israel and Judea. A
class had to repeat the names of each of the prophets and categorize
each one in terms of the era—Biblical, Assyrian or Babylonian—with
which that seer could be identified. Not only were these names to
be memorized; the student was expected to learn the names of objects
observed in gardens and fields. It should be mentioned here that
knowing the names of objects of observation and study was regarded as
central to the learning process utilizing what was known as "object
lessons." Because of the centrality of definition—part of which was
categorization by name—rather than empirical description, it was crucial that the student learn objects by name. (This aspect of Lilienthalian psychological theory will be dealt with further in the chapter on his pedagogical writings.) Since the word (i.e., the name of the object) was so vital, verbal self-expression was crucial, even in one's reading habits. Therefore, Lilienthal often demanded oral summaries of the work studied from the students.

The technique which seems to occur most frequently in a study of this teacher is that of the catechism. This method was used in religious studies; it was initiated by a question, followed by a Biblical verse (which was recited by the students) and concluded by a didactic explanation or moral. Lilienthal accepted its educational result of value as his view that definition, rather than description, is an efficient aid to conceptual clarification (in religious as well as in secular studies). Its value was further seen to be its concise explanations of subjects of religious belief. However, "well-selected stories, introduced among the dry matter of the catechism, (and) examples from life...." should, he suggested, be incorporated among them. Despite some reservations, however, it would seem that he was an advocate of the catechistic method in religious instruction.

Foreign languages were to be mastered by studying grammar and vocabulary carefully and by practicing the pronunciation of the words. He noted that he would have his son, Albert, translate from English to German daily, in order to master German. Although conversation in the language was an aim, familiarity with its grammatical forms was no less essential. It should be recalled that German (as well as French) was to have been spoken in the Boarding School; however, this educational
method supplementing grammatical drill was not practicable to advocate with regard to Hebrew, which was an academic language, the study of which was limited to drill and translation of biblical and liturgical sources.

What disciplinary methods did Dr. Lilienthal advocate? Were these methods consonant with the fatherly image which he sought to evoke in "The Visitor," the central figure of The Visitor?

It would seem that Lilienthal was a rather harsh disciplinarian. There is no definite proof that he disapproved of corporal punishment. Although there was a movement favoring abolition of this disciplinary action in American schools of the second half of the 19th century, we have no documentary evidence that it was ever abolished in any school with which Lilienthal was associated. There is, on the other hand, evidence that it was resorted to by a teacher in the Mound St. Temple (B'nai Israel) Sabbath School when it was headed by Lilienthal. This would seem to indicate, since that teacher was not immediately dismissed (an apology having been demanded), that Lilienthal was not against such action on principle; however, there is no proof that he resorted to corporal punishment in his own classrooms.

Rebellious pupils may have been punished in the Ansche Chesed school by kneeling for one-half to one session, or by copying four pages of a school text at home. That he had particular understanding of slow or inattentive students, to whom he referred as "the plague of the school-room," is reflected in the fact that such children had to wear dunce caps in, or were "black-balled" from class. In order to maintain proper classroom decorum, students were required to stand when reciting catechisms or when answering questions; they were seated in straight lines during tests and, it may be said, in class. Parents were not to question these methods of discipline; they were rebuked by
Lilienthal for having reprimanded the teachers who had rebuked their children. He considered the teacher to be quite literally in place of the parent with regard to matters of discipline and authority.

Related to disciplinary methods are means of rewarding students. Both the stimulus and means of rewarding "good" students is significant in our evaluation of Lilienthalian methodology. It is clear from the pages of the Visitor that one way of rewarding deserving children would be to publicize the names of well-behaved, punctual ("good") pupils in its columns "Sabbath School Reports" and "Our Good Children." "If grown people are not averse to seeing their merits praised, why should children make an exception from the rule?" queried the editor of the Visitor. We see again that his observations of children are largely based on logical, rather than psychological, inferences from adult behavior; his methods were based more upon intuition than pedagogic theory. As children are merely adults in miniature, as it were, they merely need be observed and reasoned about in order to be fully understood by their teachers.

A second way by which our subject rewarded students was a liberal distribution of prizes, as has been indicated above. That as many as four prizes per week for the best student in his class in the Noyoth Institute were distributed further indicates his advocacy of this device in Cincinnati. In the Sabbath School, awards were given out to the pupils for punctuality. Although one reason for this criterion of reward at the Sabbath School may have been the lack of more academic bases for reward in the school, it undoubtedly was also due to the value Lilienthal placed on proper habit training in education; thus, he would place the 'good' (i.e., well-behaved) student first in the class.
What scope of "extra-curricular" activities did Lilienthal offer his students? There is no evidence that there were clubs or student associations in any of the schools which he headed. However, in order to impress the children with the idea that "charity is the noblest gem of our Jewish faith," he advocated children's fairs, which were held for the benefit of needy organizations. These events were, of course, mapped out by adults. After having sold the handiwork of the children of the Cleveland Hebrew Orphan Asylum, for whose benefit a fair had been held by the Sabbath School pupils, the latter were treated to "some neat little speeches made by Mr. Kronacher... and others." The committee of boys and girls which had sold their toys and candy as well as the products of the girls of the Cleveland institution were treated to ice cream and cake before the speeches. In a fair prior to this one, toys and knick-knacks as well as needlework done by the girls of the Cincinnati Sabbath School were sold; that which remained unsold was donated to the Cleveland institution. The fair netted $50.00. Lilienthal lauded its value, contending that such affairs "will teach the children to spend their money for something better than candies and other luxuries.... It will inspire them with an interest for our institutions and creed and assist in uprooting the fearful indifference which eats away at the vitals of our sacred cause.... besides the moral benefit arising therefrom for the participants, it will become a nice source of revenue for our religious institutions." An example of the latter point may be found in his suggestion that the school-children contribute the money raised by one such fair to buy a Torah cover for the Temple and clothing for impoverished confirmands in addition to the usual contribution to the orphan asylum. At another fair, the students resolved to donate
Lilienthal

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<td>Speech—Lipman Levy, Chairman, School Committee</td>
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<td>Song by (adult) choir</td>
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<td>Speeches—Presentation of gift to Dr. Lilienthal</td>
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<td>Song by choir</td>
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Benjamin

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<td>Stereotype performance</td>
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The "Festival" conducted under the direction of Lilienthal began at 7:00 P.M. and ended at 10:00 P.M. At the Purim Festival, after the children were dismissed, the trustees, teachers and various committees were "entertained with Supper, wine, etc." Although these events were financed and guided by the School Committee during the administration of both religious leaders, there seems to be quite a difference in interpretation as to the definition and scope of extra-curricular events. Lilienthal suggested, at various times, that school parties and socials, both for confirmands and other students, be given in order to add "religious fervor in (a) materialistic era." Indeed, there was a need to inspire them with "religious fervor," in order to encourage them to further their cultural and social ties with Judaism. It would seem, however, that Dr. Max Lilienthal was unable to do so because of a basic inability to treat children as anything other than adults in miniature.
Having investigated the Lilienthalian method of teaching, we shall attempt to trace his views on educational issues less directly related to classroom procedures. How did this nineteenth-century teacher and rabbi regard religious training, both in itself and in relation to public school education? What was the scope of the education of women? How should the Jews be trained so as to be "useful" to the economic structure of the society to which they were to adapt? These issues must be clarified in order to evaluate the historical significance of this teacher in his society.

