The *Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor*: A Critical Analysis of the Weekly Educational Magazine for Jewish Children, 1874–1893

By

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Ordination

Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion

Cincinnati, OH

2012/5772

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Digest

The Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor was a nationally distributed weekly magazine for Jewish children in Sabbath Schools all over the United States. The publication began to appear in 1874 and its final issue appeared nineteen years later, in 1893. The *Visitor* was the brainchild of Rabbi Max Lilienthal (1815–1882), the periodical's founding editor, and he continued to serve in this capacity from 1874 until his death in 1882. Through the inclusion of Biblical and Rabbinic lessons, serialized stories, letters to the editor and more Lilienthal aimed to educate American Jewish youth in Jewish history, values and practice. Additionally the magazine instructed the youth in the process of Americanization. In his writing Lilienthal addressed the concerns of assimilation and assisted the youth in negotiating a balance between their Jewish and American identities.

This thesis is an examination of the *Visitor* during the years of Lilienthal's time as editor (1874–1882). Through a critical analysis of the content of the *Visitor* the reader gains an interpretive and historical perspective on the lives of Jewish Americans in the late 1800s.

Chapter one provides an overview and analysis of the various literary genre present in the visitor. Included is a discussion of their relevance and purpose in fulfilling the goals that Lilienthal and his successors strove to achieve. Chapter two explores the Americanizing themes that appear in the issues of *Visitor*. It highlights these thematic elements and analyzes them in conjunction with concerns of assimilation and loss of Jewish identity in favor of Americanization. Chapter three analyzes the Jewish values present in the *Visitor* including the use of Hebrew, references to Zionism, the use of Biblical and Rabbinic texts, holiday observance, and God. Through an analysis of these

values the reader gains insight concerning the goals and motivations of those shaping the future of progressive (Reform) Judaism in America.

Acknowledgements

Throughout the journey of writing my thesis many are to thank for their guidance, support and encouragement. First and foremost I want to thank my advisor Dr. Gary Zola. You guided me through the thesis writing experience with gentle direction and warmth. You provided me with insight and challenged me to achieve greatness. It was an honor to work with you and learn from you.

Dr. Dana Herman, I am forever grateful for the time and energy you invested in editing my work and providing direction. Your patience and kindness were overwhelming. Thank you for your guidance. It was a pleasure working with you and having an opportunity to spend time with you.

I am grateful to all those scholars, professors and authors who provided me with research help and responded to emails and phone calls with compassion. It was a privilege to communicate with you and benefit from your expertise.

This thesis is dedicated to my mother and father, my sisters and my friends who lifted me up and cheered me on when I lost faith in myself and my ability to complete this daunting project. You provided perspective and gave me the tools I needed to meet my goals. I am thankful for the phone calls, celebrations and inspiring words you offered. You are the lights that brighten my day, the warmth that soothes my soul. Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

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Introduction

The Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor (hereafter the *Visitor)* was a nationally distributed weekly magazine for Jewish children in Sabbath schools all over the United States. The publication began to appear in 1874 and its final issue appeared nineteen years later, in 1893. The *Visitor* was the brainchild of Rabbi Max Lilienthal (1815–1882), the periodical's founding editor, and he continued to serve in this capacity from 1874 until his death in 1882.

The purpose of this chapter is threefold. First, we will explain the significance and development of juvenile literature in the United States. By examining the birth of this genre and its impact on young readers, we will gain a greater understanding of the significance of the *Visitor* for children in the late 1800s. Next, we will explore the life of the *Visitor's* creator and influential founding editor, Rabbi Max Lilienthal and demonstrate how his life experiences and biography led him to become the founder of such a publication. Finally we will discuss how the serial first came into existence and how the publication got off the ground. Through this discussion, the reader will gain a better understanding and insight for the coming chapters which explore the content and themes of the *Visitor.*

Beginning in the late 1700s, monthly magazines began to publish juvenile literature. These magazines focused on providing youth with instruction and entertainment in the realm of both secular and religious education. According to Marguerite C. Radencich in her article titled, "Two Centuries of U.S Magazines for Youth," in the last third of the nineteenth century when the United States was in the midst of an industrial revolution, magazines oriented for young people grew in popularity due

to an increase in leisure time, a rise in literacy, and a redistribution of income."[1] At the time the *Visitor* was published, there were at least seventy-five youth magazines published in the U.S with two-thirds of them religious in nature.[2] They reached a wide variety of readers and played an integral role in the education and entertainment of American youth.

For Jewish children during this period youth magazines were particularly relevant due to the rise in secondary Jewish education. In an article titled "Educating Jews and Americans: The Influence of the First American Jewish Juvenile Monthly Magazines," Sue Elwell noted the fact that by the last third of the nineteenth century, supplementary schools were the most commonly attended educational vehicles for the majority of Jewish youth in America:

> By the late 1870's most American Jews sent their children to public schools, which had lost their earlier identification as primary vehicles of Protestantization. To complement their children's secular training, many parents chose to send them to Sunday or afternoon programs of Jewish religious instruction.[3]

Jewish "Sabbath Schools" began to appear all around the country starting with the establishment of the nation's first supplementary school in Philadelphia: The Hebrew Sunday School Society under the direction of its renowned preceptor, Rebecca Gratz (1781–1869). Shortly thereafter, a number of Hebrew Schools and Sunday schools gradually spread to Baltimore, Chicago and Cincinnati. These supplemental Jewish

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[1] Marguerite C. Radencich, "Two Centuries of U.S. Magazines for Youth," *Journal of Reading* 29, no. 6 (1986): 497.
[2] Ibid., 498.
[3] Rabbi Sue Levi Elwell, "Educating Jews and Americans: The Influence of the First American Jewish Juvenile Magazine," *Religious Education* 81, no.2 (Spring 1986): 241.

schools sought to provide religious education to Jewish children in order to fight assimilation and maintain Jewish identity in a growing secularized world. According to historian Diane Ashton,

> In the 1830's, Gratz became convinced that Jewish children urgently needed an institution that would help them resist the intensifying evangelism they would encounter while growing up in the United States...American Jewish boys and girls she thought, needed to be learn how to defend their Jewish beliefs, which would enable them to refute evangelists and to be the religious equals of their Christian neighbors. Jewish women and girls, especially, needed instruction in Judaism in order to claim the same moral authority accorded to white middle-class Christian women.[4]

In addition to these stated goals, Gratz and other educators of her time focused their lessons around biblical history, Jewish holidays and ritual, and little to no attention was paid to the study of the Hebrew language.[5] According to a memoir by Rosa Mordechai, the great niece of Gratz and a pupil of her school,

> Miss Gratz always began school with the prayer, opening with 'Come ye children, hearken unto me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord'...Then she read a chapter of the Bible, in a clear and distinct voice, without any elocution and this could be heard and understood all over the room. The closing exercises were equally simple: a Hebrew hymn sung

[4] Diane Ashton, *Rebecca Gratz: Women and Judaism in Antebellum America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 121.
[5] Judah Pilch, *A History of Jewish Education in America* (New York: The American Association for Jewish Education, 1969), 35.

by the children, then one of Watt's simple verses, whose rhythm the smallest child come easily catch as all repeated.[6]

The Sunday school usually met from 9 to 1 on Sunday morning and the Sabbath School from 1 to 4 on Saturday afternoon.[7] Children attended the school regularly and performed "exhibitions" or annual examinations annually. From Gratz's popular model, other supplementary schools were established around the country enhancing the Jewish education of American children and strengthening the synagogue.[8]

With the successful development of these new schools, however, came some challenges. Sue Elwell emphasizes that one of the challenges that faced early American Jewish educators was the dearth of appropriate and accessible teaching materials. English catechisms were no longer viewed as appropriate or relevant according to contemporary educational theory and so Jewish educators sought new and updated materials. The rise in popularity of juvenile monthly magazines at this very time made these publications an attractive and worthwhile pedagogical tool for those seeking to foster Jewish learning among the Jewish youth of America at the *fin de siècle*. Juvenile magazines were viewed as an excellent way of transmitting Jewish knowledge and culture to a wide and diverse Jewish population across the nation. Educators, synagogues and even individuals could subscribe to the magazine and receive both curricular tools as well as leisure reading.[9]

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[6] Lloyd P. Gartner, *Jewish Education in the United States: A Documentary History* (New York: Teachers College Press: 1969), 55–56.
[7] Pilch, *A History of Jewish Education*, 36.
[8] Israel Abraham and Claude Montefiore, *The Jewish Sunday School Movement in the United States*, The Jewish Quarterly Review, 12 no. 4 (July 1900): 563–601.
[9] Elwell, *Educating Jews and Americans*, 242.

In 1874 with the introduction of the *Visitor*, Lilienthal sought the help of superintendents and teachers to solicit subscriptions of his new magazine in order to upgrade curricular and teaching materials. According to Naomi Cohen in her book titled, *What the Rabbis Said*, Lilienthal was "setting his sights beyond Cincinnati, [and he] sought to reach children in outlying areas without synagogues or schools and to raise the standards of Sabbath schools overall."[10] Throughout the years that the *Visitor* was published, it successfully provided supplementary materials to Sabbath Schools around the country. It also offered teachers and Jewish educators with relevant and more modern Jewish educational tools.

A Biographical Sketch of Max Lilienthal

Lilienthal's childhood and upbringing had a significant influence on his contributions to Jewish education. Born in Munich in 1815 to parents who were founding members of the Munich Jewish community, Lilienthal was raised in a family that valued secular education and the social opportunities that came to Jews as a result of post-enlightenment thought. Yet Lilienthal's parents simultaneously feared assimilation. According to Bruce L. Ruben in his recent book *Max Lilienthal: The Making of an American Rabbinate*,

> Max's family chose to introduce him to the sciences is telling. As part of the privileged class that formed the German Jewish economic elite of the age of early industrialization (1800–1880), they represented the vanguard of modernization, adopting German cultural and educational norms long

[10] Naomi W. Cohen, *What the Rabbis Said: The Public Discourse of Nineteenth-Century American Rabbis* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 77.

> before their rural brethren. Their willingness to integrate secular Jewish subjects meant that they embraced the values of a small subculture within Jewish society known as the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment). That Max Lilienthal's family was part of this new subculture was perhaps the determining factor in his professional development.[11]

With this upbringing it is not surprising that Max determined that he wanted to pursue a career in the rabbinate at a very early age. According to Lilienthal family tradition, 11-year old Max promised his mother on her deathbed that he would become a rabbi[12]. He continued his Jewish and secular education at the yeshiva in Fürth and then he eventually matriculated at the University of Munich where he earned his Ph.D. After completing his doctoral studies, Lilienthal accepted a position at a newly established Jewish school in Riga, Latvia which sought a candidate who was a "man of modern culture, but of conservative religious tendencies." Lilienthal fit the description perfectly and anticipated an exciting opportunity to participate in the modernization of Russian Jewish education. With his skills and expertise, he sought to create the conditions necessary for the emancipation of the masses of downtrodden Russian Jewry.[13]

Serving as both rabbi and educator, Lilienthal was successful in implementing various innovations in both education and ritual. Because the newly established school was attached to the Riga Synagogue, Lilienthal was able to easily fulfill both obligations simultaneously. Among Lilienthal's educational innovations was the institution of confirmation for both girls and boys. Despite the fact that his reforms initially met with

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[11] Bruce L. Ruben, *Max Lilienthal: The Making of an American Rabbinate* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2011), 7.
[12] Ibid., 9.
[13] Ibid., 20.

criticism and opposition, many came to believe that confirmation was more successful as an educational device than the ceremony of becoming a bar mitzvah because it "emphasized intellectual understanding over rote learning."[14] In addition to the institution of the confirmation ceremony, Lilienthal worked to rid the ritual prayer service of its "loud ejaculations and violent motions."[15] He felt that this worship style was an old-fashioned and outmoded liturgical style and not suitable for a modernizing Jewish community.

Lilienthal's time in Russia was filled with various achievements, but ultimately after six years he chose to resign from his position and return home. His original hopes and dreams for Russian Jewry had been dashed by the rise of overt anti-Semitism in Russia. In 1843 the Russian government issued an edict threatening to banish Jews from the region near the western frontiers of the empire.[16] Lilienthal's naïve belief in the ultimate benevolence of the Russian government had been jolted and he saw no other option but to leave Russia and return to his family and fiancé in Germany.

Upon his return to Germany Lilienthal married his beloved Pepi and the two of them made their way to America to join his siblings. He had an idealistic love for religious liberty, and he was convinced that only the United States of America could offer him the opportunity to live as a free man. The newly married couple settled in New York where Lilienthal was hired to be the chief rabbi of the following three congregations: Anshe Chesed, Shaarey Hashamayim, and Rodeph Shalom. His educational and pulpit responsibilities included overseeing all religious education for children from elementary

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[14] Ibid., 35.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid., 53.

age through confirmation, preaching on every Sabbath and festival, officiating at weddings and visiting sick and the bereaved. While Lilienthal often took a more traditional position concerning ritual than some of the radical reformers in Frankfurt, during his time in New York, he made various liturgical and ritual changes to the worship service.[17] His innovations were well received and other congregations in the area eventually adopted similar innovations.[18]

While Lilienthal valued all of his rabbinic responsibilities, his most compelling rabbinic duty was the education of the next generation. In 1850 Lilienthal resigned from his pulpit position and established an educational institute called the Union School #1.[19] According to Ruben, "Lilienthal's main concern was the continuity of Jewish tradition, and education was necessary to maintain Judaism in the face of secular and Christian influences."[20] Once again Lilienthal instituted a confirmation program for all children in his synagogue's religious school and created an educational curriculum, which included emphases on Jewish theology, ethics, revelation, messianism and moral law.[21] According to Ruben, Lilienthal envisioned a school that was "to educate American Jewish children to become faithful and knowledgeable Jews in a predominantly Christian environment."[22] He hoped to give his students the tools they needed to be effective American citizens while fighting assimilation with a strong Jewish identity.

In 1854 Lilienthal became a correspondent for the *American Israelite*, and in the following year moved to Cincinnati where he became an associate editor of that

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[17] Ibid., 75.
[18] Ibid., 80.
[19] Ibid., 84.
[20] Ibid., 82.
[21] Ibid., 97.
[22] Ibid.

newspaper and the rabbi of Congregation Bene Israel.[23] During his time in Cincinnati, Lilienthal organized the Rabbinical Literary Association, serving as its president. Working closely with his energetic colleague, Isaac Mayer Wise (1819–1900), Lilienthal was an active supporter of the fledgling American rabbinical seminary that Wise founded: the Hebrew Union College (est. 1875). Initially, Lilienthal served as an instructor at HUC, and he later became a professor of Jewish history and literature.[24] Lilienthal was also actively involved in modernizing the educational activities of his congregation. As the superintendant of Bene Israel's newly established day school, Lilienthal made public examinations central to his pedagogical system, just as he had done in his school in New York. These annual examinations required the students to demonstrate their knowledge in Jewish catechism, Hebrew grammar, translation of Biblical texts and liturgy and biblical history. Additionally, students were required to show their proficiency in English grammar and syntax, United States history and geography, arithmetic, business skills and German grammar, dictation and translation.[25] Lilienthal's educational philosophy evolved into one that emphasized individual autonomy. He felt that it was important to teach students to think independently in order to succeed in a predominantly Christian society and maintain a strong Jewish affiliation. According to Ruben, "Lilienthal may have been the first Reform educator to explicitly articulate this pedagogical goal."[26]

It was during his time in Cincinnati that Lilienthal abandoned his early commitment to Jewish day school education in favor of a supplementary school model.

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[23] "Max Lilienthal," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 13 (Dctroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 16–17.
[24] Ibid., 17.
[25] Ruben, *Max Lilienthal*, 144.
[26] Ibid., 145.

