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The History of Jewish Education in Philadelphia: 1782 - 1873, from the Erection of the First Synagogue to the Closing of the Maimonides College

David U. Todes

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The History of Jewish Education in Philadelphia: 1782 - 1873, from the Erection of the First Synagogue to the Closing of the Maimonides College

Abstract
The study presented herewith deals with the development of Jewish education in the late Colonial period to the last quarter of the 19th century.

The author's attention was drawn to the challenging problem involved in determining the history of Jewish education in an American Jewish community from its earliest beginnings to the present day. He therefore decided to devote himself to a study of the Jewish religious and educational institutions in Philadelphia from the Sephardic-German Jewish period to the beginning of the Russian-Jewish immigration to the United States of America.

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THE HISTORY OF JEWISH EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA

1782 - 1873

From the Erection of the First Synagogue to the closing of the Maimonides College

by

DAVID URIAH TODES

Candidate for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie College
for Hebrew and Cognate Learning

1952
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Some Beginning of Organization of Jewish Education in Philadelphia

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PREFACE

The study presented herewith deals with the development of Jewish education in the late Colonial period to the last quarter of the 19th century.

The author's attention was drawn to the challenging problem involved in determining the history of Jewish education in an American Jewish community from its earliest beginnings to the present day. He therefore decided to devote himself to a study of the Jewish religious and educational institutions in Philadelphia from the Sephardic-German Jewish period to the beginning of the Russian-Jewish immigration to the United States of America.

In the preparation of this study the writer found it necessary to piece together isolated educational episodes, so as to form a coherent picture of the story of Jewish education in Philadelphia.

He discovered valuable educational material which lay in private, and in Jewish and non-Jewish institutional archives, of Philadelphia, New York and Cincinnati.

The reader will find that considerable stress has been placed upon the history of Jewish education in the city of Philadelphia during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. This was done advisedly because the educational developments during this period left a marked influence on subsequent
developments. The reason for this strong influence is to be sought not only in the rapid growth of the Jewish community during this period from 1829 to 1873, but also in the dynamic leadership of two outstanding personalities, Isaac Leeser and Rebecca Gratz, particularly the former, whose spirit permeated the life and action of the entire Jewish community.

It may be said with the death of Leeser (1868) and the closing of the Maimonides College (1873) an era came to an end. The subsequent period is largely characterized by the new developments which emanated from the large scale Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe. The writer therefore decided to limit this study to the year 1873.

The author is duly grateful to the faculty of Dropsie College for the new insights and widening perspective which his studies at the Dropsie College have helped him attain. To his major professors in the School of Education of Dropsie College, Professor Isaac B. Berkson and Professor Leo L. Honor, he is especially grateful for their helpful and constructive criticism. To Professor Honor he wishes to express his deep appreciation for his patient and scholarly guidance and for the valuable aid he rendered in innumerable ways.

David Uriah Todes
PART I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA

GENERAL SURVEY

Jewish settlement in Philadelphia was furthered also by the fact that in its early days the city was governed by Quakers who were tolerant toward other religious groups. They granted the Jews who settled in the city permission to hold land and to trade, and by 1749 the province of Pennsylvania removed the restrictions which forbade the naturalization of the Jews. What is more, the Jews from their very first contact with the Quakers, sensed a certain sympathy of spirit with the Quaker outlook on life.
Chapter I

The Late Colonial Period and the Formative Years of the American Republic 1747-1830

The Early Beginnings of the Jewish Community in Philadelphia

The settlement of the Jews in the city of Philadelphia dates back to the first half of the 18th century. The earliest known reference to a Jew residing in Philadelphia relates "that in the year 1726, Arnold Bamberger a Philadelphian Hebrew was allowed to hold land and trade." During the early 18th century the city of Philadelphia was the great trading and shipping center of English Pennsylvania and of the province as a whole.

The first Jewish settlers of Philadelphia were adventurous tradesmen and merchants who chose the city as a place to build their homes and carry on their business.

Jewish settlement in Philadelphia was furthered also by the fact that in its early days the city was governed by Quakers who were tolerant toward other religious groups. They granted the Jews who settled in the city permission to hold land and to trade, and by 1740 the province of Pennsylvania removed the restrictions which forbade the naturalization of the Jews. What is more, the Jews from their very first contact with the Quakers, sensed a certain sympathy of spirit with the Quaker outlook on life.
Thus, the trading opportunities, the tolerant attitude of the city government toward the Jews, the pleasant social and cultural life, and the sympathy of spirit with the larger segment of the population attracted new Jewish settlers to the city. By the closing of the first half of the 18th century, there were more than a minyan ten of Jewish families in the city who felt the need to band themselves together into a Jewish community.

The exact date of the settlement of the first Jew in Philadelphia is obscure but we have definite information concerning the beginnings of organized Jewish community life. As early as 1738, a plot for burial ground was bought for the Jewish community in Philadelphia. The first Jewish burial ground on Spruce Street was granted by the city government of Philadelphia to the Jewish community and deeded to Nathan Levy. In 1747 a number of Jews in the city joined together for the purpose of holding religious services in a private house, located in Sterling Alley. The congregation continued holding services and conducting their communal affairs at this spot until the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War.

The small congregation, which became known in 1761 as the congregation Mekveh Israel, [The Hope of Israel] consisting of approximately ten to fifteen families, did not have a Rabbi or minister as its head. The leadership of the congregation was entirely in the hands of laymen. The administration of the congregation was in the hands
of the following officers: Parnass, [President] Gabay, [Treasurer] and Maamad [Trustees].

During the early period of the congregation, Bernard Gratz (Uncle of Rebecca Gratz) was the Parnass or President and Solomon Morache was Gabay or Treasurer. The leaders of the congregation attempted to unite the Jewish families residing in the city into a united Jewish community. Because the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, called Sephardim, were the first Jews to come to the United States, and the Ashkenazic Jews (from Central and Eastern Europe) came in small numbers, the Ashkenazim joined the Sephardic synagogue. This was not an easy adjustment because of the difference in the pronunciation of the Hebrew language, and economic, social and cultural background.

The early Sephardic Jews in this city were chiefly wealthy merchants engaged in export and import business. They were cultured, proud of their history, of the great men they had produced on the Spanish peninsula. They considered themselves the aristocracy of Jewry. They were cosmopolitan in their views, had little Jewish knowledge, but were strictly observant of Jewish customs and ceremonies and devoted to the precepts of the Jewish religion. The Ashkenazim, especially those who came from the German states, were poor, petty tradesmen and artisans, unschooled and provincial in their outlook, but like their Sephardic brethren had little Jewish knowledge but were strictly observant of Jewish religious practices.
Besides serving the religious needs of the Jews in the community by providing daily and holiday services, the congregation served as a social and philanthropic center. It organized a society - Hebrah-Ezrath-Ahim (1770) to help its poor and sick, and to assist transient immigrants. It provided board and lodging for rabbis and "meshulahim". Up to the year 1757, there were no paid officials like a Shohet [Slaughterer, according to the Jewish Ritual] or Hazan [Cantor] but after that date, there is evidence that the Hazan and Shohet became officials of the congregation and were compensated for their services. These officials were engaged in business or trade but also served the religious needs of the community. The most prominent religious functionary in Philadelphia around the middle of the 18th century was Barnett Jacobs. He was a merchant, a partner of the firm of Levy and Jacobs of Philadelphia. He was also a Shohet and Mohel [one who performs the rites of circumcision]. Mr. Jacobs left a book in which he recorded all the Jewish boys of Philadelphia, Lancaster, Easton and Reading whom he had circumcised in the years 1742-1790.

Slowly the Jewish community increased in number. The new settlers were mostly Ashkenazim, Jews with a Jewish-German background from Central Europe. Dissatisfaction developed among the newcomers with the Spanish-Portuguese ritual and the pronunciation of the Hebrew
which had been adopted by the congregation, Mickveh Israel.

In the year 1769-70 an attempt was made to secede and form a new congregation. Ribi [Rabbi] Moshe Mordecai tried to organize an Ashkenazic congregation in the city in that year. Ribi Moshe Mordecai was a Sofer [Scribe] and wrote a Sefer Torah. The attempt failed and the community remained united. The membership grew and the private house in Sterling Alley was no longer of sufficient size to accommodate the growing community, and in 1771 a larger private house was fitted out for a synagogue.

With the influx of Jews to Philadelphia from New York and Connecticut, because of the British occupation of these areas, there came to the congregation the Reverend Gershon Mendes Israel Seixas, who had been the minister of the Sephardic congregation "Shearith Israel" of New York City. He became the first spiritual leader of the Spanish Portuguese congregation in Philadelphia, known as Kahal Kodosh Mickveh Israel [Holy Congregation Mickveh Israel].

A short time elapsed and the new quarters were found to be inadequate for accommodating the growing Jewish community. Under the leadership of Bernard Gratz, the Parnass, a campaign for a new synagogue building began in the year 1778. The Revolutionary war delayed the campaign for a few years, but in 1782 a lot was purchased on Cherry Street near 3rd Street and an imposing edifice was erected at a cost of £1,815 and completed in September
of that year. The dedication ceremonies were conducted by the Reverend Seixas on Friday afternoon preceding the Penitential Sabbath [The Sabbath between New Year and the Day of Atonement], Tishri 5, 5542 – September 13, 1782. Jonas Phillips was the Parnass of the Congregation at that time.

The synagogue was a one story building with a seating capacity of about two hundred. The minister’s residence was located in the rear. The synagogue building was enlarged in 1784 and provision was made to include a school house and quarters for the Shamas [sexton] and his family. This is the first reference to a Hebrew School in Philadelphia. In this school house the children of the members of the congregation were instructed in the Jewish religion, were taught the reading of the prayers and the boys were prepared for Bar-Mitzvah. That it was customary for the members of the congregation to send their children for religious instruction to this school may be inferred from the fact that one of the members who did not send his children to the school was reprimanded.

While the early Jewish settlers were observant Jews and practiced Jewish rites strictly, the Jewish home was the most important educational agency. The home trained the youth by example and by its unique way of life in the traditions and observances of the Jewish religion. It instilled in the youth a reverence
for his religion and impressed upon him the duty to lead a traditional Jewish life. Some of the wealthier Jewish families engaged a local or a transient "learned Jew" to teach their children privately. Michael Gratz (father of Rebecca Gratz), paid a certain Mr. Jacob Cohen for "tuition of Hebrew and other articles." There is evidence that this Mr. Cohen, who was paid by Mr. Gratz for teaching Hebrew, was at the same time engaged in pedler trade. There may have been others with a similar combination of occupations. These teachers probably had little of Jewish education themselves and certainly must have been poorly equipped and inadequately qualified to teach. The quality of instruction could not have been satisfactory, and, in general, was on a very elementary level, consisting of reading of the blessings and the prayers and memorizing of religious precepts by rote.

There were no Hebrew textbooks in the city up to the first quarter of the 19th century. The only Hebrew books were Prayer books and Mahazarim [prayer books for holidays] and they were few.

The majority of Jewish children received their general education during this period under discussion in the three major types of general educational institutions which provided education for the youth of the general community; namely, the neighborhood school, public school, and the private academy. The children of the wealthy Jewish families went to the private academies or were
taught privately, and the children of the middle and the poorer class received their general education in the Neighborhood and the Public schools. A small number received their education in the "Friends" schools.

As the "Friends" increased in number in Philadelphia, they built school houses which also served for "meeting places" for religious purposes. Their schools were supported mainly by tuition, collected by the teachers, voluntary contributions and endowments. In 1775 there were five "Friends" schools in Philadelphia.

The neighborhood school, where the Jewish children of the middle class received their general education, was not a parochial type of a school. This type of school was organized by a committee of laymen of the neighborhood to provide education for the youth of the neighborhood. The school was entirely supported by tuition fee paid to the teachers. As a rule, the neighborhood schools were poorly equipped. Many of the teachers had little education beyond the rudiments; the majority were poorly fitted for the task. They would travel from place to place, from neighborhood to neighborhood, in search of work. In many cases the itinerant teacher found it difficult to collect the tuition fee due to him, and would leave the school for another place or for a more promising field of endeavor. The wealthier Jewish families sent their children, the boys as well as the girls, for their general education to the private academies which catered
to the youth of the wealthier and more prosperous class in the community. The academy was not maintained by the church or by a community group; it was a private enterprise, conducted by individuals who earned their livelihood through teaching.

The academies varied in their aim, curriculum and personnel. Some of them were one room schools, conducted by a single teacher, who specialized in teaching writing. Others had been founded "to furnish an education of a solid as well as a polished character for young men who intend to devote themselves to mercantile, manufacturing, or other active pursuits."

There were a number of academies for young ladies. These academies provided, in addition to the regular academic course, a course in the "ornamental branches of education," such as music, vocal and instrumental; drawing and painting; French and German; and elocution.

Most of the larger academies had three departments; namely, the primary, academic and collegiate.

Although the neighborhood school and the private academy were primarily secular schools, the Christian religion, its philosophy and practices, permeated the atmosphere of the class room. The schools opened and closed its sessions with a Christian prayer. Lectures and sermons on Christianity were delivered by the principal or head teacher of the schools on designated days during the sessions.
The Christian influence which the schools exerted upon the Jewish youth who attended these schools and the free American democratic way of life caused some of these Jews upon reaching maturity to become assimilated into the general community, even to the extent of breaking away completely from the loose mooring that bound them to the religion and culture of their people. However, the greater number of Jews in Philadelphia remained loyal to their faith, culture, and education.

The material on Jewish Education in Philadelphia for the years 1789-1830, like that in other cities, is very scanty. Because of this, some authorities on the history of Jewish education in the United States have come to the conclusion that there was practically no Jewish education during this period in the country. A careful perusal of this scanty material indicates that this is not entirely so, at least as far as Philadelphia is concerned. There was a concern for and interest in Jewish education, and the Jewish community provided educational facilities for its youth, even if these were limited in character. There is evidence to show that during this period there were two congregational schools and one private afternoon school for the teaching of the Hebrew language.

The Congregational Hebrew Schools

1. Mickveh Israel (established —)
There is reference in the minutes of the congregation that the ministers during the years 1784-1828 were actively engaged in teaching.

Reverend Gershon Seixas, the minister of the congregation during the Revolutionary days, 1779-1784, served the community well in its religious needs. In addition, he rendered valuable service to the Jews in helping them to obtain full civil rights. The high esteem that the general community of Philadelphia had for Reverend Seixas, helped considerably to elevate the status of the Jewish community in the city.

Reverend Seixas, born and educated in America, was among the better and well educated American rabbis of his time. He was called during his ministry to cite Jewish law, he was able to refer to the Shulkan Arukh (codified Jewish law). He wrote a Hebrew address for Sampson Simon when the later was graduated from Columbia College, New York, 1785. His son, Reverend Isaac B. Seixas possibly received a good Hebrew education from his father, since he later served as the minister of the Spanish Portuguese Congregation in Richmond, Va. (1828) and conducted the Congregational Hebrew School.

The office left vacant by Reverend Seixas in 1784 was filled by Reverend Jacob Cohen.
Raphael Cohen, who had been Reader of the Spanish Portuguese Congregation in Canada and New York City. One of the Reverend Cohen's duties as the Hazan was to teach the children of the members, the Jewish religion, the reading of Hebrew, the Bible, and to prepare the boys for Bar Mitzvah. Reverend Cohen had his son, Abraham Cohen, as a pupil in the congregational school where he taught the boys of the congregation. In his case too, judging by the Jewish education the son received from the father, it is evident that Reverend Cohen was an effective and successful Jewish teacher. We have evidence that Abraham Hyman Cohen was qualified to read in the Torah the portion of the week and to serve as a Hazan in the congregation on week days, Sabbath and holidays.

During Reverend Cohen's leadership, the congregation was in financial difficulties. A subscription was undertaken among the members and an appeal to the larger community of Philadelphia for financial help was made in the year 1788. The larger community responded to the call of the congregation. The subscribers included eminent Christians, among them were Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Ruch, and David Rittenhouse.

During Reverend Cohen's term of office, several important historical events occurred in the city of Philadelphia of great significance. Reverend Cohen enjoyed the respect of the Jewish as well as of the general community as religious leader and educator.
Reverend Cohen served the congregation as minister and teacher until his death in September 1811. His death left the office of the Ministry of the Congregation vacant for four years. His son and pupil, Abraham Hyman Cohen, acted during the four years as Reader of the congregation.

Reverend Emanuel Nunes Carvalho was a native of London, England, born November 13, 1771. He started his career as a minister in the Jewish Congregation of Bridgetown in the Island of Barbadoes in 1799. He was a man of great abilities and scholarship.

He mastered several languages which he taught in New York. In 1815 the congregation Mickveh Israel elected him as its minister and teacher.

While serving the Jewish community in Philadelphia, Reverend Carvalho attained eminence as a Hebraist, Hebrew teacher and author. In the year 1815 he published a Hebrew Textbook *Mafteach Lashon Ivrit* [Key to the Hebrew Language], which was the first Hebrew textbook published in Philadelphia and which he apparently used in the school of Mickveh Israel. Like his predecessor, Reverend Cohen, he served the Congregation as minister and as teacher until his death, March 20, 1817.

With the passing of Reverend Carvalho, the congregation remained without a minister and Hebrew teacher until the year 1824, when the Reverend Abraham Israel Keys was elected Minister.

