

ASSEMBLIES BY THE SEA: THE JEWISH CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY IN ATLANTIC CITY, 1897-1907

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The Jewish Chautauqua Society (JCS), founded in Philadelphia in 1893 by Reform Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, evolved from an organization dedicated to popularizing Jewish knowledge among Jews to one devoted to teaching non-Jews about Judaism. Modelled on Chautauqua Institution, the Society established reading circles, a Correspondence School for Hebrew Sunday School teachers, religious schools for the children of Jewish farmers, published textbooks, and, beginning in 1897, held annual assemblies for more than forty years.

Since 1939 the Society has been under the sponsorship of the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, a lay Reform organization. It expanded the programs of the JCS, and today primarily supports rabbinic resident lectureships on Judaism at colleges and universities throughout the United States, an outgrowth of university lectures that the JCS began in 1909. Since its inception, the JCS has sought to combat anti-Semitism, dispel prejudice, and create understanding — through education about a minority and religious ethnic component of American society.

Background

The following quote from the *Menorah Monthly*, describes the response to a lecture on American Jewish History given by Professor

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Richard Gottheil at the Jewish Chautauqua Society's Fifth Summer Assembly held in Atlantic City in 1901:

He created one of the few spirited discussions of the summer when he looked at things through Zionist glasses, with the result that several persons who object to that kind of ocular assistance, tried to break the glasses. There was considerable dust in the air for some minutes albeit of a brilliant crystalline kind.¹

A look at the Society's assemblies by the sea provides insight into the ways in which a segment of the American Jewish community made innovative accommodations to Jewish life at the turn of the century as a means to inform and enrich Jews about their past and their present and thereby ensure the future of Judaism in America.

The Jewish Chautauqua Society, or JCS, was founded in 1893 in Philadelphia by Reform Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, a member of the first class of rabbis ordained by Hebrew Union College in 1883. Emulating the forms of the Chautauqua Institution in upstate New York, the Jewish Chautauqua Society created home reading courses and published guidebooks for the study of the Bible, Jewish history and literature, and Hebrew. Its four decades of annual assemblies — held first in Atlantic City — promoted the study of Judaism, discussed current issues such as immigration and anti-Semitism, and provided Hebrew Sunday School teachers with a basis of Jewish knowledge and modern methods of pedagogy. These activities embodied the Society's belief that with proper tools and appropriate settings, Jews could become knowledgeable about, and gain pride in, their heritage.

In the second decade of this century, the Society broadened its scope by establishing religious schools to educate the children of Jewish farmers in southern New Jersey and the Dakotas, by creating a Correspondence School for Sunday School teachers, and by publishing teacher's texts. In the same period it began its most ambitious endeavor which is its hallmark today: a university program through which rabbis teach about Judaism to Jews and non-Jews on college campuses throughout the country.

In 1939, the Society came under the sponsorship of the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, a lay reform organization. Since then it has also provided rabbinic visits to Christian camps and private schools, produced more than fifty documentary and spot films, created a series of interfaith institutes for clergy, donated more than 120,000 volumes of Judaica to college libraries, and

funded more than two hundred resident lectureships on Judaism at academic institutions.

Launching an Assembly

In his address to colleagues at the Sixth Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis held in Rochester, New York in 1895, Rabbi Berkowitz proposed the creation of an assembly and school to provide "some opportunity for the combined and systematic pursuit of advanced studies in Jewish science under competent direction; some practical means for the better preparation of teachers in our religious schools; and the promulgation of Judaism...."² Berkowitz further attempted to interest his colleagues in the concept of a Chautauqua assembly by obtaining complimentary excursion tickets for rabbis to visit the site during the CCAR convention.³