Max Lilienthal glorified certain aspects of the past, which he idealized into a set of ethical and spiritual standards, by which the present might be guided. Many Reform writers and thinkers lauded the social ideals of prophetic writings in order to lend an aura of precedence and authority to their theological ideas and program. They sought to reform Judaism from medieval legalism and superstitions. Lilienthal also stressed biblical heroes and narratives in his 

Lilienthal also stressed biblical heroes and narratives in his Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor. However, he viewed talmudic education and certain traditional ritualistic practices with favor if not nostalgia. Thus, he noted that the yeshivot of the Old World fostered "religious consistency... readiness of bringing... sacrifice for the sake of religion, benevolence and charity; universal learning and education" in their students. This, however, was his viewpoint in America. That there was considerable attitudinal change in his conception of religious institutions and training should be noted.

In Europe, Lilienthal advised Uvarov that "Jewish education must
cease being purely talmudic," such study preventing the Jews from more fully participating in, and contributing to, world civilization. They would do better to attend government schools, in which they could study the vernacular and both secular, as well as Jewish, subjects. German Jews had been enabled to acquire other knowledge (and rights) through secular studies, of which knowledge the Jews of Eastern Europe had been deprived, because of the exclusive stress on Talmud in their insular hadarim. Hebrew (as a secular subject), Russian, science and German literature were but some of the subjects to which Jews should be exposed. No longer was the Talmud to loom dominant on the horizon of Jewish studies.

In America, Lilienthal noted that the "purely talmudic" study of his Russian co-religionists, rather than having been detrimental, had trained certain Jews well for later endeavors in the areas of the classics, mathematics and in the professions. He repeatedly stressed the value of talmudic study as an intellectual discipline, noting that life in the yeshivot of Europe was one of religious devotion and sincerity. However, since the intricacies of talmudic dialectic could not be very readily mastered by public school students attending American Sabbath schools, he stressed biblical narratives, aggadic anecdotes and history, the latter subject no longer being taught for purpose of religious identification but for the purpose of self vindication (see 34).

Although staunchly Reform during the Cincinnati period, Lilienthal seemed to have a nostalgic attitude toward the past and its religious practices of the home. Children of the Visitor recite the Shemah when going to bed and when awakening, say Amen to a modified Kiddush, recite the benediction over Hanuka candles and return during the week in order to take notes on lectures which had been given on Friday night.
The basis for this nostalgic attitude toward the past lay, in part, in Lilienthal's desire to impress his readers with the importance of religious training in the home and religious school (such as the Sabbath school). He regarded religious training (which was his term for formal theological and ritualistic indoctrination), although basic to morality and "useful instruction," as supplementary to public school studies. Since religion (or 'religious education') was regarded by him as universalistic and theology (or 'religious training') particularistic and denominational, the latter should be taught only in sectarian schools and in the home. Such studies being secondary to the universally true subjects taught in the public schools, religiously educative (or didactic) passages of the Bible could be read in the public schools. Ritualistic and theological training, which is divisive, must be carefully kept out of the public schools, unlike the truths espoused by religion. Public school was regarded as the common ground upon which all religious groups would be inspired and united by ideals and principles "favored by God and man." Its curriculum, to the thinking of Lilienthal, must be the source of imbuing sensitivity to and sympathy for 'religious' truths espoused by the Judeo-Christian tradition. It was to be non-denominational, yet, as it were, super-sectarian. Theology, which is always "preaching love while practicing bigotry," should be taught privately only in order to prevent total assimilation and consequent disappearance of the source of religio-ethical truth, viz. the church, the best of whose teachings enhanced (and were put into social function) by the state. Lilienthal urged all to "be a man outside, and a Jew (or Christian) in your house;" noting that "within the churches, we belong to the various denominations; but in public, we ought to be Americans, and nothing but Americans." Thus, the tradition of "God-blessed America" would permit Bible readings in the public schools, pervaded by inter-denominational religiosity and tolerance. Lilienthal regarded Judaism...
Lilienthal regarded Judaism as the ultimate historical source of religious teachings culled and made socially useful through public school education. In order to perpetuate and continue propagating these monotheistic-ethical truths (which was the 'mission' of Judaism), Jewish religious schools must continue to exist. The Jewish child would be kept within the fold, as it were, through some familiarity with Hebrew, the beliefs, practices and history of his religion. The ideal Jew was one aware of the theological doctrines of Judaism, which he could defend in contact with his non-Jewish companions. He would attend public schools, which represent the historic consequence of religious truths derived from Judaism. He would not be deprived of enjoying equal educational opportunities through separatistic theological training.

What was his view of the role of society, insofar as it was to provide girls with the training and skills necessary for them? Girls were to be educated so as to adjust to the social class into which they were born and in which they would remain through marriage. They should acquire "intellectual modesty" through studies of "practical application," which would train them to fulfil those domestic and cultural obligations expected of one in their social station. Although they might aspire to various educational levels, they should be taught primarily "the need and beauty of adapting themselves to the life in which they are placed." They should be able to while away their leisure by reading the works of John Milton and Sir Thomas Browne without presuming to be scholars. That the role of women and the scope of their education was to be conservative
in scope is reflected in the following statement by a mother to her daughter: "It is the purpose of all education to fit persons for the station in which they are hereafter to live; and... there are very great differences... both among men and women." Rich women may spend more time in drawing and in music; poor women should engage in reading "or other proper ways." Thus, one education was not to consist so much in professional subject matter; rather, it was to train the rich to act properly within their social setting, the poor in theirs. There was, to be sure, a certain moral code to which to conform and certain domestic tasks which all girls should learn. They should know how to sew, darn stockings, etc., and to keep away from "dissolute young men." Money permitting, they were to acquire an acquaintance with their culture. Were women culturally refined, Lilienthal argued, their children would better appreciate them... they dress well, play the piano and read proper literature. In order to implement these ideas of domestic training, he urged the establishment of a local sewing school; after a year, it apparently became a sewing club, which met twice weekly for charitable activity. He also suggested a plan of cooperative house-keeping tasks on a rotating basis, in order that girls be trained properly in their future role in society, viz., in the home. With leisure, the young ladies should cultivate their cultural backgrounds so as to converse on the topics which are of interest to "rational and well-educated people." They therefore should read literature teaching them: 1) one's duty to God and man, 2) geography, 3) the practical values of plants, animals and minerals, 4) astronomy (which reflects God's powers) and 5) history. Their most important leisure-time activities, besides reading, were to be (in order of importance): French, penmanship, accounts-keeping, dancing, drawing and music. There would be no need for learning more technical subjects,
since their place in society is in their own home...except those females studying to become governesses, who would have to learn these topics more technically. It is difficult to understand how he advocated these ideas while urging that women teach in the Sabbath schools...which task would seem to pre-suppose some technical knowledge. It would seem that his insistence that they teach was partially because their husbands were otherwise occupied in business.