Reverend Keys, besides being a talented Hazan,
was also a good Hebrew teacher. Rebecca Gratz, one of the prominent worshippers of the congregation mentions him "as talented and a good Hebrew teacher who is able to instruct his pupils in the Bible and to read a Bar-
Mitzvah portion very handsomely in a very short time." (29)

While Reverend Keys administered to the congrega-
tion, a new synagogue was built on its property, on Cherry Street above Third Street. The new synagogue was dedicated with imposing ceremony on the 21st of January, 1825.

Reverend Keys continued in his office as Hazan of the congregation and Hebrew teacher until his death which occurred on October 18, 1828.

Thus the nerve center of Jewish community life in the city of Philadelphia at the close of the 18th century and during the first quarter of the 19th century was the congregation Mickveh Israel. The erection of the synagogue building in 1782 helped to cement the Jews of Philadelphia into a community with the synagogue as its center of activities, and tended to bind them closer to the congregation. The enlargement of the synagogue and the establishment of a school house in 1874 served the entire community and from it went forth the religious, philanthropic and educational leadership which directed, guided, and supervised the Jewish community of the city.

The Junta (Trustees) of the congregation was
composed of a number of prominent Jews of Philadelphia who rose high in the fields of commerce and trade. They were patriotic citizens whose acts attested to their devotion to the Free America and gave prestige to the Jews of the city in the eyes of other segments of the community.

2. Rodeph Shalom (established in 1802)

In the early days the relationship between the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim was friendly. But with the continuous growth of the Ashkenazic element, and the steady decrease of the Sephardim in the early 19th century, the relationship deteriorated and the leadership of the minority Sephardim and their power in the community was seriously resented by the newcomers.

In 1802 the latter broke away from the Spanish Portuguese Congregation, Mickveh Israel, and formed the Hebrew German Society - Kahal Kadosh Hebrnah Rodeph Shalom.

The founders of Rodeph Shalom [Seekers of Peace] had years of financial struggle when the subscribers' list was small. There were probably between twenty to thirty Ashkenazic families in the city at the beginning of the 19th century, and the $4.00 membership dues a year was a considerable sum for the majority of the newcomers, who were struggling for a livelihood.

The charter of the congregation contains the constitution and by-laws adopted in the middle days of Passover in the year 1810. The signatures of the charter
members for the most part are in Hebrew script and some are in German and English. There is no mention of a Rabbi or a preacher. The congregation did not have a paid religious official until the year 1819 when the first reader or Hazan was engaged at a salary of $50.00 per year.

The Ashkenazim attempted to organize a separate unit to deal with the problem of Jewish education for their youth, yet in the year 1822 the congregation established the Hebrah Gemiluth Hassadim Ve-Hinuch Nearim [Free Loan and Hebrew Education Society]. The purpose of this organization was two-fold: (a) to administer relief benefits to the needy and sick members of the congregation; and (b) to provide Hebrew instruction to its youth. The minutes of the congregation, however, make very little reference to the Gemiluth Hassadim [Loan] aspect, whereas there is frequent reference to the problems of the school. Whether this is due to the fact that there were many educational problems, or whether because the school was the center of interest is not indicated.

The school was administered by a school board appointed by the President of the congregation. The board had full charge of the school; it selected the teachers, arranged the course of studies, and supervised the work of the school. The Hazan who also served as the collector of the congregation was engaged
as the teacher of the school. The teacher collected the tuition fee from the pupils.

The early records reveal little about the curriculum of the school, but reference is made to the instruction of the pupils in the prayer book in the Ashkenazic dialect, in the Hebrew, and the German Language, and the Bar-Mitzvah preparation of the boys of the members.

The school encountered a host of difficulties. Most of the pupils were poor and could not pay tuition fee. The teacher who depended upon the tuition fee of the pupil could not eke out his living and consequently was forced to leave his job. The teachers were not professionally trained. The Hazan or the collector of the congregation who served also as Hebrew teacher did not have the skill, and lacked the knowledge and evidently did not know how to make the learning process interesting and worthwhile for the pupils.

The teachers had to teach large classes consisting of as many as 60 - 80 children, with a large range in their ages and mental levels, an impossible task for a trained and experienced teacher. The discipline in the school was bad. Physical force had to be used because of the bad behavior of the pupils.

In order to make the earnings of the teacher more adequate, the School Board levied a special tax on the seat holders of the synagogue, the proceeds of which were to supplement the tuition fee the teacher received from the pupils. Finding that this supplement was insufficient,
the Board gave the teacher also a part of the money from the revenue derived from the Mickvah. Besides the special tax on seat holders and revenue derived from the Mickvah, the Board encouraged the members of the congregation to make contributions to the Hebræh Gemiluth Hasadim Ve-Hinuch Nearim, which evidently went in part or as a whole toward the upkeep of the school.

The school Board took an active part in helping to solve the discipline problems of the school in the following manner:

a. It drew up a number of laws and regulations and punishments to improve the behavior of the "scholars."

b. Every member of the Board had to visit the school by rotation during the class hours and help the teacher in the discipline of the class.

c. The Board attempted to reduce the number of pupils in the classes by adding more teachers to the teaching staff of the school.

In spite of the sincere efforts of the School Board, the school could not overcome its difficulties. The turnover of the teaching staff was great, the remuneration the teacher received was too small "to realize his expenses," the discipline of the school did not improve. The school did not, however, close its doors. It continued functioning and tried to improve conditions.
The First Private Hebrew School for Children in Philadelphia  
(Established 1818)

The first private Hebrew School in the city of Philadelphia for children was organized by Rebecca Gratz. The Gratz family occupied one of the highest stations in Philadelphia Jewish religious and communal circles at that time.

Michael Gratz, the founder of the house, was an adventurous merchant in Philadelphia, who had made for himself a brilliant record as an American patriot during the struggle for Independence. He was a devoted Jew and a spirited leader during the formative years of the Jewish community of the city. Michael Gratz imbued his children with a deep sense of reverence for the Jewish religion and attachment to the Jewish people. Upon the passing away of their father (1811), the children of Michael Gratz carried on in the fine Jewish traditions instilled in them since their early youth. The most outstanding member of the family was Rebecca. She had an unusually charming personality, was intelligent, extremely pious, and interested in bettering the lot of the underprivileged in Philadelphia. She enjoyed a high cultural and social standing in the general community.

A young Rabbi by the name of Solomon I. Cohen, from Richmond, Virginia, a recent immigrant from Germany,
came to the city with the intention of applying for a teaching position in the Hebrew school of the congregation. Rabbi Cohen was well versed in the Hebrew language and the author of a book he had translated from the Hebrew. He was interviewed by the Gratz brothers, who were the leaders of the congregation, when he applied to them for a position as a Hebrew teacher in the congregation. Evidently because of Rabbi Cohen's difficulties in speaking English, he did not procure the position he sought.

However, Rebecca proposed to Rabbi Cohen that he open a private afternoon Hebrew School in the Gratz home, 258 High Street (now Market Street). She offered to help secure pupils for Rabbi Cohen and expressed a desire to enroll as a pupil in the school herself. The "school" she organized consisted of a dozen pupils, herself and eleven children.

The school opened as planned by Rebecca and the teacher proceeded with the Hebrew instruction. The record indicates that the main core of the curriculum in the school was the Hebrew language and its grammar.

Rabbi Cohen, it would seem, impressed his pupils with zeal and enthusiasm for the Hebrew tongue. Rebecca herself was so engrossed in her studies that she devoted a great deal of her time to the acquiring of a knowledge of Hebrew. She even neglected her correspondence with her best friends because she was so busy learning. We
do not know how long the "school" existed, but it is evident that the pupils, especially Rebecca, displayed a very fine attitude toward the teacher and learned a great deal of Hebrew.

It may be that this pleasant educational experience that came to Rebecca Gratz spurred her on to promote, two decades later, another famous religious educational institution in Philadelphia, of which she was the founder and organizer; namely, the First Hebrew Sunday School in Philadelphia.

The free democratic spirit during the formative years of the American Republic, the Christian dominated general schools and society, lured some of the Jewish youth into assimilate culturally and religiously with the general community.

The bulk of the Jewish youth, however, remained faithful to their religion and people, because of the
Summary

Jewish education in Philadelphia in the period of 1784 to 1830 was on a very elementary level, consisting of mechanical reading of the prayers and the blessings, the memorizing of religious precepts and the preparation of Bar Mitzvah. The Hebrew teachers with the exception of a few (Carvalho and Cohen) were limited in their Jewish knowledge and were poorly equipped for their task. There were no Hebrew textbooks with the exception of the prayer book and the Mahzor until 1815. The Sephardic and the Ashkenazic schools were strictly congregational centered. In the year 1818 Rebecca Gratz organized a private Hebrew school which was the beginning of a communal school. The Jewish community was small, about 60 - 80 families comprising of Sephardim and Ashkenazim, two distinct, and different groups, of social, cultural, and economic background. These groups had in common a meagre Jewish knowledge and a devotion to Jewish religious precepts, practices, and observances.

The free democratic spirit during the formative years of the American Republic, the Christian dominated general schools and society, lured some of the Jewish youth into assimilate culturally and religiously with the general community.

The bulk of the Jewish youth, however, remained faithful to their religion and people, because of the
training they had received in the Hebrew schools and especially because of the effectiveness of their Jewish homes which had instilled in them a reverence for the Jewish religious life by example and practice.

Rebecca Gratz, the founder of the Hebrew Sunday School, and Isaac Leeser, the founder of the Hebrew Education Society school, and the Mainzer's College, blazed a new way for Jewish education in this period. Their concept of Jewish education was community centered rather than congregational. The developments of Jewish education during this period left a marked influence on subsequent developments. The reason for this strong influence is to be ascribed to the leadership of two unusual personalities, Isaac Leeser and Rebecca Gratz. But a brief survey of the developments of the congregational schools will be given first.

1. The Rodolph Shalom School

The Rodolph Shalom school was the only Jewish congregational school in Philadelphia up to the year 1850. Its objective was to give a religious education to the children of the members of the Rodolph Shalom congregation. That this objective was limited exclusively to these children is indicated by specific provisions to this effect, recorded in the minutes of the congregation. The school was administered by a school board appointed by the president and approved by the congregation.
Chapter II

Jewish Educational Developments 1830 - 1880

The major developments of Jewish education during this period were outside of the congregational schools. Rebecca Gratz the founder of the Hebrew Sunday School, and Isaac Leeser the founder of the Hebrew Education Society school, and the Maimonides College, blazed a new way for Jewish education in this period. Their concept of Jewish education was community centered rather than congregational. The developments of Jewish education during this period left a marked influence on subsequent developments. The reason for this strong influence is to be credited to the leadership of two unusual personalities, Isaac Leeser and Rebecca Gratz. But a brief survey of the developments of the congregational schools will be given first.

1. The Rodeph Shalom School

The Rodeph Shalom school was the only Jewish congregational school in Philadelphia up to the year 1850. Its objective was to give a religious education to the children of the members of the Rodeph Shalom congregation. That this objective was limited exclusively to these children is indicated by specific provisions to this effect, recorded in the minutes of the congregation. The school was administered by a school board appointed by the president and approved by the congregation.
As has been indicated previously, the school encountered a host of difficulties, financial, administrative and educational. There is no reference in the minutes to the school for the period 1829 to 1843. In all likelihood, during this period, the congregation continued its financial struggle to maintain a school, which was moved from place to place because there was no permanent abode to house the school. In 1843 notice is given in the minutes to the selection of a new collector (Mr. Michelbacker). He was specifically assigned the task of giving instruction in the Hebrew language to those children who should apply to him, provided their parents belong to the congregation. The number of children who applied and received Hebrew instruction was small, since the majority of members of the congregation were poor and could not afford to pay the tuition. The teacher applied several times to the school board for authorization to discontinue the school because he was unable to realize his expenses. He was finally authorized to do so at the end of the school year.

The school closed for two years until 1846 when the congregation decided to reopen it. A new school board was appointed to draw up a plan for the reopening of the school and also to work out a curriculum. The curriculum recommended by the school board called for the school to provide instruction in Hebrew reading in the German pronunciation, Bible, Jewish religion,
prayer and blessings, and the German and English languages." The school taught German, because the parents who sent their children to the Hebrew school were as much interested in the instruction their children would receive in the German as in the Hebrew language (they even called it the German-Hebrew school).

The teacher and the pupils spoke German in the school and the teacher translated the Hebrew subjects into German. Isaac Leeser criticised the school for using the German language instead of English, pointing out that "it prevents to a very great extent the fusion of the new immigrants with the native and older residents of the community." The school was an afternoon school and the hours of instruction were daily (except Saturday) "at such time as the pupils did not attend the English schools to which they belong." A number of the pupils did not attend English schools. These pupils were provided with English instruction in addition to the regular courses of study.

The teacher of the school in the year 1847, who was also the reader of the congregation (Mr. Moses Sulzbacher), evidently was not at all qualified for the position. He was afflicted with the troublesome problem of discipline which he could not solve.

The teacher (Mr. Sulzbacher) could not struggle against the pupils for long and left the school at the end of the year. The board could not find a teacher
to replace Mr. Sulzbacker and closed the school. In
order to obtain "properly qualified" teaching personnel
for the school, the school board set up criteria for the
selection of teachers. A candidate to be qualified for
the position had to answer satisfactorily the following
four questions:

1. "What is understood by true and heartful
   religion?"
2. "What is called prayer?"
3. "How shall prayer be performed?"
4. "What is the object of Ohmer?" (7)

Several candidates applied for the vacant position in the
school but none of them could give satisfactory answers
to the "four questions" set up by the Board. Though the
board was anxious to open the school, it was determined
to wait until a "properly qualified" teacher was found.

After waiting for two years, the board selected Mr.
(8) Bachman (1849) as teacher of the school and assistant
reader of the congregation. He evidently met the "quali-
fications" for the position. The board reorganized the
school with a view to bettering the enrollment and attend-
ance and especially to improving the discipline of the
(9) school. It drew up a set of new rules and regulations
specifying the duties of the directors, the teacher and
the pupils of the school.

Each director in turn had to visit the school
during sessions and to assist the teacher in keeping
order in the class. The teacher had to keep a list of
the names and ages of the pupils and their parents or guardians and mark the absentees. The teacher had to have the list with him and present it to the directors upon request. Strict discipline had to be observed by the pupils and proper respect had to be shown by them to the teacher and to the directors. Pupils failing to pay due respect to the teacher were first to be notified and if the offense was repeated they were to be suspended for one to eight weeks at the discretion of the majority of the directors. The board also set a definite time for the registration and admission of pupils. In previous years, pupils had been admitted to school at any time of the year. According to the new rules, pupils were to be admitted only four times a year. The board's deep interest in the school and well-planned organization and administration brought desirable results and improvements. The enrollment of the school increased to 174, the attendance of the pupils became more regular and there was great improvement in the deportment of the pupils.

In the year 1852, the Hebrew Education Society School, a communal Hebrew-English school, founded by Leeser (1851) was in the second year of its existence and enjoyed a very fine reputation in the community.

The members of the school board of the Rodeph Shalom congregation who witnessed the yearly examinations of the Hebrew Education school were impressed with its
progress. They felt that their children would prefer the Hebrew Education school to the Rodeph Shalom, because they would not have to attend two schools; an English school in the morning, and a Hebrew school in the afternoon. The leaders were also thinking of the complaints of the parents of the pupils that their children have "no time for recreation because they have to attend daily two schools, the English and the Hebrew." At a special meeting a committee was appointed to meet a committee of the Hebrew Education society and to work out a feasible plan for affiliation. An official letter was sent to the Hebrew Education Society to that effect. No further reference to this matter appears in the minutes of the congregation and the matter seems to have been left without further action.

The school suffered a setback in the years 1855 to 1860. The financial situation of the school was bad because most of the pupils were poor and could not afford to pay the tuition fee. Because of lack of finances the school could not afford to engage more than one teacher for the entire enrollment. The teacher had to teach several large classes at the same time. The discipline was very bad; while the teacher was teaching one section, the other section caused disturbance. Consequently, the achievement of the pupils in the school was small. Upon the recommendation of the board the times for instruction were changed and each class was taught separately.
The school improved considerably in "the knowledge of religion and behavior" in the year 1860, when Reverend Dr. Henry Vidover was chosen Rabbi, preacher and school superintendent. Dr. Vidover devoted a great deal of time and interest to the school. During Dr. Vidover's superintendence the school had on its roll 167 pupils divided into two classes and taught by two teachers. The first class consisted of 82 children with a regular attendance of about 50, and the second class consisted of 85 children with a regular attendance of about 40.

The school declined in its enrollment during Civil War. The number of children who attended was 80 and they were taught by one teacher. After the Civil War the school regained its former strength and it increased its enrollment to 114 and its teaching staff to three teachers. The progress of the school during the years 1866-1873 may perhaps be attributed to the leadership of Dr. Marcus Mordecai Jastrow, the outstanding scholar who became Rabbi and preacher of the congregation in the year 1866. Dr. Jastrow took a personal interest in the school and guided and helped in every phase of its educational work.

It is evident that by this time, many of the members of the congregation were attracted by the Reform movement which was gaining adherent in the United States. The congregation which originally organized on Orthodox
principles gradually adopted some of the innovations of the Reform wing of Judaism. Among these were an abridged service, an organ, choral music rendered by a choir consisting of both Jews and Gentiles, and other changes in consonance with the spirit of the movement.

Dr. Jastrow introduced first German and later English prayers and permitted worship in a common pew instead of having men and women sit apart. In spite of the changes made in the synagogue, no changes were made in the Hebrew school, as to the curriculum or days of attendance during the leadership of Dr. Jastrow. In the year 1880 the congregation built a new modern school house to accommodate its 250 pupils.