His proposal carefully distinguished between the university extension society, which was purely educational in nature and directed toward students, and the Chautauqua assembly, a broader enterprise which incorporated relaxation and recreation. Berkowitz wanted a Jewish assembly to create a religious environment similar to that which permeated the Chautauqua atmosphere. In addition to imparting Jewish knowledge, Berkowitz hoped that a summer assembly would mold new behavior patterns among participants. This might solve what he called "the Jewish summer problem."⁴ Just as he found card playing among Jews offensive, idleness at summer resorts also aggravated him. He disapproved of his co-religionists' behavior on vacation and accused them of "often turning recreation into dissipation; letting their minds run to weed; throwing off all sense of religious obligation; worse than neglecting the Sabbath, playing the sham game of observing the Christian Sabbath."⁵ He disliked seeing Jews frequent resorts where they were not welcome, where it was openly stated "No Hebrews need apply."⁶ Moreover, it irked Berkowitz that the Bible, the basis of so many classes at the Chautauqua assemblies, was a Jewish book about which the Jews themselves were so ignorant.⁷

Berkowitz conducted a promotion for an assembly again in 1896. In a letter he wrote to the *American Hebrew* about the appeal, he stressed the benefits of a country site as opposed to other resorts such as Atlantic City for an annual gathering.⁸

The next summer, the JCS held its first assembly. It was expected to draw participants from the almost eight hundred members in its

thirty-one reading circles and from members of its Board. Religious school teachers, rabbis, synagogue boards of directors, and others whom the Society thought might be interested, also received a prospectus for the meeting. The JCS hoped the diverse geographic reach of the Society would ensure an assembly that was more than a local gathering of Philadelphians. As much as the Society had wanted to imitate Chautauqua and "bring large numbers to a school located in a remote place," it seemed best to "carry the school to a place where the people were wont to gather in large numbers." The place was the popular beach resort of Atlantic City.

The first assembly in 1897, and each of the three following, convened for two weeks. The next five assemblies became three week affairs, but as attendance declined, they were shortened to four day sessions beginning in 1906.

The Atlantic City meetings offered something for everyone: sessions for members of home reading circles; popular lectures; a Teachers' Institute for Sunday School staff; Special Conferences on topics such as Immigration and such as the Jewish University Student; worship services that took place at Beth Israel synagogue; and evening entertainment. While the congregation served as headquarters for the assembly, meetings took place in several locations. Registration never exceeded two hundred, and there were often only a dozen or so participants in each class, but hundreds more came to special events. Prominent Reform Rabbi Emil Hirsch's lectures in 1903 drew a crowd of 1,000, similar to the attendance at Hirsch's weekly sermons in his own Temple Sinai in Chicago.⁹ Theodore Roosevelt's address in 1900 drew the largest audience: more than 5,000 appeared at the Steel Pier to hear the future president of the United States speak on "Americanism."¹⁰

Popular Lectures

The popular lectures and the Teachers' Institutes best exemplify Rabbi Berkowitz's efforts to bring American Jewry together on a platform devoted to Jewish culture and education. Reform Rabbi Kaufmann Kohler's lecture in 1902, "The Attitude of Christian Scholars Toward Jewish Literature," attempted to refute claims against Judaism by several Christian scholars. Kohler contended that no Christian could comprehend fully the New Testament without a thorough knowledge of the Talmud and the Midrash. Further, an examination of the Jewish sources would inevitably lead, in his mind, to a better respect for Judaism by non-Jews. Kohler stressed

that Jewish scholarship needed to develop in order to provide adequate scholarly responses to Christian theologians.¹¹

In that same year, Reform Rabbi Martin A. Meyer based his "Palestine" addresses to the JCS upon his year's experience as the Fellow of the American School at Jerusalem. According to the Baltimore *Jewish Comment*, when he referred to Jerusalem as the "'Unholy City,' a distinct murmur of amazement swept through the audience." Meyer drew a dark picture of poor Jews who struggled to earn a livelihood. He expressed particular concern about the uneven distribution of *haluka*, the monies collected in the diaspora for the support of Jews in the Holy Land. He also described the proselytizing by the missionaries in Jerusalem as "bold and constant," which resulted in many Jewish converts to Christianity.¹²