What were the aims of the school in teaching boys? What curricula were "useful," in the nineteenth-century sense of the term (i.e., training Jews in those subjects and skills which would make them productive and useful for the general economy)?

When involved in the socio-political problems surrounding the Jew in Russia, Lilienthal stressed the study of such secular subjects as foreign languages, writing, arithmetic, various crafts and Russian insofar as these skills would lead to establishing the Jew in business, crafts and farming. Although the Jew was to remain Orthodox (albeit the liberalized Orthodoxy of the Maskilim), secular studies pursued in Government-sponsored schools were to prepare him for a place of equal status in the non-Jewish world of Russian society. Conspicuous in its absence from the category of "useful" studies was the study of the physical sciences. They were not included, it would seem, as the study of them would not lead to equal civil rights, because of their less "useful" nature. As they led to professional posts, restricted among Jews, study of them was discouraged. 

After having become engrossed in problems of furnishing the Jews in America with adequate curricula, Lilienthal added the physical sciences to a course of studies which would lead to professional careers, from which the Jews had been restricted to a greater degree in Russia. The demanding discipline of these studies
would serve to replace, in terms of intellectual challenge, the neglected study of the Talmud, which, Lilienthal had noted, had served as "an excellent mental trainer," aiding the Russian Jew to assume a place in non-Jewish circles by excelling in his university studies. Furthermore, the study of the physical sciences would serve to train the American Jew in non-mercantile skills, acquisition of which skills might divert them from areas of direct competition with Christian merchants, thereby alleviating a potential and actual source of anti-Semitic hostility. Lilienthal not only advocated the establishment of sewing schools for girls; he also lauded a boys' vocational school, which would remove impoverished and unskilled Jewish boys from the public eye (as well as from the possible grasp of local missionaries) and train them in 'useful' occupations. Incidentally, his advocacy of technical training for Jewish children had its origin in his stay in New York, if no earlier; he advocated the establishment of a mercantile-polytechnic department in the Hebrew Union School.

Lilienthal's insistence that home training include the cultivating of good habits--acquisition of which was epitomized by Nellie and Sam of the Visitor--should also be considered in light of the value such training would have in adult relations with non-Jews. Such habit training is "too often of more importance than superficial book learning; it further increases respect for the Jew in the non-Jewish world. This proper conduct and hopefully ensuant respect for the Jew would be particularly necessary in the world of business, which Lilienthal was aware Jews would continue to enter, vocational training notwithstanding.
It would seem necessary to analyze Lilienthal's philosophy of education through a study of his poignant writings. As most of his extant writings are from his pen in the United States, we will pay attention to the works produced during that aspect of his work. These were an object lessons manual, *Things Taught* and a Jewish children's weekly, *The Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor*. Analysis of these major works in relation to contemporary pedagogic thought is now in order.

*Things Taught*: systematic instruction in composition and object lessons, written in 1862 by Lilienthal and Robert Allyn, should be seen as part of an educational trend in the latter half of the past century to popularize object teaching. This method of teaching elementary school children was conceived of by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) and popularized by disciples such as Elizabeth Mayo, N.A. Calkins and Edward A. Sheldon.

The object lesson approach to teaching presupposed that sense perception was a basis for developing one's mental, physical and moral powers. Through a physical object (or visual reproduction of it) being presented to the students, they gain "a clearer and more perfect view of the truth taught." This approach, also known as sense realism, posits that the students actually understand the significance of an object if they see and then verbally describe it. One cannot understand that which one cannot perceive; one has not learned if one cannot describe his sense perception. Perception exists in three major areas of education: numbers, forms and speech. Thus, the child is to be trained in arithmetic, drawing (and writing) and verbal self-expression.
The teacher must train the child's powers of observation in these areas or skills, since "Observation is the absolute basis of all knowledge. The first object, then, in education, must be to lead a child to observe with accuracy; the second, to express with correctness the result of his observations." The expression of these sense perceptions would serve to impress them on the 'mind' of the student.

This method of training extended to the sphere of religious education. However, since theological concepts (such as God, soul, etc.) do not, in themselves, lie within the context of empirical epistemology, the didactic value of a graphic religious narrative was necessary in order to be included in an object lesson. We shall illustrate this point by a brief description of a lesson on David and Goliath (Samuel I, Chapter 17). A picture of the protagonists was shown to the students, motivating them to read the chapter to answer certain questions which, if answered, would outline the story. They described the picture and read descriptions of the size and weapons of Goliath (verses 4-7), the boldness of David (verses 32-37) and other graphic scenes. After noting his victory (v. 50), the lesson ends on a non-graphic note; in answer to the question "How can we imitate David?" they respond: "All sin...(is the) enemy of the Lord; we must fight against them in His strength....and He will make us more than conquerors."

Lessons proceeded from the specific to the general. Counting was taught by identifying one common object with the term 'one' substituting numbers (on a symbolic level) for objects. In order to foster easy visualization, monetary units, rather than arithmetic tables, were utilized.
That Max Lilienthal was influenced by this school of educational thought is indicated in his classroom methodology and practice. Illustrations are frequently found on the pages of the Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor. They were included in order to clarify the subject of an historical article (such as the Ark found in the Tabernacle, HSSV I, January, 1874, p. 3) or to have an edifying or inspiring effect on its young readers. Thus, Moritz Oppenheimer's famous drawing of a Sabbath School test should serve; Lilienthal noted, to love Judaism more, were the sketch properly explained to them. Through sense perception (of, in this case, the wood-cuts of the Visitor), the children would learn to 'see,' and therefore understand, the beauties of Jewish life and its institutions. Furthermore, Lilienthal undoubtedly utilized maps, particularly of Palestine, in his classroom. It seems that he would present his students with an "oral lesson" on the geographic features of the Holy Land in order to better motivate the lesson, which would thereafter consist of the students copying the map placed before them until they grew familiar with its outline. His classroom use of maps goes as far back as 1852, at least, at which time he introduced the use of them in the private school which he directed.

