A JOURNEY THROUGH HISTORY:
The American Jewish Woman
1820-Until the Present

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May 6, 1994

Curriculum Rationale

Although history may be defined by nothing more than the use of a particular set of methodologies to reconstruct the past based on multiple sources of evidence, this discipline, nonetheless, proves instrumental in helping to educate Jewish youth about their past. Jewish history allows students to study their past in an attempt to help them better understand the present and ultimately, to help them plan for the future. By creating a continuous link from the present to the past, students will be able to see themselves as part of the Jewish people, a people who share common experiences and events. Students will also be able to examine patterns from the past which shape the course of contemporary Jewish life, thereby enabling them to place their present reality into context. As American Jews, we can not fully understand our current situation unless we begin to understand how American Jewish life came to be what it is. Only this knowledge will provide the foundation from which our Jewish identities can burgeon.

The infrastructure of the social and philanthropic institutions of the Jewish community that exist today were created by the American Jewish women of the nineteenth century. These women were fulfilling one of Liberal Judaism's highest beliefs, social action. As part of a curriculum in a Liberal Jewish school, the role that American Jewish women played in society can serve as a model for all students to follow. The need to help our own Jewish community as well as the community at large is a goal for which we must all strive. Generally,

the study of American Jewish history is indeed just that--his-tory. In order for our students to obtain a fuller, deeper, richer picture of their history, they must be presented with a well-balanced view of how the American Jewish community was created, and understand that women played an integral role in helping to establish the vibrant Jewish community in which we live.

As adolescents are becoming aware of their surrounding communities, this curriculum would be most appropriate for them. As they are forming and molding their own identities, they will be afforded the opportunity to form and mold their understanding of the history of American Jewish women through the use of primary sources. As these adolescents are struggling to find their place as human beings in society, so, too, must they be afforded opportunities to find their place as Jews in America. Looking around, these teenagers see many woman role models: rabbis, professionals, and cantors. This may be seen as a departure from "traditional" accepted gender roles, but after close evaluation of the lives of nineteenth century American Jewish women this would quickly be dispelled. Although the professionalization of Jewish women is a fairly recent phenomenon, Jewish women volunteering to better the community is not new. In essence, this professionalization is not a departure from the past, rather an extension of it.

Teaching a curriculum on American Jewish women will provide a wonderful opportunity for students to acquire a greater understanding and appreciation for the infrastructure of their

own communites. By firmly rooting students in their own community's history we will provide them with both a sense of belonging as well as a sense of pride. From this sense of rootedness, students will be able to see themselves as a link in the chain of Jewish continuity and will feel a responsiblity and a desire to participate in its continual growth.

Curricular Goals

To familiarize students with the American Jewish women of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

To aid students in interpreting history through the use of primary source material.

To help students better understand the inner-workings of the Jewish community.

To provide students with positive role models.

To encourage students to have a greater appreciation for the past, present, and future of American Jewry.

MEMORABLE MOMENTS

I. Using the past to understand the present

Students will visit a Jewish Home for the Aged and be paired with one Jewish woman. The student will then interview the woman through note taking and tape-recording. After two visits the students should have enough material to begin writing vignettes about each woman's life.

A professional drama teacher will then visit the class to help guide and direct the students' writing. The students will return for one final visit where they ask any questions that need clarification. During the next class session students will complete their vignettes and begin working with the drama instructor on how to stage their writings. The drama specialist will weave the individual vignettes into a play which the students will perform at the end of the semester.

II. Using the present to understand the past

During the course of the semester the students will be learning about the creation of the Jewish community. Jewish women were instrumental in helping to establish the cohesiveness of the Jewish community, through the creation of women's organizations, many of which still exist today. Therefore, as a class, we will take a trip to a local Jewish women's organization to

observe their inner workings as well as to help them with one of their social action programs.

III. Using the past and the present to plan for the future.

Throughout the course of the semester students will keep a journal recording their reactions to the material studied each week. In addition, some of the learning activities, which will completed over the year, are also encouraged to be included in these jourals, despite their non-traditional journal form. The teacher can decide if these journals will be written at the end of each session or at home. During the last class session each student will design a cover and a binding for their journals which will transformed into their own books, telling their own journey through history. This book will allow each student to take with them a tangible representation of their personal response to American Jewish women. And more importantly, it will represent the future: the recording of one's interpretation which can be shared with the generations to come.

Timeline

Weeks 1 and 2	Unit One: Introduction and Immigration
Week 3	First visit to Home for the Aged
Weeks 4,5,6	Unit Two: The Community at Large
Week 7	Second visit to Home for the Aged
Week 8	Begin writing vignettes; drama specialist comes to class to help students begin the process
Weeks 9 and 10	Unit Three: Jewish Community
Week 11	Field Trip to Jewish Women's organization
Week 12	Final visit to the Home for the Aged
Weeks 13 and 14	Unit Four: Expanding our World
Week 15	Work with drama specialist; practice staging the play
Week 16	Summary and book making
Week 17	Run through play; put on finishing touches.

Unit One: Introduction to the American Jewish Women of the nineteenth century

This introductory unit is aimed at acquainting the student with immigration as well as the ethnic divisions that existed among the Jews during the nineteenth century. Students should be provided with background information concerning the process of immigration, including details of Ellis Island, entrance tests, and other difficulties that arose. In addition, the difference between the German and Eastern European Jews will be examined and discussed.

The unit will be divided into two classes. The first one will focus on immigration, and second will focus on the German Jewish experience compared to the Eastern European experience. The goals listed below focus on both while the objectives are specified for each session.

GOALS:

To understand the concept of immigration and its affects upon the immigres as well as the society at large who was accepting them.

To distinguish between the German Jews and the Eastern European Jews, in particular, the women.

KEY CONCEPTS:

-Assimilation of the German Jews: The German Jews had been well assimilated into American culture well before the arrival of the Eastern European Jews. This fact created a tense dynamic between these groups of Jews.

-Embarrassment felt by German Jews toward Eastern European Jews: One of the emotions felt by the German Jews as they quickly tried to assimilate their Eastern European relatives into American culture as quickly as possible.

- -Level of culture among both groups of Jewish women: There were many women who were involved in theater and literature. While immigrants were creating new beginnings they formed social clubs as cultural outlets.

-Immigration--Ellis Island: Virtually all immigrants passed through Ellis Island where they were expected to pass several tests before being allowed entry into America.

Lesson One

OBJECTIVES: SWBAT

Describe the process of immigration the Jews experienced in order to be admitted into America.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES:

1) Create a scenario in which students will be moving to another country (choose a country in which a foreign language is spoken). Ask them what they will need to bring and write their responses on the board. Compare this list to actual items brought by the Jewish immigrants on their trans-atlantic journey. Discuss the similarities and differences in the lists and what factors may have led to these discrepancies. After the class discussion have each student write a letter to a relative back in their native country describing the process of immigration and their experience thus far in America. This letter should be included in their journals.

2) Watch the movie "Hester Street". Have students choose six to ten key segments of the movie and make their own filmstrip. Each segment should be illustrated, with subtitles if necessary; all on one long strip of paper. When finished students put their filmstrip into a cardboard frame and pull the strip in order to share their interpretation of the movie. Students may also respond to the movie in their journals.

Lesson Two

OBJECTIVES: SWBAT

List several aspects of German Jewish culture, specifying the role of German Jewish women and several aspects of Eastern European culture, specifying the role of the Eastern European Jewish women.

Compare and contrast the lifestyles, cultures, and ways of the German Jewish women and the Eastern European Jewish women.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES:

1) As a class read Emma Lazarus's poems especially the one inscribed on the Statue of Liberty. Discuss its meaning and its significance. Why was her poem chosen? Can we learn anything about the life of the German Jewish woman in America from this poem, from her other writings? Choose an Eastern European poet (i.e. Anzia Yezierska or other Yiddish writers) and do the same thing. Afterwards, compare and contrast the findings.

For sources see

pages 325-328 (Emma Lazarus' writings) in
Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

pages 784-790 (Anzia Yezierska's writings) in
Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

Some of Yezierska's books:

Arrogant Beggar. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1927.

Bread Givers. New York: Braziller, 1925.

Children of Loneliness. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1923.

The Open Cage. New York: Persea Books, 1979.

For a more complete biography see Weinberg, Sydney Stahl, The World of Our Mothers. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

2) Using learning stations, create several areas around the room that exhibit different aspects of culture such as dress, literature, education, art, music, or theater. At each station include the role the German Jewish women played in this area, as well as the role the Eastern European Jewish women played. One idea of a station may have various references to Jewish

women in American literature during the 19th century. Students could examine if and how the image changed after the number of Eastern European Jews skyrocketed. Another station may have the students compare and contrast, in chart form, the dancing and debuts of the German Jewish women verses the informal dancing clubs of the Eastern European women. Other topics may also be mapped on the chart.

For sources see

chapter 10 (Cultural Activities in Yiddish: The Theatre and Literature) and 11 (The Image of the Russian-Jewish Immigrant Woman in Print) in

Glanz, Rudolf. The Jewish Woman in America: Two Female Immigrant Generations 1820-1929, volume I: The Eastern European Jewish Woman. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1976.

chapters 6 (Style, Fashion, and Etiquette) and 11 (The Creative Woman) in

Glanz, Rudolf. The Jewish Woman in America: Two Female Immigrant Generations 1820-1929, volume II: The German Jewish Woman. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1976.

chapter 7 (The Changing Image of the Jewish Woman in Literature) in

Baum, Charlotte, Paula Hyman and Sonya Michel. The Jewish Woman in America. New York: The Dial Press, 1976.

3) Compile a booklet including several diary entries from both German and Eastern European Jewish women. Have the students read and then discuss their importance and significance, their similarities and differences. Ask students if they keep journals, if so, ask them what we can learn about American culture from their journals? If we use journals as primary sources of information, what do we need to recognize about them? (They are subjective, one person's perception concerning a given situation). The following sources may be helpful:

Kohut, Rebekah. My Portion: An Autobiography. New York: 1927.

Lowenthal, Marvin. Henrietta Szold: Life and Letters. New York: 1942.

Philipson, Rabbi David. Letters of Rebecca Gratz. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America: 1929.

Ribalow, Harold V. Autobiographies of American Jews. Philadelphia, 1965.

Solomon, Hannah G. Fabric of My Life. New York: 1946.

4) Students may write a journal entry on the reaction to the cultural life of either the German Jewish women or the Eastern European women.

Unit Two: The Role of the American Jewish Woman in the Larger American Community

This unit places the Jewish women within the larger American framework. Having learned the details of immigration and the ethnic diversity among German and Eastern European Jews in unit one, students should be ready to examine the political, economic, and social realities of these new immigrant women.

This unit is divided into three lessons. The first lesson will provide a framework of the cultural differences with which American Jewish women had to contend. The second lesson will focus on one specific area, sweatshops. Many Eastern European women were forced to work in sweat shops in order to survive financially. Because they did not have the language nor the education to succeed in more professional occupations, they were obliged to work under despicable conditions. The students will study how the working conditions in the factories acted as an impetus for the birth of labor unions.

The third lesson will focus on two concepts: the importance the immigrant women placed on education and the professionalization of some of the German Jewish women. Because many German women had been in America longer than their Eastern European sisters, they had already learned the language and usually had more education upon entry into America.

GOALS:

To understand the difficulties many new immigrants experienced in America.

To describe life in the sweat shops.

To explain how some of these immigrants helped to better the working conditions by helping to create labor unions.

To explore the importance of education within Jewish tradition and how this value allowed German Jewish women to participate in various professional occupations.

KEY CONCEPTS:

Sweat Shops and their working conditions: A large number of Eastern European Jewish women worked in these dirty, unsanitary sweat shops where they were paid minimally.

Labor Union Movement: Ultimately the poor treatment received by Jewish women in the sweat shops pushed them to organize unions; Jewish women were instrumental in their creation.

Importance of Education: By the turn of the 20th century there were a significant number of German Jewish women who had completed secondary school or higher places of learning and were able to move toward a career path.

Women working as Professionals: During the early 20th century, most women were homemakers; however, there were those that did work outside of the home. While most women who worked were teachers, nurses, social workers, or secretaries, there were a few lawyers and physicians.

Lesson One

OBJECTIVES: SWBAT

List some of the difficulties the Jewish immigrant women had to overcome in order for their children to succeed in America.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES:

1) Have the teacher gather several letters which were written by women from the **Bintel Brief** (They are letters from the advice column of the Jewish Daily Forward, the foremost Yiddish newspaper. They have been translated into English, Metzer, Isaac. A Bintel Brief. New York: Ballantine Press, 1971). The students should read the letters, identify the problems encountered, and discuss the advice given. See Appendix A for a sample of several letters.

After the students have a sense of what issues confronted the Jewish immigrant women, they should design their own version of the **Bintel Brief.** Students should divide among themselves who will write the letters, who will respond, who will layout the paper, etc...When the paper is finished it should be put together and xeroxed for each member of the class. The students should be encouraged to put these packets in their journals.

2) Have the students watch the movie, "Molly's Pilgrim." Students may then write in their journals their reaction to the movie.

Lesson Two

OBJECTIVES: SWBAT

Describe the working conditions in the sweat shops.

Enumerate the events leading up to the push for labor unions.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES:

1) Before class begins place a space heater in the classroom until the temperature is quite high. Keep the heater running for the first five to fifteen minutes of class (or until the heat becomes unbearable, certainly well before someone faints!). This physical example will serve as a glimpse into the working conditions of the sweat shops. A discussion can then be held around other ways in which these factory girls' conditions were abusive.

2) Students may read first-hand accounts of events that occurred in the factories, especially concerning the Triangle Waist Factory Fire. After reading the accounts, the

students may choose the passage they found most poignant and paint an abstract picture with watercolors that expresses the essence of the text.

For source material see

pages 493, 568, 590-595, 642 in

Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

3) Using knowledge from the above activities generate a list of reasons why Jewish women would help fight for unions. What Jewish values correspond to this concept of helping the self and helping others? Examine the integral role many Jewish women played in pushing for the creation of unions by reading and discussing various primary and secondary sources.

The following sources may be helpful:

chapter 5 in

Baum, Charlotte, Paula Hyman and Sonya Michel. The Jewish Woman in America. New York: The Dial Press, 1976.

pages 116-133 in

Kuzmack, Linda Gordon. Woman's Cause: The Jewish Woman's Movement in England and the United States, 1881-1933. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990.

pages 449-459; 581-589; 591-595 in

Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

pages 382-838 in

Mendes-Flohr, Paul and Jehuda Reinharz. The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.

4) Have students write their responses to the sweat shops and the creation of the labor unions in their journals.

Lesson three

OBJECTIVES: SWBAT

Cite examples of Jewish texts in which the importance of education is described.

List the professional trades in which Jewish American women worked.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES:

1) Look at traditional Jewish texts to see the emphasis Judaism places on education. Divide the students into pairs and have them work together on several questions such as, "Why is education such an important concept within Judaism?" "What responsibilities does a parent have to educate a child," "What subject areas does a child need to know?" "How can the

idea of teaching specific Jewish topics to one's child relate to us as American Jews approaching the 21st century?"

For material see:

volume I pages 1-30; volume II pages 1, 19, 64; volume III page 3 in

Siegel, Danny. Where Heaven and Earth Touch. New York: The Town House Press, 1985.

2) Watch the movie "Yentl" to help illustrate the importance of acquiring knowledge. Have each student write a response to the movie incorporating the knowledge they have acquired this far regarding the life of the Eastern European Jews. How can we appreciate and learn from the movie despite its focus on the male yeshiva world? This response should be included in their journals.

3) Collate a packet of professional American Jewish women (dating from mid-nineteenth century to early twentieth century) using either primary or secondary sources. Have each student read the packets individually and answer a few questions on the information. Then have the students play charades. One student should choose a woman and act out her name. The other students then must guess the profession associated with this woman. This will help students remember the woman and her profession because the information will have "come alive."

For material see:

pages 68-87 in

Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman, 1654-1980. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

pages 460, 472, 479, 489, 520, 550, 556, 625, 639, 650, 701, 709, 721, 730, 749 in

Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

4) Have students write their response to the material in their journals.

Unit Three: The Role of the American Jewish Woman in the Jewish Community

The third unit places the American Jewish woman within the context of her Jewish community. After studying the role she had in the American community at large, the students should be able to narrow their focus to the American Jewish woman's position within a Jewish framework. The unit will be divided into three lessons, one of which will be a field trip (see Memorable Moment #2) to a Jewish woman's organization.

The first session will focus on the philanthropic organizations created by the German Jewish women. They were created as a response to several issues, two of which being: a desire to parallel the Christian charity groups and a desire to make the immigrants "good" Americans, lest they embarrass the German Jews. While these organizations were designed to address both of these issues, the foundation of these institutions was strongly grounded in the Jewish value, **tzedekah.**

The second session will focus on Rebecca Gratz and how she began the first Sunday school in America. Students will examine what school was like during the late 19th century. The third and final session will be a field trip to The National Council of Jewish Women, or a comparable organization.

GOALS:

To understand the role of the American Jewish women within the Jewish community.

To recognize the significance of Jewish value **tzedakah** in the creation of the philanthropic institutions of the 19th century.

To recognize the importance of the introduction of Jewish Sunday school in America.

KEY CONCEPTS:

Philanthropic Organizations: There were obvious benefits for the recipients of these institutions; however, the women who worked in them also obtained benefits. For the first time women were able to assume roles of leadership positions which were "accepted" by the rest of the community.

German Jewish women creating organizations to "help" the Eastern European women: Although many of the philanthropic institutions were created to prevent the German Jews from the

embarrassment they felt for their immigrant relatives, the concept of **tzedakah** is one of the essential elements in Judaism. In Deuteronomy 19:20, we are commanded to pursue **tzedakah,** justice. These German women were performing **tzedakah** in the truest sense.

Creation of Sunday school by Rebecca Gratz: Rebecca Gratz opened the first Sunday school in 1838 in Philadelphia because she wanted to provide American Jewish children with a sense of their Jewish identity.

Lesson One

OBJECTIVES: SWBAT

Describe the social, economic, and religious reasons for the creation of philanthropic organizations by the German Jewish women.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES:

1) Set up learning stations around the room. Each station will describe a different philanthropic organization, its goals, achievements, and role in the Jewish community. After learning about the organization, students are to plan their own **tzedakah** project that would be representative of the organization with which they are working. For example, if one group learns about the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society which helped the needy, especially the widow and the orphan, the group may decide to bring in ten dollars and donate it to a Jewish organization that helps the needy or they may decide to run a canned food drive for a couple of weeks and donate the food. Each group should do the same.