The 1902 assembly introduced Dr. Solomon Schechter, President of the newly reorganized Jewish Theological Seminary of America, as a popular lecturer. He spoke about his findings from the Cairo Genizah and showed his audience a sample of a letter written by the medieval philosopher, Moses Maimonides. In 1904, Schechter brought Genizah fragments from the manuscript of the Hebrew book, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, previously known only through a Greek translation.¹³

Fully aware that the defense of Americanism required the defense of other minorities, the JCS invited Wu Ting-fang, Chinese ambassador to the United States, to speak in 1901 about the American laws on Chinese immigration. The ambassador also told his audience of 2,500, that both Jews and Chinese were despised because they shared similarities which were not vices, but virtues. Both groups, he said, were clever, industrious, economical, persevering and able businessmen.¹⁴

Although Rabbi Berkowitz's 1896 study guide, *The Open Bible*, had already included discussion on higher biblical criticism, the subject continued to agitate the Jewish community and its leaders after the turn of the century.¹⁵ Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch's lectures in 1903 on this subject and on evolution and comparative religion were supposed to enlighten Jews about the compatibility of new findings with Judaism, to alert Jews about attacks on Judaism stemming from higher criticism, and to provide them with an adequate response to Christian critics.¹⁶

Dr. Cyrus Adler, at that time Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., delivered a lecture on American Jewish history at the same assembly. Adler implored his listeners to gather records from local synagogues and communal organizations, to publish their findings in journals and books, and to deposit them with the Library of Congress.¹⁷

At the special conference that summer on "How to Relieve the Congestion Among the Jewish Inhabitants of Our Larger Cities," anthropologist and physician Dr. Maurice Fishberg spoke on "Diseases of the Jew," and the "Health Problems of the Jewish Poor."¹⁸

Because Rabbi Berkowitz believed in the importance of the Hebrew language to the unity of the Jewish people, the Society offered elementary Hebrew lessons at each assembly and in year round study. The JCS also invited Dr. Samson Benderly to lecture at the summer meeting in 1904. Benderly, at that time Director of the Board of Jewish Education in Baltimore, presented an account of his success in teaching Hebrew as a living language through daily sessions of the "Ivrit be-Ivrit" method, which used Hebrew as the language of instruction.¹⁹

Zionist leader Louis Lipsky, who urged in-depth study of Jewish history, culture, and language, scoffed at the class size of twelve students that studied Hebrew at one assembly. He said it was no more important or effective than starting a heder "in any small town by a melamed who receives fifty cents per week from each pupil."²⁰ Isaac Hassler, JCS Secretary, responded for the organization. He noted that the Society had not come into existence to create Jewish scholars only, or to insist that Jewish study be a continuous, life-long process. The JCS, he said, "wants the 'masses' to eat of the whole loaf of Jewish knowledge; but it believes that the half loaf, or even a good slice is better than starvation — until the appetite has been properly stimulated."²¹

Hebrew Sunday School Education

At the end of the nineteenth century, the greatest impediment in the Hebrew Sunday School, aside from the lack of good texts, was the lack of qualified teachers, especially in the smaller communities. Most teachers were volunteers; they knew little about Bible, Jewish history, customs and ceremonies, or pedagogic principles.²²

The JCS assemblies attempted to offer teachers several ways to increase both their Judaic knowledge and their teaching skills. Teachers could attend the daily popular lectures on Judaism, the special conferences on current Jewish concerns, and the sessions for reading circle members. The Teacher's Institutes offered lectures on Jewish subjects geared for use in the classroom, practical lessons, whereby a teacher or rabbi demonstrated a model session to a class of children gathered for just such purposes, and presentations on classroom management, school organization, parent involvement,

and curriculum goals. Many of these activities brought awareness of developments in secular education that were appropriate for the enhancement of religious education.