The most obvious indication, of course, of Lilienthal's advocacy of object lessons and sense realism is the fact that he wrote an object lesson text with Robert Allyn by order of the Cincinnati Board of Education. Although we do not have much historical data concerning the genesis of this text, we may assume that Lilienthal agreed with the organization of it unless we find evidence to the contrary. A brief analysis of certain points and features of the text should serve to support our observations of Lilienthal's pedagogic outlook.
The authors of the text under discussion stated that their aim was to train students "to observe, compare and combine; to name things properly and express... ideas in a correct and pleasing style" by means of the exercises in it. Let us see how this aim was pursued. The text deals in its first chapter with developing ideas (which mean empiric awareness, not abstract thought) by observation of such things as names, materials, colors, numbers and physical characteristics of environmental objects. The dimension of reflection (based upon observation) follows, dealing with uses, consequences, forms, etc., of things. The third chapter deals with the training of composition. This would be done through the narration of a story by the teacher who would then review its content through an oral quiz. The story would then be repeated orally by the student, who would thereafter write it from memory. The next lesson consisted of changing poetry into prose summarizing the contents of the poem, enabling the child learn to and remember what has been read, giving him a more copious vocabulary and more graceful style. The text then suggests story outlines which the student was to fill in with detail, thereby acquiring the habit unconsciously describing that which he sees, is told and thinks through such composition work.

Recall was an essential element preceding self-expression reflected in literary composition. This process (of recall), having ultimately been based on empirical observation, would lead to thought and self-expression only after and on the basis of the deductive learning process. Composition would be meaningful only insofar as the material compiled from sense data is organized and classified by the pupil, with the aid of the teacher. Themes of composition were to be Practical... which 19th century term incorporated the didactic within its definition. Some themes suggested by the co-authors were: "The sermon of my watch;" "Be polite;" "Who was greater, Napoleon I or Washington?"
The text under discussion utilizes the analytical approach advocated by such proponents of sense realism as Edward A. Sheldon. An object familiar to the students—such as an apple—would be observed, described in its parts, and memorized. The characteristics of the object would then be described, its use stated, and its social significance stated. Proceeding from the specific to the general was, to Sheldon, "the order of nature." As a knowledge of objects precedes knowledge of words, the teacher should lead the child to discover things for himself and then properly communicate the result of his observations to his fellow student. Because of the centrality of sense perception to this approach, the textbook was seen to be secondary to empirical observation.

Although the text follows the general pattern and theory of sense realism, Things Taught stresses composition and verbal self-expression, having been written for the specific purpose of training students to be prepared to pursue a livelihood without the benefit of a high school or commercial college education. It was designed as a teachers manual rather than an actual text. Its brevity would seem to indicate that it did not involve its authors in a lot of labor.

We need analyze a project undertaken in Cincinnati during the latter part of his career which reflects many of Lilienthal's educational predilections. Our subject devoted almost a decade to the editing of the first Sabbath School newspaper created for Jewish Sabbath School children in the United States.

Founded in 1874, the Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor was aimed at giving these children an entertaining form of educational reading which would supplement their Jewish education (limited, for the most part, to a brief study of religion and history) and enable them to defend their existence as Jews. Through the contents of this weekly journal, Jewish children of small towns, which did not even have Sabbath schools, would also learn enough
also learn enough about Jewish culture to become (or want to become) "good and enlightened Jews," able to defend the Jewish faith and mission in the world. Lessons on Jewish holidays appear on its pages at the time of the holidays; history—Biblical and post-Biblical—is frequently dealt with and there is no dearth of theological narrative in the form of catechisms. Children's novels, in serial form (usually translated from the German), travelogues, riddles and 'enigmas;' jokes and puns, essays by the children themselves and names of 'good' Sabbath School students fill the pages of this unique pioneer of Jewish children's literature. The aims of these various articles were: 1) to teach the doctrines of Judaism, exhorting the young readers to lives devoted "to charity and morality" while enabling them to defend Judaism from attack; 2) to teach Biblical history through Biblical literature; 3) to relate post-Biblical to history curricula of public schools; 4) to include some Jewish novels; and 5) to tell stories about western society and the part played in it by Jews. Although entertaining or light features were included on the pages of the Visitor, the didactic-pedagogic function of the publication was often stressed by its editor. He strongly urged, on its very pages, that Sabbath school teachers read the articles on Biblical and Jewish history in class with the children; serial stories as "The Jewish Lieutenant," in themselves "would make the paper of little value to them." "We must try to instruct as well as to amuse them." There is indication that Lilienthal intended that the newspaper serve as a Sabbath school text. When first issued, each student at the Mound St. Temple (B'nai Israel) Sabbath School was to subscribe to it, "if practicable." If, however, they were unable or unwilling to pay for it, voluntary contributions to the Visitor were to compensate for their subscription.
Furthermore, discounts were offered by the publishers, Bloch & Co., to Sabbath schools subscribing to the Visitor; the schools were urged by the publishers to distribute it to their pupils and report on progress made through use of them. Lilienthal used it in his own classroom, seeing to it that the children, with the assistance of his son Albert, "study the contents and verses which are contained in the (Hebrew) Leader (?) and then...read the articles on "Biblical History" and "Our Prophets."

In evaluating the historical factors giving rise to an educational institution, it is apropos to speculate as to the cause for it having been founded at the particular time of its initiation. Why did Lilienthal in particular found it? One factor may be that he wanted to publish his hitherto unsuccessful juvenile writings which had not yet been published. The Biblical stories in the Visitor probably stemmed from his futile attempt to write "a Biblical history for the use of our Sabbath Schools." Apparently he had originally planned to have written such a biblical history as an appendix to his translation of Emanuel Hecht's text. That he had also planned to adapt a catechism, parts of which may have been later incorporated in the serials "Little Nel's Catechism" and "Our Little Sam" seems clearly indicated.

In order to create a market for his writings in educational literature, Lilienthal, to an extent, founded and edited this publication.

Another factor should be considered in tracing the historical genesis of the Visitor. In the aftermath of the Civil War, there was a definite increase in the popularity of religious periodical literature. In 1865, there were some 350 religious journals; by 1885, there were some 650 such publications published in the United States. Lilienthal was well aware of this growth of interest; he noted, in a letter to the
editor of The Jewish Times that, among the religious (Christian) newspapers in the West, those featuring Sunday School sections and supplements "richly adorned by splendid woodcuts," were very popular. He then offered his services of writing a children's column, which offer was politely refused, due, it was claimed, to a lack of space. The current popularity of Christian juvenile literature is further indicated by Bloch and Company, which publicized the aim of the Visitor as being "to assist the teachers in fostering and advancing religious interest among our dear young ones," who often had no religious literature written for them. This situation, hopefully to be undone by the Visitor, had forced Jewish children to resort to non-Jewish reading materials.

Another motivation behind the founding of this publication was to serve as a professional organ for Sabbath School teachers; on its pages, they should discuss common problems, such as a lack of adequate texts, etc. In this aim, however, which had been suggested by someone other than Lilienthal, the Visitor failed, because of a lack of professional interest in Jewish religious education and a multitude of other communal problems on the minds of leaders such as Lilienthal.