For source material see:

pages 87-91 in

Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman, 1654-1980. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

pages 420-440 (The National Council of Jewish Women); 609-614 (The Maxwell Street Settlement House); 614-624 (Hadassah) in

Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

2) The teacher should obtain several copies of the minutes of philanthropic organizations (from the mid to late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries) and analyze them. To whom did the money go? Were there any pre-requisites needed to receive financial assistance? Have the students design a questionnaire. Based on who was given aid, ask the students to image what types of questions might have been posed to the recipient by the organization.

** Make sure to emphasize that this is an exercise in using primary source material to generate "information, questions, and answers" It should not imply that one must pass a questionnaire before receiving **tzedakah.**

For source material see

Appendix B, chapter 3 in

Grossblatt, Amy. The Development of Rebecca Gratz's Identity as a Jew and as a Woman, unpublished thesis, 1991.

pages 465-467 (Chicago Ladies Aid and Ladies Sewing Societies) in

Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

Lesson Two

OBJECTIVES:

To compare and contrast the curriculum, methods, and resources of the original Sunday schools with those of today.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES:

1) As students enter the classroom begin by teaching as Rebecca Gratz did. Dress in traditional woman's garb of the mid-nineteenth century and hand out the type of materials she used. After a few minutes change into yourself and teach the same lesson as it may be taught currently in this school. Have the students draw comparisons and contrasts to the manner in which the material was taught as well as the content.

For source material see
Appendix B, chapter 3 in
Grossblatt, Amy. The Development of Rebecca Gratz's Identity as a Jew and as a Woman, unpublished thesis, 1991.

2) After students have been exposed to Rebecca Gratz's manner of teaching as well as the resources she had (or lack there of), have students design a 5-10 minute lesson on the Jewish topic of their choice using Gratz's style. Each group will present to the others; the presentations may be videotaped.

For source material see
Appendix B, chapter 3 in
Grossblatt, Amy. The Development of Rebecca Gratz's Identity as a Jew and as a Woman, unpublished thesis, 1991.

Unit Four: Expanding our Worlds: Change and/or Continuity?

This final unit will combine the knowledge gained in the previous three units and use it as a foundation from which will the role of the American Jewish woman can be examined. There will three sessions in the unit. The first will focus on the changing role of the American Jewish woman within the larger community. Obviously, the role of women in America has changed due to various factors, the suffragist movement, rise in education, and increase in economic status. While these changes were occurring in the society at large a few members of the Reform movement tried similar changes for women within the liberal Jewish framework.

From this decision, we see women assuming more professional leadership positions in Judaism. Although we see many changes within the synagogue structure (women rabbis, educators, and cantors as well as may women lay leaders) can we see similar transformation within the Jewish communal service organizations? We know that the role of women has changed in Judaism but the question still remains, did the role of women in communal, philanthropic organizations change or is their role today merely an extension of their role in the past? In Jewish communal service institutions do women of today play a similar role as women of yesterday?

The first class session will analyze how the role of women within the general American community has changed. The second session will focus on the role of these women within Judaism and within the Jewish community.

GOALS:

To describe the Jewish women's importance in the Suffrage movement.

To examine the change which allows women of today to participate in all aspects of Liberal Judaism

To realize the significance of Reform Judaism's appearance in America during the late 19th century, especially in regard to the status of the American Jewish woman.

To begin processing a response to the question of change or continuity for the American Jewish women within a Jewish communal setting.

KEY CONCEPTS:

-Role of Jewish women in the Suffragist movement: Several Jewish women were quite active in pushing for equal voting power.

-The changing role of women in liberal Judaism: Women were becoming much more active in synagogue life. They were active in the sisterhood. In addition, they held board positions and ultimately became educators, rabbis, and cantors.

-Reform Judaism's arrival in America: Until the arrival of Reform Judaism, Jewish practice in America was orthodox.

-Reform Judaism's push for gender equality: Orthodoxy professed the "separate but equal" status of women. Reform Judaism fought against this notion.

Lesson One

OBJECTIVES: SWBAT

Describe the role played by the Jewish American women who participated in the Suffragist movement.

Describe how the Suffrage movement enabled American Jewish women to become more visible in various professions.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES:

1) Students can read primary source material as well as brief biographies of the women who believed in and fought for the Suffragist movement. With an understanding of what the suffragists were fighting for and why, students may create posters, signs, buttons, and other paraphenalia and stage a rally supporting the suffrage movement.

2) Students can stage a debate between suffragists and anti-suffragists. Of special note would be the Reform Rabbis who supported women's right to vote and the sisters Annie Nathan Meyer and Maud Nathan who disagreed on enfranchisement. Annie was anti and Maud was pro.

For source material see:

chapter 6 ("Votes for Women") in

Kuzmack, Linda Gordon. Woman's Cause: The Jewish Woman's Movement in England and the United States, 1881-1933. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990.

pages 384 (Annie Nathan Meyer), 389-394 (Reform Rabbis on Women's Suffrage) in

Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

Lesson Two

OBJECTIVES: SWBAT

Compare and contrast the differences between the rights granted to women before and after Reform Judaism's push for equality among gender lines.

Describe the process Reform Judaism went about in order to change the status quo.

SUGGESTED LEARNING ACTIVITIES:

1) Have a panel consisting of women rabbis, cantors, educators, and lay people of varying ages. Ask them questions about their experiences, of special interest would be comparing and contrasting the responses of older women verses younger women.

2) Choose several texts from the Talmud that limit women's participation in Judaism and have the students study chevrusa style Liberal Judaism's approach to the issues. Be sure to include other approaches-- Conservative and Modern Orthodox and how they used halacha to grant women more rights. One example might be the ordination of women rabbis: read and discuss the Reform and Conservative responsa responsible for overturning the pre-existing ruling.

3) Distribute and read various passages from The Invisible Thread. This book is compiled of sixty interviews with "regular" American Jewish women from all socio-economic realms. Each women speaks of Judaism's significance in their own lives. Use this book as a tool from which students can get a sense of the importance Judaism plays in these "regular" American Jewish women's lives.

Learning Materials

Because there are no authoritative textbooks on American Jewish women, I suggest the use of the following two books. They may be used as background material for the teachers as well as key learning materials for the students:

Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman, 1654-1980. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

Marcus' book describes the experience of the American Jewish woman during the years 1654-1980. He begins with a brief overview of His-story from 1654-1980 and Her-story during the same years. But he divides Her-story into six time frames: 1654-1819 Colonial, Revolutionary Period, and the Early Decades of the 19th century; 1819-1892 Autoemancipation; 1893-1919 The Emerging American Jewess; 1920-1962 The Era of Enlargement and Expansion; 1963-1980 The Women's Revolt and the American Jewess. For greater detail see the first precis.

Marcus, Jacob. The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1981.

This volume is the companion to the book listed above. Its contents are documents ranging from 1737-1980, most of which are primary sources. This volume is an invaluable reference tool and when used in conjunction with volume 1, an extremely rich picture of the American Jewish woman is created.

Annotated Bibliography

Baum, Charlotte, Paula Hyman and Sonya Michel. The Jewish Woman in America. New York: The Dial Press, 1976.

While this book begins with the role of women within Judaism, it quickly moves to its focus: the development of the Jewish woman in America. Initially, separate chapters are designated to the German Jewish women and to the Eastern European women, but a later chapter emphasizes the relationship that evolved from the two. Baum, Hyman, and Michel also discuss the rise of Jewish women in the labor unions as well as the changing role of women in literature. The authors support their conclusions with numerous examples although they do not document them with footnotes. Nonetheless, there is an extensive bibliography at the end of the book.

Bletter, Diana and Lori Grinker. The Invisible Thread. Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society, 1989.

Over the course of five years, Bletter and Grinker interviewed many women asking them such questions as "what does it mean to be a Jewish woman in America?" and "what does it mean to be an American woman within Judaism?" Sixty answers from women of all socio-economic levels replied and their responses are the content of this book. As we read each response we see the "invisible thread" that links all these women together.

Glanz, Rudolf, The Jewish Woman in America: Two Female Immigrant Generations 1820-1929, volumes I and II. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1976.

Glanz details the life of both the German and the Eastern European Jewish woman in America. He discusses several personal areas such as family problems, marriage, divorce. Additionally, he researches societal issues such as social mores, society arts, style, fashion, and etiquette. Finally Glanz sketches a picture for us of the education received by these woman and ultimately the role these women played in the women's rights movement. Glanz's work is extremely well-documented and his endnotes may be helpful when searching for additional source material.

Kuzmack, Linda Gordon, Woman's Cause: The Jewish Woman's Movement in England and the United States 1881-1933. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990.

Although half of this book relates to England, the other half pertains to the United States. Its contents are most helpful when studying Jewish social service organizations, the Labor movement and the Suffrage movement. Included are Jewish women who were among those fighting in the front lines for social, political, and economic equality.

Philipson, Rabbi David, ed., The Letters of Rebecca Gratz. Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society, 1929.

Rabbi Philipson has compiled hundreds of letters written by Rebecca Gratz to her family members during the years 1808-1866. From these letters one obtains a sense of what life was like for an upper-class German Jewish woman living in Philadelphia during the 19th century.

Umansky, Ellen M. and Dianne Ashton. Four Centuries of Jewish Women's Spirituality-A Sourcebook. Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.

Although this book is a collection of writings from Jewish women around the world, there are excerpts from very important American Jewish women such Grace Aguilar, Rebecca Gratz, Grace Nathan, and Emma Lazarus. This book nicely balances the many historical texts already mentioned by providing us with the emotional and spiritual aspect of what it means to be a Jewish woman in America.

Weinberg, Sydney Stahl. The World of Our Mothers. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Weinberg interviewed 21 women who immigrated mainly during the years 1896-1925. From these interviews she has woven together life for an Eastern European immigrant woman. Beginning with life in the shtetl and moving to life on the Lower East Side. Weinberg discusses the numerous changes that occurred over the years and how these changes affected the women, themselves, and their families.

In his book, The American Jewish Woman 1654-1980, Jacob Rader Marcus traces the role of the American Jewish woman from colonial America until the present day. By piecing together available records, Marcus shatters the silence and brings us the voices and stories of those American Jewish women who were not heard from until quite recently. From this history, we can learn how we, American Jewish women, have arrived at our own place within the American Jewish community. Marcus divides American Jewish women's history into the following categories: the colonial period/early decades of the 19th century, autoemancipation 1819-1892, the emerging American Jewess 1893-1919, the era of enlargement and expansion 1920-1962, and the women's revolt and the American Jewess 1963-1980.

In colonial America and in the early American republic women knew their tasks, roles, and responsibilities. All of these women practiced Orthodox Judaism and were therefore responsible for keeping a kosher home, using the mikveh, as well as all the other requirements for being a "good" Jewish wife. Occasionally, these women helped their husbands with bookkeeping, clerking, and other such tasks. After the Revolution a small number of women even owned their own shops (Marcus, 18). From the evidence, Marcus concludes that these women did not feel that they were "oppressed"; in fact he claims that they were indeed respected and loved by their husbands (Marcus, 24).

The next phase, autoemancipation, brought American Jewish women out of the home and into the world of organized social

The next phase, autoemancipation, brought American Jewish women out of the home and into the world of organized social welfare. The year 1819 represents a "revolution" for these women. At this time American Jewish women seemed to have developed a notion of "sisterhood"; Marcus suggests that this phenomenon may have been "an avowal of feminine consciousness" (Marcus, 47). After this date hundreds of women's organizations would be established. An important distinction must be drawn here; these various groups gathered for religious (during this era Reform and Conservative Judaism had become part of American religious reality) or social reasons, not for political ones. The majority of these organizations were philanthropic in nature and were created to help those less fortunate in the Jewish community. Generally, women at this time were happy with their position in society. They realized that despite their primary responsibilities in the home and with the family they were able to work outside of the home within a philanthropic framework.

With the arrival of the 1890's and the influx of immigrants over the preceding decades, a schism between native-born Americans and Central European women and Eastern European women developed. The former continued with social welfare; they tried to remain hidden in American society and patterned themselves after their non-Jewish counterparts. The Eastern European women began working in the garment industry, (i.e. sweatshops) and ultimately their children would add to the already existing community of important, successful American Jewish women. Despite this chasm, both groups tried very hard to blend into

American culture through assimilation and acculturation, respectively; nonetheless, Marcus contends that their faith did not waiver (Marcus, 183).

During the years 1920-1962, American Jewish women were becoming more educated and learning how to "make it in a man's world." In the work force, in politics, and in college these women were more visible. Many women felt that this visibility should be reflected in religion as well. Reform Judaism took the lead and in the 1940's women were called up to the Torah and were encouraged to become a bat-mitzvah. Both the Conservative and Orthodox sects began making changes, where possible, so that women in their movements would feel a greater sense of equality. Despite the strides American Jewish women had been making over the years, they were still working within a male-dominated world. Not until the tumultuous times of the 1960's would women's changing roles be legitimized and accepted.

With the rise of civil rights for Blacks, so, too, came the rise of equal rights for women. Women were no longer restricted or expected to stay at home to raise a family. They were now able to chose their own destiny as opposed to having gender prescribe it. The birth of the feminist movement sent shockwaves not only throughout America but also throughout the Jewish community. Jewish Feminist groups began sprouting up as well as Jewish Feminist magazines. Women were now demanding equality in the religious realm. Today, in the liberal sects of Judaism women are treated as equals--what a long way we have come!

Throughout the ages the role of the American Jewish woman has changed with the historical, economic, political, and social implications of the time. Over the two hundred and fifty years from 1654-1980 the Jewish woman has moved from the home into the philanthropic world of social welfare to the workplace and from being a "second-class" citizen in religious issues to an equally valid participant in all aspects of Liberal Jewish practice. These overwhelming changes must be understood within an historical context so that we, too, may better understand our own emerging roles as Jewish American women approaching the 21st century.

The Jewish Woman in America: Two Female Immigrant Generations 1820-1929, Volume 1: The Eastern European Jewish Woman

In his first volume, Rudolph Glanz traces the lives of Eastern European Jewish women as they emigrated from Russia to America during the late nineteenth century. Using a conglomerations of various sources, Glanz sketches the political, economic, social, religious, and personal realms of these new immigrants. The Eastern European Jewish women's experiences in America begin with the process of immigration itself and extend into the historical situations from which this mass immigration evolved. While late nineteenth century Russian pogroms were the impetus for the large emigration from Europe, we first must delve into the life of the Russian Jewish woman in Russia in order to better understand her role in America.

Women's lives in Russia can basically be categorized into three areas: women who remained solely in home, women who began working outside the home in industrial occupations, and women who worked outside the home to support their husbands. This economic independence that some women had experienced in Russia would have profound effects on their activities in the United States. Politically, many women were familiar with the labor movement, communes, and Socialism. These movements which professed political equality helped to train both Russian Jewish men and women who were preparing to emigrate

Immigration of Russian Jews was a "family experience;" very few people came without other family members. Once these Russian immigrants had arrived in the United States, it became

very few people came without other family members. Once these Russian immigrants had arrived in the United States, it became the responsibility of the pre-existing American-Jewish (mostly German) community to help their "relatives" adopt American ways and customs. Great tensions arose among the well-established German Jews and the newly arriving Russian immigrants.

In spite of these conflicts, many social agencies were organized in order to train the new immigrants. These institutions provided instruction in areas with which the women were already familiar: sewing and cooking. By 1900, the large majority of Russian Jewish girls worked in women's apparel, especially as seamstresses, milliners, and sales girls. In addition to the trade orientation of the agencies, the Jewish communal workers also attempted to teach Jewish values which often conflicted with American culture and with their occupations (An example of this is teaching the importance of Shabbat; however, these girls were prohibited from observing the Shabbat because they had to work). Although these agencies were able to occupationally train the young women, more institutions were needed in order to train younger girls who were not yet of working age.

Funded by the Jewish community, new industrial schools began cropping up in New York to help the girls with their future occupations. The girls simultaneously attended public school while they attended the industrial school. Soon after their success, other cities followed suit , Chicago, St. Louis, Des Moines, and Memphis. Upon careful examination of the industrial

schools the Jewish community felt that the girls needed not only training but also protection from the outside world. With this re-evaluation, social settlement homes arose. At these homes the girls were able to learn trades and participate in leisure activities within a safe, Jewish environment. These settlement homes were extremely successful and continued to be financed and supported by the Jewish community. Some of the organizations involved in their creations include The National Council of Jewish Women, The Educational Alliance, and The Hebrew Institute.

Because of the success of these social agencies, institutions, and settlement houses the majority of Russian Jewish immigrant young women and girls found employment in the garment industry. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, many Russian Jewish girls became involved with the numerous strikes that occurred at the workplace. Influenced by radical ideas and the Jewish labor movement which sprung from the Socialist Russian parties, these girls quickly realized that they could attain their goals through unions and strikes and so--they organized. These Russian Jewish immigrant women were some of the most instrumental in orchestrating the union movement in United States' history. Ultimately, these women would become strong advocates in and proponents for the suffrage movement.

While these young women and girls were adapting to an American way of life, they were losing a large portion, if not all, of their Judaism. One synagogue expressed the need "to

teach them [the Russian Jewish girls] that Judaism is by no means a religion of texts from the past...but that it is a religion of sweet and tender sympathy for the weak, the erring, the desolate" (Glanz, 57). The weak bond that many Jewish girls felt toward their Judaism may, as Glanz suggests, have been a factor which prompted them to intermarry. Although intermarriage was not very common, it did occur most often between Russian Jewish girls and Italian men.

Despite the decrease in knowledge and practice of Judaism, consciousness of the Russian family toward philanthropy heightened. The social and cultural aspects of Judaism seemed to be growing with the development of the **landsmanschaft** (family circle). Women took an active role in these organizations and although this group began with family and friends, it soon extended to the larger Jewish social and cultural sector. These **landsmanschaftn** marked the beginning of the philanthropic arena for the Russian woman.

In the period between 1880-1929, Russian Jewish women made great strides in America. They managed to maintain their own sense of identity through Yiddish theater and literature while they adapted to the American way of life. Through the hard labor these women endured in sweatshops, they ensured a better future for their children. But while these women worked, they also strove for better working conditions for themselves which ultimately led to the great unions of the early nineteenth century. Some immigrant women even went outside the "designated" areas to become professionals such as teachers and nurses.

The lessons we learn from the experiences of these Russian Jewish immigrant women help us to understand our own roots within the context of Jewish women in America.

Appendix A

Taken from: Metzker, Isaac, ed. A Bintel Brief. New York: Ballantine Books, 1971.

cause there in the small town it shouldn't be difficult to have him thrown out of the shop and for her to get her job back.