2. Beth-Israel Congregational School

Beth-Israel was the third congregation in the city. It was established June 12, 1840 by Polish and German Jews, "for the worship of the Supreme Being conducted on the principle of the Great Synagogue in London." The early years of the congregation were very trying. The membership was small and most of the members were recent arrivals from Europe and very poor.

The first minister of the congregation was Reverend S. C. Noot, a native of Holland. He was succeeded by Reverend Gabriel Pape, born in Russian Poland, a man of considerable Hebrew learning. Reverend
Pape was for a number of years president of the Board of Hebrew ministers in the city.

The congregation organized a Hebrew school for the religious instruction of the children of its members on August 6th in the year 1857. The school was under the administration of a committee of school directors. The course of studies consisted of Hebrew reading of the prayer book, Bible and catechism. The enrollment was small, consisting of 21 pupils, mostly boys. The school had yearly public examinations. Leeser was invited to witness the school examinations which took place on April 4, 1858. He reported his visit to the school, but did not tell much about it from which we might infer that he was not too impressed with the work of the school.

During the Civil War and the decade immediately following it, the congregation underwent many changes. The congregation adopted a number of innovations from the modern Reform movement. The school was closed in the year 1863 and it seems that it did not reopen until the year 1892, as no further reference to the school is found in the minutes of the congregation up to 1892.

3. Kenesseth Israel Congregational School

The Kenesseth Israel congregation established on March 2, 1847, was the fourth Jewish congregation in the
city of Philadelphia.

For three years the congregation did not have any school for the children of its members. The congregation opened its Hebrew school on September 12, 1850 when the Hazan of the congregation was engaged to teach the children of the members and was given an annual salary of $450.00 which was raised in a short time to $500.00.

When the position of Hazan and Hebrew teacher became vacant, (1852) the congregation looked for candidates to fill the vacancy. Four applications were received and after reviewing the various candidates the congregation elected Mr. L. Naumburg to be the Hazan and the teacher. It is evident that Mr. Naumburg was well learned and scholarly. He was interested in adult education as well as in youth education. Mr. Naumburg suggested to the congregation that he was willing to give a Bible [lecture] every Sabbath as it is usual in all the congregations in Germany to promote [Learning of the Torah], which is being neglected here. The suggestion of Mr. Naumburg was taken up by the congregation at its monthly meeting and was accepted with thanks.

In the next three years a radical innovation was made in the number of sessions of the school. The school Board decided to have three daily sessions a week.
instead of five. The days and hours of instruction were:
Saturday from 1:00 to 4:00 in the afternoon; Sunday from
9:00 in the morning to 12:00 noon; and Wednesday from
3:00 to 6:00 in the afternoon. The course of study was:
Bible, Hebrew reading and translation into German, prayers
and precepts of the Jewish religion. The members of the
school board took their task seriously, visited the school
in rotation and helped the teacher keep order in the class-
room. The members of the board were satisfied with the
progress of the school under the instruction of Mr. Naum-
burg and granted him a raise of $150.00 annually in his
new five year contract.

In the same year (1855) the Hebrew Education
Society school offered Mr. Naumburg the vacant position
of principal Hebrew teacher with the annual salary of
$500.00. Mr. Naumburg accepted the offer. He wrote a
letter to the congregation in which he informed them of
the offer made to him by the Hebrew Education school and
(24) asked for permission to accept the opportunity. The
congregation permitted Mr. Naumburg to accept the position
offered to him by the Hebrew Education school but on the
condition that he sign a written statement that he fore-
goese the annual raise of $150.00 granted to him. Mr.
Naumburg accepted the new term of the congregation. The
school continued to progress under the instruction of
Mr. Naumburg, the enrollment increased to 100 and another
(25) teacher was added to the staff.
Some changes in the liturgy were introduced in the congregation, including an organ, a mixed choir of men and women, and the abolition of some traditional customs observed in all Orthodox synagogues. However, when Reverend Dr. Solomon Deutsch, of Posen, Germany, became Rabbi of the congregation in the year 1857, innovations of a more extended character were adopted, among them the abolition of the second days of all the festivals and holy days excepting that of the New Year. (This too was subsequently abolished in 1864). It is evident that Mr. Naumburg did not agree with the radical innovations brought in by the new Rabbi and wanted to resign from his position as reader and also as teacher. The congregation did not accept his resignation and persuaded him to remain with the congregation and with the school. The school was now put under the supervision of the Rabbi, who personally taught a class in religion and Jewish history.

The school attracted a greater number of children perhaps to the fewer sessions of instruction. In 1859 the enrollment of the school grew to 124, divided into 3 classes with a teaching staff of 3 including the Rabbi of the congregation. To popularize the work of the school the members of the congregation were given a printed progress of the course of study of the school. The curriculum of the school consisted of: Reading Hebrew, translation into German of the most important
prayers, instruction in the Bible especially in the Pentateuch, Biblical and Jewish history, Geography of the Holy Land.

The relationship between the Rabbi and Mr. Naumburg grew worse in the coming years until both decided to resign their positions in the year 1860. In the year 1861 the congregation, under the leadership of Dr. David Einhorn, stepped into the front rank of the left wing of the Reform movement. Dr. Einhorn ranked with the outstanding Reform leaders of his day. He was known as a Hebraist, a Talmudist, an eloquent German orator and a writer. During the leadership of Dr. Einhorn the congregation increased its membership and dedicated its new temple. The school increased the number of its pupils and was making good progress under the instruction of its 2 teachers.

Radical innovations were made in the school during the ministry of Dr. Samuel Hirsh who succeeded Dr. Einhorn as rabbi and preacher in the year 1866. Dr. Hirsh was among the avowed opponents of ceremonialism, and advocated the abolition of many observances and rites peculiar to Jews. He introduced Sunday services followed by English lectures (1870) on which occasions different ministers of the radical Reform movement filled the pulpit.

During his ministry the three-day-a-week school changed into a one-day-a-week school (1869). The hours
of instruction were Sunday 10:00-12:00 noon. The curriculum consisted of hymns, biblical history and ethics. No reference was made to the reading of Hebrew or its translation. The teachers were mostly women volunteers. The rabbi supervised the school, occasionally delivered sermons to the children, and taught the confirmation class. The enrollment of the school increased during the years 1872-1880 and the number of pupils in the school was 300 (1880) with a staff of 10 teachers.

New Educational Ventures

During the period of 1838-1867, the Philadelphia Jewish community under the influence of Isaac Leeser established educational institutions of a type unique in its objectives, concept and operation. These institutions brought about radical changes in approaches to Jewish education in the Jewish community of Philadelphia, and influenced other Jewish communities to establish similar institutions. These institutions in their chronological order are: 1. The Hebrew Sunday School (1838), 2. The Hebrew Education Society School (1851), 3. Maimonides College (1867).

The story of these new Jewish educational agencies will be discussed in Chapters IV, VII.
CHAPTER III

The Life and Character of Isaac Leser

The election of Isaac Leser as the minister of the Congregation Mickvah Israel on September 6, 1839, ushered in a new epoch in the annals of the history of Jewish education in Philadelphia. The new spiritual head of Mickvah Israel came to his office with a very positive attitude toward Jewish life and Jewish education. He looked upon Jewish education as the vital, dynamic and central force for Jewish religious and cultural life in America. His view of and attitude toward a creative and meaningful Jewish life in America was communal in its philosophy and approach. With deep faith and resolute determination, he labored unceasingly for the principles that Jewish education is the responsibility of the entire Jewish community for all of its youth, rich and poor, male and female.

Leser was born in Neidenkirchen in the Province of Westphalia, Prussia, December 12, 1816. When he reached the age of eight, his mother died. His father, because of strained circumstances, moved to Dülmen, a small town near the city of Münster. The boy Isaac was raised there by his grandmother Gitale, who showed him great affection. While living with his grandmother, he entered as a pupil in the Jewish Institute of Münster under the guidance of Rabbi Leopold Benjamin Cohen, principal of the school.
CHAPTER III

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Leeser was born in Neuenkirchen in the Province of Westphalia, Prussia, December 12, 1806. When he reached the age of eight, his mother died. His father, because of strained circumstances, moved to Dulman, a small town near the city of Münster. The boy Isaac was raised there by his grandmother Gitele, who showed him great affection. While living with his grandmother, he entered as a pupil in the Jewish Institute of Münster under the guidance of Rabbi Benjamin Cohen, principal of the school. In this
school he received Jewish instruction only. This institution, according to Leeser, while following the traditional pattern, made a point of providing instruction in a pleasant and wholesome manner. As a young child, Leeser displayed a remarkable memory and excelled as a pupil.

Leeser's father died when the youth was 14 years of age, and he came to live in the home of Rabbi Abraham Sutro, his second teacher and guide. Rabbi Sutro was the chief Rabbi of Münster and Mark, and superintendent of Hebrew schools of Münster and vicinity. He would take Leeser along on his inspection tours of the Hebrew Schools under his supervision. He exerted a lasting influence on Leeser and awakened in him a desire to undertake the task of becoming a teacher in Israel. Leeser received his secular education in the Gymnasium of Münster (as Moses Mendelssohn, a few generations before Leeser, urged the Jewish youth of his day to do). There he came in contact with Christian students and experienced friendly relationships with them.

After passing his 17th birthday, Leeser sailed for the United States, and for a time was employed by his uncle, Zalman Rhine, at Richmond, Virginia. While helping his uncle in business, he devoted his leisure time to studying the English language and its literature. He assisted the Reverend Isaac B. Seixas, who was the minister of the
Portugese congregation of Richmond, by teaching gratuitously the young people who attended the Hebrew school of the congregation. Young Leeser became known beyond Richmond, when in 1828 he wrote an excellent article in the Richmond newspaper, "The Whig," defending the Jewish people against the false charges made by a writer in the "London Quarterly Review," accusing the Jews of being "inferior people and disloyal citizens." His abilities as a writer and a Jewish leader were quickly recognized. His election as the minister of the congregation Mickveh Israel of Philadelphia in 1829, an office of great prestige and influence, opened up for Leeser a long period of creative activities in Jewish communal and educational fields.

Leeser did not limit his official duties as a minister of his congregation; he had the urge and the ability for communal and inter-communal leadership. Although rooted deeply in Jewish tradition, he was not afraid of inaugurating innovations as long as they were in harmony with the fundamental religious principles in which he deeply believed and to which he faithfully adhered.

He was the first Jewish minister in the United States to inaugurate English sermons in the synagogue (Sabbath June 2, 1830). Until his innovation sermons were not a feature of Sabbath morning services. The adjunct of the congregation opposed him at first for his daring innovation, and some of the members left the synagogue several
times in protest while he delivered his English sermons. However, the value of Leeser's sermons in English was evidenced by the marked increase in the number of worshippers, and the regularity of their attendance, to the point that the adjunta finally adopted it officially as an integral part of the service.

Besides his effective religious leadership, Leeser engaged in literary work. His chief work was the translation of the entire Hebrew Bible into English, (the first English translation of the Hebrew Bible in America by a Jewish scholar), a work on which he labored for 18 years. The Bible was published by his own press and distributed throughout the Jewish communities of the United States. Leeser introduced it later as a text book in the Hebrew Education Society School, which he organized in 1851. In 1830, he translated J. Johlson's text book, "Instructions in the Mosaic Religion." The book is arranged in questions and answers, divided into 12 chapters dealing with the principal features of the Jewish creed.

In 1833, Leeser published "The Jews and the Mosaic Law", containing the article first written by him in defense of the Jews. In 1834, he suffered from a severe attack of smallpox which prostrated him for a while, but did not weaken his dynamic energies for literary and communal work. Early in 1837 he published his sermons in two volumes. He edited the "Dias Letters" and several works of the English Jewish poetess, Grace Aguilar.
In the year 1839 Leeser wrote "The Spelling Book", a text book to instruct the Jewish child in the reading of the prayers and blessings and the writings of the Hebrew language and its grammar. Of special interest is the text book "Catechism for Jewish Children" which Leeser published in the same year and dedicated to Rebecca Gratz. The contents of the book included a study of religion in general and the Jewish religion in particular.

The following excerpts indicate the nature of the book:

Q. What is Religion?
A. Religion is the knowledge we have of God, and the duties we owe in obedience to his will.

Q. What do you mean by saying, "I believe in God?"
A. I believe that everything I see around me, the tree, the flowers, the earth, the water, also the sun and the moon, and the thousands of bright stars that shine so beautifully in the sky, were made by the "great Creator" whom we call "The Almighty God".

Q. Is it right to quarrel about differences in Religion?
A. No. Belief is a matter over which every person must be permitted to decide in his own conscience, according to the knowledge which has been given him; it is wrong to hate or despise anyone because he had a different belief from ourselves.

In 1843 Leeser began to publish "The Occident and American Jewish Advocate." This was a monthly magazine devoted to Jewish thought, and live in the Western Hemisphere; i.e., in the United States of America, with special reference to the city of Philadelphia. Some of the ablest religious communal leaders, writers and re-
porters of those days, Dr. Max Lillienthal, Judge Mordecai, Manuel Noah, Rebecca Gratz, Grace Aguilar, Isaac M. Wise, Bernard Felsenthal, besides the gifted editor, contributed to the monthly. Leeser continued to publish this valuable magazine until his death in 1868. This periodical survived its founder only a year (1868-1869) under the editorship of Leeser's pupil and devoted friend, Mayer Sulzberger.

Throughout the 25 years of Leeser’s editorship, the magazine served him as a medium for teaching Jewish communities in Philadelphia and elsewhere the values of Jewish learning and the importance of Jewish education for Jewish youth. He believed in the motto he adopted for the magazine [To learn, to teach, to observe and to do], and emphasized the word "to teach."

He sought to organize the entire Jewish community in Philadelphia and helped in the founding of many of the important religious, educational, cultural, literary, and philanthropic institutions in the city, of which some are in existence today. He was also the founder of the American Jewish Publication Society (1845) and of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites.

He looked for a united community in Philadelphia by organizing a union of all the congregations in the city. He tried to organize a union of all the congregations in the United States. He sponsored the idea of a union of all Jewish charitable and educational institutions in the
land. He identified himself actively and wholeheartedly with every movement in the country for the betterment of the Jew and Judaism, and he sought to create a unified and dignified Jewish life in America.

Issac Leeser the minister, editor, translator and communal organizor, was fundamentally a Jewish educator. He came to his pioneering task of elevating American Jewry through Jewish education with a definite point of view and a specific plan of action.

While Leeser was not a trained pedagogue and educator who formulated a philosophy of education, nevertheless he had strong convictions, voiced in articles, private letters and sermons with regard to the function, purposes of the school and the teacher. Leeser's general educational principles were founded on the following convictions: (a) That the main objective in education is "the education of the heart;" (b) That the most important function of education is to make the child, the future man, "master not of his faculties only but of his passions."

Education, he believed, has to give the child "knowledge and virtue" so that he becomes master of himself in his future capacity as husband, parent and citizen, and in every path he may have to walk in his life. Leeser saw in education the great spiritual force that "stabilizes society and makes it prosperous and permanent."

Because he believed that education is concerned with every member of society, male and female, Leeser
vigorously advocated education for girls. He implemented this principle in the Jewish school which he founded, and in this respect he was the first Jewish educator to advocate co-education in the Jewish school in America. He believed that if girls were educated with "a proper view to the duties they must at some time assume as loving mothers, the happiness of society would be placed on a much surer foundation of love and kindness."

He believed "that happiness does not come to us merely through obtaining the common elements of education, but rather through our expending our heart and mind to the greatest extent, by action and deeds." Leeser thought that all that is learned in school is but a small part of us. "The chief element in education is the expansion of moral principles and the formation of character, as well as self mastery. This can never be learned from precepts unless these precepts are acted upon by those who give the proper tune to the youthful mind." Thus Leeser stressed the importance of a harmonious relationship between idea and action, and between the school, teacher and the home.

In the controversial question of his day in regard to the Public school, Leeser's opinion was, that the Public school, divested of all religious instruction, is "good enough for obtaining the common elements of education for every American, Jew and Christian alike." He believed in the public school and would have supported it, were it not for the fact that the public school in his day was
not a secular institution but rather a Christian institution where the teachings and the doctrines of Christianity were taught. He disapproved of this Christian education in the public school "which confused the mind of the Jewish child and made him look upon his religion as inferior to the Christian."

Leeser wanted to see the children of the wealthy class and the children of the middle and poor classes receive their education in the same school and mingle and learn from each other. He looked upon education as a "leveling upward process." Through the social intercourse "of the poor and the humble with the rich and with those of better manners and greater refinements," there will develop finer manners for the poor and better understanding and feeling on the part of the rich. By having the rich and the poor receive a common education, society will grow kind and friendly.

Leeser, a great admirer and lover of America, believed that America was a country with "freedom, rights and protection for all;" a country "where the Jews, and people of other religions and cultures have the rights and the opportunities to follow the ideas of their faith and the teachings of their sages." America to Leeser was not a "Christian or Jewish country," but rather a political association, a membership in which was not dependent upon religious beliefs.

However, the secular schools of his period were
staffed by Christian teachers who gave the teachings of the Christian creed the most prominent place in the curriculum. The spirit of Christianity pervaded the classroom and the sectarian tendency was felt in the school all the time. The Jewish youth of the wealthy and prosperous class in the exclusive private academies, and the Jewish youth of the middle and poor classes in the public schools were exposed to strong Christian influences.

