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FOR THE BOARD

SECRET

*"But neither sober history nor departmental records lend themselves readily to that sort of semi-historical, semi-biographical gossip which is one of the objects, as it is certainly one of the charms of an Historical Society."*

—GRATZ MORDECAI

*Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, volume 6.*

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# RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND THE JEW IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

By LOUIS GINSBERG\*

TO THE SMALL GROUP of men meeting in the tavern on the evening of January 13, 1777, it was perhaps just another meeting in a series connected with establishing a new government. But to the Jewish people, a minority people struggling for a foothold in the New World, the meeting of George Mason, George Wythe, Edmund Pendleton, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Ludwell Lee in the Rising Sun Tavern<sup>1</sup> in Fredericksburg marked a milestone in their history in America. These gentlemen outlined a bill that Thomas Jefferson later phrased and Madison presented to the Virginia Assembly in 1785, when it passed as the Statute of Virginia for Religious Liberty.<sup>2</sup> It is significant that eight years passed between the date of the outline of this bill and its final passage. It took adroit action by members of the above revisers committee to finally win approval of this law.

Thomas Jefferson, in discussing the bill, wrote, "The bill for establishing religious freedom, the principles of which had, to a certain degree, been enacted before, I had drawn in all the latitude of reason and right. It still met with opposition but with some mutilations in the preamble, it was finally passed; and a singular proposition proved that its protection of opinion was meant to be universal. Where the preamble declared that coercion is a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, an amendment was proposed, by inserting the words 'Jesus Christ' so that it should read, 'a departure from the plan of Jesus Christ, the holy author of our religion;' the insertion was rejected by a great majority, in proof that they meant to comprehend, within the mantle of its protection, the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mahometan, the Hindoo, and Infidel of every denomination."<sup>3</sup>

This law was largely drawn upon for similar legislation in other colonies and in other enlightened countries of the world. It helped provide also the climate of opinion which led to increased settlement by Jewish people in Virginia. It was only four years later that Beth Shalome Synagogue was established in Richmond, one of the few early congregations in the colonies.

There has come down to us a remarkable record of individual and community life in Virginia, letters written by a Jewish housewife in Petersburg at about the time of the founding of Beth Shalome in Richmond. Two letters, translated and made available by the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, provide a vivid picture of life in a small

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\*LOUIS GINSBERG is a resident of Petersburg, Virginia. Author of *The History of the Jews of Petersburg*, he is a student of American Jewish history and co-chairman of the Southern Jewish Historical Society.



Virginia town after the Revolutionary War. These letters were written by the immigrant wife of a Jewish watchmaker and silversmith, Hyman Samuel, in Petersburg in 1791 and were addressed to her parents in London, England. They were written in archaic eighteenth century Yiddish and read as follows:

“Petersburg,  
January 12, 1791, 8 Shevat, 5551.

“Dear and Worthy Parents:

I received your lovely letter with much pleasure. I therefore understand that you are in good health, thank God, and that made us especially happy. The same is not lacking with us—May we live to be a hundred years. Amen.

“Dear parents, you complain that you do not receive any letters from us, and my mother-in-law writes the same. I don't know what's going on. I have written more letters than I have received from you. Whenever I can and have an opportunity, I give letters to take along, and I send letters by post when I do not have any other opportunity. It is already six months since we received letters from London. The last letter you sent was through Sender [Alexander], and it was the beginning of the month of Ab [July, 1790] when we received it. Now you can realize that we too have been somewhat worried. We are completely isolated here. We do not have any friends, and when we do not hear from you for any length of time, it is enough to make us sick. I hope that I will get to see some of my family. That will give me some satisfaction.

“You write me that Mr. Jacob Renner's son Reuben is in Philadelphia and that he will come to us. The folks will not advise him to go to Virginia. When the Jews of Philadelphia or New York hear the name Virginia, they get nasty. And they are not wrong! The Virginia Jews won't do anything for a fellow-Jew. In the first place, it is an unhealthy district, and we are only human. God forbid, if anything should happen to us, we would be, perforce, baptized [on our death bed]. There is no cemetery in the whole of Virginia, and Richmond is twenty-two miles from here. There is a Jewish community in Richmond consisting of two quorums [twenty men] and two are not[!].

“You cannot imagine what kind of Jews they have here [in Virginia]. They were all German itinerants who made a living by begging in Germany. They came to America during the war, as soldiers, and now they can't recognize themselves.