1908

Dear Editor,

I ask you to give me some advice in my situation.

I am a young man of twenty-five, sixteen years in America, and I recently met a fine girl. She has a flaw, however, that keeps me from marrying her. The fault is that she has a dimple in her chin, and it is said that people who have this lose their first husband or wife.

At first I laughed at the idea, but later it began to bother me. I began to observe people with dimpled chins and found out that their first husbands or wives really had died prematurely. I got so interested in this that whenever I see someone with this defect I ask about it immediately, and I find out that some of the men have lost their first wives, and some of the women's first husbands are dead.

This upset me so that I don't know what to do. I can't leave my sweetheart. I love her very much. But I'm afraid to marry her lest I die because of the dimple. I've questioned many people. Some say it's true, others laugh at the idea.

Perhaps you, too, will laugh at me for being such a fool and believing such nonsense, but I cannot rest until I hear your opinion about it. I want to add that my sweetheart knows nothing about this.

Respectfully,
The Unhappy Fool

ANSWER:
The tragedy is not that the girl has a dimple in her chin but that some people have a screw loose in their heads!

One would need the knowledge of a genius to explain how a dimple in the chin could drive a husband or wife to the grave. Does the angel of death sit hiding in the dimple? It seems to us that it is a beauty spot, and we never imagined it could house the Devil!

It's tragic humor to find such superstition in the world today. It's truly shameful that a young man who was brought up in America should ask such questions. To calm him, we wish to tell him we know many people with such dimples who have not lost their first husbands or wives, but live out their years together in great happiness.

1908

Worthy Mr. Editor,

Please help us decide who is right in the debate between friends, whether a Socialist and freethinker should observe *yohrzeit*?

Among the disputants there is a Socialist, a freethinker, who observes his mother's *yohrzeit* in the following manner: He pays a pious man to say the *kaddish* prayer for the dead, and burns a *yohrzeit* candle in his home. He himself doesn't say *kaddish*, because he doesn't believe in religion. But his desire to respect the memory of his mother is so strong that it does not prevent him from performing this religious ceremony.

Among the debaters there are those who do not want to know of such an emotion as honoring the dead. But if one does desire to do so, one should say *kaddish* himself, even if he does not believe in it.

Therefore, our first question is: Can we recognize the beautiful human emotion of honoring the dead, especially when it concerns one so near as a mother? The second question: If so, should the expression of honor be in keeping with the desires of the honored? Third: Would it be more conscientious and righteous if the

ANSWER:
In the answer, the young assistant-detective is praised for his actions, for not wanting to inform on a poor man. The advice to him is to run from the job as from a fire, because this work is not fit for such a fine kind-hearted young man. It is not right to place himself in servitude to the Police Department. There is the danger that he might, in time, not be able to withstand temptation and it would be hard to guard himself against sinking into the corruption of immoral police practice.

1909

Worthy Editor,

I find myself in such a situation that I need your advice. I am one of the immigrant shopgirls, twenty years old, and I earn a decent living.

A short time ago I became acquainted with a young man who goes to a preparatory school and wants to become a doctor. He came to my house many times to visit, but as time went on I began to fall in love with him. He also declared his love for me, and that's when my trouble began.

Six months ago I received a letter from my parents, in which they propose a match for me with one of our relatives who is also in America. He does not live in New York. I don't know the boy, but we correspond and have sent each other photographs. We liked each other from the pictures, and I know that he is a businessman and makes a decent living. But my heart draws me to the other boy.

Honorable Editor, tell me what to do. My friends have tried to talk me out of tying myself down to work for seven years to help my friend through his studies. I would be twenty-seven years old then and I will have lost the bloom of youth after seven years of toil in the shop. That is why I worry about my future.

How shall I solve this problem? Shall I refuse him and try to forget him? Whatever you advise me, I will do.

Your constant reader,
A.B.

ANSWER:
After years of study many such young students often fall out of love and leave the girls who have helped them. A graduate doctor doesn't want to marry a toil-worn old maid. She has worked her fingers to the bone and exhausted herself to help him become "Sir Doctor." All that can be said to him when he leaves her is "You should be ashamed of yourself, Sir Doctor." But one cannot generalize and say that all young men who complete their education act this way. It may be possible that the letter writer's friend is different. However, it is hard to judge, and therefore difficult to advise the writer how to act. She must make her own decision in this matter.

1909

Dear Editor,

As a reader of the *Forward,* I am writing to you about a matter that will interest other people too. But first I will tell you a little about myself.

I am twenty-seven years of age, have been in the country ten years, and am still single. I have worked here at various trades, but never very long at one job. I enjoy traveling and seeing what's going on in the country. Now I've decided it's time to marry and settle down.

I came to North Dakota, where most people make their living from farming. But there are no Jews in this area. I started to work on a farm and I learned farming.

1909

Worthy Editor,

I often spend time with a group of forty people, thirty men and ten women. Among them are religious and non-religious people, and we do not pass the time in idle discussions.

Recently we read a report in a newspaper about the movement to give women the right to vote, and for the past few weeks we have been carrying on a debate about it. I am one of the group that is in favor of giving women full rights, but most of the others are against it. The opposed argue that it would be very bad to let the women get to the ballot box, because that would destroy their family life. The woman would then no longer be the housewife, the mother to her children, the wife to her husband—in a word, everything would be destroyed.

A woman must not mix in politics, they say. She was created to be dependent on man, obey him, love him, supply all his comforts and be a mother to his children. The question arises: Must the woman then be considered a slave, and the man the master? Isn't it obvious, then, that women in many cases show themselves to be cleverer than men? These same people who recently celebrated the hundredth birthday of Abraham Lincoln, for having freed the Negro slaves, now talk with a satirical grin about women's freedom. Just as the opponents of the Socialist movement point out that Socialism will be harmful, so those who argue against voting rights for women say that this will destroy family life.

This is not so, because a woman is a human being just like a man. The capabilities that women have already shown confirm this. Plenty of facts can be cited from the past. And if women are recognized as human beings, they must also be granted all the rights of human

beings. I think that if women are considered human beings with all their rights, then family life would be better and richer.

With Socialistic regards,
L.V.

ANSWER:
The arguments against the opponents of women's rights are very good ones. The fact is that many intelligent women are already taking part in various activities and they still remain excellent homemakers.

Justice can reign among people only when they all have equal rights. If one has more power than the other, it leads to injustice. Those men who are opposed to giving women the same rights they possess are acting from tyrannical instincts because they actually want to rule the women.

1909

Dear Editor,

I come from a small town in Russia. I was brought up by decent parents and got a good education. I am now twenty years old and am a customer-peddler in a Southern city. Since my customers here are colored people, I became acquainted with a young Negro girl, twenty-two years of age, who buys merchandise from me. She is light-skinned and a fine girl. She is a teacher, a graduate of a Negro college, and I think she is an honorable person.

I fell in love with the girl but I couldn't go around with her openly because I am white and she is colored. However, whenever I delivered her order, I visited with her for a while.

In time she went away to another city to teach, and I corresponded with her. When she came home for

Well, my husband is ready to give her the child, but I can't do it. I would give her my life, but how can a mother give away her own child? She cries and begs for the child, whom she loves very much. Her husband pleads with her to put it out of her mind, but it doesn't help. I am afraid that it might end in a tragedy.

I wait in despair for your advice.

With thanks,
A Perplexed Mother

ANSWER:

In the answer this couple, who helped the family in their dire need, are praised highly for their charitable deeds. But it is explained to the childless woman that she dare not and must not demand of these people, who are so grateful to her, that they give away one of their five children. Also, the father of the children is told that he has no right to try to convince his wife to give their child to the benefactress.

1910

Worthy Editor,

My husband, ——— [here the name was given], deserted me and our three small children, leaving us in desperate need. I was left without a bit of bread for the children, with debts in the grocery store and the butcher's, and last month's rent unpaid.

I am not complaining so much about his abandoning me as about the grief and suffering of our little children, who beg for food, which I cannot give them. I am young and healthy, I am able and willing to work in order to support my children, but unfortunately I am tied down because my baby is only six months old. I looked for an institution which would take care of my baby, but my friends advise against it.

The local Jewish Welfare Agencies are allowing me and my children to die of hunger, and this is because my "faithful" husband brought me over from Canada just four months ago and therefore I do not yet deserve to eat their bread.

It breaks my heart but I have come to the conclusion that in order to save my innocent children from hunger and cold I have to give them away.

I will sell my beautiful children to people who will give them a home. I will sell them, not for money, but for bread, for a secure home where they will have enough food and warm clothing for the winter.

I, the unhappy young mother, am willing to sign a contract, with my heart's blood, stating that the children belong to the good people who will treat them tenderly. Those who are willing and able to give my children a good home can apply to me.

Respectfully,
Mrs. P.*
Chicago

ANSWER:

What kind of society are we living in that forces a mother to such desperate straits that there is no other way out than to sell her three children for a piece of bread? Isn't this enough to kindle a hellish fire of hatred in every human heart for such a system?

The first to be damned is the heartless father, but who knows what's wrong with him? Perhaps he, too, is unhappy. We hope, though, that this letter will reach him and he will return to aid them.

We also ask our friends and readers to take an interest in this unfortunate woman and to help her so that she herself can be a mother to her children.

* *The full name and address here given.*

1910

Dear Editor,

Since I do not want my conscience to bother me, I ask you to decide whether a married woman has the right to go to school two evenings a week. My husband thinks I have no right to do this.

I admit that I cannot be satisfied to be just a wife and mother. I am still young and I want to learn and enjoy life. My children and my house are not neglected, but I go to evening high school twice a week. My husband is not pleased and when I come home at night and ring the bell, he lets me stand outside a long time intentionally, and doesn't hurry to open the door.

Now he has announced a new decision. Because I send out the laundry to be done, it seems to him that I have too much time for myself, even enough to go to school. So from now on he will count out every penny for anything I have to buy for the house, so I will not be able to send out the laundry any more. And when I have to do the work myself there won't be any time left for such "foolishness" as going to school. I told him that I'm willing to do my own washing but that I would still be able to find time for study.

When I am alone with my thoughts, I feel I may not be right. Perhaps I should not go to school. I want to say that my husband is an intelligent man and he wanted to marry a woman who was educated. The fact that he is intelligent makes me more annoyed with him. He is in favor of the emancipation of women, yet in real life he acts contrary to his beliefs.

Awaiting your opinion on this, I remain,

Your reader,
The Discontented Wife

Slovak woman, Ellis Island, 1905

Clothing workers' strike, 1909. Most laborers in the garment trade were either Jewish or Italian

ANSWER:
Since this man is intelligent and an adherent of the women's emancipation movement, he is scolded severely in the answer for wanting to keep his wife so enslaved. Also the opinion is expressed that the wife absolutely has the right to go to school two evenings a week.

1910

Dear Editor,

This is the voice of thirty-seven miserable men who are buried but not covered over by earth, tied down but not in chains, silent but not mute, whose hearts beat like humans, yet are not like other human beings.

When we look at our striped clothes, at our dirty narrow cots, at our fellow companions in the cells, the beaten, lowest members of society, who long ago lost their human dignity, the blood freezes in our veins. We feel degraded and miserable here. And why are we confined here? For the horrible crime of being poor, not being able to satisfy the mad whims of our wives.. That's why we pine away here, stamped with the name "convict." That's why we are despised, robbed of our freedom, and treated like dogs.

We ask you, worthy Editor, to publish our letter so your readers, especially the women, will know how we live here. This letter is written not with ink but with our hearts' blood. We are coughing from the polluted air that we breathe in the cells. Our bones ache from lying on the hard cots and we get stomachaches from the food they give us.

The non-support "plague" is the worst plague of all. For the merest nonsense, a man is caught and committed to the workhouse. He doesn't even get a chance to defend himself. Even during the worst times of the Russian reaction people didn't suffer as the men suffer here in America because of their wives. For a Jewish wife it's as easy here to condemn her husband to im-

Taken from: Grossblatt, Amity. The Development of Rebecca Gratz's Identity as a Jew and As a Woman, unpublished thesis, 1991. Appendix B

Chapter Three: Philanthropic Endeavors

Although most of Rebecca Gratz's philanthropy centered around the Jewish world, she began her participation in the non-Jewish realm in organizations such as the Female Association of Women and Children in Reduced Circumstances (FAWC) and the Philadelphia Orphan Asylum (POA) and eventually moved into the Jewish arena.

When the Female Association of Women and Children in Reduced Circumstances was organized in 1801 as the first women's philanthropic institution in Philadelphia, Rebecca numbered one of eight Jewish women of the original twenty-three who founded the Association; two of the other Jews were her mother, Miriam, and sister, Rachel.[1] With the FAWC's motto, "Blessed are the merciful," these women composed the preamble of their constitution to explain their goals:

> The many distresses incident of human nature, require the constant aid of the humane and benevolent...To extend relief to retiring indigence, and to rescue from suffering the offspring of those who are victims of misfortune, a number of ladies of Philadelphia, believing that union alone will give strength equal to the undertaking, have met together and formed a society for this purpose.[2]

Members of the Association were required to pay three dollars annually and those who occasionally donated money were registered as donors.[3] The executive officers, comprising of president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer constituted the Board of Directors.[4] Elected as secretary in 1801, Rebecca responsibilities included:

> keep[ing] a record of the transactions of the general meetings in a book to be prepared for that purpose... keep[ing] a register of the names of the Members of the society, and also a separate register of the Donors...notify[ing] to all members all meetings of the Board, specifying both the time and place appointed...keep[ing] the minutes of the Board...prepar[ing] such reports and mak[ing] such statements of the funds to be laid before the general meeting of the [S]ociety, as the Board of Directors may order.[5]

Rebecca performed her job with utmost care which became even more apparent when "the minutes, after her resignation...as secretary in 1823, [became] perfunctory and the recording of the addresses to the subscribers...[ceased]."[6]

The goals of the FAWC were numerous; they provided financial aid as well as moral guidance. Financially, the Association divided the city into districts and assigned a Manager to visit each client.[7] The Managers were then expected to analyze the temperament and character of the applicants "so that assistance [would] be only extended where it [was] due- to the honest and industrious, the infirm and unfortunate; such being the proper objects of the Institution."[8] Ultimately, the FAWC strove to "rouse [its clients] from that state of apathy and indolence into which their suffering may throw them and to make them useful to the community."[9]

In its first year, 1801, two hundred and ninety-seven women and two hundred and seventy-three children received aid.[10] With so many being relieved the FAWC decided that a storeroom must be available to provide space for donations such as clothing and groceries.[11] Besides article donations, monetary donations were also much needed and greatly appreciated; those who

contributed received thanks from the secretary. In 1816 Rebecca wrote:

> The Board of [Directors of] the Female Association gratefully acknowledge the receipt of [E]ighty dollars a donation from several gentlemen and beg leave to express them thanks to Mr. [Pemerton] for his active benevolence in making the collection and his liberal contribution. They who request the favor of Mr P. that he will make known to his friends, the grateful sense they entertain of their generosity and to assure them their gift is recorded as an instance of charity highly honorable to their feeling.[12]

Much of these donations were raised by Rebecca Gratz who found contributors within the city of Philadelphia as well as in other cities.[13]

One can assume that these donations in addition to their other financial sources aided the FAWC in establishing a soup-house and a Widow and Orphan House. Unfortunately, the soup-house which fed numerous needy women and children only lasted five years.[14] The Widow and Orphan House which lasted longer housed a few worthy and indigent women who were responsible for several orphan girls.[15] At least two of these women were to care for three to four children and one was to instruct the girls; six others also lived in the House.[16] Four hundred dollars per year was allocated for this program, perhaps this significant sum allowed its existence to surpass that of the soup-house.[17]

Running such an operation was an enormous expense. Evidently, community contributions were not enough to finance the Association's expenditures, so the Board voted to fine its own members twenty-five cents for lateness to meetings and for

those who spoke "not about Association matters."[18] This act illustrated the FAWC's desire to aid the less fortunate in receiving food and shelter, even if the money originated from their personal finances.

In addition to the physical goods which the Association collected and distributed, the women advocated emotional and intellectual growth. The key to this development could be attained through education. FAWC considered education the "favorite object" and whenever possible funds were be allocated toward this expense.[19] In the FAWC's twenty-seventh annual report, they spoke of twenty children who attended school free of charge.[20]

Perhaps Rebecca's involvement in FAWC, especially with children, prompted her to help found the Philadelphia Orphan Asylum which began in 1815. The first meeting of this Society convened on December 20, 1814 at a Presbyterian church where a constitution with the following preamble was accepted unanimously:

> To rescue from ignorance, idleness and vice, destitute, unprotected and helpless children and to provide for them that support, and instruction which may eventually render them valuable members of the community, an association has been formed and denominated "The Female Orphan Society of Philadelphia."[21]

Although the Society originally only accepted females, after their first meeting, the women decided to include boys in their Asylum.[22] Perhaps the women concluded that children in need should not be discriminated against because of their sex.