The influence of Jewish religious education in the city of Philadelphia in this period was rather small and inadequate as a result of the Christian influence in the general school and the weakness of adequate Jewish experience in the home. A great number of Jewish youths imbibed the doctrines and views of Christianity without a sufficient counteracting force. To arrest the danger of assimilation on the one hand, and ignorance of Jewish knowledge and values on the other, Leeser set himself the task of establishing Jewish schools which would educate American Jewish youth in the Jewish cultural heritage in consonance with general education.

The main objective Leeser set up for "Hinukh" [Jewish education] was to help the American Jewish children become "Jews by conviction, not only Israelites by birth." He believed that Jewish education is the instrumentality whereby this may be achieved, through the acquisition of "an ample knowledge of the faith and practices inherited from our fathers," including the study of "Hebrew and its literature, Mishnah, Midrash, Talmud,
Possekim, commentaries and grammatical work." Leeser was therefore outspoken against the practice of confirmation, because it did not measure up to his standard of "Hinukh". "No Jew is made so, by public exhibition and public attestation of faith, no matter how well he and his companions rehearse their school lessons in the synagogue before the assembled congregation."

In most communities during the second and third quarters of the 19th century, Jewish education was primarily under congregational auspices. Leeser had approached the problem of Jewish education from the community point of view. Jewish education to him, was not a matter of private or congregational concern, but the concern of the Jewish community as a whole. He averred "that the best interests of Jewish education are safest in the hands of the community." Since Jewish education was faced with an all-embracing problem of the poor as well as the rich, of the boys as well as the girls, Leeser advocated that Jewish education should be supported by "voluntary" taxation, in which every Jew would take part. "The tax which we impose on ourselves for the support of Jewish education is only a tribute we pay to our conviction of the necessity of a Jewish training."

The educational "plan" of Leeser called for the establishment of a Jewish-general school staffed with Jewish teachers selected on the basis of their knowledge
in both the Jewish and general culture, teachers who would be inspired to devote themselves to their task. That the Jewish-general school would become the best school in the city and would be accredited by the State was a certainty to him. He worked out a detailed course of studies for the school, giving a prominent place to the Hebrew language, since he considered knowledge of the Hebrew language as of the greatest importance to every Jew. "That a Hebrew not to be a Hebrew in language when this is within reach is an assured proposition which requires no argument to illustrate." 

Leeser envisaged the adoption in many Jewish communities throughout the country of his "Philadelphia plan" for a communal Hebrew-general school. His educational plan took in the establishment of a "High School" where the graduates of the elementary school in Philadelphia and the graduates of communal Jewish schools throughout the land would receive their higher Jewish and general education.

Leeser was the first American rabbi to stress the great importance of locally educated personnel for the teaching and the rabbinic professions in America. He made it a basic element in his program of communal Jewish education by establishing a college to educate teachers and rabbis for the American community. The first American Jewish rabbi to translate, edit and compose textbooks for the instruction in Jewish religion, Bible, and the Hebrew language, he was also the first
American Jewish educator to see the importance of adult Jewish education by organizing a Hebrew literary Association in Philadelphia (1853). With "the aim of spreading Jewish knowledge and culture among the Jews of America," he planned and organized the first American Jewish Publication Society in Philadelphia (1845).

Leeser's advice and direction was sought by a number of Jewish communities in the country facing problems concerned with the organization of Hebrew schools, course of studies, textbooks, and procurement and placement of teachers and Rabbis. In this way, Leeser was led to travel extensively in the United States, surveying conditions and collecting statistics as to the number of Jews in the congregations and the number of Hebrew schools and teachers, and helping in the establishment of Hebrew schools in St. Louis, Missouri, Hartford, Connecticut, Baltimore, Maryland, and in other sections of the country.

To sum up - Isaac Leeser was the foremost Jewish educator in America in the 19th century. His leadership and achievements in Jewish education were an outgrowth of his belief in the value of the harmonious coexistence of the democratic America and Jewish ways of life. He valued general culture, preached its worth, but desired American Jewry to remain a unique religious and cultural unit through a harmonious blending with the general community. His basic approach to general education was based on a deep belief "that the real values are eternal, un-


changing, and absolute."

Leeser had some elements in common with the eminent educator of the 16th century, Johan Amos Comenius. Both had a religious fervor and a great concern for the common man, and a belief in education as an instrument for the revitalization of the community. He was also influenced by the 19th century schools of education of German idealism which stressed the self realization of the individual. In his Jewish educational theory, Leeser had great admiration for the ideas of Moses Mendelssohn and was much influenced by him. In his preface to "Jerusalem" which he translated into English, Leeser speaks with much admiration of "Moses Mendelssohn, my great teacher and guide in whose path I endeavor to follow."

Leeser's great faith in the future of America, and his dedication to, and achievement in, the field of communal Jewish education, laid the foundation upon which many important community and national educational and fraternal institutions are built today. Leeser served as a symbol which sustains the faith of all those who believe in Jewish education as a vital force promoting the continued existence of the Jewish community in the United States.

The accomplishment of Leeser in the establishment of the Hebrew Sunday School, the Hebrew Education Society School and the Maimonides College will be discussed in detail in the chapters to follow.
CHAPTER IV

The First Hebrew Sunday School
in Philadelphia 1838

One of the educational ventures which came into being in Philadelphia in 1838 under the influence and inspiration of Leeser, founded by his admirer and follower Rebecca Gratz, was the Hebrew Sunday School. Leeser hoped that this communal school would in time expand in days of instruction, and course of study, and become an effective Hebrew religious school where the youth would acquire an ample Jewish knowledge of their religion and culture. He was later disappointed in the work of the school because his hopes did not materialize, and he voiced his disappointment by pointing out that once-a-week attendance did not suffice for the acquisition of an ample knowledge of the Jewish faith and culture. Such a school, he thought, was unable to enrich a youth with a cultural heritage which was of the "highest importance for every Israelite to attain."

The history of the Hebrew Sunday School is intimately connected with its founder and organizer, Rebecca Gratz.

The early childhood of Rebecca Gratz corresponded to the formative years of the United States of America. The Declaration of Independence of the United States was proclaimed when Rebecca was 4 years old, and the Con-
stitution of the United States was ratified when she was 8 years old. She was born and raised in a religious home where she was imbued with deep faith in the God of Israel and reverence for Jewish culture. Her general education was the usual education of girls in the higher strata of those days and supplemented by reading and self study. Her Hebrew education was broader than that of most Jewish girls of her station. Rebecca Gratz was among the frequent worshippers of the Mickveh Israel Congregation and a great admirer of Leeser, who encouraged and inspired her to work for the cause of religious education for Jewish youth and gave her his active support. Her piety overflowed into channels of general philanthropy and social work for the poor.

As early as 1801, in her twenty-first year, she was secretary of the "Female Association for the Relief of Women and Children in Reduced Circumstances, in Philadelphia." This was a general relief association of the community, interested in the education of the children of the poor. "Unless in extraordinary cases this organization will refuse to give relief to persons, who having children shall refuse to put such of them as are of proper age to good trades or eligible service or to send them to charitable schools when in their power. Relief is given in necessities rather than in money. The education of poor children is to be a favorite object whenever the funds will permit." In November 1819, Rebecca was among the
founders of the "Hebrew Female Benevolent Society of Philadelphia" in which she assumed the office of secretary. This organization which received its articles of Incorporation in 1837 is the first and the oldest Jewish benevolent society in the city of Philadelphia. This benevolent organization, pervaded by the spirit of Rebecca Gratz, was instrumental in bringing about the establishment of the Hebrew Sunday School in Philadelphia, the first of its kind in America.

It was Rebecca Gratz, with the help of Leeser, who persuaded the organization to broaden its scope of activities to include religious education for the youth of the Jewish community. At the initiative of Rebecca Gratz, a special meeting of the Board of the Hebrew Female Benevolent Society was called on February 4, 1838, "to consider the establishment of a religious school for the instruction of the children of the Hebrew congregations in Philadelphia." After a spirited meeting, the Board resolved; "That a Sunday school be established under the direction of the Board, and teachers to be appointed among the young ladies of the congregation."

Since Jewish education was limited to congregational schools for children of members, private schools and private tutoring, there were a number of Jewish children in the community whose parents could not afford the cost of tuition, and they were therefore receiving no Jewish education whatsoever. This was a matter of
great concern. To meet the pressing need for these children, the founder decided to establish a school that would provide Jewish religious education free to all Jewish youth, male and female, in the city. It was the first attempt to make Jewish religious education for all Jewish children in Philadelphia the concern of the community rather than the concern of the congregation. This attempt to make religious education a community endeavor distinctly reflects the great influence Leeser exerted on the educational thinking of Rebecca Gratz. For in this way, Miss Gratz was carrying out the policy advocated by Leeser.

The accepted idea by some Jewish writers that Rebecca Gratz emulated in organization and structure a Christian Church Sunday school is erroneous. The First Day or Sunday School organized in Philadelphia in the year 1790 was not a Christian Church School. As a matter of historical fact, the Christian Church did not look with favor on the First Day or Sunday School in the days of its inception. For a long time the Church was even antagonistic toward the First Day school because it was not under its direct influence. The Christian Sunday School under the auspices of the Church came into being about the middle of the 19th century. Moreover, the First Day or Sunday school was organized by laymen who were interested
primarily in providing general as well as religious education for children of the lower economic strata in the city. The school operated in the morning (8:00 to 10:30) and the afternoon (4:30 to 6:30). The school paid the teachers a salary for their work.

The Hebrew Sunday School, on the other hand, was organized for a single purpose, to provide Jewish religious education. The Hebrew Sunday School operated only mornings (10:00 to 12:00). All the teachers of the Hebrew Sunday Schools gave their service gratuitously. Also the idea held by some Jewish historians and educators that the founder of the school and her successors did not know any Hebrew is unfounded. Rebecca Gratz studied the Hebrew language and was very much imbued with its spirit. Her successor, Louisa B. Hart, the granddaughter of Reverend Jacob Raphael Cohen, Minister of Mickveh Israel, 1784-1811, received a good Jewish education and knew the Bible, Jewish history and Hebrew.

Three important factors motivated Rebecca Gratz to organize the Hebrew Sunday School: 1. her deep piety; 2. her benevolent concern for the neglected poor; 3. her deep belief in the power of religious education "to spiritualize the youth of the Jewish people so that purity, and faith may render them invincible."
The Sunday school opened on March 4, 1838, with an enrollment of 50 pupils. The first sessions were held at Miss Peixotto's private academy, on Walnut Street below Fourth Street. The school was carefully planned and well administered by the founder. There were seven regulations stipulated to govern the school. Punctuality in attendance of teachers and pupils was the first regulation. Strict and rigid discipline had to be maintained by the teachers and obediently accepted by the pupils. The regulations concerning the teachers held that the teachers were to abstain from all conversations during school hours. They had to be kind in their deportment, but strict in the performance of their duties, considering the charge they had undertaken as a serious and important one — no less than: "training of children in the way they should go," giving them a knowledge of the words of God and teaching them to understand these words.

The first teachers in the school were six young
ladies of the congregation of Mickveh Israel who were highly respected for their high moral standard and excellent education. All gave their service gratuitously.

When the school was opened, there was no suitable text book in existence, with the exception of J. Johnstone's "Catechism," translated by Leeser. This book was suitable only for older pupils who had previously acquired some knowledge of the Jewish religion. There was, however, no text book available for the young. Rebecca Gratz, with the committee charged with procuring text books, decided to use the "Bible Questions," a text book published and used by the Christian Sunday school. The "Bible Questions" were designed to be used in Christian schools and private families to aid young persons in obtaining a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures "which are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus" (this line was erased). The book is divided in various chapters, each chapter dealing with the history of a given portion of the Bible. "The objectionable passages were erased or pasted over."

Some years later, Miss Simha Cohen-Peixotto, a teacher of the school, with the help of Leeser, published a text book the "Bible Questions" written in the Jewish spirit and more adapted to the understanding of the Jewish pupils of the school.

In the year 1840, a rhymed catechism for the very young pupil was presented for the approval of Miss Gratz by the author, Miss Eleaza Pyke, a teacher of the school. After the approval of Miss Gratz, the book was
published in the same year. The rhymed catechism consists of pictures: of the Sabbath, mother lighting the candles and reciting the blessing, the children standing near her and watching; and pictures of the holidays: Shavuot, Passah, Rosh Ha-Shana, Yom Kippur, Hanukah.

The "Bible Questions" was used extensively, especially with the older pupils. The method of instruction was formal. The teacher read the questions and answers before the class and the pupils studied the questions along with the answers by rote. Written assignments were made by the teacher to the pupils who had to turn in a paper every week on the portion of the Bible studied. The written paper had to be addressed to Miss Gratz who personally looked over and marked the papers. Prayers and hymns were taught to be memorized. The sessions of the school were preceded and concluded by assemblies at which prayers were recited. The school stressed fine penmanship as well as "proper understanding of the wonders of God." There are still in existence two compositions written by Louis Mitchel Allen, age 12, a pupil of the school in the year 1841. Louis Allen wrote on: The Character of Joseph and on The Fifth Chapter of Deuteronomy. Both are addressed to Miss Rebecca Gratz and one is marked, "very good" and signed (12) by R. Gratz.

To improve the effectiveness of the teaching process in the school, Rebecca Gratz set herself the task of preparing educational material to be used as an aid for her teaching staff. She prepared a little
book dealing with the principles on which Judaism is founded, expressly for assisting teachers in the duty of imparting to the rising generation of Israel the first ideas of the Deity. Isaac Leeser edited the material and published it in the year 1845 under the title "The Teachers' and Parents' Assistant; or Thirteen Lessons" by an American Jewess.

The book opens with an address to teachers, stating that "the writer of this little book earnestly begs those who may make use of it to remember that it is intended to be used exclusively by the teachers. The instruction it contains is intended to be conveyed orally, as if proceeding immediately from the mind of the teacher; and the author flatters herself that she has so arranged it as to enable the most unpracticed teacher, with aid of a little preparation and an occasional reference to the book, during the lesson, to accomplish this. The book is divided into thirteen lessons. Each lesson is based upon questions and answers put in a form of conversation between teacher and pupil. Specific directions are given to the teacher how to go about the material discussed.

Lesson I  The First Idea of God;
Lesson II  Of God as the Creator;
Lesson III  Of the Work of the Creation;
Lesson IV  Same Subject continued;
Lesson V   Same Subject concluded;
Lesson VI  Of God as the Almighty;
Lesson VII Of Space as Introducing the Idea of Infinity;
Lesson VIII Of the Earth as Finite Body in the Infinite Space;
Lesson IX Definite Idea of the Heavens;
Lesson X Of God as an Infinite Being;
Lesson XI Of God as the Eternal;
Lesson XII Of God as a Pure Spirit;
Lesson XIII Recapitulation of the preceding subjects, and introduction to the books of Revelation. (13)

The school gained the support and interest of the community. After five years of existence the enrollment of the school increased to 140 pupils. The entire Jewish population in Philadelphia in 1843 was scarcely 1500. (14) Teachers were added to the school and new material was introduced in Bible study. One of the new text books was "Thoughts Suggested by Bible Texts". This volume had appeared anonymously in the year 1856 in England. It was written by a father addressed to his children for family circulation. A careful perusal had convinced Miss Gratz that it might be made useful for Jewish school purposes. Leeser appended headings to the various thoughts and corrected here and there some slight verbal inaccuracies. (15)

The festivals Hanukkah and Purim were celebrated annually by the school. Hanukkah was celebrated by lighting the "lamps" (sic,) and after appropriate exercises, the pupils received candies and colored pictures from the school. Purim was also celebrated annually with "proper exercises, consisting of a stereopticom exhibition or something equally attractive to the children." These two holidays were given prominence for the entertainment of the pupils and were planned to make them attractive and enjoyable.
The school held public examinations annually. For many years (up to 1876) examination exercises were held at Purim, in the synagogue of the congregation Mickveh Israel. The examination exercises consisted of the reading of reports by the superintendent and officers of the Board, an address by a prominent speaker, recitations of lessons, signing and speaking by the pupils, and distributions of (17) premiums, followed by refreshments for the pupils.

Under the devoted, energetic and well-planned administration of Miss Gratz, the school continued to grow in its enrollment and to enjoy a good reputation in the community. For twenty years Miss Gratz was the heart and brain of the Hebrew Sunday School Society. She was the promoter, administrator and superintendent. The Society had such confidence in Miss Gratz’s leadership and administrative ability that it gave her full powers and approved of anything she deemed necessary to do for the benefit of the school or for the Society. But it was not until the year 1858 that the Hebrew Sunday School Society was incorporated and Rebecca Gratz was elected (18) to the office of President.

Miss Gratz served as president and superintendent until the year 1865, when in her eighty-fourth year, she resigned and was succeeded by Miss Louisa B. Hart, who was one of the first teachers in the school, and the first Vice-President of the Hebrew Sunday School Society.
In the year 1869 the school suffered a great loss through the death of its founder. Miss Hart conducted the school on the same lines as her predecessor, and ably filled her position until 1871, when she resigned, and Miss Ellen Phillips became superintendent.