With an increasing devotion to non-sectarian public schools, Americanizing Jewish immigrants needed an outlet for Jewish education and the Sabbath School model was most appealing. In 1869 Lilienthal established a very successful Sabbath school in his congregation with 125 students.[27]

The Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor

It was at this point in Lilienthal's rabbinical career that he decided to try his hand at a weekly periodical aimed especially at young people and that would serve to complement his congregation's Sabbath School program. From the examples of previous youth magazines edited by his colleagues in New York, Lilienthal sought to create a more enduring and successful paper than his predecessors had achieved.[28] *Young Israel,*[29] the first Jewish magazine for young readers was published and distributed between the years of 1871 and 1876 and The *Hebrew Sabbath School Companion,*[30] a juvenile magazine that sought to supplement the Sunday School curriculum, ran from 1872–1873. Lilienthal borrowed some writing techniques and styles from these earlier periodicals, but ultimately started from scratch in an effort to change the world of Jewish education in America.

According to Reverend David Philipson (1862–1949), Lilienthal was "always deeply interested in the education of children and he had felt for years the necessity of a

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[27] Ibid., 163.
[28] Israel Abrahams and Claude G. Montefiore, "The Jewish Sunday School Movement in the United States," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 12 (July 1900): 574. Naomi M. Patz and Phillip E. Miller, "Jewish Religious Children's Literature in America: An Analytical Survey," *Phaedrus* 7, no. 1(Spring/Summer 1980): 19–29.
[29] *Young Israel* was edited by Louis Schnabel (1829–1897), the superintendent of the Hebew Orphan Asylum of New York and Morris Brecher (dates unknown).
[30] The *Hebrew Sabbath School Companion* was edited by Adolph L. Sanger (1842–1894), an American lawyer and politician.

paper for children that would supplement the teaching in religious school."[31] Therefore, in January 1874 following Lilienthal's presentation of the idea, the school board motioned to pay $6.50 to Bloch Publishing Co. to cover the initial costs of printing the paper.[32] While Lilienthal was the chief editor of the newspaper, he elicited financial aid from his congregation to launch the first editions. According to the minutes from Bene Israel's School Board meeting on January 4th, 1874, the committee voted unanimously to support Lilienthal's paper and distribute it to all of the children in the Sabbath School. The motion read:

> On motion of M. Hellman it was resolved that the President of the School Committee be authorized to subscribe for one hundred and fifty copies of the "Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor" to be distributed to each scholar attending school and that a subscription of one dollar to be collected from each scholar if practicable, to be applied towards payment...[33] (See Appendix A)

Lilienthal's paper was distributed to each student in his school and subsequently circulated to Sabbath schools around the country. Subscriptions were to be obtained by students and teachers alike and often there was a reward for students who secured new subscribers.

It was on January 22, 1874, that the *editio princeps* of the *Visitor* appeared in Cincinnati. Upon receiving a great response, the paper grew in popularity and Sabbath schools all over the country began to subscribe to this very successful weekly publication.

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[31] Reverend David Philipson, *Max Lilienthal: American Rabbi* (Cincinnati: Press of C.J Krehbiel & Co., 1915), 91–92.
[32] Accounts for Mound Street Temple's Religious School, MS-24, Box 13, Folder 7, The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives (hereafter AJA), Cincinnati, OH.
[33] Accounts for Mound Street Temple's Religious School, MS-24, Box 15, Folder 3, AJA..

The *Visitor* was published by the Bloch Publishing Company in Cincinnati, Ohio from its conception through its final issue in 1893. Edward Bloch (1829–1906) was Isaac Mayer Wise's brother-in-law and business partner, and in addition to printing Wise's newspapers, *The Israelite* (later renamed *The American Israelite*) and *Die Deborah*, Bloch's firm printed a wide variety of pamphlets, monographs, and serials[34]. During Lilienthal's tenure as editor of the paper, few major changes occurred to the physical format and content. The Jewish and ethical content remained consistent, new serials were added to replace those that the readers outgrew and the format of the page altered from time to time. The readers knew what to expect week to week and there seemed to be a certain amount of comfort in having that consistency.

Following Lilienthal's death in 1882, the first major changes occurred within the pages of the *Visitor*. The editorial successors included a string of Reform rabbis who swiftly changed the content and character of the magazine. According to Naomi Cohen, "each succeeding editor, and none stayed for very long, put his own imprint on the journal, and sterner and more austere styles largely erased the founders sprightly and friendly tone."[35] The *Visitor* had lost its appeal and its original audience had outgrown the childish content. Lilienthal's work had been a true "labor of love" and no other editor was able to provide the level of passion and engagement that Lilienthal worked so hard to achieve.[36]

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[34] Robert Singerman, "Bloch & Company: Pioneer Jewish Publishing House in the West," *The Jewish Book Annual* 52 (1994–1995): 110–113.
[35] Cohen, *What the Rabbis Said*, 83.
[36] Vol. 7, no. 28 (July 1880): 220.

Conclusion

Lilienthal's pioneering efforts created a model for Jewish magazines of the next century. From his upbringing in Germany and his strong commitment to education in the modern world, Lilienthal aimed primarily at bringing the doctrines and values of Judaism directly into the schools and homes of American Jewish children. Because they were the generation most vulnerable to assimilation, Lilienthal believed his work would inspire pride and provide children with the tools they needed to defend themselves against discrimination and Christian missionaries. Subscribers to the *Visitor* would receive both Jewish and secular knowledge equipping them to be both model American citizens and knowledgeable Jews. Being able to negotiate between both identities was a task Lilienthal hoped his readers would achieve through the material he provided. His work with the *Visitor* was well appreciated in the late 1800s by children, educators and parents and has continued to impact modern pedagogy and educational technique in the modern world.

From this introduction chapter, it has become clear just how much of Lilienthal's childhood and upbringing contributed to his success as the editor of the *Visitor* from 1874 to 1882, its first eight years of publication. His educational insight and gift of writing aided him in creating an unforgettable tool for young America in their journey towards becoming the next generation of Jewish American adults. Lilienthal's belief in the power of education motivated him to provide a tool that would not only instruct his readers in Jewish subjects and text, but would ultimately encourage them to connect with their Jewish community and develop strong Jewish identities. He took his work seriously and set our diligently to create a serious publication worthy of his readers attention. As a

result, the *Visitor* successfully provided youth not only with an abundance of Jewish knowledge and entertainment, but it connected isolated Jews to a greater Jewish community, to the thousands of readers around the country. In the coming chapter we will explore the most prominent literary features that characterized the *Visitor* during the years that Lilienthal was the editor. By combining a serious study of Jewish and secular topics with a sprinkling of humor and entertainment, Lilienthal successfully created a beloved friend for young America, the newspaper they eagerly awaited each and every week.

Chapter 1: Content

In the very first issue of the *Visitor*, Reverend Lilienthal introduced the content of the paper and the goals he had in mind for his diligent readership. He wrote to the children saying,

> We shall talk together about our sacred Jewish religion, I shall give nice and plenty of stories from the Bible, the Talmud, and other books, of which you have never heard. I shall pick up all kinds of interesting information in history and other useful branches; and that you may have something to amuse yourselves, I shall bring you weekly some anecdotes and riddles too…I shall publish every quarter the names of all the boys and girls who stand the highest in their Sabbath-school and are recommended by their teachers…Try to do your duty and ere long you will find out that "The Visitor" is one of your best friends and instructive companions. Now, let us both go to work in good earnest and success will crown our mutual efforts.[1]

The subsequent issues of the *Visitor* lived up to these goals set by Lilienthal.

The purpose of this chapter will be to explore the content of a typical issue of the *Visitor*. Through a review of the biblical and rabbinic selections, holiday discussions, serialized stories, current events and entertainment pieces, the reader of this thesis will gain a better understanding of the literary features that characterized the *Visitor* during Lilienthal's time as editor. We will discuss not only the elements included, but explore the possible reasons and motives for specific selections.

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[1] *The Sabbath School Visitor* 1, no. 1 (Jan 1874): 1.

As previously mentioned, the motif of a typical issue included stories, tales, puzzles, riddles, and humor. The stories were Biblical, rabbinic, fiction and non-fiction, however each served an instructional purpose as well as an ethical or moral function. The puzzles, riddles and humor were intended to "lighten" the paper and attract the students. The paper began as a four-page spread filled with text and illustrations, however was slowly expanded due to its success. At the end of the second volume of the *Visitor*, Lilienthal informs the reader that due to flattering testimonials received through letters, the following volumes would be enlarged. He writes,

> The publishers of the *Visitor,* with their usual energy, perseverance, and disinterestedness, have concluded to enlarge the *Visitor* in the coming year of 1876. It will be eight pages, nearly twice as large as the editions of the volumes edited and published during 1874 and 1875.[2]

The paper remained the same price, but the readership received an enlarged and improved paper.

In the second issue of the *Visitor*, Lilienthal wrote "Our aim throughout will be the inculcating of the beauty and morality of our holy religion..."[3] According to Naomi Cohen in her book titled, *What the Rabbis Said*, the *Visitor* "resembled Christian and secular journals of the time- like St. Nicholas and Youth's Companion[4]- in its efforts to impart good character and a meaningful religious faith to its readers."[5] By providing the youth with passionate and educational pieces on Biblical history, rabbinics and other Jewish topics the children were given a unique mode of connection to their Jewish race.

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[2] Vol. 2, no. 50 (Jan. 1875): 200.
[3] Vol. 1, no. 2 (Jan. 1874): 8.
[4] Late 19th century youth magazines focused on providing entertainment for American children.
[5] Naomi W. Cohen, *What the Rabbis Said: The Public Discourse of Nineteenth-Century American Rabbis* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 74.

The articles were dramatic and uplifting and always encouraged a sense of pride in Judaism and in Americanism. However, while amusement was a key component of Lilienthal's goals, educational instruction was just as highly valued. In an article about the "History of Edom", Lilienthal writes to the readers,

> This was a tough lesson, we had this evening...but boys, we must not always wish only to be amused, we must also try to be instructed. History cannot be understood without a knowledge of the geography of the places where the events occurred...[6]

It is apparent that Lilienthal strove to find a balance between pure amusement and educational incentive during his time as editor of the *Visitor*.

Through the inclusion of fiction and non-fiction stories, the *Visitor* was able to illustrate an ideal life for American Jewish youth in the late 19th century and instruct the children in the balancing of their religious convictions with their American allegiance. These pieces highlighted moral values such as respect for elders, table manners, and general etiquette. Additionally, they depicted well adjusted American Jewish families who successfully balanced their Jewish values with their American pride.

In contrast, the lighter and more amusing components of the *Visitor* served as a hook for the children. While not necessarily Jewish in content, these components enticed the children and maintained their interest (and subscription) to the paper for many years.

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[6] Vol. 3, no. 17 (May 1876): 132.

Biblical Stories and History

In an average issue of the *Visitor*, the lead article was dedicated to biblical studies. Because the educational goals of American Jewish educators in the 1800's were centered around training the child to the believe in the existence of God and to observe Jewish law, an emphasis on the Pentateuch and its moral lessons were prominent within the religious training of youngsters. In fact, according to Judah Pilch, biblical instruction for children began as early as the child had acquired a mechanical reading knowledge.[7]

Lilienthal's emphasis on biblical stories seems therefore to have stemmed from this 19th century educational theory. During the first year of publication the *Visitor* covered biblical stories focusing on characters found in the Pentateuch. In the first year of publication Biblical characters such as Joseph, Ruth and Abraham were introduced[8]. It appears that Lilienthal chose these particular characters and their stories carefully in order to illuminate a specific lesson for his readers. In the February issue in 1874 the story of Joseph's time in Egypt is briefly explained with an emphasis on Joseph's status as a respected foreigner. For the children of Jewish immigrants from Germany and Poland, a story about a respected foreigner, a stranger in a strange land must have been comforting. Because Lilienthal was conscious of the emotional and mental state of his audience, he seemed to present biblical characters with stories or qualities that would be relatable to his young Jewish readers.

In general, the biblical stories presented in the paper followed a similar format. The first part of the article was descriptive. It explained the biblical character or event

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[7] Judah Pilch, *A History of Jewish Education in America* (New York: The American Association for Jewish Education, 1969), 29.
[8] Vol. 1, no. 7 (Feb. 1874): 27, Vol. 1, no. 6 (Feb. 1874): 21, Vol. 1, no. 9 (Mar.1874): 33.

with various factual anecdotes and historical information. Following this there was a very clear, spelled-out lesson or moral teaching derived from the story. In keeping with this format, the articles served two purposes. They provided the reader with knowledge of biblical events and characters while illuminating an ethical lesson. At the conclusion of the story about Eliezer's encounter with Rebecca at the well, the *Visitor* writes,

> This nice story teaches you, my dear children two things. The first is that kindness and generosity have always been the good qualities of our race... The second thing is, that one who is doing some work for his employer must try his best to act according to the wish and desire of the latter...Remember this, my friends-- kindness and faithfulness always bring happiness.[9]

While the language of the biblical stories may have occasionally been above the level of the readership, the lesson or moral of the story was clear and age appropriate.

In March of 1874 the topic of the lead article shifted from Bible stories to Biblical history. The *Visitor* explained to the readers that due to the upcoming festivals the lead article would now focus on the "history and meaning of the festivals."[10] From this date until after Shavuot the *Visitor* instructed the children in Biblical history. According to historian Judah Pilch, in the mid-1800s when there was a shift from all-day German and Polish Jewish schools to afternoon or Sabbath schools, the shortened instruction time inhibited the amount of material covered. Instead of being able to teach Hebrew language, Rabbinic texts and Jewish law, the entire emphasis shifted to biblical history[11].

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[9] Vol. 1, no. 8 (Mar. 1874): 29.
[10] Vol. 1, no. 10 (Mar. 1874): 37.
[11] Pilch, *A History of Jewish Education in America*, 35.

Following in this trend, the *Visitor* followed suit by providing an emphasis on history. Bible stories were printed in the order in which they occurred historically and biblical citations were provided so that students could track their progress through the Bible chronologically.

Throughout the first few years of publication the *Visitor* instructed the students in the book of Judges, Samuel and the prophets, providing them with background, history and moral lessons. Following the instruction of Biblical history the *Visitor* began to include post-Biblical history lessons. In June 1877 the *Visitor* initiated this series of post-Biblical history with a piece on Julius Caesar and Judea in which the children were instructed in Roman history and the impact it had on the political affairs of Judea.[12] Like the Biblical history, the post-Biblical history lessons were arranged chronologically in order to aid the reader in his or her understanding of the historical timeline.

Rabbinic Stories

In addition to Biblical studies, the lead article of the *Visitor* occasionally touched on rabbinic law and the lives of rabbis of the Talmudic period. In February 1874, the *Visitor* introduced the personalities of Hillel and Shammai, however prior to doing so, he ensured the students that this type of study would be engaging and exciting. Lilienthal wrote:

[12] Vol. 4, no. 23 (Mar. 1877): 181.

> I have now made up my mind to tell you a good deal about the great Jewish rabbis of old. Do not fear that it is mere dry stuff; not at all. Their lives are full of interest and teach us many a good moral lesson.[13]

The rabbinic lessons present in the *Visitor*, like the Biblical lessons, provided a historical context, instructed the child in Jewish tradition and always concluded with an ethical teaching. While rabbinic lessons were not as prevalent as the Biblical content, their inclusion is telling of Lilienthal's appreciation of rabbinic literature and its role in modern, liberal Judaism. In 1877, Lilienthal stresses the importance of learning rabbinic literature in childhood. He writes,

> Do not neglect to read them [rabbinic biographies and articles]; they will give you a good deal of information; and in after years, when you will have grown up as ladies and gentlemen, and will be admitted into the company of learned men, you will feel highly pleased that you understand the subjects they are discussing; that you can take part in their conversation; that you can show you are no ignoramuses, but have learned something, too, and belong to the better class of mankind. Oh, it is so nice to know something, to be able to read a book and understand and appreciate its contents.[14]

Jewish and American Holidays

During the course of the year when an issue of the *Visitor* was published on or around a Jewish or American holiday the lead article would diverge from the usual content (Biblical or rabbinic) and instead focus on the holiday approaching. Major

[13] Vol. 1, no. 4 (Feb. 1874): 16.
[14] Vol. 4, no. 27 (July 1877): 215.