To become a member of the Society, women were required

to pay two dollars per year or thirty dollars for a lifetime.[23] Funds were also raised through donations, money and goods.[24] Members attended a general meeting in January at which time twenty-four managers were chosen as representatives to orchestrate the Society's concerns.[25] From these Managers, a first and second directress, secretary, and treasurer were elected; these women were responsible for writing by-laws and annual reports.[26] Some of the managerial by-laws included:

> 1) meeting [held] on the [first] Tuesday of every month
> 2) every meeting shall be opened with reading a portion of Scripture succeeded by a praise of mental supplication
> 3) a fine of [twenty-five] cents shall be incurred for non attendance at meetings unless satisfactory reasons shall be given
> 4) all reports shall be in writing.[27]

While the Executive Board wrote the by-laws and annual reports, the other managers were to

> be divided into committees of three who in weekly rotation superintend the care of the Asylum [judging] of the proper objects to be received into it, and in general to direct the concerns of the family- reporting the state of the Asylum at each monthly meeting. Four committees of two each shall be annually appointed to collect the contributions and pay the same to the Treasurer.[28]

As a general manager, Rebecca served on various committees such as the Anniversary Meeting Committee, (reserving a room and organizing food), the Purchasing Committee (buying supplies for the Asylum and the orphans), and the Visiting Committee (visiting the children in the Asylum).[29] Gratz also helped with the finances of the Society; she assisted the Treasurer and invested the Society's funds by purchasing stocks. In 1818

she served on another committee, responsible for the printing of the annual reports; this role probably prepared her for her executive manager position of secretary.[30] Elected in 1819, Rebecca retained her secretarial position for over forty years, during this time she dutifully performed her responsibilities of:

> summon[ing] the meetings of the managers, keep[ing] a fair and correct record of their proceedings, and do[ing] all other writing not connected with the office of the Treasurer, or with the business of committees.[31]

Through their industrious work, Gratz as well as the other managers organized a highly successful Society which aided numerous orphans. Those who lived in the Asylum were fed, clothed, and educated. Along with physical nurturance, they also received intellectual and spiritual Christian guidance. Intellectually, the orphans were taught by the Governess how to read and sew.[32] Spiritually, the children were "inculcat[ed] [with] habits of industry, a sacred regard to truth [and]... into the minds of the children [was instilled] the principles of religion."[33]

For the homeless and parentless, living in the Asylum saved lives and endowed those who sought shelter and eventually left, with a sense of indebtedness to the POA. This sense of gratitude was expressed in an annual report:

> [We have] been gratified by visits from former inmates of the house, whose hearts still warm to the recollection of their former home, and seem with renewed gratitude to recall the good instruction which so amply supplied the place of parental care in their infant bereavements.[34]

The POA was extremely vital to Rebecca who remained active until her health prevented her from participating. Although Gratz was an active member in both the POA and the FAWC, she designated the majority of her time to Jewish organizations. Marion Bell suggests that Rebecca's involvement with the POA prompted her move toward Jewish institutions.[35] Religiously, the POA was non-sectarian; however, it provided religious instruction by a Presbyterian minister.[36] Rebecca concluded that Jewish children living under the POA's auspices would lose their Jewish identity; this realization probably moved her to help establish Jewish organizations with similar goals.[37] Interestingly, various rules, regulations and managerial responsibilities of the non-Jewish institutions, the POA and the FAWC resembled those found in the Jewish organizations, the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, the Jewish Foster Home, Society and the Hebrew Sunday School Society which Rebecca Gratz help to create.

Having helped organize and found numerous philanthropic institutions, two of the most important being, the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society and the Jewish Foster Home (1855), Rebecca fulfilled the "mitzvah" (commandment) of giving "tzedakah" (helping the needy). Besides aiding the less fortunate, she believed strongly in educating Jewish children. In 1838, with Isaac Leeser and other members of Mikveh Israel, Rebecca began the Hebrew Sunday School. Founded in the nineteenth century, these organizations still exist today, continuing to educate children and to help the needy.

The Female Hebrew Benevolent Society of Philadelphia (FHBS), "the first Jewish charitable society in America," assisted the impoverished, yet the Society believed only upstanding Jewish citizens should receive aid.[38] In 1819 a constitution was drawn with its preamble as follows:

> In all communities, the means of alleviating the sufferings of the poor are considered of high importance by the benevolent and humane. The ladies of The Hebrew congregation of Philadelphia, sensible to the calls which have occasionally been made in their small society, and desirous of rendering themselves useful to their indigent sisters of the house of Israel, agree to establish a charitable Society; in order to make the benefit permanent.[39]

Perhaps the creation of this Society represented a response to the Panic of 1817 or perhaps Philadelphia's Jewish women felt the need to begin organizing their own organizations in an attempt to counterbalance the evangelism of the non-Jewish women and their institutions.[40]

Following this preamble, the women of the FHBS established guidelines, dues, and membership regulations. Each member was required to pay an annual fee of two dollars or a life-time fee of thirty dollars.[41] Any life subscription, gift, or legacy was to be invested "in some productive property" and the interest earned would be added "to the amount of annual collections for general expenditures."[42] In 1836 the FHBS, owned at least three shares in The Capital Stock of The Schuylkill Bank in Philadelphia and in 1849 they owned at least twelve shares of Union Canal Company of Pennsylvania; each share worth fifty dollars.[43]

The Board of Managers, consisting of a first and second

directress, secretary, treasurer, and visiting committee, regulated the society's actions at general meetings, held bi-annually in November and April.[44] Dues were paid in November and the Board of Managers was chosen in April; the Managers were to meet every two weeks.[45] When Gratz was elected secretary in April 1820, she was expected to:

> keep a fair and correct record of the proceedings of the Board, in a book prepared for the purpose, and do all writing not connected with the office of the Treasurer. She shall [also] give notice of the meetings of the Board, prepare the report for the general meetings of the Society, and keep a register of the names of the Society.[46]

As secretary Rebecca diligently summarized the year's events in the minute books of the organization. From these records a more accurate understanding of those Jews in the community who received the FHBS's funds and assistance could be obtained. The goals of the Society were not solely based on finances. They encompassed more: comforting the widow, nursing the sick, welcoming the immigrants, and feeding and clothing the needy. However, the ultimate goal remained fostering a sense of dignity, pride, and self-sufficiency among the indigent.

In the first report, Rebecca wrote of the FHBS's desire to help specifically those who are "'ashamed to beg,'...sick, and...infirm."[47] This statement supports the Society's deference in helping the "morally sound" citizens. In order to receive aid, a manager had to visit the perspective candidate and assess her morality and level of need. The report continued by offering employment for seamstresses to help the indigent. Rebecca concluded by extending thanks on behalf of the FHBS to Drs.

Phillips and Hays who granted their medical services.[48] From this report, it is evident that the community played a crucial role in determining the success of the organization.

During Rebecca's years as secretary, these annual reports served to keep both members and the community informed of the accomplishments as well as the needs of the FHBS. In 1845 Rebecca addressed the financial aid aspect of the organization by recounting the story of Mrs. Rebecca Cohen who was supported by the FHBS after being poorly treated and placed into an insane asylum by her husband, where the doctors labeled her "insane but not incurable."[49] In February 1845, the FHBS board decided to give money to

> the advantage of medical attention and if it be found requisite a private room in order to separate her from other insane patients and...to have her removed to the Pennsylvania hospital.[50]

In October 1845, the board

> resolved that Mrs. Cohen be placed in the Pennsylvania hospital for the [time] of three months at the expense of the society. They engag[ed] to pay $3.50 per week for her board.[51]

Nearly a year after providing funds for Mrs. Cohen, the FHBS decided in January 1846 that a committee would be appointed to follow this specific case.[52] Fifteen months after Mrs. Cohen's initial application date, May 1846, she received $50, with the committee controlling the frequency of this disbursement.[53] But in October 1846, she could no longer receive aid because the "findings [were] their efforts unabaiting to effect the desired end."[54] This desired end according to Gratz

d the other members of the FHBS most likely entailed Mrs. Cohen becoming more mentally sound and confident in her abilities to support herself in the event that she became a divorced woman.

The long tenacious tale of Mrs. Rebecca Cohen exhibited the financial aspect of the work performed by the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society. Nonetheless, throughout the years Gratz spoke of numerous, non-financial based accomplishments such as caring, visiting, and comforting of the less fortunate, including the new immigrants. In the 1846 Annual Report Rebecca described such achievements:

> many destitute families have had their pressing wants supplied. The sick have been visited, mourners comforted and strangers from foreign lands differing in laws and in languages have been made to understand that they have [here] reached a home among brothers and sisters...who feel it a privilege to welcome unfortunate Israelites escaped from tyranny and oppression who seek an asylum in this land of freedom.[55]

From the tone of the report, Rebecca's character is more clearly illuminated. Her words express not only duty but also honor and pride in being able to utilize her own abilities and status in society to benefit others. In 1847 Rebecca illustrated the comfort provided for Jews in the community, especially the ill and elderly:

> [there were] many invalids assisted by the society... some were removed to public institutions, and visited by the committee...gifts accompanied by kindness and personal services are often received with grateful acknowledgment- who but the lonely sufferer can appreciate the value of a benevolent [visiter] at the bed-side of a destitute invalid- or tell the consolation she may bring to her last

hours of human suffering.[56]

Amidst the years of economic and social aid, the FHBS's highest goal remained in promoting a sense of dignity and self sufficiency among their pensioners. Dignity was sought through anonymity; clients were referred to only using initials. Self-sufficiency was sought by instilling a sense of self worth and if feasible, by educating the pensioners. In the 1856 Annual Report, Rebecca addressed the FHBS's ultimate aspiration:

> while...mothers were unable to take care of [their children]...many domestic comforts [were] supplied, which... gave [the mothers] assurance that friendly hands would aid them in their future efforts to maintain themselves.[57]

In Judaism, helping others to "maintain themselves" represents the highest level of "tzedakah," performing righteous deeds. Maimonides, a great 12th Jewish thinker, developed eight levels of "tzedakah," the highest being helping another person to become self-sufficient by giving someone a loan or entering into a business contract. The women of the FHBS strove to attain this level as seen in Rebecca's 1846 Annual Report:

> If feeling the importance of this epoch the Jews of America are called on to aid the Great Benefactor of their nation- to raise funds for the support of emigrants who approach these shores and to teach them how by honest industry they may like other inhabitants of the soil become secure and independent citizens and in obedience to their own laws seek the peace of the country that shelters them.[58]

Along with the important Jewish value of "tzedakah," Rebecca transferred her religious beliefs over into the Society as seen in the Board meetings and annual reports. Usually meetings began with reading a passage from the Bible and in January 1846,

the women of the FHBS "resolved that each meeting of the board [shall] commence with reading a chapter in the Bible."[59] Often Rebecca wrote of God and His power to heal the sick:

> if it pleases God to restore her, her prayers of Thanksgiving will be joined to those who sympathize in her present affliction. She has been a faithful daughter of Israel and often resorted to the house of God.[60]

Emphasis was placed not only on God and His will but also on those more fortunate who were able to take care of the needy:

> the scriptures tell us that 'the poor will never cease out of the land' God has given to the call of those on whom He has bestowed the blessings of health to seek for them- and of wealth to provide for them.[61]

The same powerful quotation appeared years later in her 1855 report:

> God has ordained that 'the poor shall not cease in the land' he hath also commanded 'thou shall surely help them' The Fatherless and the widow are particularly named as instructed to the mercy of those who have been blessed with abundance...[62]

Despite the growing frustration with the poor by the 1850s, Gratz continued to sympathize with those less fortunate. She realized that they would never "cease in the land," and believed that the fortunate had a responsibility to aid the indigent.

Rebecca used Biblical passages to express the general need for the wealthy to help the less fortunate but she also called upon the individual members of the FHBS during a financial crisis in 1847:

> Daughters of Israel, let us reduce our own personal wants, that we may not be obliged to economize in our charities; let us look among our superfluities

> for something to spare, over and above our usual contributions, for many applicants will be added to our pensioners' list...[63]

Throughout all of Gratz's comments her strong Jewish identity emerged. The language she used exemplified her belief in God and the importance of performing His commandments through good deeds.

The accomplishments of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society can be attributed to all its members; however, much of the foundation of the Society was laid by Rebecca Gratz, her strong character and her spiritual religious beliefs. The Female Hebrew Benevolent Society still exists today, performing similar deeds of "tzedakah." In a recent interview president, Eileen Scher, observed both the similarities and the differences between the original FHBS and the current FHBS. Mrs. Scher spoke about the continuity of reading Bible passages at each meeting; this amendment was added to the Constitution in 1846. The Society still uses the official seal of the founders. Most probably this seal was used by Rebecca Gratz, herself, as the secretary for several decades.[64]

Until recently the women of the FHBS continued to use initials when referring to clients but this system has become too confusing. Today, women of the FHBS try to sympathize and remain sensitive by using only minimal information to describe a pensioner. Until the 1970s members would be assigned poor women whom they would visit, and whose financial situations they would assess. The women on the visiting committees would establish personal ties by providing the poor with monetary

services in conjunction with moral support. Because of the need to respect others' privacy and because too many women work today, this method no longer exists. Today, poor women are assigned to a social worker who screens them; she or he represents the link between the FHBS and its clients. Although changes have occurred during the past one hundred and seventy-two years, it is remarkable how much the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society has preserved.[65]

With the creation of such a Society many women may have felt a new sense of purpose because they no longer were forced to remain at home all day; there was a place where they could meet and still be "domestic" women. Rabbi Jacob Marcus wrote that with the creation of the FHBS came the "initial stirring of the Jewish female consciousness."[66] From this consciousness sense of capability and competency emanated; women were excited and interested in creating more of their own organizations. The FHBS became the foundation for two other crucial Jewish institutions, the Jewish Foster Home and the Hebrew Sunday School.

Created in 1855, The Jewish Foster Home Society (JFHS) was first mentioned in Rebecca Gratz's 1847 annual report:

> It has been suggested that means should be taken to provide a Home for destitute children of the Jewish faith similar to "The Foster House" already established in this city. Where children whose parents obtain a livelihood by journeying thro' the country might be received as a small expense- and others who have no parents or relations to provide for them would be maintained by the charity.[67]

Gratz's reference to Philadelphia's Foster Home and her fear

of Jewish children being prostelytized prompted her to create a foster home for Jewish children. After years of repeatedly emphasizing the need to establish such an organization, the Jewish Foster Home Society was founded on May 7, 1855 with the intention of accommodating the needs of Philadelphia's Jewish children; however, children from other states were also admitted.[68] The JFH "was the nation's first institution for the 'exclusive protection and support of indigent and destitute Jewish children.'"[69] Gratz's persistence and her familiarity working with orphans in the Philadelphia Orphan Asylum, placed her as president of the JFHS.

At the first meeting of The Jewish Foster Home Society its members drafted the constitution and preamble:

> Deeply impressed with the necessity of providing a home for destitute and unprotected children of Jewish parentage, the Ladies of the several congregations of Philadelphia have associated to form an institution denominated 'the Jewish Foster Home,' wherein, orphans or the children of indigent Israelites may be rescued from the evils of ignorance and vice, comfortably provided for, instructed in moral and religious duties, and thus prepared to become useful members of the community.[70]

Following the preamble, the constitution provided the framework for the JFH, including fees and regulations for its members. Dues were two dollars, annually or thirty dollars for a life-time subscription.[71] Financial aid was raised in the form of investments, bequeathes, and monetary donations. Aid was also received in donations of time and services rendered from doctors and other professionals.[72] The Society was governed by a group of Managers who convened monthly. From this group

a first and second directress, secretary, and treasurer were chosen.[73] Initially a manager, Rebecca was later elected second directress in 1858. As second directress, Rebecca was to perform the job of the First Directress in her absence which included:

> presid[ing] at the meetings of the Managers, preserv[ing] order, appoint[ing] all Committees unless otherwise directed, and call[ing] special meetings of the Board. [Also] she shall furnish every new Manager with a book, containing in print, the constitution, the rules for the regulation of the Board, the duties of the managers, and the rules of the government of the Home. When a Manager resigns her seat in the Board, she is to return this book to the First Directress, who will make it over to her successor. In the absence of the First Directress, the second shall preside.[74]

In addition to the four executive positions, the Managers were divided into various committees: the Weekly Committees, the Purchasing Committee, the Committee of Admission and the School Committee.[75] The Weekly Committee visited the Home at least three times per week, evaluated the House's progress and the children's happiness, and prepared comments in the minute books.[76] The Purchasing Committee bought all necessary goods, paid bills, and "presented a monthly account of their proceedings to the Board."[77]

Those on the Committee of Admissions were responsible for reinforcing the rules which not only prohibited the admittance of children with deformities, infectious or incurable diseases but also the admittance of children under two or above eight without consent from the Board.[78] Obviously the first restriction was needed in order to safeguard the health of all children in the Home and perhaps age restrictions were established because

of the ease with which younger children could be taught. Maybe the Managers felt that after age eight children had formed their basis for identity and would not benefit as much as would the younger children. And those on the School Committee concerned themselves with the business of the JFH's school and they examined the progress of each child.[79] While the Board of Managers consisted of women, they arranged a Board of Council that consisted of six men who were responsible for the financial aspect of the Home.[80] Because many women's organizations experienced financial complications, they decided to allow men to control the monetary aspect.[81]

Not only was the structure of the Managers complex and thorough but the rules and regulations for the children of the Jewish Foster Home were extremely detailed. Each task and chore was clearly laid out: from the time the children were to wake, to what they ate for meals, to how often they were to bathe.[82] Religious instruction was also included; the children were expected to recite the daily prayers, including the "Shema," a well-known Jewish prayer that asserts the belief in one God.[83]

These details illustrate the amount of time and energy the Managers contributed to the Jewish Foster Home in order to create a smooth and orderly operation. Their arduous work came to fruition at the first anniversary meeting held at Mikveh Israel when progress was summarized in the annual report. The JFH proudly presented twelve healthy children under its auspices who were being educated in English and Hebrew.[84] From the onset of the Jewish Foster Home approximately two hundred children

were admitted under its care.[85]

Children in the Foster Home were not simply fed and clothed, they were also nurtured and educated. In the sixth annual report, the secretary, Evelyn Bomeisler, wrote

> We have lately secured the services of an excellent Matron, under whose management the domestic arrangements of the house are prospering- very dependent upon her are the children for comfort, care, and sympathy.[86]

In conjunction with this motherly care, education represented another significant aspect of life in the JFH. To teach the girls, a school was organized at the Home under the supervision of the Education Committee.[87] During financial straits the Home dispensed with this school and its teacher. Nonetheless, the girls continued to receive some instruction from the Matron.[88] For two years the Matron taught the girls reading, orthography, writing, and Scriptures; this task along with her other responsibilities became overwhelming.[89] So when the Board received "fifty dollars from Miss Rebecca Gratz and fifty dollars from Miss Louisa Gratz," earmarked specifically for the reinstatement of the girls' school, they gratefully accepted and re-established the school.[90]

While the girls received their instruction at the Home, the boys were educated outside of the Home at the Hebrew Education Society, "where religious and mental discipline [were] most happily combined."[91] The ultimate goal was to either place these children with Jewish families or to find apprenticeships for the boys. Often, the JFH succeeded:

> One of the boys, after having attained and celebrated his religious majority, has been indentured to a respectable trade- he is comfortably situated in a Jewish family, enjoying all social and religious privileges; he has secured the entire confidence of his employer, and is at the same time subject to a wise and parental restraint.[92]

With the perfection of its program, the success of the Home mounted. At the tenth anniversary of the Jewish Foster Home, the report informed the community of the placement of some children:

> Eleven of our inmates seven boys and four girls, are actively engaged in the field of useful labor- with one exception, their new homes and vocations are but new blessings...they have secured positions, where with strong integrity of purpose, they will be fitted to fill stations of responsibility and usefulness.[93]

The Managers carefully considered placement for the children into Jewish families. Once placed into these families, the children would be able to adapt easily because they had been raised with an Orthodox background. The observance level in the Home, obviously ordained by the Board, was quite traditional. Holidays, kashrut (keeping kosher), and Jewish education were all integrated into the life of the JFH. In the twelfth annual report, Evelyn Bomeisler described the celebrations of Purim and Passover in the Home:

> During our sacred and national festivals we doubt there existed a happier household. Purim was celebrated with all the mimic festivities the history of that period would suggest- the anniversary of our freedom; the season of the Passover was welcomed with a zest that, at its every annual recurrence, cannot but deepen their attachment for the practice, as well as the principles, of the faith of every true child of Israel.[94]

Another important Jewish ritual, the Bar Mitzvah Ceremony, was observed by the Home. This ceremony, which entails all thirteen year old males reading a portion of the Torah, symbolizes the passage into adulthood, thereby, mandating observance of God's commandments. The JFH prepared boys for their Bar Mitzvahs:

> Since our organization five boys have attained their religious majority [Bar Mitzvah], which in each case has been solemnized in Synagogue, and joyfully celebrated at the Home. It has been the privilege of the young Bar-mitzvah to invite all his seniors who may have left the institution to enter upon life's duties, to celebrate the day with him at the Home.[95]

Besides celebrating monthly festivals, the JFH kept the Sabbath weekly by eating special foods and by establishing special rules and regulations:

SABBATH REGULATIONS

> On Friday previous to the Sabbath, the children shall be bathed, combed and dressed,- the children shall then be assembled, when the Matron shall read to them the prayer for the Eve of the Sabbath; after supper they shall sing 'Ayn Kalohaynoo.
> In the morning, a portion of the Sabbath morning service and a chapter of the Bible from the portion of the day, shall be read by the Matron; to conclude with a hymn chanted by the Matron and children.[96]

Obviously, Judaism was a central component in the organization of the Jewish Foster Home and undoubtedly, many of these practices and beliefs stemmed from its mother organization (the FHBS) as well as from Rebecca Gratz's input and dedication toward this most essential philanthropic institution. After she passed away in 1869, the JFH eulogized her in its annual report of 1870:

> Since our last meeting one of our managers has been summoned to her Heavenly Home. Miss Rebecca Gratz had been one of the founders of the Institution and almost to the close of her earthly career, remained one of its active managers; her sympathies and interest in its well being were unbounded, her experience in other charities, together with her gentle, graceful dignity and clear judgment made her counsel in its legislation supremely valuable. The golden gate of life has opened to receive her. May her abode be glorious![97]

As evident from such a eulogy Gratz influenced and helped mold the Jewish Foster Home. The Jewish Foster Home still exists today but due to the creation of other institutions, it has since merged into the Association for Jewish Children in 1941.[98]

As the Jewish Foster Home grew out of the auspices of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society so did the Hebrew Sunday School (HSS). Although Rebecca had been instructing students from Mikveh Israel every Sunday in her home since 1819, the official Sunday School did not open until 1838.[99] With the HSS's inception, Rebecca became the Superintendent until 1864, when she resigned at the age of eighty-four.[100] In the first minute book of the HSS Rebecca commenced by expressing the Board's desire to establish a Sunday School

> for religious instruction of the children of the congregations residing in this city. It is not limited to any number of class of children- all who are hungry for the bread of life are welcome to the banquet- all who desire to read the Scriptures understandingly are invited to partake of instruction...[101]

She continued by elucidating the guidelines for the School, some of which included:

> 1
> The School shall commence at [ten] o'clock at the

ringing of the bell, the children shall rise and listen with attention to the Prayer read by the Superintendent repeating the part [apportioned] to them and when seated sing a hymn with the teachers.
3
The children must not be permitted to leave their places without asking their teachers or to leave the room without permission.
4
At a quarter before [twelve] at the ringing of the bell the lessons of the day will be finished and the Superintendent will read a portion of the scripture after which the children will sing a hymn with their teachers then rise and repeat one after the Superintendent and the School will be dismissed in an orderly manner...
6
The teachers shall abstain from all conversation. Any information required relating to their classes or books, shall be sought from the Superintendent- the teachers must be kind in their deportment but strict in the performance of their duties- considering the charge they have undertaken a serious and important role...[102]

Evidently, Gratz believed in the need for order and obedience as indicated by the promptness and accuracy with which class began and ended. Rebecca expected both children and teachers to act with proper deportment. Children behaved out of respect and teachers though kind in nature, were strict in duties because their role was "serious and important." As Superintendent, Gratz, along with the other teachers implemented and enforced the above rules.

When the School began fifty students were enrolled but by the end of the year the number had risen to eighty.[103] Because of the HSS's uniqueness, finding appropriate text books was extremely difficult. Although Isaac Leeser translated Johlson's Catechism for the older students, the younger children had little to read.[104] Circumstances forced Rebecca to use Christian Bibles and tape over the inappropriate passages.

In the upcoming years Mr. Leeser compiled a catechism for the younger kids and in 1840 Eleanor Pyke, a teacher in the School, published a "manuscript on a rhymed catechism" for the youngsters as well.[105] The School used the following books and supplies as well: Deutsch's Biblical History, Mendes' Child's First Bible, Road to Faith, Commandments and Creed Card, Class Books, Festival Card, Hymn Book, Bible Texts, and Jewish Miscellany.[106]

For twenty years Rebecca Gratz remained the Superintendent of the Hebrew Sunday School; however, in 1858 the institution incorporated into the Hebrew Sunday School Society of Philadelphia (HSSS) and Rebecca was named president. In order to become a member, one had to be Jewish and pay two dollars per year or twenty dollars for a lifetime subscription.[107] Lifetime dues and donations were invested and the money earned was used to help finance the costs of education.[108] These costs included not only books and supplies but also some other necessities and a few luxuries for running a school: coal, Leeser's sermons, school tickets, benches, "The Occident," pretzels, and cleaning.[109]

The governing board which consisted of twelve members, from which the executive board: president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer was chosen, was responsible for purchasing all needed goods.[110] As president, Rebecca's task was to "preside at the meetings of the Board, appoint Teachers, call special meetings when necessary, [and] fire members concurring in desiring it.[111] She also was to remain "ex officio

Superintendent of the School."[112] While acting as Superintendent, she expressed her of feelings of inadequacy to Maria:

> but sometimes I feel humbled at my own ignorance when children ask me questions on serious things- that have not been familiar to my own reflections.[113]

Since no formal Jewish educational institutions existed besides the HSS, its teachers tried their best to instruct the Jewish children about their heritage as well as the importance of prayers and Hebrew. As one might imagine, being a religious minority in a secular society may have elicited feelings of confusion and shame. Therefore, the HSS attempted to create an atmosphere full of pride by providing Jewish children with a sense of identity. If the children understood their heritage and customs, perhaps they would not feel so ashamed and different. After each year of study, every child was required to pass an examination that for several years

> [was] held annually at Purim, in the Synagogue of the Congregation of Mikveh Israel. The exercises consisting of the reading of reports by the officers, recitation of lessons, singing and speaking by the pupils, and distribution of premiums and presents, followed by refreshments for the children.[114]

After the HSS's incorporation the examinations continued although the synagogue that housed the reception varied from year to year.[115]

The Hebrew Sunday School succeeded tremendously that other cities, such as New York and Charleston, began to develop their own religious schools in order to help strengthen the identity of the Jewish children in their communities.[116] With this

ews, Rebecca related her joy,

> Thus a new era has dawned on the house of Israel; and we trust that wherever our scattered brethren have a local habitation and a name they will gather their youths into houses of instruction, thus verifying the words of the Psalmist, 'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings shall go forth strength.'[117]

espite the attempts made by other cities only Philadelphia's ebrew Sunday School Society still exists today. In an nterview, Louise Cohen, a member of the Society, recounted he organization's structure and goals. The HSS continues to onvene on Sunday mornings for three and a half hours at onvenient locations. Children who attend range from indergarten to eighth grade and they study Hebrew prayers, istory, and holidays.[118] Over the years more books and esources have allowed Jewish education to radically improve, yet much of what Rebecca Gratz did with her students is continued in the HSS classrooms.

Gratz composed both an opening and closing prayer which is still recited today:

> Opening Prayer
> Leader: Come ye children, hearken unto me, and I will teach you reverence for the Lord. Lift up your young hearts in prayer, in all your ways acknowledge Him, and He will direct your paths.
> Pupils: O God! give unto us the help we need, give us bread to eat and raiment to put on, and instruction to understand Thy mercies. May we be grateful for all Thy goodness, dutiful to our parents, honest in all our dealings, true in our words and actions, affectionate in our behavior to one another, attentive to our teachers and above all, ardent and devout in adoring Thee alone, the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Enlighten our faith that we may daily repeat the acknowledgment of Thy Unity.
> Closing Prayer:
> Accept our thanks, kind and heavenly Father, for the

> instruction which we have received. Grant that we may retain it in our minds and make a worthy and proper use of it. May the time allowed us for recreation strengthen us to renewed labor; may we be temperate in our amusement and seek only those which are innocent and harmless. May we never forget that Thine eyes are ever upon us and that we can be happy only in the enjoyment of Thy love and favor.
> To the Eternal, Immortal, and Invisible God who alone is All-Powerful, Wise, and Good, be honor, praise and obedience for ever and ever. Amen.[119]

These prayers illuminate Rebecca's love of Judaism and her steadfast belief in God and most importantly, her desire to transmit these beliefs to her students. Gratz required her students to reiterate the characteristics she found most important, in hopes that they would strive to be: grateful, honest, respectable, responsible, attentive, and affectionate adults. Many of these qualities are exhibited in Gratz's own life. Even today, Rebecca Gratz's influence permeates throughout the Hebrew Sunday School Society of Philadelphia. On the 125th anniversary of the HSS, students made a pilgrimage to Gratz's grave where they placed flowers and pledged their allegiance to the Society:

> On behalf of the students of the Hebrew Sunday School Society, we rededicate ourselves to the principles and ideals on which the Society was founded, and pledge ourselves to continue to practice these teachings and to transmit them to those who will follow us, in the prayerful hope that the link which we form in this golden chain will prove as firm as those which have preceded us.[120]

Rebecca Gratz truly represented one of the strongest links in the chain within the early-mid nineteenth century Jewish community of Philadelphia. As one of the founders of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, the Jewish Foster Home, and the Hebrew

Sunday School, Gratz helped to mold the shape, content, and goals of these organizations which was based upon helping the less fortunate. Rebecca's Jewish beliefs which were grounded in philanthropy spurred her initial involvement in philanthropic organizations. The first two societies in which Gratz participated were the Female Association of Women and Children in Reduced Circumstances and the Philadelphia Orphan Society, both of which were non-Jewish. With the Second Great Awakening and the threat of evangelism, Gratz directed her efforts toward creating institutions strictly for Jews.

While many women were involved in some type of philanthropy, Gratz differed due to the extent of her participation. Perhaps her unmarried and childless status caused Rebecca to establish her own family, that of her institutions. In a sense, Gratz seemed married to her societies and they became her surrogate family. The children who lived in the Orphanage or the Jewish Foster Home and the children who attended the Hebrew Sunday School became her children. From her involvement and leadership positions in both religious and secular institutions Rebecca was able to obtain a sense of competency as a woman. Rebecca's participation as either a manager, secretary, or Directress, in conjunction with her single status allowed her to question more freely her sense of identity as a woman as well as the broader role of women in Victorian American society.

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Bibliographical Note

Introduction

This book, *The American Jewish Woman, 1654—1980,* is not a chronicle of Jewish feminism, although one can in no wise tell the story of the American Jewess without linking her emergence to the present-day female liberation movement. For the Jewish woman who identifies with her people, feminism is the struggle to achieve equality in the Jewish secular and religious communities. There is a growing literature on Jewish feminism, less published data, unfortunately, on the actual history of the American Jewess. In this bibliographical note the effort will be made not only to record the sources and literature employed in the present work but also to make a few suggestions for those students who wish to carry on research in the field.

In many respects, American Jewish history is one of the most challenging areas of present-day study; the study of the American Jewess is even more inviting. There are, however, relatively few books and articles which deal specifically with the history of the American Jewish woman. Published material is sparse; the data however, are available; one has to dig for it. There is no area of civic, communal, associational, economic, cultural, and religious activity from which Jewesses are completely absent. In one form or another their participation can be documented. Several years ago, students of general American history declared that there was very little available

material on the history of the American woman. However, a National Endowment for the Humanities and University of Minnesota study disclosed that there are at least eighteen thousand collections of primary source material here in the United States which throw light on the history of the American woman. Students who have a specific subject or individual in mind will do well to consult Philip M. Hamer (ed.), *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States* (New Haven, 1961) and *The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1959—1961* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1962). Later volumes, through 1970, are published by the Library of Congress. They would also do well to consult the *Directory of Archives and Manuscript Repositories* published by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (Washington, D.C., 1978).

Bibliographies on the History of the American Jewess

There is no comprehensive bibliography of the activities of the American Jewish woman from 1654 to 1980. Aviva Cantor has compiled *A Bibliography on the Jewish Woman: A Comprehensive and Annotated Listing of Works Published 1900—1978* (Fresh Meadows, N.Y., 1979). It is helpful. The American Jewish Committee has prepared *The Jewish Woman in the Community: A Selected Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1976). This brief selection was edited by Cyma M. Horowitz. The Hebrew Union College Library, Cincinnati, has the following two typescripts on file: "The Jewish Woman: A Partially Annotated Bibliography" (1976?), the work of some Buffalo, New York, women; and Dorothy Steiner, "They Achieved and Went Beyond: An Annotated Bibliography of Biographies of Remarkable American Jewish Women" (Los Angeles, 1977).

Archival Materials

As suggested above, manuscript materials abound in the general archives. For example, the Court of Ordinary in Savannah has the long and very informative will of Esther Sheftall; the Charleston, South Carolina, probate records contain the poignant ethical will of Deborah Moses, the mother of Major Raphael J. Moses of the Confederate Army. Etting and Gratz letters are available in the files of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Mordecai family papers are found in the Library of Congress, in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, and in the collections at both Duke University and the University of North Carolina. There are also Gratz papers in the library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, a Mendes Cohen Collection in the files of the Maryland Historical Society, John Lawe papers in the library of the Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison (the Canada Franks family), and an extensive cache of Lopez papers in the Newport Historical Society.

All synagogues have archives. The older congregations have rich collections; Shearith Israel and Temple Emanu-El of New York, Mikveh Israel of Philadelphia, and Beth Elohim, Charleston, have not yet been adequately researched for their references to women. The libraries of the Leo Baeck Institute, the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, the Zionist Archives and Library, the New York Public Library, the American Jewish Committee—all in New York City—have manuscripts and documents important to the study of the American Jewish woman. With few exceptions, the city, regional, and state Jewish historical societies have begun assembling data on women. The American Jewish Historical Society has among its collections papers on Rebecca Gratz and Grace Seixas Nathan. The documents now assembled in the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati are described in the five-volume publication: *Manuscript Catalog of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati* (Boston, 1971—78). The references to Jewesses in its semi-annual periodical, the *American Jewish Archives*, are now recorded in detail in Paul F. White's *Index to the American Jewish Archives*, vols. 1—24 (Cincinnati, 1979). See the entries "Ladies" and "Women." The "Near-print" files of the American Jewish Archives contain very substantial collections of data on Jewish women's societies, Jewish female notables, and many other subjects relating to the history of Jewesses in the United States.

Source Books

There is as yet no published actual source book on the history of this country's Jewish women. There are readers, cooperative essay collections. Rudolf Glanz, however, has written two narrative volumes which incorporate data of a source character. They are: *The Jewish Woman in America: Two Female Immigrant Generations, 1820—1929* (2 vols., New York, 1976), vol. 1: *The Eastern European Jewish Woman;* vol. 2: *The German Jewish Woman.*

Other American Jewish source books are of a more general character, but they all contain some documents which deal directly with the women of this country. Among them are the following works of Jacob Rader Marcus: *Early American Jewry* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1951—55); *Memoirs of American Jews, 1775—1865* (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1955—56); *American Jewry—Documents—Eighteenth Century* (Cincinnati, 1959), and *On Love, Marriage, Children. . . . And Death, Too* (Cincinnati, 1965). Joseph L. Blau and Salo W. Baron are the editors of *The Jews of the United States, 1790—1840: A Documentary History* (New York, 1963). Many facets of the life of this country's Jewesses are reflected in this interesting and valuable collection. Another useful source book for American Jewry is Morris U. Schappes's *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654—1875* (New York, 1971). Schappes is accurate and critical in his approach; his notes are particularly helpful.

Encyclopedias and Other Jewish Reference Works

In a way, source books are limited in their scope; they are subjective in their choice of documents. Encyclopedias are far more embracing, for they envision, or should envision, all aspects of the topics, institutions, and individuals that lie within their scope. Unfortunately the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (12 vols., New York, 1901—1906)—the oldest and the best of all the Jewish reference books—contains very little data on American women. This excellent reference book was compiled in a day when Jewish scholars and their patrons were not interested in the history and status of women. There is, however, a sound article on the "Council of Jewish Women" by the indomitable Sadie American. Far more useful for our purpose is the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (10 vols., New York, 1939—43). By the 1930's women had begun to come into their own. This reference work, sociologically and Americanistically oriented, does not altogether neglect women.

The article on "Woman" in the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* is helpful to the historian, for it lists American Jewesses who were active in their respective communities. To be sure, not all were notables; this is to the good. We are interested in the "average" woman. Lists can be supplemented by the earlier article of I. George Dobsevage, "Jews of Prominence in the United States," *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 24, 1922—23 (Philadelphia, 1922), pp. 109 ff. The relatively few women included by Dobsevage were deemed important in the first quarter of the century. The sixteen-volume *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971—72) is a very useful tool for the historian concerned with the advance of women and the development of their institutions since the 1940's. Volume 1, a concordance-type Index, is a valuable aid for the student of American Jewish history. There are also a number of *Encyclopaedia Judaica Year Books.* Much smaller and more specialized is the two-volume *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel* (New York, 1971), edited by Raphael Patai. There are good articles here on Hadassah and on Henrietta Szold and many other American Zionist women leaders.

Two other reference books have proved to be particularly useful for research in the history of the American Jewess. The one is *A Jewish Calendar for Fifty Years,* by Jacques J. Lyons and Abraham De Sola (Montreal, 1854); the other is *The Jewish Communal Register of New York City, 1917—1918* (2d ed., New York, 1918). The *Calendar* includes a list of the most important Jewish women's organizations in the United States in 1854 (pp. 148 ff.); the *Register* lists and describes in some detail the New York societies and institutions as of 1918. The significance of these two works is obvious.