Lilienthal used the Visitor as a means of justifying Judaism to non-Jews...and not merely an instrument for fostering religious principles of Judaism for Jewish children. The newspaper was to be a propagandistic tool for non-Jews as to the moral virtues and occupational usefulness of the Jews. Thus, mottoes as "Light and Truth, Love and Liberty" appeared on the masthead of the publication "to meet the approval of Jew and Gentile." Although it was to proclaim Jewish liberality to the general world, we see repeated polemics and debates between Christian and Jewish spokesmen in the Visitor.
which the 'superiority' of Judaism is repeated. Indeed, if Judaism were superior to Christianity, its tenets had to be studied (and memorized) and its history reviewed. If it were superior, toleration of other religions would be a contradiction in terms and quite unnecessary in view of its superior nature. He essentially sought to establish a doctrine of Choseness in relativistic terms—he was left with the anomalous situation of having to treat Christians as equals—yet claim some non-specified superiority.

In addition to basing his justification for love and study of Judaism on its superiority to Christianity (which superiority included its more tolerant and liberal nature!) and a nostalgia for the past, Lilienthal sought to foster Reform beliefs and approach through this organ. In the serial on Biblical history, for instance, he noted a gap in the narrative of Chapter two in the book of Samuel II. He refers to the silence of the text as to the motives and means of the rebellion against King David led by Abner and Ish-Bosheth (v.8), noting that if the lacuna were filled in (presumably by external evidence), we would have "the key to a proper understanding" of the incident. He also interchanged chapters sixteen and seventeen of Samuel I in his analysis of the book, indicating to the young readers that a Biblical text was not beyond critical judgement. He also used the organ as a means of propagating the 'mission' of Judaism (i.e., spreading ethical monotheism in its pure—Jewish—form) among the Gentiles, as well as reforms advocated by Reform thought of the time.

There were several articles written for The American Israelite by Lilienthal which shed further light on his adherence to concepts of educational thought of his time. Stress on training for independent interpretation through one's own sense perception is reflected in his article "The Aims of Our Schools." Children should be trained well in
all elementary skills, being trained for any field of endeavour which they may later choose to enter. Each step in their education should be understood. They should become, through their education, accustomed to exercising their own abilities and "not to rely upon the assistance of a teacher or of a dead formula." This sense of independence should not extend but to areas of the empirical and tangible but to the realms of the moral and religious. Although the students should honestly and critically investigate religious traditions, some traditional concepts and practices were pre-supposed, albeit not always rationally explicable.

In this essay we see another note emphasized by our subject: history should be taught for apologetic purposes. Children should learn "the miraculous history of their people that they never may feel ashamed of being Jews." Although all knowledge was empirically based, a Platonic idea of history may be detected in the thought of Lilienthal. Thus, history is the only way of imparting "love, and regard for their (the children's) people, their creed (and) the mission of the Jewish race. . . ." as he later noted. This essay not only urges that the divine element presupposed by Lilienthal be noted; it was to encourage them to aspire to occupational heights attained by heroes of American history. Further analysis of Lilienthal's concept of history as an area of classroom instruction would be out of place in this chapter, which is organized according to writings rather than ideas.

Although we have stressed points salient to Lilienthal's educational theory in his American writings, it would seem necessary to notice how the ideas in these writings were related (or unrelated) to the ideas and aims expressed by him in Russia.

In his pamphlet, Magid Yeshuah, he laments the fact that extant Jewish schools had not trained communal leaders to express themselves
in the vernacular in governmental circles. An essential aim, it would seem, was that they should train rabbis for stadlanut and eloquence; they should become able mentors in the areas of ethics and theology, rather than in halachic dialectic. Not only should the ideal modern rabbi speak the government's language (in more ways than one), but the farmer and businessman should also be so gifted, while craftsmen should be taught by their training the writing and arithmetic essential to their trade. This aim of training for stadlanut was obviated in America as Jewish society of the era was too busy adjusting to its internal needs and problems of adaptation, livelihood, etc. to worry about establishing official or quasi official lobbyists.

Another aim of the new education espoused in Ma'gid Yeshuah and other works was that of enabling the Jews to acquire equal rights and opportunities through government approved (if not government instituted) schools and curricula. Children should become religiously and spiritually educated men through such a scheme. This plan adhered to Uvarov's policy that Jews would first have to prove themselves worthy of desired rights through the new education before they would be granted them. This viewpoint held, essentially, that the Jews were potentially good subjects of the Czar... with 'good' education, their impoverished and ignorant lives would be elevated to equal status with the other Russian citizens. Until the time of enlightenment would arrive, however, Jews would (and should) be subject to second class citizenship and legal deprivation of rights.
Having studied for well over a year the history and writings of Max Lilienthal, it is difficult, but imperative, for us to take stock of our findings.

Firstly, we noted a certain tension in his personality. Lilienthal was torn between the causes of enlightenment and westernization of the Jew on the one hand, and the need for preservation of his identification with his spiritual heritage, on the other hand. Lilienthal faced this problem by striving to introduce educational reforms which would serve to 'modernize' Russian-Jewish society; when, however, he came to the American scene, where the local Jews were all too modernized, he reversed his position. Thus, he lauded the nostalgic image of the Past, which would ward off assimilation... although he had sought, in Russia, to introduce measures which would, to some degree or other, weaken the hold of that Past on the daily life of the Russian Jew. Our subject essentially spanned two different worlds. From the Orthodox world of Russia, which was being infiltrated by the Enlightenment of Mendelssohn, he came to the multifarous new Jewish community of America threatened by ignorance and assimilation. Once a Maskil, he became a religious leader in a most materialistic age. The very past which he had striven to mitigate and alter, he then strove to preserve and propagate. The fact that Lilienthal was affiliated with the Reform movement in America necessarily is indicative only of his organizational affiliation; it does not/mean that his viewpoint became more (or less) liberal. The fact that he was Orthodox in Russia does not, on the other hand, indicate that he desired to defend and preserve past cultural institutions. When Reform, he was more conservative than when he had been Orthodox. Our criterion of liberality and conservatism is not defined by the amount of Mitzvot performed, which would be an almost impossible historical criterion to set, but by the attitude one assumes toward his religious heritage in relation to secular values and institutional aims.
Max Lilienthal, a study in contrasts, reflects the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of defining a person in terms of the organizational labels which he attaches to himself.

Just as there was a tension and contradiction between liberality and conservatism, there was a similar phenomenon noticeable in his attitude toward Judaism vis a vis Christianity. The former was held to be holy because of its tolerance of all men, to whom it had bequeathed the gift of monotheism and the prophetic ideals of justice; once it had done so, why did it not perish? Why should it continue to survive? If the relevance of Judaism is an historic one, why should one remain a Jew? He contended that it should survive institutionally because it, in its particular organizational form, contains a purer form of monotheism and tolerance than does its daughter religion of the West. Hence, at the very core of his liberalism, there was a definite note of intolerance and patronage.