Jewish holidays were discussed in terms of historical relevance and current Jewish practice. The holidays which received the most attention throughout the years of publication, however, were Channukah, Purim and Passover. It appears that these major holidays have common themes; freedom and redemption. For Lilienthal, these themes were central to his understanding of Jewish pride. For his readers, Lilienthal hopes to instill a sense of Jewish honor and encourage them to embrace Judaism with diligence and dignity.

For the modern reader, these articles about Jewish holidays illuminate synagogue and home rituals of American Jews in the late 1800's. For example in March 1878 the *Visitor* dedicated the main article to a study of Purim, its historical significance and its modern observance.

> On Tuesday, the 19th day of March corresponding with the 14th day of We-Adar, we are again going to celebrate the gay and merry time of our Purim Festival, and the Visitor hopes that all of his young friends will enjoy it hugely and have a splendid time. It is the day for Purim balls and merry masquerades...The Sabbath school of the Visitor will have a big Purim Festival in their school rooms. The pupils are on the alert with their preparations made by the School Board and the Trustees of the congregation.[15]

In addition to the Jewish holidays and observances discussed the *Visitor* also marked major American holidays as they arose throughout the year. American rituals and customs were explained and discussed and the children were encouraged to partake of the

[15] Vol. 5, no. 11 (Mar. 1878): 84.

cultural festivities and celebrate their patriotism. In July 1875 the *Visitor* included an article titled, "Hail Our Fourth of July" in which the American holiday was explained as well as compared to the Jewish holiday of Simchat Torah.

> Hail to our Fourth of July! It is another "Simchas Torah", a day on which the teachings of our Bible were verified for the welfare of the whole human race. Come boys and girls, and celebrate it with all the enthusiasm, which beats in the hearts of Young America! Come, one and all, and let us yearly renew our allegiance to our country and her Constitution and in the midst of our rejoicing let us pray, that heavens best blessings be bestowed on our Republic, and that peace and prosperity may forever distinguish the onward march of our beloved Union. Three cheers for America; for the Fourth of July, and an extra tiger for Young America![16]

The Patriotic sentiment and comparison to a Jewish holiday or value was a common sentiment expressed throughout the subsequent issues of the *Visitor*. In other issues, the Fourth of July is compared to Passover, and Thanksgiving is compared to Shavuot and Sukkot. This concept of matching a Jewish holiday to an American holiday aided Jewish readers in defining their identity as Americans and as Jews. Especially for new immigrants, these holiday comparisons aided in an understanding of American holidays and promoted a sense of patriotism. However, as the years went on, it became apparent that a fine balance between the observance of Jewish and American holidays was becoming unstable. In 1881 Lilienthal warned the readers about "throwing Pesach overboard and keeping the Fourth of July." He says, "Let us hold firmly to both for

[16] Vol. 2, no. 27 (Jul. 1875): 106.

liberty is priceless, and it should never be said that the Yehudi does not know liberty from license..."[17] In this passage, Lilienthal reminds his readers that the ideal Jewish American child is one that appreciates and upholds his Jewish identity while at the same time maintaining his status as a prideful American citizen. Neglecting one part of the equation appears to be unadvisable and dangerous according to Lilienthal's ideology.

Serialized Stories and Novellas

Some of the most beloved components of the *Visitor* were the serialized stories that were included in each issue. A typical serial would last for six months to a year[18] and was either fiction or non-fiction. Two of the most famous serials were "Little Nellie's Catechisms" and "Little Uncle Sam." These stories ran for more than a year and then eventually were discontinued as per request of the readership.[19] The stories were both entertaining as well as instructional. Within the story line of "Little Nellie" certain catechisms were included which aided the student in an understanding of Jewish texts and culture. Little girls could easily relate to Nellie and strive to be as competent and studious as she appeared in the stories. Within the story line of "Little Uncle Sam" discussions between Sam and the *Visitor* (Lilienthal) covered topics such as holiday observance, Jewish history and Biblical and rabbinic texts. Like the little girls who related to Nellie, young boys found a role model in Lilienthal's conception of Uncle Sam. He was the "ideal" Jewish boy who found pleasure in studying Jewish texts and engaging in meaningful dialogue with his elders. Lilienthal's development of these characters,

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[17] Vol. 8, no. 40 (Oct. 1881): 318.
[18] Some serials only lasted a few weeks depending on their popularity. Others like "Little Nellie 's Catechisms" (later "Our Nellie") and "Little Uncle Sam" lasted for more than a year.
[19] Vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1875): 4.

Nellie and Sam is telling of his goal for young American Jews. He strove to create a generation of young Jews who found meaning and value in Jewish study while integrating into American culture and community.

In addition to these entertaining and instructional fiction stories the *Visitor* also included non-fiction stories based on both Jewish and secular themes. Jewish stories included biographies of historical figures like Abraham Geiger[20] and Sir Moses Montefiore as well as travel documentaries and foreign affairs told from a Jewish perspective. These stories highlighted important post-Biblical people and places that Lilienthal hoped his readership would find entertaining and relatable within their modern lives. Secular stories introduced readers to non-Jewish hero's and touched on subjects like science, Americanism and industrial development. Like the Jewish pieces, the secular articles were included in order to enhance Lilienthal's readers education about America, its culture and history. These fiction and non-fiction pieces were told in a narrative format which made them enticing for children, but also included pertinent facts and information that Lilienthal wanted to relay to his readers.

Current Events

Prior to the 1880s there was but little mention of foreign affairs and current events, but eventually an entire column was dedicated to reporting on the politics and state of Jews in foreign countries. In 1875 it was reported that in Rome, two Israelites were elected as members of parliament and if there had been just one more vote a Jew

[20] Vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1875): 2.

could have been elected Mayor of the city.[21] The foreign coverage discussed both positive experiences of Jews in the world as well as negative ones including accounts of anti-Semitism and persecution.

Humor and Entertainment

As promised by the *Visitor* in the initial issues the paper also included sections for humor, puzzles and anecdotal pieces. Humorous pieces were submitted by readers and often were categorized into one of two types of humor. The first category included stereotypes of new immigrants or "colored people" and the second category included jokes which poked fun at ignorant or naïve comments that children may say. In the 21st century this second type of humor may be compared to the humor present in Bill Cosby's television show "Kids Say the Darndest Things".

Following the humor section of the *Visitor* there was often a section dedicated to puzzles and riddles. These included rebuses, allusional devices which use pictures to express words, number and word games, and trivia. While initially the editor created and submitted these puzzles, eventually the readers were responsible for sending in puzzles to be included in the forthcoming issues of the *Visitor*. In addition to submitting the puzzles, the readers were responsible for solving the puzzles and sending in their answers. The solutions from the previous issue were included in this section as well as a list of names of children who correctly solved the puzzles or games. The following is an example of a puzzle submitted by a little girl from Albany, New York:

I am composed of six letters,

[21] Vol. 2 No. 4 (Jan. 1875): 16.

My first is in shoe, but not in boot;

My second is in peach but not in pear;

My third is in boy, but not in girl;

My fourth is in bat, but not in ball;

My fifth is in house, but not in lot;

My sixth is in dress, but not in cloak;

My whole is an agricultural implement.[22]

These types of puzzles were submitted often and seemed to be a favorite among the readers.

Anecdotal pieces were scattered throughout the issues of the *Visitor*. These included inspirational quotes, secular educational pieces and poems. Topics of these fillers included among others natural phenomena, exotic foreign lands, anatomy, and famous historical sites. These topical pieces were educational by nature but were tailored to meet the interests of young boys and girls. In August 1875 there was a particularly informative article about the anatomy of taste in which the nerves and taste buds were compared to an internal telegraph system.[23] These stories and fillers were light and entertaining for the young readers and gave the *Visitor* the inclusive and family style feeling it possessed. Lilienthal truly emitted a fatherly love for his readers as witnessed by his choices of material and topics included in the magazine. The anecdotal articles in particular often instructed the children in values and morals which would aid them becoming strong and healthy adults.

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[22] Vol. 2, no. 4 (Jan 1875): 16. The answer to this puzzle appeared in the following issue Vol. 2, no. 5 (Feb. 1875): 20 and is "Scythe" which was an agricultural tool used in the late 1800s for cutting grass.
[23] Vol. 2, no. 31 (Aug. 1875): 123.

In an effort for the *Visitor* to recognize its young readers the issues included a letter box in which children and adults could submit letters to the editor requesting material, expressing their gratitude for the paper and other issues or concerns. In each issue some of these letters would be published and the editor would follow with his responses. According to Naomi Cohen, as can be seen from the volume of letters received by the editor of the *Visitor* "the magazine grew increasingly popular with the youngsters...By choosing a handful of letters for publication, the editor provided children eager to see their name in print with another reason to read and subscribe to the *Visitor*."[24]

Advertisements

A final component of the *Visitor* was the area reserved for advertisements of both Jewish and secular products and services. This section grew larger over the years and served as a financial support as well as a mode of marketing books and products to a nationwide audience. In a May issue in 1880[25] advertisements included one for boots and shoes by Kilsheimer and Co., Mullanes Molasses and Candy and an ad for tailor services. In addition to these secular ads, the right side of the page included a list of Hebrew Books for purchase by Bloch and Company. In this issue, the books that were advertised included, *Judaism: its Doctrines and Duties* by Reverend Dr. I.M Wise and *The Road to Faith* by Dr. Henri Loeb.

[24] Cohen, *What the Rabbis Said*, 78.
[25] Vol. 7, no. 20 (May 1880): 160.

Conclusion

The prominent literary features of the *Visitor* discussed above each served unique purposes but combined to make an attractive, educational and inspiring journal for Jewish youth in the late 1800s. Whether it was the biblical or rabbinic selections, the short stories or the entertainment pieces, the readers of the *Visitor* were able to connect to the paper and find meaning as young American Jews. While individual readers may not have found every component of the *Visitor* compelling, due to the inclusion of various pedagogical styles (ie. stories, news, humor and puzzles) there was bound to be at least something in each issue that would be appealing to a reader. In the following two chapters we will begin to discuss some of the thematic elements found in the paper having to do with Americanization and Jewish culture. In the first of these two we will explore themes having to do with Patriotism and how young Jews could begin to balance their two identities, Jewish and American. Within these chapters the literary components of the *Visitor* will be explored more deeply and discussed in terms of their historical context and impact on American Jewish culture and ritual.

Chapter 2: The *Visitor* as a Guide for Negotiating Between American and Jewish Identities

For the reader in the twenty-first century, the *Visitor* serves as a snapshot of American Jewish life in the end of the twentieth century. It explores the tension felt by American Jews in finding a balance between their two identities, American and Jewish. Through Lilienthal's guidance his readers are able to consider this tension and negotiate it more fluently. His writings and responses to his readers help formulate a response to the tension and allow American Jewish youth the freedom to grow and develop into leaders of the new generation. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the elements of the *Visitor* which serve as an agent of Americanization and promote a means of negotiating between two identities which at times feel conflicting. Themes such as patriotism, holidays and interreligious dialogue are explored and analyzed in an effort to understand the lives of young American Jews in the end of the 19th century.

For the Jewish community, the late 1800s was a period of great optimism and hope. According to historian Jonathan D. Sarna:

> The Central European Jews who immigrated two decades earlier had, by then, established themselves securely. The Jewish community had grown in wealth and power and stood at about a quarter of a million strong, with close to 300 synagogues from coast to coast. The community had created hospitals, orphanages, newspapers, magazines, several fraternal

organizations, a union of synagogues and in 1875 a rabbinical seminary. The nation was booming.[1]

By the time the first formal estimate of the Jewish population took place in 1878 there were approximately 250,000 Jews living in the U.S. In comparison to other immigrant groups the Jewish population has increased at a rate that was almost fifteen times greater than that of the nation as a whole.[2]

As can be seen from these statistics, life for American Jews at this time was ideal. America was in an era characterized by a spirit of universalism, optimism and an expanding economy and American Jews reaped the benefits. Social activism and social reform were on the minds of people around the country and there was a strong hope for universal brotherhood. The relationships between American Jews and their Christian neighbors continued to warm during this era, especially between liberal Jews and Protestants, and there was a strong feeling of a unified spirit of humankind among American patriots. A rabbi in Mississippi in 1874 described this "new era" in America as a time when "the whole human race shall be led to worship one Almighty God of righteousness and truth, goodness and love" and usher in the "golden age of a true universal brotherhood."[3]

From the pages of the *Visitor,* the modern reader can sense this confident optimism felt by the American Jewish community. Through character development in stories and letters to the editor the modern reader is able to feel and sense what life what like for these Jews. However, when analyzing the content it becomes clear that at the

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[1] Jonathan D. Sarna, "A Great Awakening: The Transformation That Shaped Twentieth Centify American Judaism And Its Implications For Today" (New York: Council For Initiatives in Jewish Education, 1995), 7–8.
[2] Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 63.
[3] Sarna, "The Great Awakening," 8.

same time, there was a real struggle occurring internally for many of these Jews. One can discern a tension, between the universal trend of the general society and particular interests of a Jew in America, between the desire to maintain a Jewish identity and a commitment to being a loyal American. While American patriotism is a central value presented within the pages of the *Visitor*, the magazine's editor was careful to establish a boundary, a line which could not be crossed if American Jews were to uphold both identities simultaneously. Max Lilienthal took note of this delicate balance when issues such as Christian-Jewish relations, American Jews' relationship to World Jewry and the topic of anti-Semitism were discussed. Lilienthal's *Visitor* was not a passive observer of American Jewish life, but an active promoter of the ideal American Jew; a Jew who was able to navigate life in America while maintaining a relationship with his or her Jewish heritage, customs and rituals. Because this balancing act was not easily attainable, Lilienthal provided his readers with a theoretical map of implicit and explicit advice and helpful guidance aimed at transforming young Jews into model American Jewish citizens.

In an effort to promote an American identity for his youthful subscribers, Lilienthal used a multi-faceted approach. The first was educational. By providing the reader with lessons in civics—informative material concerning the lives of famous Americans, and important historic landmarks—the editor hoped his readers would gain knowledge of American history and culture, thus facilitating the process of integration into American society. The second approach was an emotional one. By including stories and parables that focused explicitly on American patriotic figures, Lilienthal hoped to provide role models for his readers. He sought to give them worthy examples of American heroes whom they could aspire to emulate. The third approach was

integrative. By repeatedly highlighting the similarities of Jewish and American customs and traditions, the readers were able to comfortably integrate their deeply ingrained Jewish values with their new American traditions. American holidays were explained in reference to familiar Jewish holidays and observances and the lessons from biblical and Jewish history were infused with relevant American values. In drawing these comparisons, Lilienthal's readers would hopefully be able to delineate a proper lifestyle where Jewish and American ideals were balanced and upheld simultaneously.