“You can make a good living here, and we live at peace. Anyone can do what he wants. There is no rabbi in all of America to excommunicate anyone. This is a blessing for

Jew and Gentile. [?] There is no *galut* ["exile," rejection of Jews] here. In New York and Philadelphia there is more *galut*. The reason is that there are too many German Gentiles and Jews there. The German Gentiles cannot forsake his anti-Jewish prejudice; and the German Jews cannot forsake their disgraceful conduct; and that's what makes the *galut*.

[Rebecca Samuel]"

The second letter reads as follows:

"Dear Parents:

"I hope my letter will ease your mind. You can be reassured and send me one of the family to Charleston, South Carolina. This is the place to which, with God's help, we will go after Passover. The whole reason why we are leaving this place is because of [lack of] Jewishness [*Yehudishkeit*].

"Dear parents, I know quite well you will not like my bringing up my children as Gentiles. Here they cannot be brought up otherwise. Jewishness is pushed aside here. They are here [in Petersburg] ten or twelve Jews, and they are not worthy of being called Jews. They have a *shohet* [ritual slaughterer] who goes to market and buys *terefah* (non-kosher) meat and then brings it home. On Rosh Ha-Shanah [New Year] and on Yom Kippur [Day of Atonement] the people worshipped here without one *sefer torah* [Scroll of the Law] and not one of them has a large prayer shawl [*talit*] or the small one [the *arba kantsot*, worn on the body], except Hyman and a pious man [?] his godfather [?]. The latter is an old man of sixty, a man from Holland. He is already thirty years in America; twenty years he has been in Charleston, and he has been living here for four years. He does not want to remain in Petersburg and will go with us to Charleston. In that place there is a blessed community of three hundred Jews.

"You must believe me that I crave for a synagogue to which I can go. The way we live here is no life at all. We do not know what the Sabbath and the holidays are. On the Sabbath all the Jewish shops are open, and they do business on that day as they do throughout the whole week. But ours we do not allow to open. With us there is some Sabbath. You must believe me that in our house we all live as Jews as much as we can.

"As for a livelihood, we have nothing to complain about. For the sake of livelihood we do not have to leave here. Nor do we have to leave because of debts. We have no complaints regarding the people or anything else. I believe ever since Hyman has grown up that he has not had it so good. You cannot know what a wonderful country this is for the common man. One can live here peacefully. Hyman made a clock that goes very accurately, just like the one in the Buchenstrasse in

Hamburg. Now you can imagine what honors Hyman has been getting here. In all Virginia there is no clock [!] and Virginia is the greatest province of America, and America is the largest section of the world. Now you know what sort of a country this is. It is not too long since Virginia was discovered. It is a [?] country. And it is wonderful to note the business they do in this little Petersburg. Occasionally as many as a thousand hogsheads of tobacco arrive at one time, and each hogshead contains a 1000 and sometimes 1200 pounds of tobacco. The tobacco is shipped from here to the whole world.

“When Judah [my brother!] comes here, he can become a watchmaker and a goldsmith, if he so desires. Here it is not like Germany where a watchmaker is not permitted to sell silverware. [The contrary is true in this country.] They do not know otherwise here. They expect a watchmaker to be a silversmith here. Hyman has more to do in making silver ware than with watchmaking. He has a journeyman, a silversmith, a very good artisan, who is in charge of the watches. This work is well paid here, but in Charleston it pays even better.

“All the people who hear that we are leaving, give us their blessings. They say that it is sinful that such blessed children should be brought up here in Petersburg. My children cannot learn anything here, nothing Jewish, nothing of general culture. My Schoene [Jane], God bless her, is already three years old. I think it is time that she should learn something, and she has a good head to learn. I have taught her the blessings of the candles and grace after meals in just two lessons. I believe that no one among the Jews here can do as well as she. And my Sammy, God bless him [born in 1790], is already beginning to talk.

“I could write more. However, I do not have any more paper. I remain, your devoted daughter and servant,  
“Rebecca, the wife of Hayyim, the son of Samuel the Levite . . .”

These letters reveal some interesting opinions on important matters relating to Jewish life in a predominantly Gentile community. We can sense a note of despair in the isolation felt by the writer in her new environment. In fact, in the second letter, quoted above, she again writes of her fear that her children will grow up as “Gentiles.” This fear and the lack of Jewish life are cited as reasons for their desire to depart from Petersburg and not better economic opportunity to be found possibly in Charleston.