Against this background, which would seem to discount the role of our subject as a serious thinker—in terms of consistancy and depth—we shall look at his contributions to educational thought of his day. His one major contribution, *The Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor* met, to a considerable degree, the meager cultural appetites and religious yearnings of children then studying in Sabbath schools throughout the country. Most of his other efforts were marked by a basic inability on his part, to transcend the status quo. Furthermore, his educational efforts and theories were not pedagogically sound, scientifically based, nor particularly intellectually palatable. For instance, his rationale for allowing the reading of the Bible in American public schools is pre-
mised on the universality of religious affiliation and the non-existence of atheism or agnosticism. To proclaim that he was a pioneer in teaching French and German conversationally would be pre-mature on our part; whether or not similar programs existed in contemporary boarding schools would have to be investigated.

Upon proving that no such phenomenon preceded Lilienthal's efforts, it would then have to be proven that the students and teachers actually conversed in these tongues in his boarding school. His Russian career, although colorful and much touted, achieved nothing of historic import; the Crown schools had little impact upon the Russian Jewish masses. How much of that impact was fostered to Lilienthal (who departed from Russia amidst plans for their propagation) can hardly be measured. It is true that he introduced confirmation to the American synagogue. It was, however, introduced as a publicistic—rather than an educational—device; its historic importance lay in its institutional development and cultural ramifications, rather than in its date of introduction. Other plans of his—such as a business-vocational school attached to the Hebrew Union School—were still-born.

It is hoped that in this study, we have demonstrated the following methodological problems: 1) the necessity of treating school advertisements cautiously in determining its curriculum; 2) a dearth of source material written by Lilienthal, which still may exist in family archives; 3) the basic difficulty in regarding a nineteenth century figure, such as Lilienthal, with the organizational categories of the twentieth century. Lilienthal was a orator of considerable ability, a polemicist and a teacher, He was not an educator. He probably had never even heard of that blessed profession of honor.

It is thus that he need be evaluated; thus he has been evaluated.
List of abbreviations used in text of paper

Journals
CCAR—Central Conference of American Rabbis.
HUCA—Hebrew Union College Annual.
PAJHS—Proceedings of the American Jewish Historical Society.
PLBI—Proceedings of the Leo Baeck Institute

Weeklies and Monthlies
Asm—Asmonean
AZJ—Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums
Deb—Die Deborah
HSSV—The Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor (SSV after 1879; Sabbath School Visitor)
Is—The (American) Israelite
JR—The Jewish Review
JT—The Jewish Times
JV—Der Judisches Volksblatt
Occ—The Occident

Encyclopedias
JE—The Jewish Encyclopedia
UJE—The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia

Minutes/Books
ACSCMB—Anshe Chesed School Committee Minutes Book
ACTM—Anshe Chesed Trustees Minutes
MSTTRA—Mound St. Temple (Congregation B'nei Israel) Religious School Accounts, 1880-1883 (School Board Minutes)
MIME—Noyoth Institute (Religious School Board) Minute(s) (Book) 1854-69.
APPENDIX I—Curriculum of the Riga School.

The "Plan der in Riga zu errichtenden Schule der Schlockschen Ebräergemeinde" of 1838 (in Ehrlich, Entwickelungsgeschichte..., pp.5-8) shows:

1) In the lower class, reading and writing (Schönschreiben) of Hebrew, German and Russian, the fundamentals of arithmetic and "necessary prayers" were taught.

2) In the upper class, the studies consisted of:

a) The Jewish religion—according to the German translation of the Pentateuch.

b) Hebrew, German and Russian grammar.

c) Geography.

d) Arithmetic.

e) Russian history in relation to world history.

Calligraphy was introduced to curriculum October, 1842 (p.13) French was introduced in December, 1840. (See text, above, p.13)
APPENDIX II—HEBREW UNION SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Elementary department

Biblical history
Hebrew
English
Reading and writing
Translation of prayers
Translation of Genesis, Exodus
Arithmetic
Rudiments of English and Hebrew grammar
Geography

High-school department

(Reading?) the entire Bible
History of the Jewish people
Parts of the Orach-chayim
History of the United States
General (world?) history
English language
Arithmetic, algebra, geometry
Book-keeping
German
French
Hebrew

Catechism was taught in both departments of the School.

The above is based on Occident IV (February, 1847) 555f.
Later notices of the School do not add significantly to our knowledge of their desired curriculum. "Commentaries" on the Bible, Mishnah and Talmud are noted in the September (1847) issue of the Occident (p. 316). The upper division was evidently to be integrated with the apparently ill-fated 'mercantile-polytechnical' department.
APPENDIX III—Confirmation

A significant contribution to the cultural situation of American Jewry may be dealt with in an appendix to our study. Further details concerning certain aspects of confirmation will be filled in upon proper verification.

On May 31, 1946 (the first day of Pentecost), Max Lilienthal introduced the ceremony of confirmation both to some 1500 people present at the Anshe Chesed synagogue and to American Jewry. Through introducing this rite, Lilienthal thought that it would serve "to place our young congregations here, in all things that touch our holy religion, on an equal footing with the best organized congregations in the old world." Furthermore, initiation of this popular ceremony of European Jewry might serve to gain some members from Temple Emanu-El, the leading competitor of Anshe Chesed. The first confirmation was held at 3 P.M. It marked the culmination of a half-year of religious instruction conducted by Lilienthal, for boys of 13 and girls of 12 years of age, on Wednesday and Sunday afternoons between 4 and 5 P.M. The following represents at least what the confirmands were to have learned in the year of instruction: essential dogma; the attributes and works of God; immortality and Revelation; the Ten Commandments "with short interpretations;" one's duties to God, oneself, one's elders and others; feasts and fasts; major rituals; and important biblical passages, which they were to have recited in Hebrew at the confirmation. During the following year, it would seem that the Maimonidean Thirteen Principles were added to the curriculum.

The effect of this ritual on the local community may be reflected in the fact that Leo Merzbacher, rabbi of Emanu-El, introduced it there shortly after Lilienthal had instituted it at Anshe Chesed. It would seem that Lilienthal's organization of it influenced his disciple, David Philipson.
1. In an autobiographical sketch presented to Uvarov and Riga school officials, Lilienthal stated that his date of birth was November 6, 1814. See Saul Ginsburg, "Max Lilienthal's Activities in Russia: New Documents," *Pajahshe*, XXV (1939) 42. His tombstone in Cincinnati supports this year of birth, although it does not state a day. Gotthard Deutsch, "Max Lilienthal," *B'nai Brith News* VIII, 2, p. 6a claims his birthday to have been Marheshwan 1, corresponding to October 15, 1814 and November 4, 1815. David Philipson, *Max Lilienthal--American Rabbi* (New York, 1915) p. 4 makes out a lengthy if not confusing case for October 16, 1815. Herman Rosenthal, "Max Lilienthal," *JB* VIII p. 36 dates the event as November 6, 1815. Peter Wiernick, "Max Lilienthal and the Educational Plans of the Russian Government," *Jewish Forum* 1, 1918, p. 546, holds it to have been October 7, 1815. The date of death is based on Philipson, *op.cit.*, p. 130. Isidore Loeb, "Max Lilienthal," *REJ* IV (1882) dates it as March 31, 1882 (p. 303).