At the close of the fourth volume, Lilienthal wrote an article recalling the year's successes and innovations. Within it he emphasized the value of including articles pertaining to American history:

> We have published quite a series of Jewish stories, which were relished by our readers. We have added to them a great many items of American history; for we wish our youth to be good patriots and enlightened Jews. And for reading matter, we have selected matter which is as amusing as instructive.[4]

Examples of American history found in the *Visitor* throughout its tenure included the establishment of the United States Supreme Court and details of American wars, specifically the War of 1812 and the Revolutionary War.[5]

In addition to the inclusion of pertinent historical facts, Lilienthal included informative essays explaining the significance of historical American landmarks. Biographies and interesting stories about the lives of Lincoln and Washington as well as other influential American leaders were found throughout the magazine. These

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[4] *The Sabbath School Visitor* 4, no. 52 (Dec. 1877): 412.
[5] Vol. 4, no. 21 (May 1877): 166 and Vol. 3, no. 40 (Oct. 1876): 313.

biographies highlighted serious topics such as Lincoln's fight for democracy as well as lighter subjects like Washington's false teeth.[6] One historical monument that merited repeated mention in Lilienthal's *Visitor* discussed often was Bunker Hill near Boston[7]. In January of 1874, there was an article explaining the significance of Bunker Hill in American history as a reminder of the fight for independence. Lilienthal urged his readers to visit Bunker Hill and explore the monuments that "commemorate glorious events."[8]

While the educational facts and anecdotes discussed above aided the reader in gaining knowledge about American history and culture, Lilienthal also used the *Visitor* as a tool in the Americanization of Jewish youth. Throughout the pages of the *Visitor* we find a repetitive emphasis on core American values: religious tolerance, democracy and free market. These values are expressed explicitly through lessons as well as implicitly through dialogues present in stories and fables.

The value of religious tolerance is first seen in the lead article of the January 1876 issue in which Lilienthal contrasted the "gloomy days of Jewish persecution" to the current situation in America:

> The Israelite now lives everywhere as a free citizen. And it was our good and glorious country of America which first proclaimed that all men are equal, no matter what their religion may be. The Declaration of Independence, issued on the 4th of July 1776, laid down this noble and

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[6] Vol. 6, no. 27 (July 1879): 212 and Vol. 3, no. 28 (July 1876): 223.
[7] Bunker Hill was the location of the June 17, 1775 battle during the early days of the American Revolutionary War. The monument which stands there today continues to play an important role in our historical memory of heroism and sacrifice. Sarah J. Purcell, "Commemoration, Public Art, and the Changing Meaning of the Bunker Hill Monument," *The Public Historian* 25, no.2 (Spring 2003): 55–71.
[8] Vol. 1, no. 3 (Jan. 1874): 11.

> golden rule. Are you not proud of your country, that she has taught this lesson to the whole world? Are you not proud of being born in such a country? Yes, my dear children, I say with you "God bless America!"[9]

This piece not only instructed the children explicitly in the values of religious tolerance pioneered in America, but it encouraged them to be proud of their country for this great accomplishment.[10]

Similarly, in 1880, on the anniversary of Washington's birthday there is a short article reminding the readers of Washington's great accomplishment in championing civil and religious liberty:

> When the clergy of his [Washington's] time petitioned him to insert the name of God into our Constitution, he promptly refused to comply with that request...No, said he, 'the State of our Republic has noting to do with the Church. Let every one pray to his Heavenly Father as he thinks it to be right, and let us live in peace and brotherly love.[11]

The superiority of a democratic government, similar to the high value of religious tolerance was expressed explicitly in an article about the Fourth of July in which Lilienthal contrasted the European monarchy to our very own American democracy. He writes, "We have proved to them [Europe] that Lincoln was right when he said, 'The

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[9] Vol. 1, no. 2 (Jan. 1874): 5–6.

[10] This patriotic sentiment was not only found in Jewish Youth magazines, but also in secular and Christian youth papers. In fact, the very origin of the Pledge of Allegiance, our national statement of liberty and equality, is found in Daniel Ford's *Youth's Companion*, a family magazine which ran from 1827-1929. The pledge's author, Baptist minister Francis Bellamy (1855–1931) believed that the Patriotism of old needed to be revived and what a better time than on the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in America. The pledge was included in the September 8th issue of Youths Companion as part of the National Public School Celebration of Columbus Day. Francis Bellamy, "The Story of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag," *University of Rochester Library Bulletin* 8, no. 2 (Winter 1953).

[11] Vol. 7, no. 9 (Feb. 1880): 68.

government for the people by the people and with the people is the best in the world.'"[12] Implicitly, the importance of democracy and also of free and fair elections is witnessed in a story about a judge who decided not to vote when he realized that his vote for Candidate "B" would be cancelled out by his "colored driver's" vote for Candidate "A". The moral of the story appears with clarity at the end of the fable when Lilienthal somberly proclaims: "The coachman was of equal importance at the ballot-box with the learned judge."[13]

Finally, the value of capitalism is expressed within the *Visitor* in various articles and stories specifically focusing on the element of hard work. In the April 1878 issue Lilienthal included a poetic personification titled, "The Best Friend" in order to expound upon the value of hard work. The "Best Friend" in this poetic message is "labor." It is described as one "who gives us every hour the best reasons for our existence" and "who fills our time, our empty hearts and pockets". The poem concludes with a personal message from Lilienthal, "Yes, all honor to labor! And all shame to the spirit that would receive something for nothing...Children, love labor and strive yourselves to come useful laborers in some worthy calling."[14]

Similarly, in the beloved Little Nellie serial, Lilienthal furthers his message about values when he places the following words in the mouth of Nellie in a discussion about America's greatness:

> Everyone who is willing to work in America can make an honest and good living. Only the lazy one and the spend thrift has to suffer...Not everyone

[12] Vol. 6, no. 27 (July 1879): 212.
[13] Vol. 5, no. 6 (Feb. 1878): 48.
[14] Vol. 5, no, 17 (April 1878): 132.

> can be rich; but every one can earn so much to support his family comfortably, to save a little for his old age and to do something for the poor in general and for his own poor relatives, besides. Never be ashamed to work, should be a lesson to be taught to every child in America, be it rich or poor. To live by the work of our hands is an honor, winning the respect of every good man![15]

In transmitting these values through stories, anecdotes and letters to the readers, Lilienthal was able to influence the thoughts and emotions of the children who subscribed to his paper. The educational and moralistic writings in the *Visitor* promoted a patriotism within its young readers and further prepared them for their integration into American society.

In an effort to elicit an emotional attachment to America, Lilienthal's stories frequently contained characters in his stories who modeled the patriotic sentiment he was hoping to instill within his young American Jewish readers. For instance, in 1874 Lilienthal (a.k.a The Visitor) introduced his readers to a character named "Little Uncle Sam"[16] who spoke about his unswerving allegiance to America:

> 'You do not believe, Mr. Visitor', interrupted Sam, 'how much we young Jews love our country. When they speak of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, and the others, I think I must always give three cheers. And when our minister says, 'God bless America and the Americans', I

[15] Vol. 1, no. 17 (May 1874): 67.

[16] The image of "Uncle Sam" was first presented in 1869 by the famous cartoonist Thomas Nast. He drew the image for the popular journal *Harpers Weekly*. Thomas H. Bivens, "The Body Politics: The Changing Shape of Uncle Sam," *Journalism Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (1987): 13–20.

always push mamma and papa in our pew, and whisper to them, 'Let us say amen.'[17]

By providing models of good Jewish patriots, Lilienthal was able to encourage his readership to imitate their behavior and thoughts.

The third approach Lilienthal utilized was coalescence. Because of the conflict of identities, which many Americans may have felt, especially the new immigrants, Lilienthal created comparisons and relationships between Jewish and American concepts, rituals and holidays. In *What the Rabbi's Said*, Naomi Cohen argues that American rabbis in the late 1800s labored to prove the compatibility of Americanism and Jewish identity in an effort to shape the behavior of American Jews. Some went further, she wrote, and equated the essence of Americanism and the spirit of the constitution with the tenets of Judaism. "On that premise they stood for the synthesis of their faith and culture within the American creed."[18] In the *Visitor*, we see this mode of integration in accounts of biblical and Jewish history as well as in the documentation of American and Jewish holidays.

In a biblical history lesson about the conflict between the Kingdom of Israel and the Kingdom of Judea, Lilienthal translated the biblical sentiment into American terms through the use of a labor union adage that was becoming quite popular in the late 1800s. "They did not mind the truth of the adage: 'In Union is strength' and thus verified the other adage, 'United we stand, divided we fall.'[19] Similarly, in a piece about King

[17] Vol. 1, no. 7 (Feb. 1874): 26.
[18] Naomi W. Cohen, *What the Rabbis Said: The Public Discourse of Nineteenth-Century American Rabbis* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 4–5.
[19] Vol. 2, no. 18 (May 1875): 70.

David's grandson, Rehoboam, King of the Southern Kingdom of Judea, Lilienthal compared the lessons learned from Rehoboam's life to American values:

> The history of his [Rehoboam's] life teaches us that only in union is strength; that we American's, especially, shall try our best to preserve our union as the greatest blessing of our dear country. Let us always be mindful of the words of our great Daniel Webster: No North, no South, no East, no West; noting but a union of hands, hearts and sentiments.[20]

By drawing a connection between biblical lessons and American values, Lilienthal was able to strengthen the notion that Judaism and Americanism are compatible. For the readers of the *Visitor*, this common mode of comparison must have been comforting for it confirmed that a balance of identities was possible and even more so, supported and encouraged.

In another effort to prove the compatibility of the two identities, American and Jewish, Lilienthal often explained Jewish holidays in relationship with American holidays. Once again, the editor was demonstrating that American and Judaism were utterly compatible. As discussed in the previous chapter, these comparisons were very prevalent and almost appeared every time a holiday was discussed in the pages of the *Visitor*. Holidays such as Sukkot, Hanukkah, and Passover were depicted in the magazine as Jewish celebrations that happily paralleled American holidays and celebrations. Sukkot was often referred to as the American harvest festival, Thanksgiving and Hanukkah and its hero Judah the Maccabee was compared to the Pilgrim's search for religious freedom. The story of the Exodus from Egypt, Passover,

[20] Vol. 4, no. 38 (Sept. 1877): 303.

became a parallel to America's celebration of its own liberation from royal bondage. In other words, Passover was compared to the Fourth of July.

In addition to comparing Jewish festivals to the American holidays, Lilienthal went so far as to propose the inclusion of Jewish liturgy into American holiday rituals. In the July of 1874 the *Visitor* informed its readers that it not only appropriate, but highly recommended to sing the Hallel, the verses of praise traditionally chanted on Jewish holidays on the Fourth of July. According to Lilienthal, "We should recite Hallel on the Fourth of July...and if the prophets of old has lived, they long ago would have instituted it [Fourth of July] as a day of thanksgiving to Him..."[21]

Now, while this mode of comparison and integration of holidays was very prevalent in the *Visitor*, Lilienthal was cautious to maintain a proper balance. As discussed in the previous chapter, this was seen in a passage in which Lilienthal warned his readers about completely replacing the Jewish holiday of Passover with the American celebration of the Fourth of July. He wrote to the children, "Let us hold firmly to both for liberty is priceless, and it should never be said that the Yehudi does not know liberty from license..."[22] In this passage, Lilienthal reminded his readers that the ideal Jewish American child is one that appreciates and upholds his Jewish identity while at the same time maintains his status as a prideful American citizen. Neglecting one part of the equation appears to be unadvisable according to Lilienthal's ideology.

[21] Vol. 1, no. 25 (July 1874): 98.
[22] Vol. 8, no. 40 (Oct. 1881): 318.

Christian-Jewish Relations: A Means of Fostering Americanization and Defining a Jewish -American Identity

In the *Visitor*, it is clear that in the late 1800s there was a conflict concerning Jewish relationships with non-Jews, specifically Christians. On one hand, the *Visitor* promoted warm, friendly relationships between Jews and Christians, but on the other hand, there was an element of anxiety concerning acculturation and a loss of Jewish identity due to Christian missionaries and exposure to Christian holidays and customs. Through narrative and dialogue, Lilienthal was able to express these different feelings and concerns to his young readership.

In light of American brotherhood, there were many pieces which promoted positive relationships and dialogue amongst Jewish and Christian children. In 1874, there was a story in which Little Uncle Sam explained to Lilienthal his relationship with a Christian friend at his public school. Sam says, "I visit the public schools. I am already in the sixth reader. My Christian schoolmates visit their Sunday-schools, as I visit my Sabbath-school. And thus on every Monday morning, during recess or when going home, they put to me all kinds of questions…" Sam proceeds to explain the types of questions and Lilienthal aids him in coming up with proper answers. However, at the conclusion of the story, Sam reveals that despite the differences found between the two religions, the two friends can still get along. As Uncle Sam explains:

"I said to my Christian playmates, 'Let us be good boys and play together nicely, for our minister has said, the greatest command is, Love thy fellow-man as thyself'. Oh you should have seen how nicely we play together; how we try to please one another, whether

Jews or Gentiles.[23] While the *Visitor* made note of many positive relationships between Jews and non-Jews the magazine also presented a variety of pieces concerning relationships that could threaten a Jewish child's religious identity. The inclusion of these pieces may have been a reaction to the changing nature of religious identity in America during the late 1800s. According to Jonathan Sarna, due to the rise of Darwinism and biblical criticism, evangelicals and liberals were both driven to renew their particularistic calls for a Christian America.

> Visions of liberal religious alliance and of close cooperation between Jews and Unitarians gradually evaporated. Although interfaith exchanges continued, Jews came to realize that many of their Christian friends continued to harbor hopes that one day Jews would 'see the light.'[24]

This shifting relationship between Jews and Christians may explain why Lilienthal included so many articles in *Visitor* that sought to underscore the core differences that separated Judaism and Christianity and modes of defending Judaism to Christians. Cohen writes that one of Lilienthal's greatest goals in editing the *Visitor* was "equipping the younger generation with pride in their Jewish heritage and an ability to defend themselves against both prejudice and the blandishments of Christian missionaries."[25] In the closing article of the fifth volume in 1878, Lilienthal reviewed the highlights of the last year. According to the editor, the *Visitor* succeeded in accomplishing a very important objective.

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[23] Vol. 1, no. 4 (Feb. 1874): 14.
[24] Sarna, *American Judaism*, 133.
[25] Cohen, *What the Rabbis Said*, 75.

> We have given you instruction in the wise and intelligible doctrines of our religion...and have given you the means of answering your Christian friends why you are and will remain Jews. I am sure you will proudly exclaim with the prophet, "I am a Jew" and will never be ashamed of being a Jew.[26]

There are a variety of articles in which issues such as Jesus's divinity, the holy Trinity, and other New Testament views are discussed in order to aid the Jewish reader in understanding the distinctions between Judaism and Christianity.[27] In an article in the September of 1874's edition of the *Visitor*, there is a story in which a young Jewish boy comes into contact with a Christian missionary. The boy defends Judaism so well that the missionary becomes annoyed brings the conversation to an early conclusion in an effort to avoid humiliation.[28]

Besides defending unwaring Jews from the conversionary tactics of Christian Missionaries, Lilienthal was also concerned with drawing boundaries between cordial fraternization and abandonment of Jewish identity due to the allure of Christian culture and holidays, specifically Christmas. In an effort to counteract this allure, the *Visitor* published an array of stories wherein the leading characters would scold their Jewish friends for putting up Christmas trees in their homes or for celebrating Christian holidays with their non-Jewish friends. In January of 1879, the *Visitor* carried a story about Morris, Uncle Sam's Jewish friend. Morries invited Sam to come over for dinner and enjoy their "splendid Christmas tree." Sam however was shocked to learn that Morris and

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[26] Vol. 5, no. 52 (Dec. 1878): 410.
[27] Vol. 1, no. 10 (May 1874), Vol. 2, no. 18 (May 1878), Vol. 1, no. 31 (August 1874).
[28] Vol. 1, no. 37 (Sept. 1874): 142.

his Jewish family had a Christmas tree in their home, and he exclaimed, "What! You have a Christmas tree? What has a Jew to do with a Christmas tree?" Sam follows this with an explanation as to why Jews do not have Christmas trees. In the end Sam declined Morris's invitations saying, "No sir; I will stay at home and celebrate my Hanukkah; and I advise you to think over all that I have told you, and if you think that I am right, then let your Christmas tree alone, and spend a pleasant evening at our house."[29]

From stories like this one, it becomes clear that the allure of Christmas was clearly prevalent in the lives of American children reading the *Visitor*. According to Jonathan D. Sarna, the allure of Christmas was so prevalent in America that it spurred the "Grand Revival of the Jewish National Holiday of Hanukkah: by the YMHA of New York in 1874 complete with pageants and publicity. It was an effort to rescue the "national holiday from the oblivion and counteract the "evident allure of Christmas."[30] In the *Visitor*, we see a similar response. In an article titled, "Hail Our Hanukkah" in 1877, Lilienthal instructed the children to forget Christmas and embrace the beauty and joy of Hanukkah:

> We have no need of celebrating Christmas; we have our own festivals and plenty of reason to celebrate and to glorify them. What shall a Christmas tree, with its candles and presents, do and teach in our Jewish dwellings? We do not believe in Jesus as being a God. We do not need a Redeemer and savoir. We can not stultify ourselves by celebrating events, which are in pain and open contradiction to the fundamental principles of our holy religion. No; never! Let us celebrate our own festivals; let us take to heart

[29] Vol. 6, no. 2 (Jan. 1879): 12.
[30] Sarna, *The Great Awakening*, 13.

their meaning and instruction; and all we have to do it to make them as attractive and as brilliant as our Christian neighbors celebrate their holidays.[31]

In his passionate plea, Lilienthal made clear his feelings about the boundary between Jews and Christians. While fraternization and warm interfaith relationships are portrayed as a desideratum, the editor of the *Visitor* makes it clear that there is a line that cannot be crossed. The magazine encouraged its readers to be aware of this boundary and maintain the appropriate balance of Jewish and American identity in spite of external influences and attractions.