Another interesting point is the writer’s statement that “on the Sabbath all the Jewish shops are open . . . but ours we do not allow to open . . .” We can speculate that their shop was probably closed for two

days although there is a possibility it was open on Saturday evening after sundown. Whether this created an economic hardship for the family we have no way of knowing.

Although the right to worship was guaranteed under the new laws, the problem of Sabbath observance was to remain to plague the Jewish population for a number of years afterwards. "A Bill for Punishing Disturbers of Religious Worship and Sabbath Breakers" was presented by James Madison on October 31, 1785, and passed November 27, 1786. Protests against this type of legislation were frequent by members of the Jewish community, especially in Richmond. It was not until 1849 that an amendment to the law was passed which allowed for variance by those whose religious practise differed from Christian worship.<sup>5</sup>

The Sunday laws probably resulted in some economic adversity to those observant Jews in colonial Virginia who were hounded by their religious belief to close on the last day of the week as well as the first day of the week in accordance with Virginia law. Whether the Sunday law was adopted as a Civil measure as some believe<sup>6</sup> or as a religious statute as others maintain<sup>7</sup>, it resulted in definite discrimination against Saturday observers as well as non-believers.

It is somewhat of an enigma that the two foremost fighters for complete religious freedom, Jefferson and Madison, did not envision the effects of such a law on those who did not observe Sunday as a religious holiday. In fact, as late as 1935, a Petersburg judge fined a person for violation of the Sunday law.<sup>8</sup>

The following is the text of the Petersburg ordinance passed in Common Hall, (City Council) on July 29, 1824:

Sec. 2 And be it further ordained, that any person shall on the Sabbath day, work with any wagon, cart, or dray, or labor in his or her ordinary occupation, or cause or suffer the same to be done (except in case of necessity) . . . he or she so offending, shall for every offence incur the penalty of five dollars . . .

Sec. 3 And be it further ordained, That any person who shall keep open any shop or store on the Sabbath day for the purpose of buying and selling (except in case of real necessity) shall incur the penalty of ten dollars for every such offense: And if any person shall be guilty of retailing to negroes on that day, he or she shall incur the penalty of twenty dollars for every such offense.<sup>9</sup>

As the Jews of Virginia settled down to their normal lives after the War of Independence, a new era dawned with its many problems, opportunities, and its growth. In this Colonial period, Beth Shalome, the first synagogue in Virginia, was organized in Richmond and earned its niche in history with a congratulatory letter to the first president of the United States.

In summary, although religious freedom was won on the statute books in 1785, it took many years for the Jewish minority group to win complete freedom of economic opportunity and still live in accordance with their religious beliefs. Although the problem of Sunday observance created by law in early Virginia still remains, its economic impact is minimal due to the growing acceptance of the five day work week.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>It is an interesting coincidence that the Brig *Rising Sun* participated in the celebration of religious freedom in Philadelphia on July 4, 1788. This vessel was owned by a Jewish merchant, Michael Gratz, who bought it in 1770 and sold it in 1786. See, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia*, Edwin Wolf 2nd and Maxwell Whiteman, (Philadelphia 1957) pp. 150, 151, 423.

<sup>2</sup>*Virginia, A Guide to the Old Dominion*, American Guide Series, Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup>*Memoirs, Correspondence and Miscellanies of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by T. J. Randolph (1828), Vol. I, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup>Quoted with special permission of Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, Director, American Jewish Archives. Letters are from the Henry Joseph Collection. Interpolations are by the Archives.

<sup>5</sup>Ezekiel und Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond*, (Richmond, 1917), pp. 101 through 116 for a discussion of Sunday law agitation.

<sup>6</sup>*Louis Marshall, Champion of Liberty, Selected Papers and Addresses*, edited by Charles Bezinkoff, (Philadelphia 1957) Vol. II, p. 946.

<sup>7</sup>*American State Papers and Related Documents on Freedom in Religion*, 4th Revised Edition (Washington, D. C. 1949) p. 379. See pages 515 through 520 for a historical summary of Sunday legislation. This valuable reference, published by the Religious Liberty Association, was suggested by Dr. Marcus of American Jewish Archives.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 511.

<sup>9</sup>*Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia relative to Jurisdiction and Powers of the Town of Petersburg*, (Petersburg, Va. 1824) p. 46.