For example, the Society introduced the use of special materials available in public and Christian Sunday Schools to Jewish educators. At the assembly in 1899, it initiated an annual exhibit of its own teaching "appliances" — pictures, maps, tsedakah boxes, models of the Ark and the Tabernacle, and stereopticon slides. The Department of School and Synagog [sic] Extension of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis later adopted such displays at their own conventions.²³

The lectures geared specifically to teachers and school superintendents included one by Mrs. Rebekah Kohut in 1897 who spoke on "The Bond Between the School and the Home." Kohut implored parents to become involved in their children's religious education by joining hands with the school and bringing a religious spirit into their homes. Henrietta Szold lectured the same summer on "Knowledge Versus Spirituality in the Curriculum of the Jewish Religious Schools." She argued that traditional textual learning, including Hebrew, coupled with new pedagogic insight was the key to a successful Jewish education that would provide the best guarantee for the next generation of American Jews.²⁴

Miss Ella Jacobs, principal of both a Philadelphia elementary school and the primary school of Reform Congregation Rodeph Shalom, gave a model lesson on Passover the first summer. While she decorated the classroom with pictures of Moses, the Egyptian slaves, and the Passover sacrifice, Jacobs also hung up large portraits of Washington and Lincoln draped with the national colors. She compared the American revolution and fourth of July with Passover, and Moses with Lincoln as a leader against slavery. Jacobs also arranged a complete Seder table to illustrate her lesson, and suggested that the Seder be observed in every Jewish home.²⁵

In 1899, Richmond, Virginia Reform Rabbi Edward Calisch's model lesson on the 51st Psalm generated heated comments. Critics suggested that Rabbi Calisch rambled, that his language was too difficult for children, that he should have selected another psalm with more applicable content, and that he employed higher criticism, a method that some, like educator Julia Richman, thought had no place in the Sabbath School.²⁶

Discussions and disagreements on the content and conduct of the sessions of the Teachers' Institutes gave evidence of the differences in approach to Jewish religious instruction and reflected both tensions from without and from within the Jewish community.

At the 1901 Assembly, the Society created an Educational Council. Its lofty aim was the "complete revision of the methods of Jewish education in the United States, to be undertaken by the Jewish Chautauqua Society."²⁷ The JCS Educational Council hoped to become, with the cooperation of the Hebrew Sunday School Union, the organization that would stimulate unity in Jewish education.²⁸ To advance this cause, the Society invited Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch to give a series of talks at the 1902 assembly on "The Aim, Scope and Method of the Jewish Religious School."²⁹ Inspired by Hirsch's lectures, a committee formed to prepare a curriculum for Jewish religious schools to be presented at the following assembly.³⁰ In 1903, the Society devoted part of each of the three weeks' meeting to Jewish educational problems. In their lectures, rabbis advocated creating teacher's classes, developing sequential courses on Judaism and pedagogy, giving teachers a knowledge of Judaism and Hebrew, and imbuing them with a spirit of Jewishness they could transmit to students. Rabbi Abram Simon of Washington Hebrew Congregation described the curriculum he had devised. Those who discussed Simon's curriculum, which mirrored classical Reform Judaism with its emphasis on God and ethics, praised the new graded approach to learning. However, the criticism that the curriculum omitted modern Jewish history and concerns about oppression, immigration, the rise of Zionism, and anti-Semitism, reflected the recognition that the Sunday School curriculum, even in Reform synagogues, needed to move toward the cultural participation of Jews in Judaism rather than to continue to focus on belief in God and moral lessons as adequate for a Jewish religious education.³¹

Decline and Reformulation of the Assemblies

Efforts to attract more participants to the Teacher's Institutes did not succeed. In 1900, the *Reform Advocate* had suggested that summer schools for teachers be located elsewhere and the *American Hebrew* noted that "it is with a sense of shame that we note the lack of interest...on the part of the teachers of our religious schools, even in New York."³² At first, the switch to a shorter one-week assembly in 1906 drew praise for the Society. An editorial in the *American Hebrew* stated that, "Instead of attempting to teach the crowd, the directors of the Chautauqua this year determined to teach the teachers." Yet, the newspaper continued, "Jewish education still lacks texts and a method of training."³³