American Jewry's Relationship to World Jewry: An American-Jewish Struggle Between Universalism and Particularism

Another issue which faced American Jewry in the late 1800s as seen through the lens of the *Visitor*, was their relationship to world Jewry. Was it more important to identify with Judaism and Jewish brethren around the world, or with their fellow Americans? Beginning in 1875 the *Visitor* introduced a new section titled, "Foreign News" which discussed the condition and the successes of Jews around the globe. In the following passage, Lilienthal offered his rationale for making this particular section and regular feature in his magazine:

We intend to use all means for giving our young friends all possible information. They shall be acquainted with all that is of any interest to Jews and Judaism. It is not sufficient that they know what is going on among our brethren in America, they must also be informed of the

[31] Vol. 4, no. 47 (Nov. 1877): 372.

> condition and doings of our co-religionists all over the globe. We are one brand of brethren, and like members of one family, should be acquainted and take an interest in all that refers to the sacred cause of our religion and the welfare and progress of our race.[32]

The majority of reporting in this section of the *Visitor* included achievements and successes of Jews in foreign countries. In January 1875, for example it was reported that in Rome two Israelites had been elected to parliament and had one received an additional vote, a Jew would have actually become elected Mayor of the city.[33] Similarly in March of 1878, it was reported in the city of Bonn, Germany, the Reverend Dr. Ludwig Philippson[34] received the Crown Order from the Kaiser himself.[35] Even though the magazine frequently reported on Jewish "success stories," Lilienthal occasionally included a news report on some anti-Jewish discrimination or persecution. In June of 1878 the *Visitor* reported on a heinous attack on the Jews of Wilcomer, Russia. It read:

> More than 1,000 houses and shops and all their contents have been destroyed, as well as twelve synagogues and *Beth Hamedrashim*, and a large number of sacred books and scrolls of the law. A few lives were lost, but the destruction is of so wholesale and complete a nature that many people formerly considered as being very wealthy, are now wandering about the streets without food or shelter, and altogether reduced

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[32] Vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1875): 4.
[33] Vol. 2, no. 4 (Jan. 1875): 16.
[34] The veteran editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* who translated the Bible and wrote a commentary.
[35] Vol. 5, no. 11 (March 1878): 85. This assertion cannot be confirmed according to my research on Philippson.

> to the most miserable poverty. A committee has been formed at Kevno for the relief of the sufferers.[36]

Immediately following this report, there is no commentary by Lilienthal explaining the situation of persecution in Russia. It is not referred to again until August 1878, a few months later when Lilienthal requested that his readers donate their "nickels, dimes and quarters, half-dollars and dollars" to the Alliance Israelite Universelle[37] in order to aid their downtrodden coreligionists in Europe.

> There are thousands and tens of thousands of our Jewish brethren in Russia and in the East who are yet oppressed and persecuted. The eminent men at the head of the Alliance continually try their best to have the condition of our unfortunate brethren improved. They send messengers to kings and emperors and many a time have been successful in their mission. But such missions, you know, are expensive and require money.[38]

Lilienthal urged his readers to donate and in an effort to motivate them he promised to publish the names of those who contributed so that they "may be known all over the world."

From this point on, the negative reports coming out of Russia and Eastern Europe continued to appear in the pages of the *Visitor*. The waves of persecution in Germany and

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[36] Vol. 5, no. 23 (June 1878): 182. The correct spelling of the town's name is "Wilkomir" (Ukmerge in Lithuanian). The assertion about a pogrom in 1878 cannot be confirmed historically according to my research.

[37] The Alliance Israelite Universelle was founded in 1860 by Adolphe Cremieux to safeguard the human rights of Jews worldwide. Its inception was stimulated by ideological trends and political events in the national and international spheres in the second half of the 19th century. "Alliance Israelite Universelle," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Vol. 1 (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 671.

[38] Vol. 5, no. 34 (Aug. 1878): 268.

Russia were difficult to ignore, even for the typically optimistic *Visitor,* and so reports of the Jewish situation in those countries increased significantly. Besides Lilienthal's request for charity from his readership, however, little was written concerning America's responsibility for the Jews suffering and dying around the world.

According to Sarna, due to a growing movement of Jewish religious renewal at the end of the nineteenth century, "a massive long-term paradigm shift took place within the American Jewish community: a shift over time toward greater particularism as opposed to the earlier universalism; toward a heightened sense of Jewish peoplehood as opposed to the former stress on Judaism as a faith..."[39] Lilienthal's decision to include reports of persecution and anti-Semitism in Europe as well as his requests for charitable support underscored the evolving trends about which Sarna wrote: a shift from the universalistic, American-centered focus towards a more particularistic point of view. A growing and more prevalent concern for Jewish peoplehood, the "brethren" of American Jews. American Jews were once again feeling the tug of war that periodically placed their American loyalties in conflict with their Jewish identity. They were reminded that despite the fact that they owed their sincere allegiances to America, where they should strive to be loyal and patriotic citizens, they were concomitantly responsible for upholding their Jewish brethren who were suffering greatly in the Old World.

Anti-Semitism in America

Similar to the way in which European anti-Semitism and persecution was reported in the *Visitor,* so too were American instances of anti-Semitism covered. Very rarely did

[39] Sarna, *A Great Awakening*, 30–31.

the *Visitor* report on anti-Semitic episodes and it made little mention of discrimination against Jewish citizens in America. In fact, in the early years of the paper there appeared to be an optimistic view that anti-Semitism and discrimination against Jews could not and would not happen in America. As far as the *Visitor* was concerned, America was a place in which citizens were guaranteed an inalienable right, to practice their religion freely and to live in peace. In January of 1874, for instance, Lilienthal published an article about the persecution of Jews during the biblical period. With some enthusiastic exaggeration, the editor proceeded to remind his youthful readers that "these gloomy times of exile and persecution have passed away" and that the "Israelite now lives everywhere as a free citizen."[40] Lilienthal's grand statement was not only referring to American Jews living freely, but of Jews worldwide, even those who in a few years would pour into America because of the anti-Semitism experienced in Europe.

In addition to reporting on instances of anti-Semitism, Lilienthal instructed his young readers how to prevent anti-Jewish sentiment from resurfacing. In January of 1875, in a story about Little Uncle Sam, Lilienthal taught that it was the duty of his Jewish readership to "dispel all prejudice against the Jews, and to show [Judaism] in such a light that the word of Moses shall be fulfilled.[41]" By upholding good Jewish and American values, Lilienthal's readership was charged with the duty of making a "good name" for Jews in America. If the *Visitor's* young readers learned how to cultivate a positive image of American Judaism they would hopefully insure that anti-Semitism would never reach America's shores. Lilienthal's convictions betokened the views held

[40] Vol.1, no. 2 (Jan. 1874): 5.
[41] Vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1875): 2.

by many of his peers during the last decades of the nineteenth century. As historian Jonathan Sarna noted:

> Anti-Jewish hatred was certainly not new to America, but Jews had previously considered it something of an anachronism, alien both to the modern temper and to American democracy. Like Jews in Germany they optimistically assumed that prejudice against them in time would wither away.[42]

As time went on, the instances of prejudice and discrimination that occurred in America could no longer be brushed aside by the editor of the *Visitor*. The magazine began to acknowledge examples of bigotry toward Jews living in America, but in doing so the *Visitor* always portrayed these instances in an optimistic light. In May of 1875 Lilienthal published a story based on the experiences of Lieutenant Jacob Bloom,[43] a Jewish boy from Cincinnati who wished to become a cadet at the West Point Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. In the story, Jacob experienced Jewish discrimination by his roommate at the academy, but he defended himself and ultimately succeeded in dispelling anti-Semitism and winning the favor and honor of his fellow cadets.[44] Similarly, in 1880, there was a short story about a bright young man at a New England university who was discriminated against by his fellow classmates when he revealed that he is a Jew. According to historian Naomi Cohen in her analysis of this story, "the point of the story is not about social discrimination on campus, but how to overcome it."[45] The Jewish student in the

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[42] Sarna, *American Judaism*, 133.
[43] Lieutenant Jacob Bloom was a Jewish graduate of West Point Academy in 1873. Augusta Blanche Berard, "Reminiscences of West Point in the Olden Time" (Evening News Printing and Binding House, 1886), 49.
[44] Vol. 3, no. 21 (May, 1875): 83.
[45] Cohen, *What the Rabbis Said*, 82.

story exclaimed at the end, "Our aim must be to teach the Gentile that the Jew differs from him, if at all, in his religious opinions only; that we are Americans as they are; that we have the same code of morals and the same notions of right and wrong, the same love of the good and the same impatience with the bad."[46] Lilienthal's purposeful neglect of reporting on discrimination in America was perhaps an effort to shield his readers from the realities of their world. While popular use of negative stereotypes were noted and condemned, Lilienthal chose not to elaborate on anti-Semitic occurrences in the country. As we noted in the foregoing examples, whenever Lilienthal did elect to write about bigotry or discrimination in America he always made sure there was an optimistic ending which gave the readers an opportunity to view the situation in a positive light and equipped them with tools they needed to combat the prejudices they might one day encounter.

As was the case with the other topics discussed in this chapter, instances of blatant anti-Semitism in America challenged the strong conviction that being a good Jew and a good American was actually one in the same. Their initial views of America as a place of religious freedom and tolerance were being tested by instances of discrimination and prejudice. The contents of the *Visitor* reflect these tensions and shifting realities. As editor, Lilienthal offered his young readers both implicit and explicit counsel on how to deal with this dialectic. For the modern reader, our understanding of the experience of American Jews in the late 1800s is only enhanced by this telling paper.

In the following chapter the religious experience of American Jews will be explored. Themes such as Jewish ritual, values and educational practice will be assessed

[46] Vol. 7, no. 33 (Aug. 1880): 257.

in order to gain a better understanding of American Reform Judaism in its infancy. Through the pages of the *Visitor* we gain perspective on the practice, beliefs and values of American Jews in the end of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 3: Jewish Values

In the previous chapter we analyzed the *Visitor* as an agent of Americanization. One of Lilienthal's greatest goals was to teach young America how to harmonize their two identities, Jewish and American. Through implicit and explicit instruction, the *Visitor* served as a guide. Simultaneously it taught American values, customs and rituals while striving to inculcate and promote a sense of Jewish pride. In this chapter, we will focus on the wide array of Jewish values that this periodical introduced to the readers of the *Visitor* during Lilienthal's editorship. While exploring the pages of the *Visitor*, the modern reader gains a deeper appreciation for the Jewish values, rituals and beliefs that Lilienthal emphasized to his young readers during the 1870s. While the majority of the time Jewish practices and rituals were described, there are few cases in which Lilienthal prescribed and promoted specific beliefs and values that he believed were particularly important. For Lilienthal, the primary purpose of the *Visitor* was to educate American Jewish youth and provide them with a firm base of Jewish knowledge. In the second issue he explained to the readers that the primary object of the *Visitor* was the "inculcating of the beauty and morality of our holy religion."[1] Lilienthal hoped the *Visitor* would serve as an "instructive companion" to his readers, preparing them for a Jewish life in America.[2] While the *Visitor* was never officially affiliated with the Reform Movement, Lilienthal's adherence to Reform values and beliefs most significantly influenced the content of the *Visitor*. The journal taught the tenets of Reform Judaism. These included, among others, a rejection of the concept of a "personal" messiah and resurrection, and an emphasis on the ideals of universalism and social justice. In addition

[1] Vol. 1, no. 2 (January 1874): 8.
[2] Vol. 1, no. 1 (January 1874): 4.

to the adherence to Reform tenets, whenever the *Visitor* would report on Jewish religious affairs in various parts of the country, it limited its coverage exclusively to holiday celebrations under Reform's auspices and to Reform institutions like the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Hebrew Union College.[3] Further, featured in stand alone stories and serials, the main characters were primarily Reform in affiliation. The families often belonged to Reform synagogues and the children attended the Sabbath Schools within their Reform institutions. Because of these elements, it would appear that the greatest population of subscribers to the *Visitor* were those Jews who identified as Reform. The values and beliefs described and prescribed would have pertained mostly to this population and therefore would have been considered useful and relevant to the journal's young readers.

Even though its affiliation with Reform Judaism's teachings was unofficial, the contents of this periodical enrich the modern reader's understanding of what life was like for the early Reformers in America. When analyzing the specific values, beliefs and rituals present in the *Visitor*, we will mainly rely on the guidelines promulgated in both the 1869, the so-called "Philadelphia Platform" and the well known 1885 Pittsburgh Platform in order to frame the historical situation in the United States during this time period. In 1869, a group of thirteen reform-minded rabbis assembled in Philadelphia in order to adopt the set of principles that would clarify the way in which modern Jewish practice distinguished itself from an Old World Orthodoxy. The next meeting took place in 1885 in which 19 rabbis were called specifically for the purpose of drafting the Pittsburgh Platform. Subsequent platforms were issued under the auspices of the Central

[3] Cohen, *What the Rabbis Said*, 80.

Conference of American Rabbis (founded in 1889), the rabbinic organization of the American Reform movement.[4] According to an explanation given in the The Reform Judaism Reader by Michael Meyer and W. Gunther Plaut,

> They [the platforms] have defined the boundaries of Reform Judaism, setting it apart from Orthodoxy, Conservative Judaism and secular movements like Ethical Culture. They have also laid out a basis for unity amidst the diversity that has characterized the movement, and they have provided a convenient and succinct expression of Reform Judaism's beliefs and practices for use in instructing older children, incoming members and converts to the faith.[5]

These platforms as well as other historical documentation will aid us in assessing what Jewish life consisted of and what beliefs and values Reform Jews adhered to at the end of the nineteenth century. Through a careful analysis of the contents of the *Visitor*, the contemporary reader discovers some of the prominent values that characterized Lilienthal's approach to Jewish reform. These values included the use of Hebrew, the meaning of Zionism, and the role that Biblical and rabbinic texts should occupy in the lives of modern Jews. The material surveyed within the *Visitor* will be contextualized by historical information that strives to aid the modern reader in understanding the content.