Periodicals and Serials

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the American Jew in general became news, and talented women like Emma and Josephine Lazarus, Nina Morais, and Lee C. Harby were invited to write articles, stories, and poems for general (non-Jewish) national magazines. Emma Lazarus defended Jewry in the *Century Magazine*, 1882 and 1883; Nina Morais wrote on "The Limitations of Sex" in the *North American Review*, vol. 132 (1881). By the turn of the century, non-Jewish English metropolitan newspapers were to become very important sources of information for the Jewish historian. The obituaries of notable American women were now detailed and informative. For New York, the *Times*, the *Tribune*, and the *World* are particularly useful. The *Tribune* sent its reporters down to the Lower East Side to write genre stories about the Jews; a number of them have been reprinted in Allon Schoener, *Portal to America: The Lower East Side, 1870—1925* (New York, 1967) and in Jacob R. Marcus, *The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History* (New York, 1981). Not infrequently, twentieth-century national magazines published articles that throw light on the history of the American Jewess. Wyndham Robertson's piece, "The Ten Highest-Ranking Women in Big Business," *Fortune*, vol. 87, April 1973, pp. 81 ff., is a case in point. *Nutrition*, vol. 4, September-October, 1941, a trade paper issued by the Quaker Oats Company, includes an autobiography of the pioneer dietician Frances Stern. *Ms.*, a feminist magazine, occasionally prints articles reporting the experiences of various types of American Jewish women (vol 3, July 1974, pp. 76 ff.). One of the founders and editors of this magazine is Gloria Steinem, granddaughter of an early Jewish feminist.

Far more useful, of course, are the American Jewish newspapers, magazines, and annuals published in English, German, and Yiddish. All these serials contain news items, articles, letters to the editor, and reports on organizations which treat directly of the life and work of Jewish women. These periodicals are listed annually in the *American Jewish Year Book*. Curiously enough, nineteenth-century European Jewish periodicals are also helpful because the transatlantic magazines frequently reprinted tidbits from the American press, or

employed American correspondents who, on occasion, sent in data on women. Exotic items appear constantly in the European Jewish press; American Jewish women were an object of interest because of the greater freedom they enjoyed. The *Occident* of Isaac Leeser and the *Israelite* of Isaac M. Wise both concern themselves with women. In his German *Die Deborah*, Wise wrote of the American Jewess as early as the 1850's. David Einhorn's German *Sinai* occasionally reprinted reports of American Jewish women's societies (vol. 6 [1861—62], pp. 381 ff.), and the *Jewish Messenger* of New York City welcomed letters to the editor on the problems faced by the postbellum American Jewish ladies. New York's *Hebrew Standard* ran special women's issues on April 5, 1907, April 10, 1908, May 7, 1909, May 20, 1910, May 26, 1911. These annual issues of the *Hebrew Standard* are very informative. The *American Hebrew* (vol. 117, Nov. 6, 1925, pp. 811 ff.) ran a special Women's Number describing how the "women are taking hold of the world's work." Thus, by the first decade of the new century, women had attained a degree of recognition. No later than 1900, practically every major town had a Jewish weekly. Over the decades, these papers record the slow rise of the Jewess in the hierarchy of the Jewish community.

In the late twentieth century, the following Jewish weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies frequently carried articles on the American Jewess: the *Jewish Post and Opinion*, the *Jewish Spectator, Present Tense* (American Jewish Committee), *Moment, Judaism* (American Jewish Congress), *Midstream* (Zionist), *Jewish Currents* (Marxist), the *National Jewish Monthly* (B'nai B'rith), the *Congress Monthly* (once *Weekly*, and *Bi-Weekly*), the *Reconstructionist, Sh'ma* (independent, liberal, Reformistic), and *Di Yiddishe Heim* (Lubavitch Hasidic women). The local weeklies draw heavily on the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin* for news items which often include annual reports of national Jewish women's organizations. Obviously the house organs of the large national women's associations are excellent sources for any valuation of the twentieth-century American Jewish woman. As a rule these periodicals are very well edited.

The *Menorah Journal* published articles by Ruth Sapin (Sapinsky) Hurwitz on the American Jewess (vol.2, pp. 294 ff., vol. 35 pp. 111

ff., vol. 38, pp. 220. ff.) Her study in the *Menorah Journal*, vol. 2, pp. 294 ff., is an analysis of the American Jewish college woman, based on research that was carried on in 1915. In the spring of 1978, the Anti-Defamation League devoted an entire issue of *Face to Face: An Inter-Religious Bulletin*, vol. 5, Spring 1978, to women. The New-Jewish Left in magazines like *Davka* and *Genesis II* has always emphasized equality of the sexes in the Jewish community, and it was *Response*, an affiliate of the Jewish Student Press Service, which published *The Jewish Woman: An Anthology*, in the summer of 1973. The religious house organs of the Reform Jewish laity are the *Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations* and *Reform Judaism*. Since the publication of the first volume of the *Proceedings* in 1873 (?), these reports have always carried data on women. The addresses on the sisterhoods carried in the *Forty-First Annual Report of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations* (Cincinnati, 1915), pp. 7680 ff., are illuminating.

In recent years, the rabbis of all denominations have had to concern themselves with the religious demands of women. Indeed, the Reform rabbis' yearbooks of the Central Conference of American Rabbis confronted the issue of equality for women as early as 1892 (vol. 3, p. 40). The Indexes to the CCAR yearbooks are helpful in locating information on women (*Central Conference of American Rabbis, Yearbook, Index*, vols. 1—50 [n.p., 1941]; vols. 51—60 [n.p., 1951]; vols. 61—80 [New York, 1972]). The Reform rabbis also publish the *Journal of Reform Judaism*, formerly the *CCAR Journal*. The Conservatives, in their *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly of America* and their magazine *Conservative Judaism*, have not failed to confront the issue of women's "rights" in normative Judaism. The laymen in Conservatism have recorded their decisions on the position of women in the halakah in *Proceedings: The United Synagogue of America, 1973 Biennial Convention, Kiamesha Lake, N.Y., November 11—15, 1973*. The Rabbinical Council of America, the instrumentality of the middle-of-the-road Orthodox, employs the magazine *Tradition* to express its attitude toward the religious status of women. The Orthodox lay religious authorities have made known their liberalistic approach to women's place in religion in the *Resolutions Adopted by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, 76th Anniversary Biennial Convention, 13—17 Kislev, 5735, November 27—December 1, 1974 (Boca Raton, Florida)*. Right-wing Orthodoxy, the Agudas Israel of America, has never failed to support the time-hallowed laws which still assign a very specific role to females. Its periodical is the *Jewish Observer*.

Formal Jewish history is presented in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (later the *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, now *American Jewish History*) and in the *American Jewish Archives*. Both these periodicals contain much data on the American Jewish woman, describing her activities since Ricke Nounes was sued by Asser Levy on September 14, 1654 (*PAJHS*, vol 18, p. 70), a few days after the first Jewish community in New York was established. Typical of the new interest in Jewesses is the article on Jewish businesswomen in the *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, vol. 66, pp. 137 ff. The *American Jewish Archives* for April 1979—"History is the Record of Human Beings: A Documentary"—has not failed to make adequate provision for the Jewess.

The annuals which were published in this country in the last quarter of the nineteenth century nearly all have pertinent data for the historian of the America Jewess. Thus the *American Jews' Annual for 1893—1894* (Cincinnati, 1893, pp. 91 ff.) has an article on the literary efforts of this country's female Jewish writers. The *Jewish Book Annual*, published since 1942, is replete with information. For instance, vol. 35, pp. 97 ff., has an essay by Blu Greenberg on "Recent Literature on Jewish Women." The most useful of the annuals is the *American Jewish Year Book* (1899 to date). Unfortunately, the excellent Index (Elfrida C. Solis-Cohen, *American Jewish Year Book: Index to Volumes 1—50* [New York, 1967]) does not actually disclose the wealth of detail on women found in these first fifty volumes. Volume 1 records in some detail every major Jewish society in the country; volume 22, pp. 383 ff., supplies statistics on professional tendencies among Jewish women students for the scholastic year 1918—19; volume 24, pp. 109 ff., lists some ninety women of prominence among some fifteen hundred Jewish men in this country. Twenty-six of the ladies were writers; seventeen, actresses. In volume 33, pp. 165 ff., Rebekah Kohut describes the "Jewish

Women's Organization in the United States." Most volumes of the *Year Book* carry epitomes of the lives of Jews and Jewesses who died in the preceding year or two. These obituaries are an important biographical source.

When Isaac M. Wise began to publish *Die Deborah* in German, he certainly had all German Jewish readers in mind, not merely the women. By 1888, there was a weekly Yiddish *Weiberscbe Zeitung* ("Women's Paper"). The United Order of True Sisters was publishing the *Ordens Echo* ("The Order's Echo") since 1884, and a Philadelphia entrepreneur published a short-lived monthly, the *Jewish Woman*, in 1892—93. By 1895, Rosa Sonneschein began to edit the *American Jewess* (1895—99). Its issues reflect the modest goals of women as they set out to secure some recognition in a man's world. This magazine has been described, not altogether adequately, in *American Jewish History*, vol. 68, pp. 57—63. Hadassah has issued a *Newsletter* and the *Hadassah Magazine* since 1921; the Pioneer Women and the National Council of Jewish Women have published English bulletins and house organs since the first quarter of the twentieth century. In 1913, some New Yorkers issued *Die Frauen Welt: The Jewish Ladies' Home Journal* and in 1922—23 brought out a Yiddish-English *Yiddish Women's Journal* (*Der yidisher froyen zhurnal*). The Lubavitcher Hasidim, the most alert of the traditionalists, began to publish *Di Yiddishe Heim* ("The Jewish Home") in Yiddish and in English as early as 1958. The *Women's American ORT Reporter*, the magazine of this fast-growing national organization, appeared in 1966. By the early 1970's, Jewish feminists were mimeographing *Lilith's Rib* (1974), and by 1976, the quarterly *Lilith* had already made its appearance. *Lilith* represents the rather limited circle of the more militant feminists. Thus, by the third quarter of the twentieth century, practically every one of the diverse groups among Jewish women had a journal which spoke for it. American Jewish women of today are articulate, aggressive, often eloquent.

General Surveys of the History of American Jewish Woman

Isaac Markens wrote the first general history of American Jewry in 1888. There was to be no attempt to write even a few pages on the

American Jewess till about 1891, when Nahida Remy published *Das Juedische Weib* ("The Jewish Woman"). Her future husband, Professor Moritz Lazarus, the German psychologist, expressed the hope in his introduction, 1891, that her work would serve as "a mirror to proud consciousness of Jewish women" (Louise Mannheimer [trans.], *Nahida Remy's, "The Jewish Woman"* [Cincinnati, 1895], p. 12). It was then translated from the German into English (1895). Though the American data in this book is sparse, there is at least an attempt to enumerate the notable American Jewesses. In 1918, Leon Huehner (Huhner) republished from the *American Hebrew* an article which had already been issued in a slightly condensed form by the Council of Jewish Women. Huehner's fifteen-page sketch, *The Jewish Woman in America*, limited itself primarily to women of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Allen Tarshish, in his unpublished Hebrew Union College doctoral disertation, "The Rise of American Judaism: A History of American Jewish Life from 1848 to 1881" (Cincinnati, 1937—39), addressed himself briefly to the Jewess of the middle nineteenth century. His source-based conclusions are valuable. In 1970, the historian Anita Libman Lebeson wrote *Recall to Life: The Jewish Woman in* America (South Brunswick, N.J., 1970). This book, a series of biographies and comments on women's national organizations, is in reality the first substantial approach to a history of the American Jewess. It is very useful. Three years later, Elizabeth Koltun edited *The Jewish Woman: An Anthology*. This is the anthology published by *Response* mentioned above. Actually, the data and appended bibliography in Koltun's book do not add much to our knowledge of the American Jewish woman. It was this same Ms. Koltun who, in 1976, published *The Jewish Woman: New Perspectives* (New York, 1976). This latter cooperative book, like the special *Response* issue, contributes little that is new to the history of the Jewess in the United States. *The Jewish Woman in America* (New York, 1976) by Charlotte Baum, Paula Hyman, and Sonya Michel, is an attempt to write a formal history of the American Jewish woman. Actually, the approach is in a way episodic; specific themes are pursued. The emphasis on literary sources, on fiction, is pronounced. The data until the twentieth century is thin; the contemporary period, the late twentieth century, is very helpful. Norma Fain Pratt published "Transitions in

Judaism: The Jewish American Woman through the 1930's" in the *American Quarterly*, Winter 1979, pp. 681 ff. This is a useful, scientifically conceived study.

The American Jewish Woman in the General Histories of American Jewry

Though the "standard" histories of American Jewry rarely addressed themselves to the women in the community, they are nevertheless useful. The authors could not ignore the national women's organizations and such outstanding persons as Rebecca Gratz, Penina Moïse, Emma Lazarus, and Henrietta Szold. Morris U. Schappes, in *A Pictorial History of the Jews in the United States* (New York, 1958), does genuflect in the direction of the women. As a Marxist historian, he accords women equality. There is a great deal of information, data, and history to be culled from the many city, state, and regional histories of American Jewry and from the congregational and institutional histories that have appeared in relatively large numbers since 1954. That was the year of the Tercentenary Celebration of Jewish settlements in New Amsterdam—New York. Jacob R. Marcus has published "A Selected Bibliography of American Jewish History" (*American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, vol. 51, pp. 97 ff.). Most of the works listed by him contain some data on the American Jewish woman. This Marcus bibliography, however, goes only to 1962; researchers, especially those intent on familiarizing themselves with the literature on Jewish women, will do well to consult Nathan Kaganoff's "Judaica Americana," which has appeared in the *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* (*American Jewish History* since September 1978) vol. 52, pp 58 ff.

Since the early 1960's, many new community histories have appeared. Historians, now, have not neglected the smaller towns, such as Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Vicksburg, Mississippi, New Haven, Connecticut, Nashville, Tennessee, Frederick, Maryland, Charlotte, North Carolina, or the state of Utah. The Jews of New Jersey's Raritan Valley, Burlington, Vermont, and Roosevelt, New Jersey, have found historians. Scholars have continued, of course, to write

the history of the larger towns: New York, Los Angeles, Hartford, Brownsville, East New York, and New Lots, all in Brooklyn, New Orleans, Milwaukee, Atlanta, Birmingham, Cleveland, Baltimore. Two books on the California gold rush have appeared, and an exemplary history of Congregation B'nai Jehudah of Kansas City, Missouri, was published in 1972: Frank J. Adler, *Roots in a Moving Stream* (Kansas City, Mo., 1972). All these monographs do not fail to record, to a degree at least, the part that women have played.

Because of the feminist movement, some new works allot more space to the efforts of women; indeed, some of the researchers and authors are themselves women. There is a substantial body of data on women incorporated in the three-volume *Colonial American Jew, 1492—1776*, by Jacob R. Marcus (Detroit, 1970; see Index under "Women"). Hutchins Hapgood's early-nineteenth-century *The Spirit of the Ghetto: Studies of the Jewish Quarter in New York* (New York, 1909) has been supplemented by the massive *World of Our Fathers* (New York, 1976) of Irving Howe. Howe has done full justice to the Jewess of the Lower East Side. In the following works, the sociologist Marshall Sklare, as author and editor, has touched on the role of women in Conservative Judaism, in Orthodoxy, and in upper-middle-class suburban society: *The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group* (Glencoe, Ill., 1958), *Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement* (New York, 1972), *The Jew in American Society* (New York, 1974). Together with Joseph Greenblum he has published *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier* (New York, 1967). In the anthology, *The Female Experience: An American Documentary*, (Indianapolis, 1977), Gerda Lerner has incorporated memoir material of the labor leaders Rose Schneiderman and Theresa Malkiel, and has also reprinted the sad story of Mrs. Jake Sachs as told by Margaret Sanger in *An Autobiography* (New York, 1938), pp. 88—92.

Diverse Sources for the History of the American Jewish Woman

Many American Jewish women turned to the writing of poetry. The library of the American Jewish Historical Society contains the

manuscript poems of Grace Nathan (d. 1831). The poems of Penina Moïse were published in her *Fancy's Sketch Book* (Charleston, S.C., 1833) and in the *Secular and Religious Works of Penina Moise.* This latter edition, prefaced by a brief biographical sketch, was prepared by the Charleston Section, Council of Jewish Women (Charleston, S.C., 1911). Lee C. Harby published a biography of Penina in the *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 7, 1905—1906, pp. 17—31. Another Charlestonian whose poems were admired and published by her family was Octavia Harby Moses, *A Mother's Poems: A Collection of Verses* (n.p., 1915). Others whose poetry was published are Rebekah Hyneman, *The Leper and Other Poems* (Philadelphia, 1853), Adah Isaacs Menken, *Infelicia* (Philadelphia, 1870), Minna Kleeberg, *Gedichte* (Louisville, 1877). Her husband's eulogy throws some light on the history of this gifted woman: L. Kleeberg, *Eulogy in Commemoration of the Deceased Poetess, Minna Kleeberg* (New Haven, 1879). Most cherished of all the nineteenth-century Jewish poets was Emma Lazarus *(The Poems of Emma Lazarus* [2 vols., Boston, 1888]). Jessie E. Sampter, the Zionist, wrote several volumes of poetry; her *Around the Year in Rhymes for the Jewish Child* (New York, 1920) is a particularly charming book.

Informative and interesting data for the history of the East European immigrant women will be found in the cooperative work which Charles S. Bernheimer edited: *The Russian Jew in the United States: Studies of Social Conditions in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, with a Description of Rural Settlements* (Philadelphia, 1905). Leon Stein has written on *The Triangle Fire* (Philadelphia, 1962) and has edited *Out of the Sweatshop: The Struggle for Industrial Democracy* (New York, 1977). This reader contains a series of essays on the workers in the garment industry.

The vast Yiddish press, literally hundreds of thousands of pages, has not yet been studied with the Jewish woman in mind. Mordecai Soltes, in "The Yiddish Press—An Americanizing Agency," has published some helpful information *(American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 26, 1924—1925, pp. 165-372). More detailed is the unpublished thesis of George M. D. Wolfe, "A Study in Immigrant Attitudes and Problems: Based on an Analysis of Four Hundred Letters Printed in the 'Bintel Brief' of *The Jewish Daily Forward,*" thesis

presented to the Training School for Jewish Social Work (New York, 1929).

After the World's Parliament of Religions met at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, the Jews who had participated in the religious discussions published three volumes of minutes and addresses. They are a very important source for the student of American Jewish history. Two of the three volumes concern themselves solely with women. The works published are: *Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions* (Cincinnati, 1894); *Papers of the Jewish Women's Congress* (Philadelphia, 1894); *Proceedings of the First Convention of the National Council of Jewish Women Held at New York, Nov. 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19, 1896* (Philadelphia, 1897).