The Society's assemblies however, were early venues for women to participate with men as speakers and as discussants about Jewish education and to gain recognition as experts in the field. The educational programs of the JCS summer assemblies, like church Sunday School teacher meetings and state public school conventions, provided the women who attended the opportunity to meet together for fellowship, to advance their own Judaic and pedagogic knowledge, and to express their ideas before both men and women. The speeches of a number of prominent lecturers — Henrietta Szold, Rebekah Kohut, Lillian Wald, Julia Richman — appeared in the Anglo-Jewish press. These women, most of them either single or widowed, broadened Jewish women's traditional roles and led the way for other women to speak before mixed groups. At the same time, their presentations were limited to educational and social welfare themes, extensions of contemporary views of women as nurturers. They did not challenge rabbinic authority or propose to speak about Judaism. The Society thus brought American practices of education, including the expanded role for women as teachers, principals, and speakers, to the Jewish community without jeopardizing the existing separate spheres of men and women.

"Remove the Jewish Chautauqua" continued to be the advice of the *American Hebrew*. In 1905 it criticized the assembly for lack of speakers and a weak program. The newspaper again argued that Berkowitz dealt with indifferent Jews; he should not waste his time in an attempt to interest them in Jewish education. Instead, the editors of the paper suggested that the JCS should concentrate on building reading circles and convene a summer assembly only for those members involved in year-round study.³⁴ Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, who also edited the national Jewish weekly, the *Reform Advocate*, argued in the same vein for change. As early as 1900 he said that, "Serious study and thought do not thrive, as a rule, under the incandescents of a fashionable summer hotel." In later years, Hirsch also argued that the whole concept of a Chautauqua went against the grain of the Jewish way of life. In his opinion, instead of looking for a spiritual Judaism that mirrored Christianity, Jews needed to return to the original precepts which verified faith by deed, not words.³⁵

Nevertheless, the Jewish Chautauqua Society was the first national organization to have offered interested adults a unified scheme of Jewish study through meetings, an annual assembly, and published materials. The Atlantic City assemblies provided an opportunity for Jews to engage in study in a relaxed setting. Critical issues of religion, Jewish education and identity, and anti-Semitism were debated and discussed openly by well-known leaders from both the liberal and conservative wings of the community. However, neither

eminent Jewish scholars nor reading circle work, neither conferences on pedagogy nor government officials who spoke on immigration and Americanization, seemed to create enough spirited discussions to bring a sufficiently large audience to Atlantic City for a commitment of several weeks to attend a Jewish summer assembly. While many lectures were well attended, the members of the established German Jewish middle class, who were the major participants, seemed to prefer rest and recreation to Bible reading and Hebrew lessons during vacation. Jewish identity for these individuals hinged on a sense of loyalty and service to their people rather than on a knowledge of Judaism. The assemblies lacked appeal for the more traditional Jews, many of Eastern European background, who were quickly emerging as a potent force in the revitalization of Jewish life. The spirit of cooperation that had existed among prominent scholars who spoke from the early platforms, such as Schechter and Kohler, began to ebb as the lines of demarcation between Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Jews became more marked. The rise of other groups, notably the American Jewish Committee and the Federation of American Zionists, to address issues facing the Jewish community also lessened the impact of a summer assembly to bring current issues of concern before American Jewry.³⁶

Since the majority of the middle class did not take the opportunity to acquire Jewish knowledge on a popular basis — not even the “slices” offered at Atlantic City — the JCS had to change the scope, the site, and eventually the season for its assemblies. The *American Hebrew* observed that the JCS “forced itself on the attention of a class of our people who have hitherto been intellectual sluggards as far as Jewish matters were concerned.”³⁷ The Jewish Chautauqua, noted the newspaper, was “compelled to divert people who were otherwise cultured and fully informed, to the need of Jewish culture, Jewish knowledge. It has found many of our people so thoroughly Americanized that they were blind to everything Jewish, whether from a conscious desire to be ignorant or because of lack of opportunity.”³⁸ However, the newspaper did urge support of the organization because, except for the Jewish Publication Society, no other Jewish group offered outreach to the Jewish community.