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[4] Gary P. Zola, "The Common Places of American Reform Judaism's Conflicting Platforms," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 72 (2001): 155–191.
[5] Michael M. Meyer and W. Gunther Plaut, *The Reform Judaism Reader: North American Documents* (New York: UAHC Press, 2001), 195.

The Use of Hebrew

As mentioned previously, in 1869, a group rabbis and religious leaders assembled in Philadelphia in order to develop a set of guidelines for Jewish reform.[6] The document these rabbis created was replete with negations. In terms of the use of Hebrew, the rabbis clarify their changed view of the importance and value of this ancient language:[7]

> The cultivation of the Hebrew language, in which the divine treasures of revelation have been couched and in which the immortal monuments of our literature have been preserved (the commanding influence of which extends to all educated nations), must in our midst be considered as the fulfillment of a sacred obligation. However, the language has in fact become incomprehensible for the overwhelming majority of our present-day co-religionists and therefore in the act of prayer (which is a body without a soul unless it is understood) Hebrew must take a second place behind a language, which the worshippers can understand insofar as this appears advisable under prevailing circumstances.[8]

From this text, it appears that prayer in the vernacular had begun to take precedence over the traditional Hebrew recitation because of the ancient language had become "incomprehensible" to an "overwhelming majority" of American Jews. Because intention in worship seemed to outweigh the traditional practice of praying in Hebrew, the early reformers in America believed that using the vernacular was preferable to the use of Hebrew.[9]

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[6] Sefton D. Tempkin, *Creating American Reform Judaism : the life and times of Isaac Mayer Wise* (Portland: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1998).
[7] From Article 7 of the Philadelphia Rabbinical Conference of 1869.
[8] Meyer and Plaut, "The Reform Judaism Reader," 197.
[9] Dana Evan Kaplan, *Platforms and Prayer Books: Theological and Liturgical Perspectives on Reform Judaism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002).

In Lloyd Gartner's documentary history of Jewish education in the United States, he included a memoir by Emily Seasongood, a woman who grew up in Cincinnati in the end of the nineteenth century. In her memoir, Seasongood described her experience attending Sunday School at her local Reform synagogue, Bene Israel. Seasongood's perspective on the use of Hebrew in the context of her religious education testifies to the fact that many Jewish young people began ask why it was important for them to learn the ancient tongue:

> The Chumish [Pentateuch] I could not understand, and told by beloved father I could not see why it was taught us [in Hebrew] and please to have the teachers do away with it. As he was the president of the congregation then, he brought it before the board, who quite agreed with me, and I was very happy after it was removed from our studies.[10]

During this time period it appears that the use of Hebrew in liturgy was not as prevalent as it is in today's Reform congregations. While most Reform Jews today cannot read the Hebrew letters, there is more transliteration of the Hebrew present in the prayerbook than there was in prayerbooks of the late 1800s. This phenomena seems to be a reflection of a return to tradition in the Reform Movement. With an influx of Hebrew in the service, congregants want to be able to follow along and participate as a community. For the early American Reformers however, the vernacular was preferable.

In an effort to discover the value placed on Hebrew language and instruction during the end of the nineteenth century as exists within the *Visitor*, there were three main indicators: (1) the prevalence of Hebrew characters within the text of the *Visitor*, (2)

[10] Lloyd P. Gartner, *Jewish Education in the United States: A Documentary History* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1969), 81.

the use of Hebrew words (in transliteration) and (3) the attitudes about Hebrew implicitly and explicitly stated. Each of these areas will be assessed and analyzed in an effort to uncover a specific value judgment concerning the use of Hebrew for Reform Jews in the end of the nineteenth century.

From its conception in 1874 until 1880 when the entire heading of the *Visitor* was altered, the banner on the top of the first page of each issue of the *Visitor* contained the words "Shema Etza V'Kabel Mosar L'Ma'an T'Chacham"[11] written in Hebrew letters in the center of the title followed by the translation, "Hear counsel and accept instruction, in order that you may become wise." (See Appendix B) The Hebrew letters appeared extremely small and were not pointed with vowels, making it difficult for even those who are proficient in Hebrew to read easily. It is because of this that one may assume that the inclusion of the Hebrew text in the banner was more symbolic than practical.

Besides the minimal Hebrew in the banner, Hebrew characters appear only rarely in the *Visitor*. In February of 1874 in an article about Monkeys, the word "kuf" appears in Hebrew as Lilienthal explained as the Hebrew name for "monkey".[12] Less explicitly, in April 1875, the word "Pesach" appears in Hebrew characters as the title of an article about the history and observance of Passover.[13] In both cases the Hebrew characters appear without transliteration following or preceding. This is standard throughout the pages of the *Visitor* and leads the modern reader to assume that (a) the use of Hebrew characters was largely symbolic and perhaps artistic in the *Visitor* and/or (b) the editor anticipated that most of his readers possessed an elementary knowledge of Hebrew and

[11] Proverbs 19:20.
[12] Vol. 1, no. 4 (Feb. 1874): 16.
[13] Vol. 2, no. 16 (Apr. 1875): 61.

were therefore able to read simple and common words. While we cannot be certain of the rationale in this situation both assumptions seem plausible.

While Hebrew characters appear only rarely on the pages of the *Visitor*, the inclusion of English transliterations of Hebrew words (in the Ashkenazi pronunciation) was fairly common. These transliterations tend to appear when Jewish holidays were being discussed. The specific greetings like *Yom-Tof* and *L'Shana Tova Tikateivu* were prevalent as well as the names of the holidays like *Shewuos* and *Shemini Azeres.*[14] In addition to these references, Hebrew words in transliteration appeared in pieces which discussed and listed the Jewish months, the portions of the Torah and specific Jewish practices[15]. As previously mentioned, the Hebrew transliterations were always written with the Ashkenazi pronunciation so words such as *Pirke Avot* were written *Pirke Orvas* and *Chazak v'Nitchazek* was *Chasak Wenichasak.* Because Ashkenazic pronunciation was dominant among the East European Jews this type of transliteration was prominent in the *Visitor.*[16] Furthermore, the overall inclusion of the Hebrew words, even though they did not appear in the original Hebrew characters bespeaks the importance that the magazine's editor placed on Hebrew vocabulary and what might be referred to as Jewish "cultural" expression.

On various occasions the *Visitor* indicated an attitude concerning the use of Hebrew in the education of young American Jews. What appeared to be the greatest feeling was that Hebrew was a tool of exclusion. Because it was not being taught seriously in the Sabbath Schools around the country, children had little to no familiarity

[14] Vol. 5, no. 14 (Apr. 1878): 108, Vol. 4, no. 35 (Aug. 1877): 276, Vol. 2, no. 22 (June 1875): 86, Vol. 4, no. 38 (Sept. 1877): 300.
[15] Vol. 1, no. 10 (Mar. 1874): 39, Vol. 5, no. 14 (Apr. 1878):108, Vol. 6, no. 52 (Dec. 1879): 412.
[16] Eliezer Ben Yehuda (1858–1922), father of modern Hebrew had not yet introduced the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew to the Yishuv in Palestine.

with Hebrew language. In February of 1877, there was an article about a Jewish family in Mississippi who had a niece visit from Germany. While the American children were not familiar with Hebrew, the niece was proficient and therefore she instructed her American cousins in "old country" Jewish education. "She had, as is customary there, received a good education in the Old Country; she read and translated Hebrew prayers fluently, and cheerfully devoted her time to the instruction of her American cousins."[17] Since Lilienthal was convinced that his readers could not read Hebrew, he was cautious about including it in his paper. In October of 1878 in the Letter Box section of the issue Lilienthal responded to a request by little Herman Green who had submitted a Hebrew puzzle to be included in a future issue of the *Visitor*. Lilienthal responds,

> As before stated, we can not publish puzzles constructed in the Hebrew. While we are surprised to find that a child of 13 years can prepare an enigma in that language, we are confident that no other child could solve it correctly without assistance; and to solicit such aid would be not be credible and beneficial to the child. Unlearned laurels fade away.[18]

From Lilienthal's response it becomes clear to the modern reader that (a) Hebrew was not being taught in Sabbath Schools, and (b) that the editor of the *Visitor* was not inclined to use the pages of his journal to actively promote the acquisition of Hebrew proficiency among his readers. Lilienthal was clearly determined to make his magazine as widely accessible as possible to his youthful readership. Too much Hebrew would likely be off-putting to those for whom Hebrew was an impenetrable language. This attitude toward Hebrew usage seems to be consistent with the sentiment expressed in the Philadelphia

[17] Vol. 4, no. 5 (Feb. 1877): 36.
[18] Vol. 5, no. 42 (Oct. 1878): 336.

Rabbinical Conference of 1869 discussed earlier. Hebrew language had largely become incomprehensible to Americans, and it therefore faded slowly from the liturgy and other facets of Jewish life in America. The *Visitor* testifies to the fact that at the fin de siècle, Hebrew language education was a relatively low priority for the *Visitor*'s editor and readers.

Zionism

While the modern political movement we call Zionism is typically said to have begun with the work of Theodore Herzl and the First Zionist Congress in 1897, the longing for a return to Zion (the Jewish homeland in Palestine) was very much a religious value in Judaism. Whereas in other cases we surveyed the material on the pages of the *Visitor* in order to help us better understand the Jewish values held by American Jews in the end of nineteenth century, in the case of religious Zionism, the lack of material on the pages is telling of the relationship to Palestine during this period of time.

In the first two rabbinical conferences in America[19] the rabbis clarified a distinction between Judaism's traditional relationship to Zion and the modern American view of that idea. Whereas in Jewish tradition, the ultimate goal of the Messianic age was the return of Jews to Zion, many liberal rabbis, particularly in America, rejected this notion. In doing so, they transformed the traditional view of Diaspora as a form of divine punishment into a source of privilege. The rabbis who gathered in Philadelphia in 1869 made this point clearly in Article 2 of their statement:

[19] Philadelphia (1869) and Pittsburgh (1885).

> We do not consider the fall of the second Jewish commonwealth as a punishment for the sinfulness of Israel, but as a sequence of divine intent first revealed in a promise to Abraham...to send the members of the Jewish nation to all parts of the earth so that they may fulfill their high priestly task to lead the nations in the true knowledge and worship of God.[20]

By reformulating this traditional view of messianism, the more liberally inclined reformers clarified their allegiance to America and their rejection of the traditional Jewish hope for a return to Zion, which they viewed as a means of isolating Jews from the nations of the earth. This same notion combined with a greater emphasis on universalism led the rabbis who gathered in Pittsburgh in 1885 to declare in Article 5 the following: "We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore, expect neither a return to Palestine...nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state."[21]

As stated above, this clear rejection of the traditional longing for a return to Zion is evident in the pages of the *Visitor* as witnessed by the lack of attention paid to nineteenth-century Palestine. While this may be surprising to the modern reader, since the political movement of Zionism did not come into existence until after Lilienthal's time, it would be ahistorical to assume a stronger notion present in the *Visitor.* With this being said, however, the *Visitor* occasionally included information about Palestine in the Foreign news department of the paper. On these occasions, the *Visitor* either reported on the repopulation of Jewish families or on the donations being made by Sir Moses

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[20] Michael M. Meyer and W. Gunther Plaut, *The Reform Judaism Reader: North American Documents*, 196.
[21] Ibid, 198.

Montefiore.[22] In a clipping from the November issue of 1877 it was reported that "the population of Palestine is double what it was ten years ago, the newcomers being Jews from Russia."[23] While the notion of a return to Zion was not as prevalent in this paper as it would become in later publications, it is clear that Lilienthal felt that it was important to include some news coverage in his paper for interested readers.

Biblical and Rabbinic Text Study

When Lilienthal expounded upon the goals of the *Visitor* in the second issue, he made it clear that one of the sole purposes of the paper was to expose the children to Biblical and Rabbinic texts. "We shall talk together about our sacred Jewish religion. I shall give nice and plenty of stories from the Bible, the Talmud and other books, of which you have never heard..."[24] Throughout the years of publication there was not a single issue which lacked some sort of content having to do with Biblical or rabbinic texts. In the Sabbath Schools during this time period there was a strong reliance on the study of Bible and rabbinics because this was believed to be the most central components of Judaism. As the foundation of our moral and ethical code our Bible and Rabbinic commentary was viewed as the central pillar of Judaism. Further, especially concerning the biblical texts, it was a common denominator between Jews and Christians. For the reformers and their concern for universalism, the study of Biblical texts was not a source of disunion, bur rather a means of demonstrating that there was a strong scriptural bond that Jews and Christians shared.

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[22] Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885) was a British philanthropist who was famous for his generous donations to the Jewish community in Palestine during the mid 1800s.
[23] Vol. 4, no. 46 (Nov. 1877): 366.
[24] Vol. 1, no. 2 (Jan. 1874): 8.

According to historian Jonathan D. Sarna, "the Jewish Sunday Schools taught basic prayers, catechisms, and Bible stories..."[25] A religious school curriculum from Temple Emanu-El in Milwaukee written in 1877 illustrates how much learning time was devoted to the study of Bible during this same period. In Milwaukee, the curriculum called for three years of Bible study, which translation of Biblical texts, Biblical history and geography and catechisms.[26]

The 1885 Pittsburgh Platform also emphasizes the important role the Bible played in Jewish education during this period of time. In their "Declaration of Principles," the rabbis who framed the famous statement written in Pittsburgh emphasized the importance of Biblical instruction. Article 2 read: "We recognize in the Bible the record of the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as priest of the one God, and value it as the most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction."[27]

Despite the fact that Biblical instruction was a high priority, especially in the Sabbath School movement, the study of rabbinical texts such as the Talmud or Midrash was more controversial. In Article 3 of the 1885 Platform, the rabbis clarify their opposition to the divinity of rabbinical legislation. In their 1885 "Declaration," the rabbis who gathered in Pittsburgh maintained that all laws having to do with diet, purity or dress are "foreign to our present mental and spiritual state" and that they "obstruct [rather than] further modern spiritual elevation."[28] Because of these assumptions, it is no wonder that rabbinic texts were far less studied in the Sabbath School movement than Biblical texts.

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[25] Sarna, *American Judaism,* 80.
[26] Gartner, *Jewish Education in the United States: A Documentary History,* 97.
[27] Michael M. Meyer and W. Gunther Plaut, *The Reform Judaism Reader: North American Documents,* 198.
[28] Ibid, 198.

Despite the fact that many liberal American rabbis considered rabbinical writings to be much less important than the Bible, it is interesting to note that the *Visitor* frequently included and made use of rabbinical texts. In the first volume Lilienthal announced to his readers that he would be including some of the texts from rabbinic tradition in his paper. He made sure to emphasize that the material would not be boring or "dry" and that it would teach good moral lessons.[29] Among the various topics relating to rabbinical literature that appeared in the *Visitor* were biographies of famous rabbis, rabbinic history, and instruction on laws derived from rabbinic exegetical writings. In regard to this later category, however, there was always an emphasis on morality or ethics. In the issue that appeared in October of 1878, Lilienthal published an article titled, "Stories from the Talmud and other Jewish Sources." The subtitle read, "If you desire to bestow charity, do it quickly, otherwise it may be too late." Prior to even reading the text about Rabbi Nahum, the child who came across this text was able to see the moral lesson derived from the rabbinic story. In this instance, Lilienthal did not leave it to chance that the reader would derive the ethical lesson from the rabbinic text he provided.

The presentation of Biblical and rabbinic texts in the *Visitor* seems to coincide with the general attitude of Reform Judaism in America during this time period. While Biblical texts were more prevalent than the rabbinic, both were tied to an emphasis on virtuous living. They were included not only to familiarize the young reader with Judaism's classical literature, but also to extract admirable traits and behaviors in an effort to promote a moral and just society.