Under the administration of Miss Phillips, the Sunday School Society opened a second school in the southern section of the city to accommodate the children of the Jewish immigrants who had recently arrived in Philadelphia from Russia. This school was known as the Southern School and was located at the southeast corner of 12th and Chestnut Streets. Some changes were made in the curriculum of this school. In addition to the regular religious training a trade school was established to teach sewing to the girls and carpentry to the boys. The sessions of the trade school were held on Sunday afternoon. An "Infant Class" for oral instruction of children unable to read was begun as an experiment by Miss Rebecca Moss, a teacher of the school, in the year 1873. This experiment-Infant school was so successful that it became a permanent activity of the work of both schools. The enrollment of both schools in the year 1873 totalled 428 (the Seventh school, 203; the Twelfth school, 225).

The impact of the Reform Movement and the new Jewish Russian immigration started to make inroads upon Jewish life in Philadelphia, but not to a great extent.
and its influence was felt considerably in the last 20 years of the 19th century.

The most important contribution that the Hebrew Sunday School made to Jewish education was the status it gave to the communal Jewish religious school in the eyes of the Jewish as well as in the eyes of the general community. Notwithstanding the fact that all the members of the Board of Managers of the Hebrew Sunday School Society were members of the Mickveh Israel congregation and devotedly attached to it, the school was established for the religious education of all Jewish children in the community. Thus, under the leadership and supervision of lay people from a particular congregation, there arose a religious communal school not officially connected with any particular congregation.

Another characteristic fact is that the school had a devoted staff of teachers of which a good number were teachers in the private public schools. This body of teachers under the singular able leadership of Rebecca Gratz constantly improved the technique of teaching by writing textbooks and improving classroom procedure.

It was the first school that gave status to the Jewish teaching profession by organizing a Jewish Teachers Association, "for mutual improvement and giving of entertainments for the benefit of the school." The first of the two objectives; namely, the mutual improvement, was carried out by meetings at which biblical and re-
igious questions were studied under the guidance and instruction of the Reverend Sabbato Morais, minister of the congregation Mickveh Israel, who succeeded Leeser in the year 1850 and helped in the work of the school. The second objective; namely, giving entertainment for the benefit of the school, was carried out by giving a series of annual festivals, through which handsome additions to the school treasury were obtained. The "Teachers Association," greatly enlarged and improved the library of the school, distributed a large number of English Bibles among the pupils, and procured maps and books of reference for the use of the teachers.

The Hebrew Sunday School grew steadily and became the most popular Hebrew religious school in the city, with an enrollment of 5445, organized into 180 classes, in 22 localities in 1922. It is a striking fact that in the city of Philadelphia the growth of the Sunday School in the first quarter of the 20th century was more rapid than the development of the congregation schools and Talmud Torahs. The program of studies and its methods of presentation did not change very much from the main objectives and purposes set forth by the founder of the school, Rebecca Gratz, which were designed with the single purpose of making the pupils "good and moral" believing in the philosophy that the knowledge of right is a sufficient guarantee of right doing. The most important subject in
the curriculum of the Sunday School was still Biblical history. This subject, as taught, seemed to provide both for the teaching of the Bible as literature and for Jewish history. Jewish holidays and ceremonies and their significance were merely explained to the pupils of the school before the approach of the holidays. The teaching staff was made by of volunteers, mostly women of whom a great number were graduates of the school.

During the last decade the school lost its popularity and the enrollment decreased to 1400 in the year 1951. Some innovations were made in the school in regard to the curriculum, staff and tuition. A tuition fee has been adopted for all children. Jewish history as a subject had been added to the curriculum and the teachers are receiving salaries. With the establishment of the Council on Jewish Education in Philadelphia in 1945, the Sunday School became a constituent of the Allied Jewish Appeal, while previously it had been a constituent of the Federation of Jewish Charities in Philadelphia.
CHAPTER V

The Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia

The Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia was the second educational venture founded, organized, and promoted by Isaac Leeser in 1848, with the single purpose for the establishment of communal Hebrew and English schools in Philadelphia.

The problem of the religious education of the youth seemed to Leeser to be the most crucial problem facing the Jewish community. He conceived adequate education for the Jewish youth as built upon the principle of the harmonious co-existence of the free democratic American and Jewish ways of life. The principle that motivated Leeser's life-work in the Jewish field in America was the principle of political unity in religious diversity. This philosophy he strongly advocated in his preaching, in his public addresses and in his writing. America was to him not "A Christian, Jewish or Mohammedan country but a political democratic unit for all races and peoples."
He employed three definite lines of action to create a communal educational instrument to cope with the problem of providing an adequate American Jewish education. In the first place, Leeser advocated public enlightenment on the question of the state of Jewish education for the youth in Philadelphia. He utilized his monthly magazine, The Occident, as a medium for the new movement to awaken the Jewish public to the danger it faced of losing its youth who attended private or public schools where they were under Christian influence.

He saw the gulf that existed between the instruction the Jewish youth received at home or in the Jewish school and the education he received at the private or public school. The private and the public schools he considered "essentially Christian institutions where Christianity is taught and impressed upon the mind and the heart of the pupil." He believed that it was an error to suppose "that Christian teachers do not endeavor to influence actively the sentiments of their Jewish pupils."

He saw the danger of assimilation of the Jewish youth exposed to Christian religious impressions which are made "by the schoolbooks being written by Christians and all the atmosphere which has a sectarian tendency."

Secondly, Leeser pointed out the ineffectiveness of the Jewish schools in the city, the Congregational school, Rodeph Shalom, and the Hebrew Sunday School, in providing the Jewish youth with a thorough
Jewish education. (Especially did he find the Hebrew Sunday School which he had helped in its founding inadequate.)

Thirdly, Leeser attacked the low standard of Jewish knowledge in the country as a whole. He wrote that "a native of this country never had a good opportunity of penetrating into the recesses of our literature; the Mishnah, Talmud, Possekim (sic), Commentaries, and grammatical works, have always been to them sealed books. Every scrap of information is sought from Europe; any ideas above the mere reading of the Hebrew and a little translation has to come to us from over the water." He urged every Jew in the city to do his utmost to diffuse in his circle of friends the idea and to provide the means of establishing a "general and Hebrew school that will inspire all the children of Jewish parents to become Jews by conviction no less than Israelites by birth."
Analyzing the situation, Leeser proposed definite ways and took concrete steps, as a solution, leading to the establishment of the General Hebrew School. He organized a special committee to secure money as a foundation fund for the school. On January 27, 1847, a ball was given in the old Chinese Museum under the management of the Hebrew School Fund Ball for the special purpose of raising funds for "the establishment of a Hebrew and English School in the city." The receipts netted over $300.00 and the money went into a depository known as the "Hebrew School Fund." About a month after the ball (March 17, 1847), a public meeting was called by the managers of the "Hebrew School Fund Ball" to give a report and to adopt such measures to further the work. Leeser called the meeting to order. M. H. De Young, the chairman of the Fund gave a report on the ball. It was decided that a committee of seven be appointed with power to collect donations and yearly subscriptions to further the object of the establishment of a Hebrew and English school. It was further resolved that as soon as $2000.00 would be accumulated a general meeting should be held in which
the most advantageous disposal of the money would be duly considered. On March 9, 1848 a general meeting was held in the vestry room of the congregation Mickveh Israel (Cherry Street). It was reported that a second ball in the aid of the Fund had been given and it was as successful as the first one had been. The receipts netted $427.15 which had been added to the Fund.

2. The organization of the Hebrew Education Society

With a School Fund Committee established, he proceeded to take the second step, namely, the organization of a special educational society that would take charge in the establishment of the school and direct and supervise the institution.

At a meeting of the School Fund Committee, Leeser, after dwelling upon the necessity and the benefits of a "mixed" (Hebrew and English) education for the Jewish children in the city, offered a resolution which was unanimously adopted. It provided that a committee of three persons (afterwards increased to seven) be appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws for the formation of a Hebrew Education Society for the purpose of raising funds for and establishing a Hebrew and English school for the Jewish youth of the city. Leeser was appointed to serve as chairman of the committee. The meeting appointed a special committee to prepare printed circulars and to distribute them to all Jewish families in the community. On June 4, 1845 a town meeting of the Jewish community
was called. Leeser brought in a draft of a constitution and by-laws for the formation of a Hebrew Education Society in Philadelphia (10) which was unanimously adopted.

The Hebrew Education Society was formally organized on July 16, 1848 and Solomon Solis, a devoted friend of Leeser, was elected president of the society. The organization of the Hebrew Education Society marks a milestone in the history of Jewish education in Philadelphia. It is the first Jewish communal organization independent of religious organizations formed for the purpose of establishing schools of an intensive character, where "all Israelites of this city and county will receive instruction in religion, the Hebrew and the English languages, the usual branches of education, and all such other subjects as the circumstances of the funds and the capacity of the scholars may enable the directors to afford." (11)

A curriculum and rules for the government of the proposed school were drawn up for the school directors of which Leeser was chairman. There were to be seven classes and a course of studies embracing: English, Hebrew, geometry, natural history, philosophy, rabbinical literature, French, German, Latin, Greek, botany and chemistry. (12)

The Society appointed a committee of three to petition the state legislature for a charter. Upon
the suggestion of Leeser who thought in terms of long-range plans for the future of Jewish education, the petition to the legislature for a charter to establish a preparatory school included the authorization to establish a college with power to confer degrees. On April 7, 1849, the petition was granted and "An Act to Incorporate the Hebrew Education Society" with the authority to establish an elementary Hebrew English school received the sanction of the Governor.

On Sunday, April 6, 1851, the school of the Hebrew Education Society was formally opened by an address by Leeser delivered at the school quarters at the Phoenix Hose Company on Zane (now Filbert) Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets. In his opening address Leeser emphasized the importance of Hebrew education and the "great good" about to be accomplished. "You never, we trust, will regret the exertions and outlay you have made in this cause."

The next day the instruction in the school commenced, twenty-two pupils being present. Rich and poor mingled freely, and no one except members of the Board of school directors knew who were paying pupils and who were not. All pupils had to appear cleanly and tidily clad by the established rule of the school. Michael M. Allen, a native of Philadelphia and a pupil of Leeser who was preparing for the ministry, was the first Hebrew teacher, and Miss Evelyn Bomiesler, also a native of
Philadelphia, who for several years had taught with distinction in one of the well-known public schools of the city, was the first English teacher in the school. Mr. Leeser points out with pride the happy circumstances that both teachers "are natives of this city, and we are truly pleased to be able to chronicle that the first regular school established here has been able to call to the good work two persons born within the vicinity where their labors are required. We hail it as the surest evidence of progress among us."

After six weeks in operation the enrollment of the school increased to sixty-seven, about equally divided between the two sexes. The applications for admission had become so numerous that the Board of directors were compelled to decline taking any more pupils until they had appointed additional teachers. After due examination of candidate teachers, the Board of Managers, on the recommendation of the school directors, elected on the eighteenth of May, 1851, two assistant female teachers: Miss Clara E. Weil (who later became the wife of Reverend Sabato Morais) and Miss Anna Murray.

The school, under the devoted and skillful direction of the Board of directors and its teachers, prospered from its start. The attendance increased and a greater interest was manifested in the work of the school by the Jewish community. The Mickveh Israel
intended primarily for Jewish children but was also open to Congregation appropriated to the school a yearly subsidy of $200.00.

A year after the school was organized (May 21, 1852) the Board of managers of the Hebrew Education Society received an official communication from the congregation Rodeph Shalom "to appoint a committee to form some feasible plan to have a school or schools for the instruction of our children under your superintendence."

The proposition was fully discussed and a committee consisting of Leeser, Moses A. Dropsie and L. Binswanger were appointed to confer with the committee of Rodeph Shalom.

It seems that the matter was left without further action, as no further reference to this subject appears in the minutes.

The first two years of the school were very successful. The pupils made satisfactory progress in both branches of learning, the English as well as the Hebrew. The studies in the English department were the same as in the public school and the same textbooks were used. The Hebrew studies consisted of Hebrew reading, spelling, Bible in translation and catechism. Leeser composed a special Hebrew textbook which was used extensively in the school. This Hebrew reader by Leeser

[Guide for the Teaching of the Hebrew Language to Jewish Children] was designed as an easy guide in learning the Hebrew tongue. It was
intended primarily for Jewish children but was also serviceable for any who wished to learn the language through self-instruction. It consisted of two parts. Part 1: from the first knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet to a correct method of reading the "sacred tongue" in both pronunciations—Sefardic and Ashkenazic. Part 2: a portion of the Bible in Hebrew and its translation into English; prayers, blessings and Hebrew grammar. In this book Leeser gives directions to the teacher how to use his book. He urges the teacher to simplify matters to the scholar so that he may learn more easily. Leeser's keynote is: make things simple and take one step at a time.

The school held annual public examinations in the middle of the month of June. The examinations consisted of having the pupils appear before the principal's desk for questioning by the teacher. The examinations usually lasted a few hours including recitations and singing by the pupils, an address by a member of the Board (usually Isaac Leeser) and the awarding of 'premiums' to the best scholars and candies to all. The first annual examinations of the pupils of the school gave such satisfaction to the public that it was proposed that the "Society" establish another school in the northern part of the city capable of educating 150 pupils. Because of the lack of the necessary funds, however, the Board of directors felt that they could not carry out this suggestion.
At the end of the second year there were some changes in the faculty of the school. Mr. Michael M. Allen and Miss Bomeisler who had filled satisfactorily the offices of Hebrew teacher and English teacher had resigned. Mr. Edward H. Weil became instructor in the English branch; Miss Wilhelmina Todd, Miss Marion Monachesi and Miss E.J. Wright became assistant teachers, and Mr. Jacob Mendes De Solla was elected principal to fill the place of Mr. Allen. Mr. De Solla was the author of the textbook, "All the Words of the Pentateuch". This book contains all the words, nouns, and verbs in the Pentateuch. The book has an alphabetical index of the Hebrew words with references to the page where each may be found in the preceding vocabulary. The book is designed as a classbook, but at the same time can be used as a Hebrew dictionary of the words found in the Pentateuch. The author says in the preface: "The truth becomes more and more apparent that the Hebrew language if worth being studied at all is worth being studied well and thoroughly. Superficial knowledge of the language which enables one merely to read the prayers as "an acquired precept of men" is unsatisfactory." He points out that the method used by many teachers in the instruction of Hebrew, as well as in that of other foreign languages, to plunge the pupil at once into the tedious rules of grammar, is "beginning at the wrong end." He believes to allow the pupil to spend months and years in mere
reading of Hebrew leaving him totally unacquainted with the meaning of what he reads is "as irrational as it is unprofitable." (24)

Under the principalship of Mr. Jacob M. De Solla the school continued to progress. When it was first organized there had been considerable skepticism whether it would be capable of maintaining an adequate standard. Its continued progress tended to prove to the Jewish community that it was fully capable of combining successfully the English and the Jewish branches of education. The enrollment increased to such an extent that the rented rooms in the Phoenix Hose House were no longer large enough to accommodate the increasing number of pupils and it was resolved to secure more commodious quarters.

The old Baptist Church property on Seventh Street between Callowhill and Wood Streets was purchased and the building thoroughly renovated. The new school house was dedicated on November 12, 1854. Leeser delivered the dedication address, Leeser reviewed the beginning of the school, saying: "Scarcely more than three years have elapsed since we commenced the task for which we are united, with about twenty-two scholars and with two teachers to take charge of them. We have at the present moment five teachers engaged under our charge with upwards of 100 scholars on our list, and with an accumulated capital three times in amount to what we started with, and in possession of this house, in which we have
met to dedicate it to the service of the God of Israel for a purpose deemed even holier than the house of prayer can claim." He pointed out that efforts were being made by Jews in many cities in the country "to impart religious instruction in connection with the usual elementary branches in the manner we are doing." He stated that "not an applicant has ever been refused admittance, whether Jew or Gentile, whether he came with the fees which we regularly charge or without means to satisfy the regular demands." There were Christian pupils in the school, number unknown.

Despite the progress of the school, many objections were raised by parents and leaders in the Jewish community. As Leeser indicated in a public address, there were four major complaints: (a) the general institutions, both those maintained for the benefit of the teachers for their own emolument and those endowed by the state for the gratuitous instruction of all, were fully sufficient for the Jew also; (b) the Jewish school could not expect to teach as well as is done in private or public school; (c) it was wrong to prevent Jewish children from mingling with their fellows of other creeds in their school years; (d) the financial burden of paying for tuition in addition to the already heavy taxes were too much.
Leeser's answers to the above objections were: (a) Jewish children were slighted in the Gentile schools, private as well as public, and exposed to unkindness, both by their teachers and by their fellow scholars. They had frequently to listen while the character of their own nation and faith was vilified, without having the opportunity to rebut the false charges; (b) all other things being equal, it was but reasonable to expect that Jewish-English schools to be able to secure the children more advantages in education than they could elsewhere for the reason that the numbers of the pupils in proportion to the teachers will in all likelihood be always smaller than in the public school; (c) Leeser claims that he does not counsel exclusiveness, he is concerned only to preserve Jewish children to their own faith. The adhesion of the Jewish people in America is very loose; they are composed of so many small parties, owing to the variation in their places of nativity. In order to create a united people the American Jews must bring their children into contact with one another; (d) the voluntary tax we impose on ourselves for the support of the school is only a tribute we pay to our conviction of the necessity of a Jewish training. Leeser points out "how much comparatively poor people pay for the acquisition of the accomplishments, for dancing, music, French and the like in which very few make any noticeable progress. Look on the large
school fees charged by what are termed private insti-
tutions where no more is taught than here." Leeser
asked the community for its continued support and ex-
pressed his hope to see in the near future the opening
of other schools in the city followed by the opening of
a high school or college.