2. *HSSV* II (March 5, 1975) 34.


5. Whether Ludwig Phillipson had been asked by representatives of the Riga Jewish community or by Uvarov to name a man to head the new school is not clear. That Uvarov had to approve the nomination of Lilienthal seems clear. See Philipson, p. 16, Philipson "Max Lilienthal, Dictionary of American Biography* XI, p. 240; Ginsburg, p. 41; Loeb, p. 309."
6. Josef Meisl, Haskalah (Berlin, 1919) 73.

7. Philipson, Max Lilienthal..., pp. 16-17, 189-193.

8. Adolf Ehrlich, Entwickelungsgeschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde-
schule zu Riga (St. Petersburg, 1894) 10.


    JT I, 48 (January 28, 1870) 3.

11. Isaac Levitats, The Jewish Community in Russia, 1772-1844,
    (New York, 1943); 73; Loeb, p. 310.

    325-39; Jost's Israelitische Annalen I, 11 (March 12, 1841) 36.

13. Levitats, p. 73; Philipson, Max Lilienthal..., p. 27.

14. Max Lilienthal, Magid Yeshuah in A.B. Gottober's HaBoker Or IV, 5
    (August, 1879) 913.

    JE VIII, p. 58.

16. Benjamin Mandlestamm, Hazon LaMoed (Vilna, 1877) II, 26-27; quoted by
    Israel Zinberg, Toldot Sifrut Yisrael (Tel Aviv, 1960) VI, 215.

17. Levitats, op. cit.; Meisl, p. 92.

18. Lilienthal, "The Russian Government..." JT I, 48 (January 28, 1879) 3;
    Philipson, Max Lilienthal..., pp. 324 ff.

19. Lilienthal, ibid., p. 3.

19a. Magid Yeshuah was translated from the original German either by
    Simon Rosenthal (David Kahana, "Lilienthal and the Enlightenment of
    the Jews of Russia," HaShiloah XXVII (1912) 547) or by Samuel
    Joseph Fünn (Zinberg, p. 315 n. 49).
20. **AZJ VI** (October 3, 1842) 610; *ibid.* 698-701, 715f.
22. **Occ. V, 5** (August, 1847) 255.
23. Zinberg, p. 209, 214, 221; *Levitas*, pp. 79-80. For letters from Lilienthal to Levinsohn promising to visit him, see "Leket Amarim" *HaMelitz* 1830 p. 90; D. B. Nathanson, *Sefer Zichronot* (Warsaw, 1899) 70.
24. The ukase was issued on November 13, 1844; see **AZJ VIII, 51** (1844) IX, 1, 2 (1846) for announcements concerning these schools; also I. M. Jost, *Neurere Geschichte des Israeliten* II (Berlin, 1847) 312.
26. See Grinstein's "Lilienthal's Union..." p. 328.
29. **Occ. IV** (February, 1847) 555.
31. I. M. Wise, *Reminiscences* (Cincinnati, 1901) 19 indicates that Lilienthal lived "in a small house" on Eldridge St. six months after he had been chosen as 'chief rabbi' of the German congregations (p. 21).
32. **Asm. I** (April 6, 1849) 10; **II 4** (May 16, 1850) 31.
33. **Occ. VIII, 8** (November, 1850) 425. There is evidence that Lilienthal planned to open a boarding school in Cincinnati. **Is. II 3** (July 27, 1855)
34. AZI XVI,3 (February 16,1852) 93.
36. Ibid., October 20,1853, pp.289-90; May 13,1855, p.513; July 1,1855, p.524.
38. Philipson, Max Lilienthal... p.59.
39. Deb.II (October 3,1856) 49. Both cities had three Reform temples.
40. Asm.I (January 13,1850) 100.
41. On the Bet Din established by Lilienthal, see AZI XI (January 4,1347) 26; Occ. IV (February, 1847) 554; Wise, Reminiscences, p.50.
42. For sermons delivered by Lilienthal from church pulpits, see Is.XVIII,43 (April 26,1872) 9; Die Gegenwart, 1869, p.76; Synodalblatt 1372, p.291; L'Educatore Israelite, 1867, p.192.
43. In a statement made in late 1869, Lilienthal said that Rufus King, President of the Public School Board and he had served on it for the past ten years; JT I, 42 (December 17,1869) 6. In 1870 he claimed his years of service on the Board to have been a total of thirteen; JT II, 6 (April 8,1870) 35. Philipson, "Max Lilienthal" Dictionary of American Biography, p.241, dates the affiliation from 1860-69.
44. JT I, 22 (July 30,1869) 7; Occ. XIII, 9 (December, 1855) 460. Letter to author from Marjorie L. Rogers, Associate Supervisor of Libraries, Cincinnati Public Schools; May 5,1964.
45. Wise, ibid. p.324. Lilienthal evidently volunteered his services as lecturer; see David Philipson, "History of Hebrew Union College," Hebrew Union College Jubilæe Volume (Cincinnati, 1925) 25.
47. Max Lilienthal, "Russische Skizzen," AZJ IX, XI XII (1845, 1847-48),
48. See Herman Rosenthal, "Max Lilienthal," JE VIII p. 27, for the names
    of the other three plays. Die Shauspieler is in the possession of
    the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.
49. Lilie Bernheimer Lilienthal, In Memorium—Jesse Warren Lilienthal,
    (San Francisco, 1921) 1.
50. Is. XXVIII, 44 (April 28, 1882) 350.
FOOTNOTES—METHODOLOGY

1. HSSV I, 1 (January 1874) 2, 7, 26.
2. Ibid. II, 28. (July 6, 1875) 112.
3. Ibid. VI, 14 (April 4, 1879) 116.
4. Ibid. I, 45 (November 1874) 178; idem. II, 2 (December 1875) 6.
5. Ibid. IV, 39 (September 22, 1877) 308.
6. Ibid. I, 125 (June, 1874) 91.
7. NTMB, February 8, 1857, p. 74. See also March 8, 1857 entry, pp. 75-76.
8. HSSV II, 17 (April 30, 1875) 66.
9. NTMB, May 27, 1855, p. 53. Is. II 30 (February 1, 1856) 243 c, d.
11. Ibid., idem., 26 (June 23, 1878) 202.
12. Ibid., III, 21 (June 2, 1876) 165; V, §September 20, 1873) 200.
13. VIII (September 16, 1881) 292.
14. Ibid., I, 9 (March, 1874) 34.
15. Ibid., IV (May 18, 1878) 157, 206.
16. Ibid., III, 6 (February 18, 1877) 45.
17. Ibid., idem., 24 (June 23, 1877) 186.
16 "Reading By Subjects," Oliva Thorn, St. Nicholas, September, 1876, in
HSSV III, 41 (October 20, 1876) 326.
17. See HSSV III, 3 (January 22, 1876) 22.
18. Ibid. I, 1 (January, 1874) 2.
19. Ibid., V, 26 (June 23, 1878) 262.
20. Max Lilienthal, "Do We Educate Our Children In Our Religion?",
Am. X, 22 (September 15, 1854) 173.
21. HSSV VI, 6 (February 7, 1880) 44; V, 21 (May 24, 1879) 164, on Lilienthal's reservations on use of catechism.
22. Ibid. II, 1 (March 19, 1875) 42.
23. See letter of August 22, 1850 from Lilienthal recommending G.M. Cohen's The Hebrew Language... Olendorff's Method, p. 5.
24. See above, note 27, chpt. 4 "Boarding School."
45. MSTRSA, October 6, 1880, p. 104; Is. XXXII, 13 (September 26, 1879) 5, HSSV II, 29 (July 28, 1876) 227.
46. HSSV II, 9 (March 5, 1875) 34.
47. MSTRSA November 5, 26, 1870, pp. 27, 29; ibid. December 2, 1886, p. 127.
48. Ibid., March 12, 1870, p. 15.
49. HSSV II, 25 (June 25, 1875) 100; idem. 17 (April 30, 1875) 68 and note 45, above.
FOOTNOTES—EDUCATIONAL CONCEPTS