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[29] Vol. 1, no. 4 (Feb. 1874): 16.

Ritual and Practice

Through articles and stories in the *Visitor* we gain a deep understanding of the rituals and practices of Reform Jews in America at the end of the nineteenth century. On a variety of occasions, synagogue services were described in this publication with an emphasis on decorum, liturgy, holiday observances and leadership. For the modern reader, these descriptions aid in the visualization and understanding of what religious life was like for the American Reform Jew in the late 1800s. The reforms that were occurring in America during this period were reflected on the pages of the *Visitor* specifically the reliance on liturgy and sermons in the vernacular, instrumental music, and mixed seating. In a particularly informative piece Lilienthal included a description by a young boy about his experience in synagogue on a Friday night.

> The Friday evening service had just been closed; and the congregation, highly pleased and edified left the house of God. It was a fine service, indeed. The temple always looks so grand when fully illuminated. The cantor (Chasan) and choir had sung the splendid hymns of the celebrated Sulzer, the cantor of the temple in Vienna; and the minister had delivered one of his interesting and instructive lectures, to which the whole congregation had listened with undivided attention.[30]

Other fictional pieces like this one described the synagogue service by highlighting the inclusion of organs and choirs, the "solemn" and "divine" nature of the service and the

[30] Vol. 1, no. 5 (Feb. 1874): 18.

new style of "mixed seating."[31] In addition to theses fictional pieces, the *Visitor* also shed light on Reform ritual and practice through the inclusion of letters to the editor wherein one finds an explanation of the observances of holidays and lifecycle events from all around the country. As the Jewish holidays approached, Lilienthal called upon his readers to submit letters that explained programs or services they attended in their local Jewish communities. The letters were then included in subsequent issues of the magazine, and the young readers gained insight into the Jewish experiences of their peers from around the country. Finally, while not explicitly discussed in the articles and stories, we indirectly gain an understanding of the liturgical preferences of the readers of the *Visitor* due to the inclusion of specific ads for books and hymnals. In various issues, Isaac Mayer Wise's prayer book *Minhag America* was advertised for purchase. These advertisements, and others that are like them, help to give a contemporary reader some sense of the variegate liturgies that found in the pews of American synagogues during these same years.

In an effort to distinguish American Reform Jews from their Orthodox roots, various reforms were made to the traditional rituals and customs. These included changes in decorum, in liturgy, the role of the rabbi, and holiday observance. Additionally, it included an emphasis on the confirmation ceremony—as opposed to the Bar Mitzvah—and a change in home rituals and customs. According to Jonathan D. Sarna, while many of these reforms were introduced prior to the Civil War, they became more widespread toward the end of the nineteenth century.[32]

[31] Vol. 6, no. 32 (Aug. 1879): 252.
[32] Sarna, *American Judaism*, 125.

Changes to decorum included the construction of massive new synagogues, beautifully furnished and equipped with organs, choir lofts, and pews for mixed seating. These reforms in synagogal liturgy and architecture were reflective of the need for American Jews to create an image that was compatible with the dominant culture and religious sensibilities. According to Sarna, during this period "The number of synagogues with organs leaped from eight to thirty, according to one estimate, just between 1860 and 1868."[33] The presence of the organ became in time a distinguishing factor between Reform synagogues and their traditional counterparts. In the *Visitor*, the weekly stories and the letters to the editor repeatedly emphasized the importance of organ and the beauty of the vocal music that came from the impressive choirs. In the description quoted earlier, the young boy who described the Friday evening service he attended did so by emphasizing the nature of the music that was sung by the cantor and the choir. He specifically mentioned the music by Sulzer, the famous Austrian cantor and composer. Sulzer's liturgical music, and especially his musical arrangement of the "*shema*" were popular in Reform congregations throughout America because of awe inspiring melodies and the solemn mood the music inspired. In a narrative in the *Visitor* titled "On a Friday Evening" from August 1879, the main character described the Sabbath service in a way that emphasized the central role music played. Instead of focusing on the liturgical or homiletical aspects of the worship service, the narrator writes, "the divine service for the eve of the holy Sabbath has been sung..."[34] This is particularly telling of the central role music played in the Friday evening service in Reform synagogues.

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Vol. 6, no. 32 (Aug. 1879): 252.

In addition to the introduction of organs and choirs, the Reform synagogues eliminated the use of the traditional *mehitza*, the partition between men and women with family pews for mixed seating. This innovation was first introduced in America by Isaac Mayer Wise in 1851 and, by the end of the nineteenth century, this practice had become ubiquitous in Reform congregations throughout the nation.[35] In the *Visitor* the issue of mixed seating is not explicitly mentioned. This may be due to the fact that mixed seating had already become a familiar practice by the time the *Visitor* began to appear. The *Visitor* contains numerous references to children sitting with their parents—regardless of their gender.

Besides aesthetic reforms, there were quite a few liturgical changes made during this period. The most noticeable, perhaps, was the prevalence of English in the prayer service. Due to the lack of Hebrew proficiency among American Jews during this period, many of the traditional prayers were translated into the vernacular. According to Sarna, many synagogues "adopted shorter, non-Orthodox liturgies like Wise's *Minhag Amerika. Minhag America* was intended to be a "uniform liturgical text that would appeal to conservative and liberal congregations."[36] While this prayer book retained a significant amount of Hebrew text, it included short English or German translations. In terms of content, Wise's decisions concerning references to return to Zion and messianism reflected the Reform ideology of the time. For example, the Hebrew "goel" was changed to "geula" reflecting the Reform movement's rejection of the belief in a personal messiah. In the *Visitor*, Lilienthal included advertisements for Wise's *Minhag America*

[35] Sarna, *American Judaism*, 128.
[36] Eric L. Friedland, *Were our Mouths Filled with Song: Studies in Liberal Jewish Liturgy* (New York: Hebrew Union College Press, 1997), 50.

beginning in August 1876. On the final page of every issue, there was a section devoted to the American Hebrew Publishing House in which "Bloch & Company" – publishers and printers, advertised books for sale. In the bottom of this section there was a permanent ad for *Minhag America* with "English or German Translation". Additionally, as the High Holidays approached, this ad was followed by one for the *Minhag America machzor* described as the volumes for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur prayers. Lilienthal's inclusion of these ads in place of other more traditional prayer books is telling of the liturgical practices in Reform synagogues at the end of the nineteenth century.

In alignment with the ritual reforms discussed in this section was the introduction of the confirmation ceremony as a replacement for the traditional Bar Mitzvah. In an effort to strengthen the notion of individual choice and autonomy, the confirmation ceremony was viewed by the early reformers as a more appropriate venue for young adults to affirm their acceptance of a Jewish identity. This abandonment of bar mitzvah observances coupled with the adoption of the confirmation ceremony served two purposes. First, it enabled young adults to mature past the age of thirteen before making a commitment to their Jewish identity allowing for a more thoughtful and lasting decision. Second, it provided an opportunity for both genders, not just boys as was the case with the bar mitzvah, to confirm their faith.. In light of the fact that the confirmation ceremony included both boys and girls, the ritual became increasingly popular – particularly with the young girls who became more invested in their Jewish education and

as can be seen in the *Visitor*. Confirmation classes in synagogues around the country experienced an increased population of young women.[37]

According to the editor of the *Visitor*, the confirmation ceremony was the zenith of a young child's Jewish education. Because the ceremony was traditionally held on or around the holiday of Shavuot, often during the month of June when the holiday of Shavuot frequently occurs, there was always an article detailing the importance and significance of the confirmation ceremony. Additionally, lists of confirmands from various synagogues were included in these issues in an effort to recognize and honor the young confirmands, who reached this milestone along the path of Jewish learning. Prior to the confirmation ceremony where the young adults would be recognized, they were required to complete an oral examination in which they would be asked a series of questions about Judaism and their Jewish identity. Were they to pass this exam, they would be allowed to participate in the ceremony. In June 1875 there was an article describing the preparations for the examination and confirmation ceremony. The article began,

> The holy Feast of Shewuos was drawing nearer and nearer. The Confirmands who had been well prepared by the Visitor[38] for this solemn and sacred event in the children's life were on the tip-toe of expectation. They had assembled in the room of the Sabbath-school to get the finishing touch of instruction and to be thoroughly prepared both for the examination and confirmation. The examination was to be held on the Sunday preceding the holy festival, in presence of the

[37] Melissa R. Klapper, *Jewish Girls Coming of Age in America, 1860–1920* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 74–75.
[38] "the Visitor" when mentioned in articles of the *Visitor* referred to Lilienthal.

> parents, the members of the School-Board, and all the friends of Jewish religious education. The Visitor thought even more of this examination than of the holy ceremony in the Temple itself.[39]

Later in the article, Lilienthal stated that the purpose of the examination was to decipher "whether they [the students] had learned their lessons merely by heart and recited it like parrots or whether they had digested and understood it, and had a thorough conception of the sacred doctrines of the Jewish religion."[40] The actual ceremony was described in an article that appeared in the June 1878 issue.

> At the confirmation itself the programme consists of a prayer spoken in concert, of the benedictions usually spoken at the reading of the Torah, of the recital of the Ten Commandments, of the proclamation of the three doctrines, and a closing prayer. These recitals are interspersed by splendid choruses, by addresses and admonitions by the minister, by the blessing of the parents and of the minister—material enough to make the ceremony both interesting and impressive.[41]

Confirmation was a central component of secondary Jewish education for it impressed upon the confirmands the importance of internalizing their identity as Jew by conviction and creed. In a time when these young adults were struggling to balance their Jewish and American identities, it was important that they entered adulthood with a mature and developed vision of their Jewish self.

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[39] Vol. 2, no. 22 (June 1875): 86.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Vol. 5, no. 23 (June 1878): 180.

Conclusion

In this chapter we explored the *Visitor* as a tool for promoting and developing a strong Jewish identity for young American Jews. Through biblical and rabbinic lessons and discussions about ritual and practice, Lilienthal's readers were not only exposed to elements of their faith, but they were engaged by the material and encouraged to relate it to their lives as young Americans. Lilienthal's love of Jewish education was evident in his magnificently written articles and lessons for the children. His warmth of character and his guiding spirit aided his readers in their Jewish journeys through B'Nai Mitzvah and eventually to confirmation. The pages of the *Visitor* provided a connection to the Jewish world for those affiliated with a congregation as well as those who were isolated and it truly became their instructive companion, an educational tool and a trusted friend.

For the modern reader, the Jewish content of the *Visitor* provides a snapshot of Jewish life in America at the turn of a century. We are able to assess Jewish values, beliefs and practices of the time and evaluate the changes and developments which have occurred throughout American Jewish history.

In the following chapter we will explore the impact the *Visitor* had on American Jewish youth who had the opportunity to engage with it. From letters to the editor, reflections on the content and a study of subsequent publications we are able to assess Lilienthal's success and how his influential publication served as a pioneer for future children's magazines.

Conclusion

From our study of the *Visitor*, we have attempted to explicate the ways in which this paper hoped to influence Jewish youth in America. Instilling a sense of American patriotism and concretizing a strong Jewish identity were two of the magazine's primary objectives, set forth by the *Visitor*'s creator and first editor, Rabbi Max Lilienthal. Lilienthal wanted to provide American Jewish youth with a "best friend and an instructive companion" and influenced the pedagogy of the Sabbath School movement[1]. As stated in the very first issue of the second volume, the *Visitor* was intended to be used as a teaching aid in the Sabbath School classroom.[2] To the subscribers of the *Visitor*, Lilienthal clarified in the second volume that the publication was "prepared expressly for the use of [the] children and rising [*sic*]' young Israel; a help to parents and Sabbath School teachers in the training of the youth committed to their care, and a welcome visitor in the families and Sabbath Schools throughout the land."[3] From Lilienthal's letters to the teachers and his many other writings, we come to understand exactly how the *Visitor* was used in the Sabbath School classroom. In May 1874 a short announcement to the teachers clarified what should be read during school hours:

> The Visitor requests the teachers to read with the children in their Sabbath school, the articles on Biblical and Jewish history. If our little ones will read only the stories, like the "Jewish Lieutenant," "Little Nellie," etc. the paper will be of little use to them. We must try to instruct as well as to amuse them.[4]

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[1] Vol 1, no. 2 (Jan. 1874): 8.
[2] Ibid., 8.
[3] Vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1874): 4.
[4] Vol. 1, no. 17 (May. 1874): 67.

While Lilienthal included in his paper both educational and entertainment pieces, he intended only the instructional components to be used in the classroom. In 1877 an article titled "That Was a Nice Lesson, Indeed!" confirms that intention. In this piece, a young boy explains how the *Visitor* was used in his Sabbath school:

> The stories [meant] for our amusement are written in an easy style, and every one can read them at home whenever he pleases. We read only the articles on Biblical History, Post-Biblical History, and now the Biographies of the Rabbis. There our teachers explain the difficult words, make interesting remarks on the contents, and every attentive boy and girl has learned a good deal when school is dismissed.[5]

From these anecdotes, we gain an understanding of how, ideally, the *Visitor* was used in the context of the Sabbath Schools. Similarly, we also learn how the *Visitor* was used by children who did not have access to a synagogue or Sabbath School from the magazine's letters to the editor section. There can be little doubt that Lilienthal's *Visitor* was a gift to those children who were isolated from a Jewish community. For Jewish children who were unable to attend a weekly Sabbath School, the *Visitor* constituted a lifeline to Judaism, a connection to their Jewish peers and a means to obtaining a Jewish identity. In February 1875, Flora Rothschild, a 12-year-old girl from Greenville, South Carolina expressed her sincere appreciation for the *Visitor* for tethering her to Jewish life and learning: "[The Visitor] is the only sign of Judaism to us children in the country…where there is no chance of attending Sabbath Schools of our own denomination, or being

[5] Vol. 4, no. 24 (June 1877): 188.

taught in Hebrew by teachers, nor any chance of going to a temple."[6] Expressing a similar sentiment, Louis Helburn of Louisville, Kentucky wrote:

> As we live here in a country-town, where there is no Hebrew- Sabbath – school, our Christian friends and neighbors often present us with their paper, *The Kind Words.*[7] Now I feel happy to be able to return the compliment. I am a boy of eleven years old, and have long felt the necessity of attending a Sunday-school of our own religion. But circumstances have not permitted this yet. Be so kind and send the dear Visitor regularly, and I hope to gain religious instruction thereby, which always shall be kept sacred by me.[8]

From young Helburn's letter, it becomes clear how important the *Visitor* was to isolated Jewish children. Further, his comments about *The Kind Words*, illustrate a sense of pride in finally having a Jewish youth periodical to rival the Christian counterpart. By providing Jewish knowledge and a sense of identity, the *Visitor* provided Jewish youth with a lifeline to Jewish learning. It is clear from these letters to the editor that many of its readers believed that the magazine prevented them from succumbing to assimilation and losing all contact with Jewish life. Furthermore, the *Visitor* connected isolated Jewish youth living in remote regions to the greater American Jewish community. In this way, the magazine strengthened Jewish life in America.

Besides being a valued friend to so many Jewish children, the *Visitor* also served a significant purpose for educators and other Jewish professionals. In January1874, Ed

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[6] Vol. 2, no. 6 (Feb. 1875): 21.
[7] A monthly periodical for Christian children containing fables and moral stories from the Bible. "Kind Words for Sunday School Children," *Atlanta (GA) Southern Baptist Convention*, October 1866.
[8] Vol. 1, no. 10 (Mar. 1874): 38.