The new school building also became the home
for the Hebrew Sunday School which vacated its rented
rooms in the Phoenix Hose House and established itself
in the building. Thus the building became the center
devoted to the cause of communal Jewish religious ed-
ucation. There was a day school for those who chose
to take advantage of the Hebrew and English education
offered by the Hebrew Education Society school, and a
Sunday school for those who chose to devote but one
day for the acquisition of a popular knowledge of re-
ligion.

The community's interest in the school con-
tinued. The school made steady and satisfactory pro-
gress. A weak point that the school seemed to suffer
from at this time was the lack of proper discipline.
In order to remedy the situation the Board of the
school directors engaged Mr. George F. Hitchcock
(a well-known principal of a private academy in
the city) to be the superintendent of the school
and the principle English teacher for the year ending
April 1855. A marked improvement was visible during this administration. The officers felt great interest in the school and gave much of their attention and time. The teachers devoted themselves wholeheartedly to their task and the pupils of the school made great strides in their studies. Leeser made the school popular in Jewish circles outside of Philadelphia. He reported the good work of the school in his magazine and exerted his influence upon public-spirited Jews to become interested in the school and to help it financially. Among the Jewish philanthropists outside of Philadelphia whom Leeser interested in the work of the school was Judah Touro of New Orleans. Mr. Touro, who died January 18, 1854, left to the Hebrew Educational Society its first legacy, a sum of $20,000.00.

The Hebrew Education Society and the school suffered a great loss in June 1854 through the death of its first president, Solomon Solis, who had uninterruptedly served as president and member of the board of directors since its founding in 1848. Mr. Abraham Wolf succeeded Mr. Solis as president and proved himself to be an able executive devoted to the cause of Jewish education. The Jewish population in the city increased greatly during the years 1846-1856, because of the Jewish immigration from Germany and because of the natural increase of the native population. The school continued to grow and
the number of pupils increased to 170, and the teaching staff was increased to seven. An additional principal for the female teachers was engaged. Algebra and German were added to the course of studies. The study of the Hebrew language was given a prominent place in the curriculum of the school.

There is a basis for the assumption that Reverend S. C. Noot, principal Hebrew teacher in the school taught Hebrew by the conversational method with the object of having the pupils learn how to speak the language. The existence of the school gave a great impulse to the acquisition of the Hebrew language in the city. A number of Jewish parents who were indifferent to giving their children a Hebrew education before the school came into existence, began engaging private teachers to teach their children the Hebrew tongue.

The school continued to receive the active support of the community and the educational advantages it offered led to a still larger enrollment. The school had gained the reputation of being one of the best schools in the city.

The years 1858-1859 were trying years for the city due to a severe economic crisis. The crisis was felt especially by the middle and lower economic classes of the community. Many parents were forced because of lack of means to withdraw their children from
the Hebrew Education Society and to put them in the free public schools. A large number, forty-five, of the free pupils stopped attending the school because their parents placed them in gainful employment. The income from membership dues and contributions to the society also fell off considerably. Another factor which added to the difficulties of the school was the ruling of the public high schools not to admit pupils who did not receive their elementary education in the grammar school. Because of this ruling a good number of the pupils of the higher classes of the society school left at the very age when they were sufficiently advanced to do credit to the school, and entered the public school in order to be accepted in the public high school. This "exodus" almost emptied the higher classes of the school of its pupils. A third factor which prevented the increase of pupils in the Society's school was the establishment in the city of a number of competing congregational schools.

In spite of all these difficulties, the school pursued its course. The Civil War (1860-1864) multiplied still further the difficulties of the school. Very little is reported about the doings of the school during these trying years but it is clear that the school functioned without interruption and the enrollment of the school was over the hundred mark (108) in the year 1864.

Leeser foresaw the danger that faced the school through the loss of its advanced pupils to the public
high school. He tried to solve the problem in two ways: to organize a high school, and by applying to the State Legislature to accredit the elementary school. He set himself the task of establishing a Hebrew-English high school so as to prevent those who desired a higher degree of secular education from seeking other institutions of learning. With conviction and determination he proceeded first to enlist the help of the leaders and the community.

The Society then applied to the State Legislature to make its school an accredited elementary school, so that the pupils of the schools of the "Education Society" could be admitted to the high schools of the city. The Legislature granted the petition and Governor Curtin signed the act on April 11, 1866. In this way the schools of the Society took rank with the recognized grammar schools in the city. This was a privilege possessed by no other private school in the First District of Pennsylvania.

The main interest of the Society during the years following the Civil War was concentrated on establishing a Hebrew Theological College to impart to its students a higher knowledge both of Hebrew and of general subjects, and to prepare its graduates for the Jewish ministry and teaching profession.

The Hebrew Education Society concentrated its efforts in helping Jewish education in the city by cooperating with the communal educational agencies interested in the promoting of higher Jewish Education.
Because of the popularity of the public school in the later part of the 19th century, where the Jewish children received their secular education and the lack of interest and support of the Jewish community, the Hebrew Education Society abandoned its Hebrew General Preparatory School and limited its efforts only to the teaching of Hebrew. The Society established Hebrew schools in different sections of the city to accommodate the children of the Russian–Jewish immigrants who settled in Philadelphia. After the year 1880 the Hebrew Education Society also established manual training schools and classes for the teaching of the English language to new immigrants. In the year 1891 the Society erected Touro Hall at 10th and Carpenter Streets for the purpose of carrying on educational activities and to accommodate its Hebrew and manual training schools. Touro Hall became a center of intellectual activity where a series of university extension lectures were given by prominent people of the city. In 1898 three rooms were devoted to the use of the newly founded Gratz College which was headed by Moses A. Dropsie who served as president of the board of trustees of the college. At the turn of the 20th century, the Hebrew Education Society concentrated its efforts in helping Jewish education in the city by cooperating with the communal educational agencies interested in the promoting of higher Jewish Education.
CHAPTER VIII

MAIMONIDES COLLEGE

Maimonides college in Philadelphia was an integral part of the large educational pattern conceived and designed by Isaac Leeser for the cultural enrichment of the American Jewish community in the second half of the 19th century. Leeser's views on Jewish communal education were comprehensive. His educational design embraced the entire process of education for youth, starting from the elementary and continuing through the high school and collegiate level. He conceived the educational design in its totality at one and the same time. Leeser began to think and agitate for a Jewish college even before the Hebrew Education Society was established. This is evident from the fact that as early as 1848, when he submitted an application for a charter for the Hebrew Education Society, which would grant it the right to establish an elementary school, he asked also for the right to establish "a seminary of learning with the authority to confer degrees."

Leeser proceeded with devotion and determination to accomplish the task he had set for himself. He employed the same techniques for the establishment of the college as he had so successfully employed for the establishment of the elementary school:
1. He wrote articles and preached sermons in order to convince the American Jewish community of the need for establishing an American Jewish college.

2. He organized a circle of distinguished communal leaders to act as friends and exponents of the idea of an American Jewish college.

3. He established a college Foundation Fund.

4. He endeavored to set up an inter-community organization to serve as the sponsor and supervisor of the college. (2)

After receiving from the state legislature in 1849 the right to establish the first Hebrew-English school in Philadelphia, Leeser called the public's attention to the fact that the charter, in section 3, empowered the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia "to establish a college in the full sense of the word, for instruction in Hebrew literature in connection with the sciences." He expressed his fervent hope that the "Israelites of America" would see that the charter did not remain merely a legislative grant but, that it was employed as an effective instrument for the advancement of the Jewish educational interest. He favored the city of Philadelphia as the seat of the college because of its "favorable geographical position and easy accessibility at all times of the year." (4)

Leeser, however, did not really set out to establish the college until after the Civil War, at any rate not until the year 1864. During the interval that had elapsed, the Jewish population of the United States had increased considerably. A mass immigration of Jews
from Germany had begun to stream to the shores of the United States of America at the turn of the middle of the 19th century. This mass immigration continued during the decades immediately following it. As a result, the complex of American Jewry changed radically. These German Jews together with a great number of liberal non-Jews, left their native land because of the reactionary German government which ruled the country after it had ruthlessly defeated the liberal forces in the revolution of 1848.

The Jews were the first victims of the tyranny that set in Europe, and they sought refuge in free democratic America. These German Jews were poor but ambitious, energetic and enterprising. They did not settle in one concentrated area in the country, rather, they scattered themselves all over the land. A good number went to the West. There they organized themselves into fraternal and religious groups, and in a short period they were successfully oriented in their newly adopted land. Many of them were liberals in their political and religious outlook. New congregations arose in many cities of the country. The need for ministers became very great.

The issue whether American Jewry should import its spiritual leaders or educate them here became very real. Leeser took the stand that it was degrading for the American Jewish community not to have an institution of its own to educate its youth for the ministry. He pointed out the short-sightedness of such a policy. He noted that
in the first place, it was impossible to investigate candidates from abroad with sufficient care to insure that the candidates met all the requirements of a minister before extending an invitation to them. But in addition to this, he pointed out a danger of another kind. As he put it: "dissension and error are emanating from the gentile schools where our so-called theologians have been educated."

Leeser recognized one and only one solution to the problem of an American Jewish ministry, and that was the establishment of an indigenous college for Hebrew and general education which would educate future rabbis and teachers for American Jewry. He proposed a very ambitious curriculum which would include: Moral philosophy, Hebrew in all its branches, biblical comments, Mishnah, Talmud, Jewish history and antiquity, Latin, Greek, French, German, Chemistry, Mathematics, General history, and Geography. All this together with a thorough
training in English literature and grammar with music and elements of drawing. He outlined the practical procedure for the inauguration of such a college. He proposed to start the college with a class of young people, ranging from the ages of 10 to 14 years.

The continuous influx of Jewish immigration from Europe spurred Leeser on to carry out more vigorously the work of establishing an American Jewish college for the education of native Jewish ministers and teachers. He emphasized the great need for such personnel for the congregations which were being organized all over the land. He singled out the pressing need for such an institution to meet the demands of the children of the new immigrants who required instruction "not in the language of France, Italy, Germany and Russia, but in the vernacular of this country."

After the Civil War, Leeser thought that the time had come to establish a college and made more definite attempts to bring it about. He did not take advantage of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia to go off on his own but wanted all American Jewry to take part in the project. He did not want to restrict the sponsorship of the proposed college to any one community, he wanted American Jewry as a whole to undertake it. In this, Leeser was motivated not only by a concern to facilitate adequate support through the distribution of responsibilities, but by a desire to give American Jewry
a project which would help bring American Jewry out from its "state of isolation and of its narrow orbit." Leeser firmly believed that a unified system of American Jewish education on the elementary and collegiate level would bring about a closer and better intercommunal cultural and religious understanding in American Jewry. He therefore urged every Jewish community in the land to organize Hebrew Education Societies on the same plan as Philadelphia's and "to separate the superintendence of schools from that of synagogues." With a uniform plan for Jewish elementary education followed throughout the country, the college could accommodate the graduates of the elementary schools of all the Jewish communities.

For a number of years Leeser tried hard to interest the Jewish communities of New York, Baltimore and other cities in undertaking jointly with the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia the establishment of an American Jewish college. But he met with no success. One of the several factors at work against Leeser's idea of the establishment of the college was the ascendency of the Reform movement in America.

In the period after the Civil War, the Reform movement started to take root in the United States, especially among the German Jews who had arrived here about the middle of the 19th century. Rabbis Isaac M. Wise, Max Lilienthal, and David Einhorn, the foremost leaders of the Reform movement in America, exerted a tremendous influence on the American Jews to turn away
from the teaching and practices of orthodoxy and to accept that portion of Judaism which is universal while holding that "All other laws, ordinances, customs and usages, wherever or whenever written or practiced have a secondary importance." Dr. Einhorn, the leader of the most radical wing of the Reform movement was at that time the spiritual head of the Reform temple of Keneseth Israel of Philadelphia and a bitter opponent of the religious ideas of Leeser and his Orthodox followers.

Leeser's project of establishing an American Jewish college in Philadelphia became one of the most discussed and controversial subjects of the day among American Jewry in the year 1864-1867. The leaders of the Reform movement such as Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, Dr. David Einhorn and others carried on a campaign against the proposed college by Leeser whom they considered the spokesman of Orthodoxy.

The controversy between the Orthodox and the Reform movement produced much discussion in the Jewish periodical press of this period. Articles, letters to the editors, and editorials were written with an ever-increasing bitterness on both sides. The Orthodox accused the reformers of creating a schism; they called them innovators. The Reform Jews countered by calling the Orthodox, "Finsterlings" [(unenlightened).]

Leeser who personally did not classify himself with either group and whose main motif in the establishment of the college was education, kept on steadily and
courageously working for his idea. There was also opposition to Leeser's idea of a college from the ultra-orthodox group, which feared that the college might not be founded on solid Orthodox principles. There was a group which did not favor the establishment of a college for ministers but favored a college only for Jewish teachers.

A third factor which worked against the idea of the establishment of a college was the indifference of the great majority of Jews to such a college. Because by this time, universal education had gained greater recognition and popularity, and the public schools had become more secular and much less Christian in their teaching. Thus, most Jewish parents were satisfied with sending their children to the public schools. Several times Leeser solicited the intercommunal order of Bnai Brith with its 56 lodges which he had helped to organize, to undertake the project of the college jointly with the Hebrew Education Society. But here again he met with no success.

In spite of his failure to interest an inter-community organization in sponsoring his idea for an American Jewish college, and in the face of the strong antagonism from the leaders of the Reform movement, Leeser did not retreat. He concentrated all the more on his idea and inspired his friends and followers in this city and New York to work harder in behalf of the college. Among his local disciples and friends who took up the work for the furtherence of the college were dis-
tinguished men in the community such as Moses A. Dropsie, Abraham Hart, Isidore Binswanger and Mayer Sulzberger.

Upon the initiative of Leeser, a mass meeting of all the Jews in this city was called on December 4, 1864, by the Hebrew Education Society. The purpose of the meeting was to consider the possibility of establishing a Jewish theological college. Mr. Moses A. Dropsie was nominated chairman, the presidents of the various congregations in the city were nominated vice presidents and Dr. J. Solis Cohen and Mayer Sulzberger were nominated secretaries of the meeting. Mr. Dropsie spoke at considerable length on the necessity of extending religious education in America. He showed how men have made themselves immortal by endowing colleges such as Harvard and Yale. He appealed to the audience to make it possible for the Hebrew Education Society to make use of that portion of its charter which authorized it to establish a college in which the higher degrees of arts and divinity could be conferred on its students. After Mr. Dropsie concluded his address, Mr. Joseph Einstein, evidently a close follower of Leeser, offered a resolution to the effect "that it is expedient to organize a theological school and a faculty now." (italics ours)

The resolution having been seconded, Leeser took the floor to defend it. He referred to the origin of the Hebrew Education school, which had been functioning for more than 13 years. He described its difficulties and
triumphs. He asserted that now is the time to open a
college because of the large increase of congregations
in the land. He also pointed out that the Jewish com-
munity had to educate scientifically qualified and trained
ministers and teachers for its youth. He related the fact
that because the Hebrew Education Society school was not
prepared to give its students a higher education, a number
of the students, when they arrived at a certain age and
had acquired a good amount of knowledge, were leaving the
school.

Dr. J. Solis Cohen inquired whether it was intended
to teach theology and its cognate branches only. The chair-
man replied that the committee's purpose was to open a
"high school" which would teach a full scientific, col-
legiate course, embracing among other branches, the
ancient and modern languages and sciences "so that those
who leave the seminary should be fitted to take rank with
those from any other college in the country."

The meeting turned out to be a stormy one. Mr.
S. Averbach of Philadelphia, who belonged to the Reform
movement, spoke at length against establishing a college
on Orthodox principles.

In spite of the opposition to the idea which had
been voiced at the meeting, a resolution was passed to
establish a college fund and to solicit the city for sub-
scription. It was also decided to appoint a committee of
21 with 3 representatives from each congregation in the
city as members of the committee.
Leeser and his circle of friends turned now to the Board of Delegates of American Israelites in New York, the intercommunity Jewish organization, which had been organized recently with the help of Leeser and of which he was the vice president. They proposed that the Board of Delegates become a co-sponsor of the college. In addition to the distinguished Philadelphia communal leaders such as Moses A. Dropsie, Abraham Hart, Mayer Sulzberger, and Reverend Sabato Morais, there were a number of leading board members from New York and other cities who were also deeply interested in furthering the cause of the college and who favored sponsoring the college jointly, with the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia.

Several Board of Delegates meetings were called for the purpose of discussing the sponsorship of the college. Some of the members of the Board were against and some were indifferent to the idea. The friends of the idea of the college, especially Leeser, Moses A. Dropsie and Reverend Meyer S. Isaacsof New York, worked hard to convince the Board of Delegates to accept co-sponsorship of the college. After several meetings, the friends of the college won a final and important victory. At a meeting, on May 28, 1866, the Board of Delegates of American Israelites officially adopted a resolution to devote itself to furthering the cause of Jewish religious education in America and to sponsor a college jointly with the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia.
Steps Leading to the Organization of Maimonides College

The Board of Delegates of American Israelites sent a special circular to all the presidents of congregations who were members of the Board urging them to do all that they could to strengthen Jewish education in their communities. The presidents were urged to help establish an endowment fund of $50,000.00 for the proposed theological college in Philadelphia on the charter granted to the Hebrew Education Society of that city which authorized the prospective college to confer degrees in the same manner as Harvard, Yale and Rutgers. It also urged the presidents to organize preliminary Hebrew schools where the pupils would be prepared upon graduation to enter the college in Philadelphia.