1. Is. II, 23 (December 14, 1855) 186, Philipson, Max Lilienthal...p. 273-8

2. Philipson, Max Lilienthal—American Rabbi, p.194f.

3. Letter from Lilienthal to M.A. Gunzberg, in Leo Scheinhaus, "Vor 70 Jahren," Ost Und West X, 6 (June, 1910) 331.

4. Pauline Wengeroff, Memoiren einer Grossmutter (Memel, 1913) I, p. 133, also p. 127; Zvi Scharfstein HaHeder & Hayehudim (New York, 1943) 226.

5. Max Lilienthal, "My Travels In Russia," Is. II, 10 (September 14, 1855) 74, AZJ XI, p. 405; JV XXXVI, p. 111; Occ V (April, 1847) 31-32.


7. HSSV I (January, 1874) 16; SSV (September 16, 1881) 180.

8. Ibid., V (February 21, 1873) 61.


10. JT II, 8 (April 22, 1870) 112. Quoted by Philipson, ibid., p. 122, and in Centenary Papers, p. 184. Cf. JT I, 43 (December 24, 1869) 6.

11. Is. XVIII, 43 (April 26, 1872) 9.

12. JT III, 9 (April 23, 1871) 137; idem., II, 6 (April 8, 1870) 85.

13. HSSV II, 30 (August 4, 1875) 237.

14. Ibid., II, 6 (April 8, 1875) 85.

15. It should be noted that Lilienthal, despite considerable rhetorical insistence on separation between theological and secular training, advocated the cause of day schools—which would integrate such training. See, for instance, Is. XI, 53 (June 30, 1865) 421.

16. HSSV II (June 18, 1875) 94.

17. Ibid., VI, 5 (February 1, 1879) 38.

19. Quoted from "New York Scholars' Journal," in HSSY II, 33 (September 10, 1875) 132; idem., 37 (October 3, 1875) 143.

20. HSSY V, 20 (May 17, 1879) 158.

21. The sewing school was originally announced in HSSY II, 37 (October 8, 1875), 143. Then it was maintained that twenty-six girls had registered for four classes. Later, fifteen girls met in two classes which had been set up for learning different tasks.

   See Ibid. II, 39 (October 22, 1875) 154, III, 47 (December 1, 1876) 372 and Id. XXVIII, 42 (April 14, 1882) 329.

22. HSSY III, 28 (July 21, 1876) 223.

23. Ibid., VI, 13 (March 30, 1880) 99.

24. Ibid., VIII, (February 4, 1881) 43.

25. Ibid., I, 11 (March 1874) 43; idem., III, 23 (June 16, 1876) 176.


27. HSSY II, 38 (October 15, 1875) 152; idem., VIII, September 10, June 10, 1881, pages 180, 292.

28. Ibid., I, 12 (April, 1874) 46.

29. Ibid., V, 3 (February 21, 1878) 61. On rising Anti-Semitism noted by Lilienthal see also idem., VIII (January 23, 1881) 38.

30. See above, note 14; also Ibid. VII (January 9, 1880) 20.

31. On this interesting educational experiment, see AZJ XI 1 (January 4, 1847) 27; Occ. IV (February, 1847) 555, Occ. V (November, 1847) 316.


7. Calkins, "History..." p. 635.

8. Idem., *Primary...* p. 140.


21. Lilienthal and Allyn, pp. 4, 84.
22. HSSV I (December, 1874) 190.
23. Ibid. IV (November 16, 1878) 364 and December 23, 1878 issue, p. 412.
24. Ibid. III (November 12, 1875) 165.
25. Ibid. III, 51 (December 29, 1876) 404.
26. Ibid. I, 17 (May, 1874) 67; idem. 14 (April, 1874) 55.
27. MSTRSA January 4, 1874, p. 63; all students were originally to have subscribed to the Visitor; see September 28, 1878 entry, which would indicate that 150 students attended the school, p. 60.
28. HSSV I (May, 1874) 67.
29. MSTRSA, October 6, 1880, p. 104.
30. HSSV III, 6 (February 18, 1876) 45. The Hebrew Leader was a New York newspaper extant between 1865-32.
31. JT I, 43 (December 24, 1869) 6, letter dated December 12, 1869.
32. Is. II, 37 (March 21, 1856) 301.
32a. HSSV I, 22 (June, 1874) 87; II, 1 (January 8, 1875) 4.
34. JT I (January 14, 1870) 9; cf. HSSV I, 48 (December, 1874) 190.
35. Is. XXI, 25 (December 26, 1878) 7.
36. HSSV III, 1 (January 14, 1876) 4.
37. Ibid. IV, 6 (February 9, 1877) 44; idem., pp. 52, 60.
38. Ibid. III (February 11, 1876) 36.
39. See, for instance, Ibid. I (November, 1874) 166.
40.
41. Is. II, 10 "The Aims of our Schools" (October 14, 1855) 75a.
42. Is. XVII, 53 (June 30, 1871) 7.
43. Is. II, 10 October 14, 1855, p. 75a.
44. Lilienthal, Magid Yeshuah, in A. B. Gottlober, "HaBoker Or," IV 5 August, 1879 pp. 917-918.
45. Lilienthal, "Der Herr und sein Name der Einig-Eine" Predigten fur
Sabbathe und Festtage (Munich, 1839) 13.

46. Magid Yeshuah, pp. 912, 914.

2. AZJ X (July 27, 1846) 448; Grinstein's The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York, p. 395.

3. Grinstein, HUCA, XVIII, p. 333, pt. 4; Occ. IV (February, 1847) 552.

4. Grinstein, ibid.

5. Occ. IV (February, 1847) 551f.


7. Compare David Philipson, "Confirmation in the Synagogue," CCAR I, 1890-91, p. 56 with HSSY II, 24 (June 18, 1875) 94.
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