Weil, a Sabbath School teacher in Jacksonville, Illinois wrote a letter to Lilienthal requesting that a section of the paper be devoted to the exchange opinions on the subject of instruction in the Sabbath School. He wrote, "Let all who wish, state how many classes they have in their Sabbath Schools; what they instruct, and what books they use; how their school progresses, and what plan they have for the future."[9] Lilienthal agreed to this request stating, "we shall gladly publish all communications referring to the improvement of the course of study pursued in our Sabbath Schools."[10] While there was never an official section of the paper devoted to this exchange of educational opinions, various times throughout the life of the *Visitor*, educators and students would report on the status of their studies and programs in their Sabbath Schools. Interestingly, years later in November 1932, the *Jewish Teacher*, a quarterly magazine for Jewish religious schools edited by Jewish educator Emanuel Gamoran (1895–1962) promised to provide a similar forum to that requested in the *Visitor*. The *Jewish Teacher* promised to "[stimulate a] fruitful exchange of opinions and experiences between rabbis, educational directors of temples, and teachers, on the many problems of the Jewish school."[11] It is clear that Ed Weil's request to the editor of the *Visitor* in 1874 remained as a pressing need for those involved in Jewish education nearly six decades later.

As has been demonstrated, the *Visitor* was unquestionably influential in the lives of many young American Jews, their families and educators. It served as a helpful link that connected Jews from all over the United States in a unique way, and it sought to educate Jewish youth and imbue them with a strong American Jewish identity.

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[9] Vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1875): 4.
[10] Ibid., 4.
[11] Gary P. Zola, "Reform Judaism Magazine" in *Popular Religious Magazines of the United States*, ed. Mark Fackler and Charles H. Lippy (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 434–438.

Moreover, the *Visitor* helped to strengthen the Jewish Sabbath School movement by providing a creative range of educational resources that had previously been lacking.

As one of the pioneering magazines intended specifically for American Jewish children, the *Visitor* blazed a trail for this particular genre.[12] In a response to a growing need for updated and appropriate educational material and an increasing awareness of the importance of an emotional element of learning, the *Visitor* was born. It seems reasonable to assume that the *Visitor*'s success influenced successive publications including *Young Israel*[13] and the *Ark* and has continued through to the modern period with the publication titled *BabgaNewz*[14]. *Young Israel*, the immediate successor of the *Visitor* lasted only three years from 1905 until 1908, however it reflected the same purpose of "inculcating Jewish values while acknowledging the importance of literacy in English language and in American culture."[15] Unlike the *Visitor* however, *Young Israel* was sponsored by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) under the direction of Rabbi George Zepin.[16] Additionally, over half of its board of editors were Reform rabbis.[17] The paper aimed to spread Reform's message among the youth and stem the alarming drift away from Reform temples.[18] In 1911, following the exact format of *Young Israel*, the *Ark*, a monthly journal made its debut. However, unlike its predecessor, the *Ark* attempted to broaden its appeal to non-Reformers and therefore

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[12] Penny Schine Gold, *Making the Bible Modern: Children's Bibles and Jewish Education in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2004), 124.
[13] This is a different *Young Israel* than the *Young Israel* (1871–1876) edited by Mr. Louis Schnabel and Morris Brecher.
[14] *BabagaNewz* was a full color Jewish values magazine published from 2001–2008.
[15] Sue Levi Elwell, "Educating Jews and Americans: The Influence of the First American Jewish Juvenile Magazine," *Religious Education* 81, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 244.
[16] Alan Silverstein, *Alternatives to Assimilation: The Response of Reform Judaism to American Culture, 1840–1930* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 1994), 190.
[17] Naomi W. Cohen, "*The Ark:* An Early Twentieth Century Periodical," *American Jewish Archives Journal* 56, nos. 1–2 (2004): 2.
[18] Ibid., 3.

made no mention of its Reform affiliation or its Reform editorial board.[19] The *Ark* included fiction, poems, plays, short articles and letters from its readership. All elements were intended to cultivate among its readers a strong Jewish identity, a commitment to biblical ethics and an appreciation of Jewish education.[20] In echoing the goals of Jewish integration expressed by Lilienthal in the *Visitor*, the *Ark* preached that the Jewish child was no less an American for being a Jew and that a dual devotion was necessary.[21] "Extolling the wonders of America for Jews, the periodical stressed the compatibility of Americanism and Judaism while it endorsed the overarching constant Jewish aim for full integration within the American community."[22]

Following the *Ark's* discontinuation in 1923, there have been few Jewish children's magazines that have experienced the same successes as those in the late 1800's and early 1900's. According to one theory, the significant decrease in children's magazines was due to the Depression of the 1930's and the fact that children were not a good market for advertisers. Moreover, with the rise of comic books in the 1930's[23] and other leisure activities like radio and television, children's magazine experienced a decline.[24] While there has never been a complete disappearance of religious children's magazines, there has been a steady ebb and flow present in this genre. For example, the

[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 2.
[21] Ibid., 3.
[22] Ibid., 1.
[23] Comic books evolved from the popularity of comic strips that appeared in newspapers of the 1930s. For more information on the history of comic books see Paul Douglas Lopes, *Demanding Respect: The Evolution of the American Comic Book* (Philadelphia:Temple University Press, 2009).
[24] Marguerite C. Radencich, "Two Centuries of U.S. Magazines for Youth," *Journal of Reading* 29, no. 6 (1986): 500.

juvenile magazine *Junior Scholastic*[25] introduced by Maurice R. Robinson in 1937 was very popular among American school children for a period of time. While the magazine has ceased to produce a printed publication, the magazine still reaches over 2 million students and teachers in an online edition.[26]

In the mid-1950s the CJE (Centre for Jewish Education), an educational agency for the Liberal and Reform movements in the UK established the magazine *Keeping Posted* as a public relations tool. It was intended to bring a single voice and vision to the entire Reform community. In 1956, a year after its first publication, philosopher Eugene Borowitz (1924–present), assumed editorship of the magazine. According to an article about Reform youth in America:

> Borowitz re-imagined *Keeping Posted* as a youth-centered publication, complete with whimsical illustrations, eye-catching modern fonts, and photographic spreads. Serving, in part, as a news digest for young people, the transformed periodical conveyed the central concerns of the postwar Reform movement, including support for political issues such as civil rights and the separation of church and state.[27]

The magazine was very popular among American Reform youth during this period. Like its predecessors, *Keeping Posted* served as a means of connection not only to other Reform youth in the country, but also to the greater Reform Jewish community

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[25] A newspaper magazine for American school children which began in 1937. It is still in publication today (online) and it is used as a way of discussing current events, before textbooks can be updated and distributed.

[26] "Junior Scholastic Celebrates 65 Years," *About Scholastic*, accessed on April 5, 2012 at <http://www.scholastic.com/aboutscholastic/news/press_112502.htm>.

[27] Emily Alice Katz, "Pen Pals, Pilgrims and Pioneers: Reform Youth and Israel 1948–1967," *American Jewish History* (2009): 7.

worldwide. While the magazine is no longer in publication, its impact on young Americans was powerful and meaningful.

In 2001 the Avi Chai Foundation attempted to reintroduce the Jewish educational magazine into Sunday schools in America. *BabagaNewz*, a full color Jewish values-based magazine was published from 2001 until 2008 when a scaled down version was published online. The publication was meant to enrich the fourth through seventh grade Sunday school curriculum. From the *BabagaNewz* website, the goals of the magazine and the current website include:

> Encourag[ing] young people to explore Jewish values, traditions, life-cycle events, holidays, and Israel, from perspectives that are novel, hip, fun, thought-provoking, exciting and that will encourage them to continue these explorations with the full power of their imaginations and reflections. Through its lesson plans and other support materials *BabagaNewz* makes it easy for teachers to prepare engaging activities and stimulate discussions that get students thinking.[28]

While educational style and content are considerably different in the modern Jewish magazine, *BabagaNewz's* goals and objectives are almost identical to those of its predecessors at the turn of the 20th century. The *Visitor*, a trailblazing pioneer of these Jewish youth magazines, set the stage for an innovative and unique educational tool that would become—in one format or another—an educational staple that would be used to enhance learning for generations of American Jewish youth. In an effort to augment the religious school curriculum, connect Jewish youth to their co-religionists around the

[28] BabagaNewz Website <http://babaganewz.com/about-babaganewz.

country, and strengthen Jewish identity, these Jewish youth magazines have played a noteworthy role in the history of Jewish life in America.

When Max Lilienthal conceived the idea of the *Visitor* it is unlikely he would have anticipated the long range impact his work would have on Jewish children of America. In creating a periodical filled with educational tools, entertainment and a means of connecting Jewish youth from all over the country, Lilienthal was striving to ensure that future generations of Jewish Americans would be capable of participating in the world, not only as Americans but also as educated Jews. On the basis of letters he received from his readers, there can be little doubt that the *Visitor*'s readers gained Jewish knowledge, found renewed interest in Jewish life and, above all, gained a sense of pride in their Jewish identity. Many of the Jewish youth who read this magazine testified to the fact that the *Visitor* made them proud to be Jewish and proud to be American.

For Lilienthal's audience, the *Visitor* was also a tool for the Jewish Sabbath/Sunday School classroom. This magazine provided new and creative educational resources to Jewish supplementary schools at a time when such accoutrements were sorely needed. The *Visitor* sought to enhance the overall quality of religious education. In sum, this magazine was a tool to be used in the home to connect isolated Jews to a greater Jewish community even as it was an educational resource for teachers and parents. Finally, the *Visitor* sought to provide its readers with a sense of Jewish self-respect and, in so doing, the magazine hoped to strengthen Jewish identity. Many of those who subscribed to the *Visitor* testified to positive influence this magazine had on their lives. The *Visitor* was truly a friend, just as Lilienthal promised in the very

first issue, "The Visitor is one of your best friends and instructive companions. Now, let us both go to work in the good earnest, and success will crown our mutual efforts."[29]

[29] Vol. 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1874): 1.

THE HEBREW

SABBATH SCHOOL VISITOR

Volume I. | שמע עצה וקבל מוסר למען תחכם | No. 2.

HEAR COUNSEL AND ACCEPT INSTRUCTION, IN ORDER THAT YOU MAY BECOME WISE.

BLOCH & CO., Publishers. | JANUARY, 1874. | REV. DR. LILIENTHAL Editor.

COME HERE, my dear children, said the VISITOR, and I will explain you this beautiful picture.

You recollect from your lessons in Biblical history, that Palestine had become quite a mighty kingdom under the government of the kings, David and Solomon.

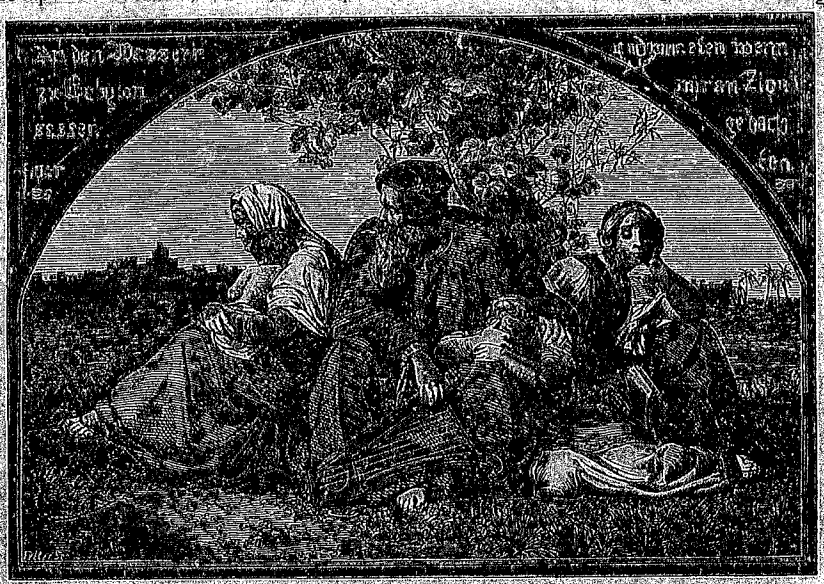
But after the death of Solomon a division took place, and two kingdoms were established. The northern was called the kingdom of Israel, with the capital of "Shomron," or "Samaria;" the southern was called the kingdom of Juden, with the capital of Jerusalem.

"In union is strength," says the American proverb; or also, "united we stand, divided we fall." The truth of these proverbs was verified in the history of Israel. As soon as they were separated, they began to fight each other. Thus weakening themselves, they easily became the prey of their mighty neighbors.

The prophets, these noble preachers and teachers of their times, had warned the people and their rulers of the dangers that threatened them; but these would not listen to the admonitions of these noble patriots. They thought themselves wisen than these inspired men, till it was too late. Their capitals were taken; their armies defeated; their cities destroyed; the temple of Jerusalem was laid in ashes; and they and their rulers were carried away into captivity of Babylon. The mighty king who won this victory was Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. This event is called the first destruction of the temple of Jerusalem.

Now, when the Jews had thus been driven away from their own land, and lived as exiles in a foreign land, they repented of their evil doings; they prayed to God to bring them back to their dear homes, and mourned deeply over their misfortunes. In the 137th Psalm we have one of the finest songs of these bygone times.

Open your Bible—I hope you have one at home—and read that psalm. It begins: "By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down, and wept when we remembered Zion."



THE MOURNING JEWS.

Of course they were teased and laughed at by their masters, who wanted them to sing one of the old songs they had sung at home. But they answered, as the Psalmist says, "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning!"

Now, after this explanation, come here and look at the picture. There sits the old father, chained, under a willow-tree; he holds his harp in his hands; he will not play on it, and will not sing the song of the Lord in Babylon.

His sons are either all slain or carried away as prisoners. Only his daughters are with him. By his right sits the widow, with her fatherless orphan, given up to her grief. By his left sits another daughter; she had been engaged to a worthy young man, but he has been killed in battle, and there she sits a forlorn, forsaken bride. And on the knees of the old father leans his third daughter, representing young Judea, weeping and mourning over the gloomy fate of her poor old father and her dear country.

Is this not a nice picture? But what you see here is only a wood-cut. You should see the large splendid oil-painting which is now in the imperial residence at Berlin, Germany. It was painted by a Jewish painter, Professor Bendermann, who likes to paint subjects of Jewish history. He is not ashamed of being a Jew. And when the king of Prussia saw the picture, he was so struck with its beauty that he bought it at once for 20,000 dollars.

But these gloomy times of exile, tears, and persecution have passed away. The Israelite now lives everywhere as a free citizen. And it was our good and glorious country of America which first proclaimed that all men are equal, no matter what their religion may be. The Declaration of Independence, issued on the 4th of July, 1776, laid down this noble and golden rule. Are you not proud of your country, that she has taught this lesson to the whole world? Are you not proud of being born in such a country? Yes, my dear children,

Vestry Room Mound St. Temple.
Cincinnati Jan. 4th 1874. Anno 5634.

A regular Meeting of the School Committee was held this day. Present.

Jacob Kronacher, President. M. Hellman
Solomon Kaufman, Treasurer, A.A. Kearney
Jacob Ezekiel, Secretary, A. Asher and
Gustav Moseley.

The Minutes of the preceeding Meeting were read and approved, and following business transacted.

Orders were drawn upon the Treasurer for the several amounts, Viz.

B. Wurmser, for Salary as Teacher until Feb. 1st		$50.
A. Reiss " " " " "	Jan 1st,	20.
L. Rothenberg " " " " " "	"	20.
Block & Co " Printing Notices &c		6.50
Sol. Kaufman " One Gallon Ink		1.75
		$98.25

On Motion of M. Hellman it was

Resolved, That the President of the School Committee be authorised to subscribe for One Hundred and Fifty ~~dollars~~ copies of "The Hebrew Sabbath School Visitor" to be distributed to each Scholar attending school. and that a subscription of one dollar be collected from each Scholar if practicable, to be applied towards payment of the same, and should any deficiency occur, the same be collected by voluntary contribution.

There appearing no other business, adjourned.

Jacob Ezekiel
Secretary.

Jacob Kronacher
Pres. Pro tem

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