The news that the Board of Delegates of Israelites was co-sponsoring a theological college in Philadelphia spread quickly through all the Jewish communities of the land. Some communities promised their moral and financial help and cooperation; Philadelphia accepted the news with great joy; especially was it a great and important event in the life of Reeser. The response of the leaders of the community in Philadelphia to the need for an endowment fund for the college was extremely gratifying. The eyes of American Jewry were now turned toward the opening of the first American Jewish theological college in Philadelphia.
Maimonides College and its Work

Maimonides College was officially opened on Monday, October 27, 1867, in the Hebrew Education Society schoolhouse in Philadelphia on 7th Street, between Callowhill and Wood Streets. The administration of the college was placed in the hands of a Board of trustees. Abraham Hart was elected president and Mayer Sulzberger Secretary, both residents of Philadelphia. The administration set up rules and regulations for the government of the college as to course of study, admission of students, tuition fees, vacations and degrees.

The course of study was elaborate in both branches of learning, the Hebraic as well as the general. It was planned as a five year course. The course of studies included the following:

- Hebrew, Chaldaic, Greek, Latin, German, French and their literatures; natural sciences, history, mathematics, astronomy, moral and intellectual philosophy, constitutional history and the laws of the United States, homiletics, comparative theology; the Bible and its commentaries, the Mishnah and its commentaries, the Talmud and its commentaries, Jewish history and literature, Jewish philosophy, Yad ha-Hazakah, and Shulhan Aruh.

Provision was later made (1870) by which students of the Maimonides college were enabled to take certain courses in the University of Pennsylvania, for which the University charged but a nominal fee.

The following appointments were made to the faculty:

The college authorities, especially Dr. Bregal
Leeser was appointed provost of the college and president of its faculty, with the title, Professor of English literature, logic and homiletics; Dr. Sabato Morais, Professor of Bible and biblical literature; Dr. Marcus Jastrow, Professor of Talmud, Jewish literature and Hebrew Philosophy; Dr. Aaron S. Bittelheim, Professor of Mishnah; Yad Ha-Hazakah and Shulhan Aruh; L. Butterwiser, Professor of Hebrew and Chalidic language and literature; William H. Williams, Professor of Latin, Mathematics and geography. Mr. Williams was also secretary of the faculty.

All the professors with the exception of Mr. Williams gave their services gratuitously.

The fees for tuition for each year were $100.00 payable at the commencement of the academic year. No applicant under the age of 14 was admitted to the freshman class. Any exception had to be decided by the Board upon an application of the faculty of the college.

The entrance requirements were: Latin, Cæsar, Virgil, Sallust, Odes of Horace; English, the elements of English grammar and modern geography; Hebrew, the translation of the historical portion of the Bible with facility; Arithmetic, including fractions and extraction of roots.

It is evident that the number of students enrolled in the college during its existence was rather small, fluctuating between eight and four. Some of the students received instruction in secular subjects as well as in Judaism and Hebrew, whereas others concentrated on the latter and took their general subjects in the University of Pennsylvania.

The college authorities, especially Mr. Dropsie
and Mayer Sulzberger, were intensely interested in the intellectual as well as the physical welfare of the students. They took care of the needs of the non-paying students by providing them with the necessities of food, shelter and clothing. The relationship between the administration, the faculty and the student body was a very friendly one. The college encountered great difficulties from its very beginning. The promised financial help of New York and other cities in the land did not come. The enrollment of students was small, most of them were poor and had to be provided with board and clothing. The college did not have a building of its own and it had no library.

The opposition of the radical Reform group grew in intensity and bitterness. They especially criticised the composition of the faculty which did not include any of the Reform group. Rabbi Isaac M. Wise was especially vehement in his criticism. He called the college "the college for Hazanim" and criticized the faculty for feeding the students with "Shulhan Aruh," instead of teaching them simple Hebrew. There was also criticism coming from a friendly group. Dr. Jonas Bondi, the editor of the "Hebrew Leader" of New York criticised the college for educating rabbis instead of teachers. "Our first duty," he claimed, "is to educate teachers for our youth."

The opposition of the leaders of the Reform group to the college was hurting the college immeasur-
ably but the indifference of the Jewish public at large and especially the lack of financial support made the existence of the college almost impossible. Within four months after the opening of the college, February 1, 1868, the college suffered a most severe loss in the death of its devoted friend, Isaac Leeser. Leeser's death was an irreparable loss to American Jewry in general but it almost sealed the fate of the struggling college. Leeser left his entire library to the college. In memory of Leeser the trustees established the Leeser professorship in Talmud in the college.

The Hebrew Education Society kept up the struggle for the existence of the college single-handed. The officers of the college, especially Moses A. Dropsie and his friends and followers, made a gallant effort to keep the college going "and make the college a blessing, an ornament to American Judaism." The financial situation of the sole sponsor of the college, the Hebrew Education Society, was growing constantly worse. The fund which had been left to the Society by Judah Touro had been steadily decreasing. The Society made several attempts to raise money needed for the expenses of the college but did not receive any encouraging response from the public. The financial affairs of the Society became so bad that it was impossible for the board to keep the college open any longer. In December 1873, the board was forced to close the college after an existence of
six years. Only three students graduated the college and
Maimonides College (39) influenced Moses A. Dropsie, received their degrees.

That was the fate of the first American Jewish theological college to which Leeser dedicated a good part of his life. But his work was not in vain. Maimonides college planted in the heart of his devoted professors and lovers of Jewish learning the faith to go on and work for the establishment of a college.

Two years after the closing of the college, a new theological college opened in Cincinnati, the Hebrew Union College, founded in the year 1875 and directed by Rabbi Isaac M. Wise. This, too, was a theological college with the aim of educating native rabbis for American Jewry but in the spirit of the Reform movement. Thirteen years later (1886) Rabbi Sabato Morais and Dr. Marcus M. Jastrow, former professors of Maimonides College, helped in the establishment of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City in the spirit of Leeser. This institution proved a worthy successor to Maimonides College.
Maimonides College influenced Moses A. Dropsie, the distinguished leader of the Jewish community in Philadelphia in the 19th century, who was deeply interested in the promotion of higher Hebrew and general education for the youth of America, to bequeath his wealth for the founding of a college for Hebrew and cognate learning, which later became known as the Dropsie College of Philadelphia. Under the leadership of the first president of the college, Dr. Cyrus Adler (a pupil of the Hebrew Education Society School) and under the present leadership of Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, the college ranks among the best post-graduate colleges for Hebrew and cognate learning not only in the United States, but in the world.
CHAPTER XI.

Summary and Evaluation

The beginnings and the development of Jewish education in Philadelphia, its aims and achievements, may be divided into three periods. The first of these began early in the eighteenth century in the colonial period and continued until the American Revolution. The educational agencies in this period were the Jewish home and the transient or local Hebrew teacher who was also engaged in business or in trade. The instruction was of a low elementary level, consisting of reading the prayer book by rote and the memorizing of a few religious precepts. These two educational agencies made some contribution in terms of transmitting the Jewish religious heritage to the youth of the small Jewish community. In the light of the low standards of achievements of the church school in the period under discussion, Jewish education does not appear in a bad light.

The second period of Jewish education began with the formative years of the American Republic and continued up to the year 1830. This period brought a climate, charged with liberty, freedom and equality for the Jew, in Philadelphia. The Jewish educational agency was the congregational school set up by the Spanish-Portuguese congregation Mickveh Israel which
founded a school house in its building (1784). The Hebrew teachers were the ministers of the congregation who taught the youth the reading of the prayers and blessings, Bible, Hebrew, precepts of religion and the preparation for the Bar Mitzvah ceremony. The instruction was a higher level than in the colonial period.

The school trained pupils to read the portion of the Torah in the synagogue on Sabbath and holidays and to conduct the services. The school seemed to have produced results. The leaders of the Jewish community during this period were predominantly native born people who received their Jewish education in the congregation school. Rebecca Gratz, during this period, set up a small religious school where the one objective was to teach the Hebrew language and its grammar.

The influx of the Ashkenazic Jews from Germany and Poland in the beginning and during the 19th century brought about the establishment of a type of Hebrew School, German and Polish in origin. These schools attempted to teach in addition to the Jewish subject, such as the prayers in Ashkenazic dialect, Hebrew, Torah, Biblical history, and the geography of the Holy Land, also secular subjects like the German and English languages. The teaching staff of these schools were the Hazanim or Readers of the congregations. For a time these schools were successful in carrying out their educational program, but the frequent changes in curriculum,
and in days and hours of instruction, caused poor results. Some schools, such as Beth Israel, lost momentum, declined and disappeared. A final factor which hampered the continuity of the school, a factor which might have insured the gradual improvement of educational standards and achievements, was the lack of good teachers. Few of them were learned men and able teachers, the majority being persons whose Hebrew knowledge was very limited. When a good teacher was secured, he invariably moved on to some other place where he received a higher salary or where he rose into the class of minister or Hazan. As a result of all these factors, the Jewish school in this period was in a constant state of flux, its development was retarded, and its achievements were severely limited.

Finally, in the period of 1838 - 1867, new ventures of a typical American Jewish educational nature were inaugurated in Philadelphia under the influence of Isaac Leeser, the foremost Jewish Rabbi educator in America in the 19th century. The first venture was the Hebrew Sunday School founded and organized by Rebecca Gratz with the help of Isaac Leeser in 1838. This school was unique in its sponsorship, organization, curriculum and teaching personnel. It was sponsored by the Hebrew Female Benevolent Association (1810 which was primarily organized for the promotion of philanthropic work in Philadelphia. The main objective of the school was to give religious training to the Jewish youth on Sunday.
It stressed the teaching of the Bible and precepts of the Jewish religion in English. The personnel consisted exclusively of native women of good education and high cultural and religious standing. Most of the teaching staff were teachers in the private academies of the city who gave their services gratuitously. The school was the first Jewish religious school in Philadelphia organized on a communal basis. It quickly became the model Hebrew Sunday School for the country. Because of its limited curriculum and short number of sessions for learning, Leeser, who helped in the establishment of the school, and others, found the school in later years inadequate.

The various types of secular schools in the city in the 19th century, like the private academies and the Public schools, the majority of which also were lacking in an adequately trained and prepared teacher body, promoted Christian doctrines and practices. The Jewish youth who received their education in these schools were greatly influenced by their teachings. The Jewish home weakened in its religious influence on the youth because it had cast away by this time many religious practices and observances because of the influence of the Reform movement.

Leeser attempted to solve the crucial problem that was facing Philadelphia, as well as the entire American Jewry in its religio-cultural survival in this
period, by establishing Jewish-General schools. The first school of this type which he founded was the Hebrew Education Society School in 1851 for the promotion of Jewish and secular education on the elementary level.

This school was recognized as a model Hebrew-General school by the state of Pennsylvania and was placed on the same footing as that of the Public school (1866). This Jewish school had a number of Christian pupils.

The other school which Leeser founded in Philadelphia was the Maimonides College (1867) - a theological college for the promotion of higher education in both branches of knowledge, the Jewish and the secular, for the training of Rabbis and Jewish teachers. It was the first Jewish educational venture in America in the establishment of a school of higher learning. The historical value of Maimonides College lies in the fact that it aroused the interest of American Jewry in the promotion of Jewish education on a collegiate level for the training of Rabbis and teachers.

Maimonides College served as an inspiration for theological seminaries like The Jewish Theological Seminary of New York (1886), The Hebrew Union College (1875) and teacher training schools like Gratz College (1894). In addition it served as a guide for the founding of the unique and the well known Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning in Philadelphia (1907).

2. Nathan Levy was the son of Moses Levy who settled in New York City in 1705 and was the Treasurer (President) of the Congregation of "Shearith Israel" of New York. Nathan Levy was among the founders of the first Jewish Congregation in Philadelphia, Mickveh Israel. He died in Philadelphia in 1739. Burial Ground Minutes of Mickveh Israel, 1739. (Folder)


4. Minutes of Mickveh Israel Congregation, 1780. (Folder)

5. Haym Solomon was elected Treasurer of the Hebräisch-Orthodox Minnent, Minutes of Mickveh Israel Congregation, 1781. (Folder)

NOTES


7. The Record Book of Barnett Jacobs (in possession of Dr. Sidney Fish).


9. Reverend George Mendes Israel Seixas, the first American born Rabbi, was a native of New York City. He was born on January 14, 1745, the son of Isaac Mendes who had escaped from the Inquisition in Portugal. He served for 28 years, 1787-1815, as a trustee of Columbia College of New York City. Henry Samuel Morais, The Jews of Philadelphia, p. 17. (Philadelphia: The Levy Type Company, 5654, 1894, p. 117).

10. In 1778 lots in the cemetery on Spring Street were bought and held in the name of Michael Gratz. Minutes of Mickveh Israel Burial Ground, 1778. (Folder)
NOTES TO CHAPTER I


2. Nathan Levy was the son of Moses Levy who settled in New York City in 1705 and was the Parnass [President] of the Congregation of "Shearith Israel" of New York. Nathan Levy was among the founders of the first Jewish Congregation in Philadelphia - Mickveh Israel. He died in Philadelphia in 1759. Burial Ground Minutes of Mickveh Israel, 1752. (Folder)


4. Minutes of Mickveh Israel Congregation, 1780. (Folder)

5. Haym Solomon was elected Gaby [Treasurer] of the Hebrah-Ezrat-Ahlm. Minutes of Mickveh Israel Congregation, 1770. (Folder)


7. The Record Book of Barnett Jacobs (in possession of Dr. Sidney Fish).


9. Reverend Gershom Mendes Israel Seixas, the first American born Rabbi, was a native of New York City. He was born on January 14, 1745, the son of Isaac Mendes who had escaped from the Inquisition in Portugal. He served for 28 years, 1783-1815, as a trustee of Columbia College of New York City. Henry Samuel Morais, The Jews of Philadelphia, p. 17. (Philadelphia: The Levy Type Company, 5654, 1894, p. 117).

10. In 1778 lots in the cemetery on Spruce Street were bought and held in the name of Michael Gratz. Minutes of Mickveh Israel Burial Ground, 1778. (Folder)

12. A full description of the synagogue is found in Pictures of Philadelphia, under the heading Jews (1830), by James Mease. "A synagogue situated on the north side of Cherry Street above Third Street. This building is 40 feet in front by 70 feet in depth being two stories in height built in the Egyptian style of stone from the Falls of the Schuylkill."


14. Jonas Phillips refused to send his children to the school. He was reprimanded by the Junta [Trustees]. The congregation was requested to compensate the teacher. Minutes of Mickveh Israel, 1784. (Folder)

15. "Dinner at the Gratz home is an occasion of considerable importance. More than a mere meal it takes on the character of a ceremony, symbolizing the family unity. This is especially evident on Friday evening during the observation of the ancient rites which usher in the Hebrew Sabbath." Rollin G. Osterweis, Rebecca Gratz - A Study in Charm, p. 62.

16. Mr. M. Gratz paid Jacob Cohen, the pedler, 10 shillings per month for tuition of his son Jacob. Bills of B. & M. Gratz, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This was called to the attention of the writer by Dr. Sidney Fish.


20. Rebecca Franks, and George and Isaac Miranda, completely left the Jewish fold. Rebecca Franks, daughter of David Franks, was born in 1741. She was brilliant, witty, attractive and ranked with


24. After the Revolutionary War ended and the British evacuated New York, Reverend Seixas was recalled by the Congregation "Shearith Israel" of New York.

25. Minutes of Mickveh Israel Congregation, 1784. (Folder)

26. Minutes of Mickveh Israel Congregation, 1812.

27. Minutes of Mickveh Israel Congregation, 1788. (Folder)


30. According to the first membership list of Rodeph Shalom, the membership consisted of 26 members and 21 seat holders. *Minutes of Rodeph Shalom Congregation, 1811*.

31. Some of the signatures of the charter members:

- $6.00 paid ——
- 5.00 paid ——
- 10.00 paid ——

32. *Minutes of Rodeph Shalom Congregation, 1823*.

33. "A Ashkavah (sic) (Memorial ותנשא ) was made for the last Mr. S. Cohen in consequent of bequest of 50 dollars for the Hebræa Gemilut Hasadim Ve-Minuch Nearim." *Minutes of Rodeph Shalom, 1824*. Most of the early minutes have Hebrew dates, as to the portion of the week read in the synagogue, month and the Jewish year. The Hebrew terms are frequently used; the Hebrew terms are frequently incorrect and misspelled. Such as שומא ותנשא

34. *Minutes of Rodeph Shalom, 1824*.


37. This information is based upon a letter written by Rebecca Gratz in 1818 to her friend Maria Hoffman in New York City. The original letter is found in the archives of the American Jewish Historical Society in New York City, under the title, S.W. Rosenbach, *Letters of Rebecca Gratz*.

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**NOTES TO CHAPTER II**

1. For the story of the establishment of the school (1802) and its early history up to the year 1829 see Chapter 1.
NOTES TO CHAPTER II

3. Ibid, 1846.
5. Minutes of the Rodeph Shalom Congregation, 1846.
6. Ibid, 1848.
7. Ibid, 1848.
8. Ibid, 1849.
10. Ibid, 1849.
11. Ibid, 1850.
12. Ibid, 1852.
13. Ibid, 1856.
15. Minutes of Beth Israel Congregation, 1840.
18. Minutes of Beth Israel Congregation, 1857.
20. Minutes of Keneseth Israel Congregation, 1847
22. Ibid, 1852.
23. Ibid, 1855.
25. Ibid, 1855.
27. Ibid, 1859.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Rabbi Benjamin Cohen was a native of Amsterdam and pupil of Rabbi Ezekiel Landau of Prague. Leeser dedicated his book containing his sermons "to my beloved teacher Rabbi Benjamin Cohen."