Because it had broken with Jewish "canon" law and was committed to acculturation, Reform Jewry was in the vanguard in according a degree of religious equality to women. Among the sources that document this trend are: *The Isaac Harby Prayerbook: Manuscript Form Prepared by Isaac Harby for the Reformed Society of Israelites Founded November 21, 1824* (Charleston, S.C. 1974), pp. 70—73; Barnett A. Elzas, *The Sabbath Service and Miscellaneous Prayers Adopted by the Reformed Society of Israelites, Founded in Charleston, S.C., November 21, 1824* (reprinted New York, 1916), pp. 38, 42, 47—48; Sefton D. Temkin, *The New World of Reform* (London, 1971), the translation of the "Proceedings of the Conference of Reform Rabbis" (Philadelphia, Nov. 1869), pp. 101 ff.; David Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism* (2d ed., New York, 1931), pp. 329 ff.; Liebman Adler, *Sabbath Hours Thoughts* (Philadelphia, 1893), pp. 37—41; Joseph Krauskopf, *The Ascendency of Womanhood* (Philadelphia, 1917); Joseph Leiser, *American Judaism: The Religion and Religious Institutions of the Jewish People in the United States: A Historical Survey* (New York, 1925), pp. 174 ff.; "Report of the Committee on Reform Practice, Rabbi Morton M. Berman, Chairman. Delivered at 41st General Assembly, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Nov. 13, 1950" (women called to the Torah). Most helpful—and interesting too—are the numerous volumes of responsa written by Solomon B. Freehof. They represent the effort of anti-authoritarian Reform to come to terms with the requirements of rabbinic law. See, for example, Freehof, *Reform*

Responsa for Our Time (Cincinnati, 1977), pp. 216-220. The minutes of the Board of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, 1921, throw light on the efforts of Martha Neumark to be accepted for ordination. The religious views of Sally Priesand, the first American woman rabbi, are reflected in her *Judaism and the New Woman* (New York, 1975).

Unpublished theses frequently supply historical data on the status and behavior of American Jewesses. Women's rights are discussed albeit briefly, in Robert I. Kahn's "Liberalism as Reflected in Jewish Preaching in the English Language in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (Hebrew Union College doctoral thesis, 1949), pp. 93—95. Some information on women's charitable organizations may be gleaned from Eugene J. Lipman's "A History of Organized Synagogal Philanthropy in the United States" (master's thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1943). Printed copies of *The Constitution of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1825) are still extant. This is the first Jewish women's organization in the United States. The *Manuscript Catalog of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati* (Boston, 1971), vol. 2, pp. 378 ff., lists women's associations under the caption "Ladies Aid Societies." Eleanor F. Horvitz, in the *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, vol. 7, pp. 501 ff., discusses in detail, "The Jewish Woman Liberated: A History of the Ladies' Hebrew Free Loan Association." Useful too is the work of Paul Swerdlow, "The American Jewess in the Second Quarter of the Twentieth Century: An Attempt to Discover Whether There Is a Typical American Jewess. Her Nature and Characteristics" (master's thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1964).

A careful reading of Isaac Leeser's ten volumes of *Discourses on the Jewish Religion* (Philadelphia, 1866—67) uncovers data that sheds light on the mid-nineteenth-century Jewish woman (cf. vol. 2, pp. 172—176, vol. 10, pp. 242—248). Edgar E. MacDonald, in *The Education of the Heart: The Correspondence of Rachel Mordecai Lazarus and Maria Edgeworth* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1977), is a very valuable source for an understanding of the thinking and the Jewishness of an early American intellectual. *Ruhamah: Devotional Exercises for the Use of the Daughters of Israel*, a compilation and translation from the German by Rabbi Morris Jacob Raphall (New York, 1852), reflects what was probably an effort to introduce this type of edificatory literature into America. The epitaphs of *The Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston, S.C.* (Charleston, 1903), edited by Barnett A. Elzas, are a useful aid in the effort to determine what Jewish husbands thought of their wives—after their death.

In *Three Years in America, 1859—1862* (Philadelphia, 1956), I. J. Benjamin II expressed himself in no uncertain terms on the value of the education received by America's teenage Jewesses (vol. 1, pp. 85 ff.). Bertram Wallace Korn, in his *American Jewry and the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1951), has several references to the work done by women (see Index under "Women," "Hebrew Ladies"). By the 1890's, a number of rabbis had begun to preach on the new woman and her new opportunities. However, even the most liberal, like E. G. Hirsch and Max Landsberg, preferred, on the whole, to take refuge in adulatory flights of oratory and to relegate women to the area of social service (Emil G. Hirsch, *My Religion* [New York, 1925], pp. 359—371; Max Landsberg, "The Position of Women Among the Jews," in *Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions* [Cincinnati, 1894], pp. 241—254). The more traditional rabbis like Julius M. Magil lectured on *The Worthy Woman* (Reading, Pa., 1895), content to pay tribute to the hard-working housewife immortalized in Proverbs 31.

Albert I. Gordon, in *Jews in Transition* (Minneapolis, 1949), wrote about the women in his Conservative Minneapolis congregation (see under "Hadassah," "Marriage," "Women"); Polly Adler, once madam in a bordello, solemnly assured her readers that *A House Is Not a Home* (New York, 1953). Benjamin Rabbinowitz, in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, vol. 37, pp. 280 ff., describes the beginnings of the Young Women's Hebrew Associaton; *American Jewish Archives* in vol. 25, pp. 65 ff., 96 ff., republished documents retailing the problems of the rabbi's wife and the work which the sisterhoods did on behalf of the blind. Bernard Reisman, in *The Chavurah: A Contemporary Jewish Experience* (New York, 1977), described the communes which Jewish men and women of the 1970's established in their effort to find the spiritual fellowship, the "togetherness," which some had sought in vain in the synagogue.

In short, one is tempted to venture that there is hardly a published work on any aspect of American Jewish life which does not contain some information on Jewish women. Thus one may read a beautiful apostrophe to them and their gracious generosity in Myer Moses, *An Oration Delivered Before the Hebrew Orphan Society on the 15th Day of October, 1806* (Charleston, 1807), pp. 29—31. Malcolm H. Stern has analyzed some pre-1840 intermarriage statistics in *Essays in American Jewish History to Commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Jewish Archives Under the Direction of Jacob Rader Marcus* (Cincinnati, 1958), pp. 69 ff. The data on the intermarriages of a century later were presented by Joseph R. Rosenbloom in Bertram Wallace Korn (ed.), *A Bicentennial Festschrift for Jacob Rader Marcus* (Waltham, Mass., 1976), pp. 487 ff. In *The Pioneers: An Historical Essay* (St. Louis, 1880), the gifted Rosa Sonneschein discussed the St. Louis women's literary society. Thomas Kessner and Betty Boyd Caroli published a study of "New Immigrant Woman at Work: Italians and Jews in New York City, 1880—1905," in the *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, vol. 5, no. 4, Winter 1978, pp. 19—31, and in the same *Journal*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 81 ff., the sociologist Abraham D. Lavender wrote on "Jewish College Women: Future Leaders of the Jewish Community?"

The rabbi of Sephardic Shearith Israel in New York City lectured to the ladies of the congregation in 1884 on *The Position of Woman in Jewish Law and Custom* (New York, 1884). The social reformer Sophie Irene Loeb, a professional journalist, published a volume of cute *Epigrams of Eve* (New York, 1913). The *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 22, 1920—1921, pp. 383—393, reprinted a memoir of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research on "Professional Tendencies Among Jewish Students in Colleges, Universities, and Professional Schools." The period covered is the academic year 1918—19. A statistical study of Jewish collegians for the academic year 1934—35 was made by Lee J. Levinger in *The Jewish Student in America: A Study Made by the Research Bureau of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations* (Cincinnati, 1937). Interesting details on the life of the labor leader Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca are tucked away in the *Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Twenty-fifth Anniversary Convention. Report of the General Executive Board and Proceedings of the Thirteenth Biennial Convention, May 13—24, 1940*, pp. 476—478. Ronald M Goldstein has assembled interesting cultural and economic data or Jewesses in his "American Jewish Population Studies Since Worlc War II" in the *American Jewish Archives*, vol. 22, pp. 15 ff. Rabb Victor E. Reichert of Cincinnati executed a tour de force when he published *My Ethical Will: Teenagers' Testaments. Written by the Members of the Confirmation Class of May 25, 1958, of the Rockdale Avenue Temple, Congregation Bene Israel* (Cincinnati, 1958). Rose H. Alschuler incorporated her spiritual testament, "I Believe—Today," in *Bits and Pieces of Family Lore, Presented to Her Son, Daughters, and Grandchildren on Her 75th Birthday, December 17th, 1962* (Chicago?, 1962).

The 1970's are rich, very rich, in exciting source materials on the emancipation of women. Richard Siegel, Michael Strassfeld, and Sharon Strassfeld included a section on "A Guide to Jewish Women's Activities" in *The Jewish Catalog* (Philadelphia, 1973), pp. 252—260. These pages dealt with consciousness-raising, rabbinic law, and women in religious and secular institutions. A bibliography was appended. In *The Second Jewish Catalog* (Philadelphia, 1976), which Sharon Strassfeld and Michael Strassfeld edited, they included material on the life-cycle ceremonies for women. Despite the fact that these two volumes are an introduction to Jewish "spiritual exercises," they fit well into the modern concept of Jewish historiography.

All the documents listed in the following paragraph have been reprinted in Marcus, *The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History* (New York, 1980). In *The Jewish Presence* (New York, 1977), pp. 46—57, Lucy S. Dawidowicz writes "On Being a Woman in Shul." In 1977, when Rosalyn Yalow recieved a Nobel Prize, she had to submit an autobiographical sketch to the Prize Committee. It is an important and interesting statement. That same year, Susan Brandeis Popkin, a great-granddaughter of the Supreme Court justice, delivered a bat mitzvah address. Unlike the justice, she was a religionist. In "Susie's Story, Read at the Nuernberg-Fuerth Grand Reunion, July 7—9, 1978, at Grossinger's, Catskills, New York," Mrs. Werner (Lisl) Weinberg described how her infant daughter Susie miraculously survived the Holocaust. In late 1978, the *Message*

of Congregation Beth Yeshurun of Houston, Texas, published a sermon of Rabbi Jack Segal, "Should We Have Women in the Conservative Rabbinate?" The answer was an enthusiastic yes. This address was republished in the *Jewish Post and Opinion*, January 19, 1979, pp. 3—4.

Biographical Reference Works for the American Jewess

Given the present state of American Jewish historiography, biographical reference books are still the prime source for a knowledge of the Jewish women of this country. This of course will slant any historical study toward "notables," but the balance can be redressed, in part, at least, by chronicling the problems of the female garment workers in the metropolitan centers. Missing, unfortunately, are the female masses, the housewives of an extended middle class. Future research will have to devote itself to this large and important group.

The latest edition of the American Library Association's *Guide to Reference Books* and its supplements will introduce the student to the standard biographical works. Jewish women will be found in all of them. Indispensable are the volumes of A. N. Marquis Company, *Who Was Who in America*. Here one can find biographies of deceased notables from 1897 to the present. References to contemporary notables or their life histories are chronicled in H. W. Wilson Company's *Current Biography Yearbook* and *Biography Index*. Very useful are *American Authors, 1600—1900* (ed. by Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft [New York, 1938]) and their *Twentieth Century Authors* (New York, 1942). The volume on *Twentieth Century Authors: First Supplement* (New York, 1955) has been edited by Stanley J. Kunitz and Vineta Colby. Basic for any study of female writers is the extensive series of *Contemporary Authors* of the Gale Research Company. They are invaluable if one is interested in the careers of women like Marie Syrkin or Barbara Tuchman or Gloria Steinem. The current Marquis volumes on *Who's Who in America* are basic for all research; they may be supplemented by the same publisher's current edition of *Who's Who of American Women*. Very useful too is the *Dictionary of American Biography* and its supplements (New York, 1946 to 1974), and the three-volume *Notable American Women, 1607—1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971).

Biographies of the following Jewesses are found in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and its supplements: Mary Antin, Sophie Braslau, Ruth Mack Brunswick, Claribel Cone, Etta Cone, Rose Eytinge, Jennie Maas Flexner, Alma Gluck, Emma Goldman, Rebecca Gratz, Emma Lazarus, Sophie Irene Simon Loeb, Florence Prag Kahn, Clara Damrosch Mannes, Adah Isaacs Menken, Penina Moïse, Belle Lindner Israels Moskowitz, Maud Nathan, Alla Nazimova, Ernestine Louise Siismondi Potowski Rose, Rosika Schwimmer, Gertrude Stein, Rose Harriet Pastor Stokes, Henrietta Szold, Lillian D. Wald, and Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler. In the three volumes of *Notable American Women*, the following Jewish women are included: Mary Antin, Nora Bayes, Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca, Ruth Jane Mack Brunswick, Claribel Cone, Hannah Bachman Einstein, Rose Eytinge, Jennie Maas Flexner, Rebecca Franks, Carrie Bamberger Frank Fuld, Love Rosa Hirschmann Gantt, Alma Gluck, Emma Goldman, Josephine Clara Goldmark, Rebecca Gratz, Anna Held, Ida Henrietta Hyde, Florence Prag Kahn, Bertha Kalich, Lizzie Black Kander, Emma Lazarus, Florence Nightingale Levy, Irene Lewisohn, Sophie Irene Simon Loeb, Clara Damrosch Mannes, Adah Isaacs Menken, Penina Moise, Belle Lindner Israels Moskowitz, Maud Nathan, Alla Nazimova, Jessica Blanche Peixotto, Phoebe Yates Levy Pember, Julia Richman, Ernestine Louise Siismondi Potowski Rose, Jessie Ethel Sampter, Margarethe Meyer Schurz, Rosika Schwimmer, Hannah Greenebaum Solomon, Gertrude Stein, Frances Stern, Florine Stettheimer, Rose Harriet Pastor Stokes, Henrietta Szold, Lillian D. Wald, Louise Waterman Wise, and Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler.

America's Jewish biographical compendia began in 1905 with vol. 6, 1904—1905, of the *American Jewish Year Book*, which published "Biographical Sketches of Jews Prominent in the Professions, Etc., in the United States," pp. 52 ff. The following year, "Biographical Sketches of Jewish Communal Workers in the United States" appeared in vol. 7, 1905—1906, pp. 32 ff. It was almost a generation later before the first Jewish biographical directory in English was

In short, one is tempted to venture that there is hardly a published work on any aspect of American Jewish life which does not contain some information on Jewish women. Thus one may read a beautiful apostrophe to them and their gracious generosity in Myer Moses, *An Oration Delivered Before the Hebrew Orphan Society on the 15th Day of October, 1806* (Charleston, 1807), pp. 29—31. Malcolm H. Stern has analyzed some pre-1840 intermarriage statistics in *Essays in American Jewish History to Commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Jewish Archives Under the Direction of Jacob Rader Marcus* (Cincinnati, 1958), pp. 69 ff. The data on the intermarriages of a century later were presented by Joseph R. Rosenbloom in Bertram Wallace Korn (ed.), *A Bicentennial Festschrift for Jacob Rader Marcus* (Waltham, Mass., 1976), pp. 487 ff. In *The Pioneers: An Historical Essay* (St. Louis, 1880), the gifted Rosa Sonneschein discussed the St. Louis women's literary society. Thomas Kessner and Betty Boyd Caroli published a study of "New Immigrant Woman at Work: Italians and Jews in New York City, 1880—1905," in the *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, vol. 5, no. 4, Winter 1978, pp. 19—31, and in the same *Journal*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 81 ff., the sociologist Abraham D. Lavender wrote on "Jewish College Women: Future Leaders of the Jewish Community?"

The rabbi of Sephardic Shearith Israel in New York City lectured to the ladies of the congregation in 1884 on *The Position of Woman in Jewish Law and Custom* (New York, 1884). The social reformer Sophie Irene Loeb, a professional journalist, published a volume of cute *Epigrams of Eve* (New York, 1913). The *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 22, 1920—1921, pp. 383—393, reprinted a memoir of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research on "Professional Tendencies Among Jewish Students in Colleges, Universities, and Professional Schools." The period covered is the academic year 1918—19. A statistical study of Jewish collegians for the academic year 1934—35 was made by Lee J. Levinger in *The Jewish Student in America: A Study Made by the Research Bureau of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations* (Cincinnati, 1937). Interesting details on the life of the labor leader Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca are tucked away in the *Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Twenty-fifth Anniversary Convention. Report of the General Executive Board and Proceedings of the Thirteenth*

Biennial Convention, May 13—24, 1940, pp. 476—478. Ronald
Goldstein has assembled interesting cultural and economic data
Jewesses in his "American Jewish Population Studies Since Wo
War II" in the *American Jewish Archives*, vol. 22, pp. 15 ff. Ral
Victor E. Reichert of Cincinnati executed a tour de force when
published *My Ethical Will: Teenagers' Testaments. Written by
Members of the Confirmation Class of May 25, 1958, of the Rockd
Avenue Temple, Congregation Bene Israel* (Cincinnati, 1958). Rose
Alschuler incorporated her spiritual testament, "I Believe—Toda
in *Bits and Pieces of Family Lore, Presented to Her Son, Daughters, a
Grandchildren on Her 75th Birthday, December 17th, 1962* (Chicag
1962).

The 1970's are rich, very rich, in exciting source materials on t
emancipation of women. Richard Siegel, Michael Strassfeld, a
Sharon Strassfeld included a section on "A Guide to Jew
Women's Activities" in *The Jewish Catalog* (Philadelphia, 1973),
252—260. These pages dealt with consciousness-raising, rabbi
law, and women in religious and secular institutions. A bibliograp
was appended. In *The Second Jewish Catalog* (Philadelphia, 197
which Sharon Strassfeld and Michael Strassfeld edited, they includ
material on the life-cycle ceremonies for women. Despite the f
that these two volumes are an introduction to Jewish "spiritual ex
cises," they fit well into the modern concept of Jew
historiography.