Due to flagging attendance and the weakened programs at the summer gatherings, the Jewish Chautauqua Society shortened its meetings to four days and limited its offerings to pedagogy and curriculum development in the Hebrew Sunday School. It continued to focus on the moral lessons of Bible stories and the celebrations of holidays as the means to inculcate Jewish allegiance. This agenda was strong enough to continue annual assemblies throughout the country for another quarter century. At the same time, the Jewish

Chautauqua Society began new ventures to popularize Jewish knowledge, both within the Jewish community and in the surrounding culture.

Notes

Abbreviations

AH=American Hebrew (New York, NY)
AJYB=American Jewish Yearbook (Philadelphia, PA)
CCARY=Central Conference of American Rabbis Yearbook
(Cincinnati, OH)
JC=Jewish Comment (Baltimore, MD)
JE=Jewish Encyclopedia
JEXP=Jewish Exponent (Philadelphia, PA)
MEN=The Menorah Monthly (New York, NY)
MODJUD=Modern Judaism (Baltimore, MD)
RA=Reform Advocate (Chicago, IL)

1. MEN, 31 (August 1901):158; AH, 19 July 1901, p. 242; Jewish Chautauqua Society, *Assembly Record*, 19 July 1901, p. 4, SC Box 215, Klau Library, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio (hereafter cited as *Assembly Record*).
2. "A Jewish Summer School and Assembly," CCARY, 5 (1895):44-51 (hereafter cited as "A Jewish Summer School"); JEXP, 19 July 1895, pp. 1-2. Professor Max Margolis of Hebrew Union College suggested a plan of advanced studies for rabbis and others interested in Jewish science, AH, 7 September 1894, p. 563.
3. CCARY, 5 (1895):14. Only four years earlier, Rabbi Gustav Gottheil became the first Jew to address Chautauqua. In 1909, a delegation of sixty people attending the JCS assembly in Buffalo, New York, visited Chautauqua for the day. Chancellor John Heyl Vincent welcomed them, gave them a tour of the grounds and served them dinner at one of the hotels. *Chautauquan Daily*, 10 July 1909, p. 5 and 15 July 1909, p. 7.
4. AH, 12 July 1901, p. 216.
5. Henry Berkowitz, "A Jewish Summer Assembly" (Philadelphia, 1894), Klau Library, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio (hereafter cited as "Summer Assembly").
6. Henry Berkowitz "Summer Assembly"; Henry Berkowitz, "A Jewish Summer School, pp. 44-51; Henry Berkowitz, "The Jewish Summer Assembly," AH, 28 August 1896, p. 419.