3. Rabbi Sutro was a native of Fürth in Bavaria. He served for 45 years as the Rav Kolel [Chief Rabbi] for the Jews in Westphalia. Rabbi Sutro was very much interested in improving the school system of the congregations under his charge. He travelled every summer to examine the various schools in his district; bringing the schools of seven towns and villages together. He founded a school for training Jewish mechanics. The Occident, Vol. XIII, Jan. 31, 1861.

4. Zalman Rhine was one of the most respectable and honored citizens in Richmond, Virginia. He was active in the communal life of Richmond and a leader in the Jewish community. Through his marriage (he married Abigail Seixas, a daughter of Reverend Gershom Seixas) his family and the family of Seixas became interrelated. The Seixas family helped Leeser in many ways. Herbert L. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, The History of the Jews of Richmond, 1769-1917, pp. 37-40.

5. Leeser also wrote a series of articles in the Philadelphia Gazette, 1839, 1840, against some other writers who offended the Jews in the London Quarterly Review.

6. This book is found in the archives of Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning.

7. A series of letters written by an unknown Jew telling his children about what he believes to be the superiority of Judaism over Christianity.

8. This book was modeled after a German work by Dr. Edward Klay, a prominent Jewish teacher in Berlin. It appeared in Berlin in 1814 under the title Catechismus der Mosaiche Religion - Preface of Catechism for Jewish Children, 1839.

9. The Occident was the second monthly English Jewish publication in America. "The Jew" was the first monthly published in America. Its editor was
Solomon Jacobson. It appeared in New York and lasted only 1824-1825. Its main aim was to defend the Jews against their enemies. The "Occident" appeared as a weekly from April 1859 to March 1861 and again as a monthly from 1861 to 1869.


Leeser was among the founders and a Vice-President of the "Board of Delegates of American Israelites," an organization cooperating with Jewish representative bodies of other lands toward ameliorating the conditions of Hebrews in other countries and protecting their rights. He also helped organize the Philadelphia Jewish Hospital, the Board of Hebrew Ministers, The Hebrew Education Society, Maimondies College and the Jewish order B'nai-B'rith.

16. "In after life the rich will have to meet with persons of all classes, and it is for the good of the prosperous to become early acquainted with the fact that all are not wealthy." Social Intercourse - Poor and Rich. Occident, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1851.

22. A letter written to Leeser by Mr. Jacob Minees De Sala, of Richmond, Virginia, 1 jar 5611 (1851) thanking Leeser for recommending him for the position and asking him advice on curriculum, and a letter written by Mr. Katner, a Hebrew teacher of St. Louis, Mo. dated June 1857 are found among Leeser's letters which are in the archives of Dropsie College, Philadelphia.


3. "In all communities the means of alleviating the sufferings of the poor is considered of high importance by the benevolent and the humane. The subscribers, members of the Hebrew Congregation (Mickveh Israel) of Philadelphia, and citizens of the United States and of the State of Pennsylvania, sensible to the call of their small society and desirous of rendering themselves useful to their indigent sisters of the house of Israel have associated themselves together for the purpose of charity, and in order to make the benefit permanent have adapted this constitution." The Constitution, Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, Philadelphia, 1837.

4. Minutes of the Board of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, 1838.

5. For an extended discussion of Isaac Leeser's advocacy of communal Jewish education, see Chapter V of this thesis.


9. Minutes of the first Hebrew Sunday School, written by Rebecca Gratz, 1838. A photostat of the minutes is in the appendix.

10. The first teachers in the school were Miss S. C. Feixotto, Miss M. C. Etting, the Misses Moses, Miss Louisa E. Hart, Miss R. Pesoa, Miss Ellen Phillips. Minutes of the Hebrew Sunday School Society, 1838.

11. One of these rare books used by the Hebrew Sunday School in Philadelphia is found in the archives of Dropsie College. This book bears the name Charity S. Cohen who was a pupil of the school. A photostat of the first page of this book is included in the appendix.

12. These two letters were found by the writer in the private archives of one of the oldest Jewish families in Philadelphia, the descendants of the Allen family. M. R. Allen was a charter member of the Hebrew Education Society and served as its secretary in 1863.

13. This rare book is in the archives of the Dropsie College of Hebrew and Cognate Learning, Philadelphia. A photostat of a page of this book is in the appendix.


17. Minutes of the Hebrew Sunday School Society, 1840-1876. After the year 1873, anniversary exercises at a public hall were substituted as a means of bringing the work of the school before the community. Deserving pupils were then publicly rewarded with prizes.

18. A photostat of the document of incorporation is in the appendix.

19. Miss Louisa B. Hart was born in Easton, Pennsylvania, on June 3, 1803. After her father's death, her family removed to Philadelphia. "Side by side with her English education had gone the study of Hebrew and the history of her own people. She possessed the art of attracting the genuine love and friendship of young girls and little children, and her home gradually became a sort of Jewish center where all classes of thinkers came to discuss religious and social questions, uniting in bond of friendliness which was cemented by her genial influence. She died in Philadelphia in 1874."

Semi-centennial Anniversary of the First Hebrew Sunday School in America, 1888.


22. The exact year when this Association was organized is not indicated. In 1875 it was reorganized after having functioned for a number of years. It therefore came into existence shortly before the close of the period in the purview of this study.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER V


2. Ibid., Vol. IX, December 1843, p. 410.

3. Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 3, 1847.

4. Some years previous, Leeser had supported the Hebrew Sunday School because he had seen its worth
as the beginning of Jewish communal education in the
city. Perhaps he had hoped that it would develop
into a more intensive educational agency. But seeing
that the school made no such improvements he changed
his favorable opinion.

5. The Occident, Vol. 4, May 1846, p. 60.

6. Ibid., Vol. 5, No. 1, 1847.

7. Ibid., Vol. 5, No. 1, 1847.

8. This ball was under the management of Michael H. De
Young, Solomon Gans, Moses Nathans, Isaac Nathans,
Solomon Isaacs, R. Benjamin, H. Pincus, Simon M.
Klasser, Lazarus Schloss, Michael Moyer, David Van
Biel and Herman Weller. Minutes of the Hebrew
Education Society, 1848-1898.

9. Mr. Morris H. De Young reported that the gross re-
cceipts had been $688.00 and the net proceeds $308.25,
$300.00 of which had been deposited in the office
of the Pennsylvania Life Insurance Co. bearing in-
terest at 4%. Occident, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1847.

10. A copy of the original constitution and its by-laws
is in the appendix are in the minutes of the Hebrew Education
Society (1848).

11. The Preamble of the Constitution of the Hebrew Edu-
cation Society of Philadelphia. Minutes of the
Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia, 1848-1898;
"The Syllabus of instruction reminds one as befitting
a college more than a preliminary school." Minutes
of Hebrew Education Society, 1848.

12. The committee consisted of Isaac Leeser, Abraham S.
Wolf and Abraham Hart.

13. A copy of the charter is included in the appendix to the
minutes of the Hebrew Education Society (1849).

14. The Board appropriated $1000.00. The school direc-
tors rented the second and third stories of the
building of the old Phoenix Hose Company and furn-
ish them at an expense of about $200.00. Minutes
of the report of the President of the Hebrew Edu-
cation Society, M.S. Solis. Occident, Vol. 8, No. 2,
1851.

15. Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1851. In
reporting about the opening of the school Mr. Leeser
says, "We regret to observe that many are absent who
were supposed to have taken an interest in the matter;
that those who are loudest and most active where in-
jury can be done are generally among the missing
where a great and a good deed is to be accomplished." Occident, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1851.
16. The tuition fee was $15.00 per annum. Report by the President of the Hebrew Education Society, M. S. Solis, 1851.

17. Michael M. Allen was born in Philadelphia in 1830. His birth registration appears on the first list of Rodeph Shalom congregation. His father was Lewis Allen, Jr., Parnass of Mickveh Israel congregation in 1834. His grandfather served as President of the congregation Rodeph Shalom. Mr. M. M. Allen was the first president of the Young Men's Literary Association in Philadelphia, organized June 23, 1850. Occident, Vol. 9, No. 9, 1852.

18. Miss Evelyn Boneisler was the daughter of Louis Boneisler, a school director of Rodeph Shalom congregation in 1841.

19. Occident, Vol. 9, No. 1, April, 1851.

20. Ibid., Vol. 9, No. 3, June 1851. According to the Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society the enrollment increased to 71.

21. On motion of Leeser, seconded by A.T. Jones, the following was unanimously adopted: "Resolved that if the Congregation Rodeph (sic) Shalom can secure to the Education Society the sum of $1600.00 per annum for a number of scholars not exceeding 160, and $10.00 per annum for every additional one, that the School Directors be empowered to enter into the necessary arrangements to open an additional school, provided the said Congregation supply the school room furniture." Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia, 1848-1898.

22. Occident, Vol. 11, No. 4, July 1853.

23. Mr. Allen resigned his position to enter business. Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1853.

24. This rare book is in the archives of Gratz College; it belonged to a teacher of the school of the Society.

25. In the year 1853-1854 the Board of Directors of the "Hebrew Education Society" in conjunction with the "Hebrew Fuel Society", the "Ladies' German Benevolent Society," the "Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society," the "Ladies' Hebrew Sewing Society," raised a considerable sum of money by conducting successful Charity Dinners. The dinners were "Coshen" (sic). Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1853, 1854.
26. A photostat of the school is in the appendix.


28. There were among the pupils of the school some who were not Jewish. Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1890.


30. Besides Leeser who was the principal speaker, the following took part in the dedication ceremony: Moses A. Dropsie, Reverend S. Morais, Reverend Gabriel Papé, Reverend Lazarus Naumberg and the Reverend Jacob Frankel. Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1854.

31. Occident, Vol. 13, No. 4, January 1855; Minutes of Hebrew Education Society, 1854. The Sunday School was not under the charge of the Hebrew Education Society.

32. Mr. Hitchcock was sick a great portion of the time. He was reelected for one quarter (three months) at the expiration of his term but his health did not permit him to resume his duties and he resigned on May 5, 1855. Occident, Vol. 13, No. 9, 1855.

33. A tribute to the memory of the late Solomon Solis by a friend: "A disposition humble and gentle almost to excess, was added to a stability of character and integrity of purpose that won for him a confidence in the business world. It is to these several virtues, coupled to habitual industry and perseverance that he was enabled step by step to climb with so much success the hill of prosperity. His mind was at once open, liberal and refined. He was pious without display and devoted to the cause of education." Occident, Vol. 13, No. 7, 1855.

34. An estimate by Leeser of the Jewish population in Philadelphia in the year 1846 was about 1500 to 1800 souls. Cf. Jewish Miscellany, No. 3, published by Philadelphia Jewish Publication Society, 1846. In the year 1878 the Jewish population had increased to between 14,000 and 16,000. Cf. Minutes of Jewish Education Society, Report of the President Moses A. Dropsie, 1890.

35. Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1855.
Leeser reports that on one of his visits to Noot's class he heard the teachers and children speaking in "Holy Tongue". Occident, Vol. 16, 1858, No. 3.

Ibid., Vol. 15, 1857, No. 3.

The history of the school during the years 1855-1864 is not reported by the Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1848-1898. It is however reported by Leeser in the Occident.

Report by the chairman of the Board of the school directors, I. Binawanger, June 5, 1858. Occident, Vol. 16, No. 3, June, 1858.

Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1864.

Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1866.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI


2. For the elementary communal school he established a local sponsor organization - the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia.


4. Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 10, April 1849.

5. According to Leeser there were about 250,000 Jews in the United States in 1868. Occident, Vol. XXIV, No. II, February, 1868. According to Mr. S. Bachrach the editor of "The Jewish Sentinel, Vol. I, January 3, 1868, there were 500,000 Jews in America in 1868.


7. The requirements for AB degrees from University of Pennsylvania did not include Greek and Latin.

8. Occident, Vol. XII, No. 1, April 1849.

9. Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 7, October 1848.

10. Ibid., Vol. XIV, No. 4, July 1851.


13. "Some may object to the movement (the college) on the ground that it is not pledged to either reform or orthodoxy. For our part, we belong to no party, we commenced life with certain convictions and have not swerved from them. We know only Judaism and if you call it orthodoxy, you do so, not we. In joining the movement for education we individually stand on Jewish ground only." *Occident*, Vol. 25, No. 5, August 1867, p. 132.


15. The call was issued by a committee appointed by the president of the Hebrew Education Society and consisting of Isidore Binswanger, chairman; Moses A. Dropsie, Isaac Leeser, Charles Johnson and Samuel Hecht.


20. Mr. S. Averbach was the editor and proprietor of the "Jewish Sentinel", weekly paper in Philadelphia, and a member of the finance committee of the reform temple Knesseth Israel of Philadelphia. *Occident*, Vol. XXV, February 1868.

21. The details of this important meeting are recorded in the *Occident*, Vol. XXII, No. 9, 1864. They are not recorded in the minutes of the Hebrew Education Society.

22. The Board of Delegates of American Israelites was founded with the help of Leeser in 1859. Its aim was "to cooperate with the Jewish communities in Europe towards ameliorating the conditions of the Jews in the world."

23. Reverend Meyer S. Isaacs was one of the organizers of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and editor of the *Jewish Messenger*. 
The circular is signed by Abraham Hart, President; Isaac Leeser, Vice President (Philadelphia); Meyer S. Isaac, Secretary (New York); Alexander S. Saroni, Treasurer; Henry Josfi (New York). Occident. Vol. XXIV, No. 6, September 1866.

The following contributed: Abraham Hart, Isidore Binswanger, $500.00 each; L. J. Leberman, $250.00; Moses A. Dropsie, Morris Rosenbach, Lazarus Mayer, Charles Bloomingdale and Joseph Newhouse, $200.00 each; Rebecca Gratz, Bernard Abiles, Seligman Abiles, H. Marcus, $100.00 each. There were many other smaller subscriptions. Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1867.


Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1867.

Besides the elaborate curriculum in Hebrew studies, the course of study in the college for a degree was much more elaborate than the course of study required for a degree of B.A. at the University of Pennsylvania. The requirements for a degree in the arts in the University of Pennsylvania (1852) included the following: Mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, natural Theology and Evidence of Christianity, 2 modern languages and moral philosophy. University of Pennsylvania, History, Influence, Equipment and Character, Vol. 1, 1852.

M. Sulzberger, Esq. offered the following resolution: "Resolved that a committee of 2 be appointed to examine into the expediency of making arrangements with the University of Pennsylvania and to confer with the officers there for the admission of the pupils of the college into that institution at a price not exceeding $100.00 per annum for each. Resolution carried." Simon M. Arnold, acting secretary, Minutes of the Maimonides College, 1870.

Cf. Two students were attending the University of Pennsylvania and were progressing quite well. Report by I. Binswanger, President. Minutes of Maimonides College, March 17, 1872.
30. Reverend George Jacobs became instructor in English literature and allied subjects and Mr. Hyman Polano in Hebrew and Mishnah. Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1870.


32. The following were on the roll of the college:
   Emile S. Levi, a paying student, Lamb, Nathan
   Hamberg, David Levy, free students, Gemarscke and Baum, paying students (had been withdrawn after two weeks stay). Report by the president, Mr. Binswanger. Minutes of Maimonides College, February, 1868.

David Levy might be pronounced the best of the four students attending the college. Report at a faculty meeting of the Maimonides College, by Reverend S. Morais, 1869.

33. "There has been an accession to the pupils in the person of H. Saft (non-paying) whose attainments in Hebrew are comparatively proficient, in English and German very small. Reverend M. Morais and Mr. Williams, Reverend Dr. Jastrou and Reverend Jacobs have volunteered to give him private instruction." Minutes of the faculty Maimonides College, December 7, 1869. Photostat in the appendix.

A photostat of the Treasurer's report on the Maintenance Fund of Maimonides College, 1868, 1873 in the appendix, showing the expenses paid by the college for the poor students including board, clothing and travel.

The students of the college "expressed their heartfelt thanks to the Board for the kind and persevering efforts that have been and still continue to be made to advance their education." On behalf of himself and his colleagues, Mr. Mendelssohn, presented the Board with a handsomely engraved testimonial which was received
and the address replied by Mr. M.A. Dropsie and Mr. I. Binswanger on behalf of the Board and Dr. Jastrow on behalf of the faculty. Minutes of the Board of Managers, Maimonides College, March 7, 1872. Photostat included in the appendix.

34. Jewish Messenger, Vol. XXIV, No. 9, August 28, 1868. This claim was not correct. Reverend S. Morais reports that he was teaching Hebrew. (D.T.)


36. The Leeser library was catalogued by Dr. Cyrus Adler in 1883 when he was librarian of the Hebrew Education Society. Dr. Adler attended the Society's school as a young boy in 1869-1871. Dr. Adler mentions in his book "I have Considered the Days," p. 14, that David Levy and Marcus Lam, students of Maimonides college, used to carry him on their backs in the building.


38. The fund is steadily decreasing. The teachers (of the elementary school) were constantly asking for additional pay, and in most instances the increase was granted. Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1868.

39. The three who received degrees were: Marcus Eliezer Lam who became a teacher in the Hebrew Education Society school; David Levy who became a minister in New Haven, Conn.; Samuel Mendelsohn who became a minister in Wilmington, N. C. Minutes of the Hebrew Education Society, 1873.
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