All the documents listed in the following paragraph have be
reprinted in Marcus, *The American Jewish Woman: A Documenta
History* (New York, 1980). In *The Jewish Presence* (New York, 197
pp. 46—57, Lucy S. Dawidowicz writes "On Being a Woman
Shul." In 1977, when Rosalyn Yalow recieved a Nobel Prize, s
had to submit an autobiographical sketch to the Prize Committee.
is an important and interesting statement. That same year, Sus
Brandeis Popkin, a great-granddaughter of the Supreme Co
justice, delivered a bat mitzvah address. Unlike the justice, she wa
religionist. In "Susie's Story, Read at the Nuernberg-Fuerth Gra
Reunion, July 7—9, 1978, at Grossinger's, Catskills, New York
Mrs. Werner (Lisl) Weinberg described how her infant daugh
Susie miraculously survived the Holocaust. In late 1978, the *Mess*

printed: this was *Who's Who in American Jewry, 1926* (New York, 1927). Later editions by various compilers and publishers appeared in 1928, 1935, 1938—39, and 1980. These volumes, all more or less standard, also contained biographies of women. However, several years earlier, vanity biographical books were already printed by enterprising businessmen. Among them are two volumes of *Distinguished Jews of America* (New York, 1917—18). Most of the biographies here are of East European immigrants. The volumes seem to be *Frauenrein;* as yet, immigrant women were nonpersons. A few Jewesses are mentioned in *American Jews: Their Lives and Achievements* (2 vols., New York, 1947—58). Still another vanity enterprise is *The Israel Honorarium* or *The American Israel Honorarium* (Jerusalem, 1968). The series of *Who's Who in World Jewry,* begun in 1955, are not "mug books." Obviously all these biographical works must be supplemented by the three large-scale Jewish encyclopedias mentioned above.

Since the feminist revolt, a number of biographical works have appeared emphasizing the role of women in society. Inasmuch as some present-day Jewesses have high visibility in the women's movement, most of these books have no choice but to include a number of them. The following works all carry information on Jewish female achievers; the list is by no means complete. June Sochen, *Movers and Shakers: American Women Thinkers and Activists, 1900—1970* (New York, 1973) tells the story, among others, of Emma Goldman and Rose Pastor Stokes. In Caroline Bird's *Enterprising Women* (New York, 1976), there are accounts of careers of successful women such as Ida Rosenthal, Tillie Lewis, Sylvia Porter, and Katharine Graham. Jeane Westin, in *Making Do: How Women Survived the '30's* (Chicago, 1976), records the experiences of Leah Parnes and Lillian Cantor Dawson (pp. 141—144, 274—277).

In *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America* (New York, 1977), pp. 293 ff., Barbara Mayer Wertheimer portrays in some detail the careers of Jewish women who were pioneers in the garment industry unions. In "Organizing the Unorganizable: Three Jewish Women and Their Union," which is found in *Labor History,* vol. 17, pp. 5—23, Alice Kessler-Harris discussed in detail the work of the union organizers Pauline Newman, Fannia Cohn, and Rose Pesotta. The latter is the only one of these three women to write a formal autobiography (Rose Pesotta, *Bread Upon the Waters* [New York, 1944]). It describes her travails as a labor organizer in the 1930's. Winifred G. Helmes edited *Notable Maryland Women* (Cambridge, Md., 1977). This book contains biographies of quite a number of Jews. A similar collection of biographical vignettes has been assembled by Barbara Stuhler and Gretchen Kreuter in *Women of Minnesota: Selected Biographical Essays* (St. Paul, 1977). Sydelle Kramer and Jenny Masur are the editors of *Jewish Grandmothers* (Boston, 1976). This is a collection of oral interviews with foreign-born East European Jewesses who have spent their adult lives in this country. These detailed sketches offer much useful information for the social and economic historian. The most helpful of all these books which delineate the careers of Jewesses is Cecyle S. Neidle's *America's Immigrant Women: Their Contribution to the Development of a Nation from 1609 to the Present* (New York, 1975). At least twenty immigrant Jews are described by her.

There are several biographical works which limit themselves entirely to Jews. All of them include women. The earliest is Henry Samuel Morais's *Eminent Israelites of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1880). The American Jewesses whose lives he sketched are Rebecca Gratz, Rebekah Hyneman, Minna Kleeberg, and Emma Lazarus. The latter three were poets. It is worth noting that Morais was acquainted only with the earlier writings of Lazarus, for Emma had as yet not entered into her pronounced Jewish phase. In *Three Outstanding Women* (New York, 1941), Dora Askowith described the careers of Mary Fels, Rebekah Kohut, and Annie Nathan Meyer. Of the twenty-five *Autobiographies of American Jews* (Philadelphia, 1965) compiled by Harold U. Ribalow, six are of women: Mary Antin, Rebekah Kohut, May Weisser Hartman, Irma Lindheim, Anzia Yezierska, and Marie Syrkin. The last taught at Brandeis, edited the *Jewish Frontier,* and wrote a biography of Golda Meir. Greta Fink, in *Great Jewish Women: Profiles of Courageous Women from the Maccabean Period to the Present* (New York, 1978), described the following Americans: Rebecca Gratz, Ernestine Rose, Hannah G. Solomon, Henrietta Szold, Lillian Wald, Emma Goldman, Helena Rubinstein, Gertrude Stein, Louise Nevelson, Dorothy Schiff, and Golda Meir.

There is a constantly increasing body of biographical material

enriching our knowledge of the American Jewess. Leo Hershkowitz and Isidore S. Meyer, in *The Lee Max Friedman Collection of American Jewish Colonial Correspondence: Letters of the Franks Family, 1733—1748* (Waltham, Mass., 1968), have prepared a definitive scholarly edition of the letters of Abigail Franks to her son Naphtali in London. The *Letters of Rebecca Gratz* (Philadelphia, 1929), edited by David Philipson, gives us an insight into the thinking, the accomplishments, and the Jewishness of the best-known Jewess of the antebellum period. There is no definitive biography of this very interesting person. However, two graduate theses chronicling her career are on deposit in the Hebrew Union College Library in Cincinnati: Leonard I. Beerman's 1949 master's thesis, "Rebecca Gratz: An Analysis of the Life and Activity of the Foremost Jewess of the Nineteenth Century as Reflected in Hitherto Unpublished Source Materials," and the 1957 doctoral thesis of Joseph R. Rosenbloom, "And She Had Compassion: The Life and Times of Rebecca Gratz." The collection of Rebecca Gratz letters in the American Jewish Archives is very large. They are all copies.

The biographies of Isaac Mayer Wise, the organizer of Reform Jewry's basic institutions, are important because Wise assumed a liberal stance toward women as early as the 1840's. His liberalism is reflected in David Philipson and Louis Grossman, *Selected Writings of Isaac M. Wise* (Cincinnati, 1900), pp. 397—399, and in James G. Heller, *Isaac M. Wise: His Life, Work, and Thought* (New York, 1965), see the Index under "Woman's Suffrage" and "Women." The poet Emma Lazarus was a younger contemporary of Wise. Her work and influence is chronicled in two biographies: Heinrich Eduard Jacob, *The World of Emma Lazarus* (New York, 1949) and Eve Merriam, *Emma Lazarus: Woman With a Torch* (New York, 1956). Neither is in any sense definitive. Emma Lazarus merits further study if only to evaluate her place in American literature and to explain why she has captured the imagination of twentieth-century American Jewry. A comparative study of Emma Lazarus and her contemporaries, Nina Morais and the two Nathan sisters, Maud and Annie, might well be rewarding. The following three monographs are helpful in understanding the literary work and aspirations of Emma Lazarus: Ralph L. Rusk (ed.), *Letters to Emma Lazarus in the Columbia University Library* (New York, 1939), Mo ris U. Schappes, *Emma Lazarus: Selections from Her Poetry and Pro.* (2d. ed., New York, 1947), Schappes, *The Letters of Emma Lazaru. 1868—1885* (New York, 1949). Harriet Lane Levy's *920 O'Farre Street* (Garden City, N.Y., 1947) is a charming account of a late nineteenth-century San Francisco family. In all probability there i here a modicum of fiction interwoven with the facts. Mrs. Levy wa an aunt of Albert A. Michelson, the Nobel Prize—winning physicist

There is a substantial number of biographies of American Jewisl women. Most of them have been written in the twentieth century The Hebrew Union College Library collection of biographies an autobiographies of American Jewesses will total one hundred a least. They are listed in the *Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute o Religion Dictionary Catalog of the Klau Library, Cincinnati* (Boston 1964—65). In writing *The American Jewish Woman, 1654—1980* the author, Jacob R. Marcus, consulted numerous biographies o women whose work extended into the twentieth century. Among the memoirs which he found helpful were Simon Litman, *Ray Frank Litman: A Memoir* (New York, 1957). This is the story of a female protorabbi. Marcia Davenport, in *Too Strong for Fantasy* (New York, 1967), describes her mother's beginnings as an opera and concert singer. Her mother was Alma Gluck. Marvin Lowenthal's *Henrietta Szold: Life and Letters* (New York, 1942) is primarily a documentary, prefaced by a brief biography. The life of Jennie Franklin Purvin, a Chicago communal worker, civic social reformer, and activist, was summed up in a few pages by Neil Kominsky in his *Jennie Franklin Purvin: A Study in Womanpower* (Cincinnati, 1968). An anonymous curriculum vitae of Sophie (Sophia) Moses Robison, the brilliant social scientist, is outlined in a typescript deposited in the American Jewish Archives. The literature on the Israeli prime minister, Golda Meir, an American by training, is impressively large.

One is tempted to assert that there is hardly an aspect of the human experience which is not reflected in autobiographical accounts written by Jewish women of this country. The sad experiences of a Christian convert to Judaism are poignantly recounted in *Henry Luria; or, The Little Jewish Convert: Being Contained in the Memoir of Mrs. S. J. Cohen, Relict of the Reverend Doctor A. H. Cohen,*

Late Rabbi of the Synagogue in Richmond, Va. (New York, 1860). Phoebe Yates Levy Pember, in *A Southern Woman's Story* (New York, 1879) and in the *American Jewish Archives*, vol. 13, pp. 44 ff., portrays her problems as the matron of a Confederate hospital. In Glenn G. Boyer (ed.), *I Married Wyatt Earp: The Recollections of Josephine Sarah Marcus Earp* (Tucson, Ariz., 1976), this San Francisco Jewess tells of her life with her husband, a legendary figure in Western lore. In an autobiographical account in the *American Association of University Women Journal*, June 1938, pp. 226–236, Iowa-born Ida H. Hyde recounts how she became the first woman to earn a graduate degree in Germany. This is a document of prime historical importance.

The following autobiographies testify eloquently to the sharp differences that characterized Jewish women in the decades that straddled the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *My First Seventy Years* (New York, 1935) is Florentine Scholle Sutro's account of her life. She moved in circles of wealth and culture. Her family originally came from San Francisco. Another San Franciscan was Amy Steinhart Braden. In an unpublished oral interview she speaks of her family and career as a social worker: "Child Welfare and Community Service: An Interview Conducted by Edna Tartaul Daniel" (University of California, Regional Cultural History Project [Berkeley, 1965]). Moving east to Chicago, one encounters Jennie R. (Mrs. Henry M.) Gerstley, a lovely human being, a communal worker. A copy of her unpublished reminiscences is found in the American Jewish Archives. One of the several Cohens in Cincinnati, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, was a tailor. The life of this German Jewish family is depicted in some detail in Sarah M. Wartcki, *My Mother's Memories of Her Childhood* (Cincinnati, 1976). Mary Antin was an immigrant, a gloriously happy one who, in *The Promised Land* (Boston, 1912), proudly proclaimed that America was the best of all possible countries. Mary Antin lived well within the ambit of traditional Americanism; in *Living My Life* (2 vols., New York, 1931), Emma Goldman, the anarchist, rejected much that Antin held dear. Rebekah Kohut, who spent most of her life in New York City, was a Hungarian immigrant who became a communal worker and educator. Her three following autobiographies offer

valuable insights into the life of a woman who had "made it": *My Portion: An Autobiography* (New York, 1927), *As I Know Them: Some Jews and a Few Gentiles* (Garden City, N.Y., 1929), *More Yesterdays: An Autobiography, 1925—1949* (New York 1950). Rebekah Kohut knew Maud Nathan and, very probably, her sister Annie Nathan Meyer, the founder of Barnard (*Barnard Beginnings* [Boston, 1935]). Maud was the author of *Once Upon a Time and Today* (New York, 1933). These two sisters were Sephardis, nominally Orthodox Jews observing the Sephardic rite. The others listed above, Ashkenazim, were Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, nonobservant, and even atheistic Jews. What did they all have in common? They were born Jews.

Hannah G. Solomon, the founder of the National Council of Jewish Women, has told her story in *Fabric of My Life* (New York, 1946). It is complemented by her granddaughter's oral interview now in the American Jewish Archives ("Interview with Mrs. Philip Angel, of Charleston, W. Va.," conducted by Gerald Kane, April 20, 1970). By the first two decades of the new century, East European women began to make their presence felt as labor organizers and communal workers among the immigrants. The many tribulations of these leaders are mirrored in the following works: Rose Schneiderman and Lucy Goldthwaite, *All for One* (New York, 1967), Mrs. Gustave Hartman, *I Gave My Heart* (New York, 1960), "Oral History Interview with Pauline Newman, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Conducted by Barbara Wertheimer" (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1978). This interview is on deposit in the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan—Wayne State University, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Totally removed, economically at least, from struggling heroines like Schneiderman and Pauline Newman were the two very successful writers, Edna Ferber and Fannie Hurst. Their experiences are set forth in Ferber's two volumes, *A Peculiar Treasure* (Garden City, N.Y., 1960) and *A Kind of Magic* (Garden City, N.Y., 1963), and in Fannie Hurst's *Anatomy of Me: A Wonderer in Search of Herself* (Garden City, N.Y., 1958). A woman who lived in a world of her own was Maimie (May) Pinzer. The early years of this daughter of East European immigrants unfold themselves vividly in her letters

published in *The Maimie Papers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977). They were edited by Ruth Rosen and Sue Davidson. For a brief period Maimie lived on the fringes of society as a prostitute.

With the advancing decades of the twentieth century, the American Jewish woman still refused to fit into any fixed pattern. The golden thread of continuity is invisible. Gloria Steinem's grandmother, a successful politician, has been described in the following work: Elaine S. Anderson, "Pauline Steinem, Dynamic Immigrant," in Marta Whitlock (ed.), *Women in Ohio History: A Conference to Commemorate the Bicentennial of the American Revolution* (Columbus, 1976). Belle Fligelman Winestine was a Montana suffragist (*Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, vol. 24, July 1974, pp. 70—78). Irma L. Lindheim of New York, scion of a "good" family, turned to Zionism in a *Parallel Quest: A Search of a Person and a People* (New York, 1963); Belle Lindner Israels Moskowitz became a power in New York State politics (Julius Henry Cohen, *They Builded Better Than They Knew* [New York, 1946], pp. 245 ff.); Esther Bengis, *I Am a Rabbi's Wife* (Lakewood, N.J., 1936), wrote of her struggle to survive as the wife of the congregation's minister. In *My Caravan of Years: An Autobiography* (New York, 1945), Goldie Stone of Chicago tells the reader how she helped weld the city's two disparate communities, the "German" and the "Russian." From New York to the Pacific Coast, wherever Lucy Robins Lang wandered, this left-winger devoted herself to the working masses (*Tomorrow Is Beautiful* [New York, 1948]). And Gertrude Stein? One can describe her as an expatriate whose cultural, artistic, and literary influence touched many. Actually she defies explanation; she has supplied autobiographical data in Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (New York, 1934), *Everybody's Autobiography* (New York, 1937), and in *Wars I Have Seen* (New York, 1945). The struggles of East European immigrant women to cope with America's spiritual, cultural, and economic challenges were Sisyphean. They are reflected in the writings of two authors: Leah Morton (Elizabeth Gertrude Leven Stern), *I Am a Woman—and a Jew* (New York, 1926), and Anzia Yezierska, *Red Ribbon on a White Horse* (New York, 1950).

By the 1960's and 1970's, women were obviously making a place

for themselves in a man's world. Dorothy Fields became a successful lyric writer (Max Wilk, *They're Playing Our Song: From Jerome Kern to Stephen Sondheim—The Stories Behind the Words and Music of Two Generations* [New York, 1973]). Caroline K. Simon's curriculum vitae, on file in the American Jewish Archives, documents that she was secretary of state for New York, 1959—1963. Minnie (Mrs. Charles S.) Guggenheimer raised the money to keep the Lewisohn Stadium Concerts going for a generation (Sophie Guggenheimer Untermeyer and Alix Williamson, *Mother Is Minnie* [Garden City, N.Y., 1960]). The struggles of a scientist to make a career for herself even if it meant a disruption of the traditional family structure is reflected in Ruth Weiner's "Chemist and 'Eco-Freak'" (*Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, vol. 208 [March 15, 1973], pp. 52—56 Problems such as hers loom ominously on the horizon of tomorrow's generation.

It is taken for granted that students conversant with the critical method in the social sciences will not take any biography at face value. Let every researcher in the field of American Jewish history never forget the moron's boast: "I know it's true; I seen it in a book."

Research on the following themes would certainly prove profitable: Rebecca Gratz as Reflected in Her Letters (there is more than one large collection); Rachel Mordecai Lazarus, Early American Jewish Intellectual; Jewish Women as Presidents of Congregations; The Nineteenth-Century "Ladies' Aid" as a Consciousness-Raising Instrument; The Changing Goals of the Conservative and Reform Sisterhoods; The Early Programs and Goals of the National Council of Jewish Women; The Contemporary Goals of the National Council of Jewish Women; The Influence of Hadassah on the American Jewish Woman; The Acceptance of Women of East European Origin into the Older American Jewish Women's Societies and Associations; The Americanization of the Central European Jewess; The Americanization of the East European Jewess; the Economic Activities of the Jewesses of the Middle and Lower-Middle Classes; A History of the Jewish Woman as Reflected in the Local English-Jewish Newspapers of Los Angeles (or any major American city whose backfile of Jewish newspapers is still extant); The Landsman-

shaften of New York City's East European Jewesses; A Comparative Study of the Attitudes Toward Jewish Women as Reflected in the Socialist and Bourgeois Yiddish Press; Acculturation and Assimilation of the Mordecai Women as Reflected in the Mordecai Papers; The Experiences Encountered by Women as Rabbinical Students in America's Rabbinical Seminaries; An Analysis of the Contents and Possible Influence of Rosa Sonneschein's magazine, the *American Jewess*, 1895—1899; A Study of the Careers of Female Graduates of Jewish All-Day Schools; The Careers of German Jewish Female Émigrés in the United States after 1933; The Participation of Women in the Field of Jewish Critical Scholarship; The Young Women's Hebrew Association: Success? Failure?; A Study of Notable American Jewesses as Reflected in the Obituaries of the New York newspapers, 1920—1963.

Obviously the field of research into the history of the American Jewish woman is wide open.