7. Henry Berkowitz, "A Jewish Summer School," p. 48.
8. *AH*, 3 January 1896, p. 263; 28 August 1896, p. 419. The JCS had attempted to convene an assembly at Lake Chautauqua. Vincent responded to Berkowitz's request of December 22, 1896, with the offer to permit the Society to have a headquarters at the assembly for the summer, but that Chautauqua could not "change our policy to introduce anything in the way of class exercises and lectures which might seem to have, however wisely they might be managed, a denominational bias." All lectures had to be under Chautauqua auspices. Vincent continued: "...the same reply that would be sent to Presbyterians or Methodists or Roman Catholics who proposed a similar plan." Berkowitz to Vincent, 22 December 1896 and Vincent to Berkowitz, 20 January 1897, Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, New York.
9. *AJYB*, 4 (1902-03):120.
10. "Gov. Roosevelt to Jewish Chautauqua," *New York Times*, 24 July 1900, p. 1; "Governor Roosevelt Before the Jewish Chautauqua," *MEN*, 29 (August 1900):117-121.
11. Kaufmann Kohler, "The Attitude of Christian Scholars Toward Jews," *MEN*, 33 (August 1902):91-101.
12. *MEN*, 33 (August 1902):128-133; *JC*, 11 July 1902, pp. 8-9.
13. "The Uses of Hebrew Manuscripts," "The Life and Times of Ben Sira," *MEN*, 33 (October 1902):268; *JC*, 18 July 1902, p. 7.
14. *JC*, 26 July 1901, p. 7; *AH*, 26 July 1901, p. 262.
15. Naomi W. Cohen, "The Challenges of Darwinism and Biblical Criticism," *MODJUD* 4 (1984):121-157.
16. The lectures appear in a different form in David Einhorn Hirsch, *Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, the Reform Advocate* (Chicago: Whitehall Co., 1968), pp. 63-86.
17. *MEN*, 35 (August 1903):108-109.
18. *JC*, 17 July 1903, p. 2; 31 July 1903, pp. 8, 13; *AH*, 31 July 1903, pp. 335-336; 7 August 1903, pp. 372-374.
19. "The Study of the Hebrew Language," *RA*, 18 July 1904, pp. 588-589. See Nathan H. Winter, *Jewish Education in the Pluralist Society: Samson Benderly and Jewish Education in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 1966), for the far-reaching impact of Benderly on the development of Jewish education in the United States.
20. Louis Lipsky, "Jewish Education; A Criticism of Its Aim and Other Things," *Maccabaeon* 5, no. 1 (July 1903):34-38; no. 5 (November 1903):307-310.
21. Isaac Hassler, "The Chautauqua and Some Articles in 'The Maccabaeon'," *Maccabaeon* 5, no. 5 (November 1903):307-308.
22. Arnold G. Kaiman, "The History of the Hebrew Sabbath School Union, 1886-1905," Term Paper, 1957, Miscellaneous File, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio. Berkowitz was a delegate to the

first meeting in 1886. He wrote "How to Organize Sabbath-Schools" for the Hebrew Sunday School Union.

23. Jewish Chautauqua Society, "Prospectus, 10th Summer Assembly," and *Jewish Chautauquan* 1, no. 3 (March 1908):8, SC Box 215, Klau; *MEN*, 35 (August 1903):95-96.
24. Rebekah Kohut, "The Bond Between the School and the Home." *AH*, 13 August 1897, pp. 433-434; Henrietta Szold, "Knowledge Versus Spirituality in the Curriculum of the Jewish Religious Schools," *AH*, 3 September 1897, pp. 517-518; 17 September 1897, pp. 573-575; 23 September 1897, pp. 625-626; *JEXP*, 27 August 1897, pp. 1-3; *AH*, 30 July 1897, pp. 380-381, 384-387; 6 August 1897, pp. 409-411, 413-415, 419.
25. *AH*, 6 August 1897, pp. 414-415.
26. *AH*, 28 July 1899, pp. 376-377; *Assembly Record*, 28 July 1899, p. 2, Box SC 215, Klau Library, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.
27. *MEN*, 31 (September 1901):245-246; (November 1901):401-402.
28. In the United States in 1900 there were 291 religious schools attached to congregations with 1,127 teachers and 25,000 pupils; there were 27 Jewish free schools with about 11,000 pupils and 142 teachers, *JE*, s.v. "United States"; see Julius H. Greenstone, "Jewish Education in the United States," *AJYB* 9 (1907-08):119-120, for Dr. Samson Benderly's analysis of statistics on Jewish education.
29. "Jewish Chautauqua Assembly, July 6th to 27th 1902," pp. 7-8, Box SC 215, Klau.
30. *MEN*, 33 (September 1902):212.
31. *JC*, 24 July 1903, p. 5; *MEN*, 35 (August 1903):93-108.
32. *RA*, 13 July 1900, p. 228; *AH*, 16 June 1900, pp. 499-500; *MEN*, 33 (September 1902):272.
33. *AH*, 17 August 1906, p. 261.
34. *AH*, 21 July 1905, p. 206; 25 August 1905, p. 345; *JEXP*, 26 July 1907, p. 4; *AH*, 16 July 1909, p. 277.
35. *RA*, 18 August 1900, pp. 750-751; 17 July 1909, p. 676.
36. Howard M. Sachar, *Course of Modern Jewish History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), pp. 705-708, 715.
37. *AH*, 4 July 1902, p. 180.
38. *Ibid.*