# REBECCA GRATZ AND HENRY CLAY: AN AMERICAN JEWESS OBSERVES A LEADER'S DRIVE FOR THE PRESIDENCY

By DR. JOSEPH R. ROSENBLUM\*

The best known American Jewish woman is Rebecca Gratz. While this recognition has been based, erroneously, on her identification as the prototype of Rebecca in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, her place in American history is warranted by her many accomplishments in Philadelphia and, more particularly, as an exemplary female representative of the Jewish community in the United States, from the early National Period through the Civil War.<sup>1</sup>

Her ties with Kentucky extended over a period of the last fifty years of her life during which her brother, Benjamin Gratz, lived in Lexington. Through him she became acquainted with Henry Clay and took an interest in him personally as well as in his political career. Her observations on his political career are of interest and are preserved in her correspondence.<sup>2</sup>

Rebecca Gratz's interest in Henry Clay grew out of the relationship of the Gratz and Clay families in Lexington. Benjamin Gratz, the founder of the Gratz family in Kentucky, was the youngest child born to Michael and Miriam Gratz of Philadelphia. Michael Gratz was a member of a prominent merchantile firm which in addition to domestic and foreign trading, had considerable land-holdings in the West, including Kentucky.<sup>3</sup> After serving in the War of 1812, receiving his Master of Arts degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1815, and being admitted to the Bar in 1817, Benjamin Gratz was sent West to look after his family's land holdings.<sup>4</sup> Some of these were located near Lexington where he finally settled after marrying Maria Cecil Gist in 1819, granddaughter of Christopher Gist who first surveyed and mapped Kentucky for the Ohio Company of Virginia.<sup>5</sup>

Subsequently, he became friendly with Henry Clay. Their mutual interests in Transylvania University<sup>6</sup> and in the manufacturing of hemp<sup>7</sup> must have brought them together on many occasions. Social occasions also brought them together with their families.<sup>8</sup> This relationship terminated when Benjamin Gratz served as one of the twelve pallbearers at Henry Clay's funeral on July 10, 1852.<sup>9</sup> The Gratz and Clay families were finally joined through marriage when Benjamin Gratz's daughter, Anna, was married to Henry Clay's grandson, Thomas Hart Clay, on January 23, 1873.<sup>10</sup> Some of their descendants still live in Lexington.

With this introduction we turn to Rebecca Gratz's notes on the repeated attempts of Henry Clay to be elected President of the United

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\* DR. JOSEPH R. ROSENBLUM is rabbi of Temple Adath Israel, Lexington, Kentucky. A graduate of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, he also serves on the faculty of the University of Kentucky.

States. She seems to have had a rather negative attitude toward politics in general which she was able to overcome in regard to Henry Clay's activities.

What does our dear Ben (Gratz) says about the Kentucky election. Has it satisfied him? I have tried to read the Whigs on Mr. Clays account—really I have no taste for politics—the longest discussions of venial writers are shocking to our moral . . . (following illegible).

They make monsters and idols equally wide of truth and of those honest men they wish to honor and not knowing how to translate their slang and deservable facts—I lay down the paper as ignorant as I take it up.<sup>11</sup>

The following grew out of the heated presidential campaign of 1824 when the candidates were John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and William Harris Crawford. Since no candidate received a majority, the election was placed before the House of Representatives where Adams received a majority and was declared elected by the Speaker of the House, Henry Clay.

I suppose you have been much interested in the presidential election, and tho' Adams has not been your candidate you must be satisfied since Mr. Clay has resigned to him his pretensions—Maria [Benjamin Gratz's wife] has no doubt been indignant at the treatment Mr. C. received from the Pennsylvanians and indeed so were we here and were no little scandalized that the state should have sent such a mean spirited fellow as Kremer to represent us. . . .<sup>12</sup>

On April 8, 1826, Henry Clay fought a duel with John Randolph who had repeatedly badgered him concerning the reputed "bargain" with John Quincy Adams.<sup>13</sup> The "strait jacket" which Rebecca Gratz mentions refers to the supposed mentally unbalanced state of Randolph.

Did you ever read such provoking rhapsodies as John Randolph regales the Senate with? Will you not be glad when this long and shameful session is over? As Mr. Clay is indebted to Randolph a new garment instead of a flannel gown is supplied. It would be well if he gave him a strait jacket, and for the Honorable Secretary something better might have been expected than that he should from his elected station set such an example breaking the laws of God and his country at the time and on the spot where the sages of a nation are assembled for purposes of the highest importance. O shame where is thy bluff?<sup>14</sup>

Henry Clay was once again a candidate for the presidency in 1832. He ran as the Whig representative against Andrew Jackson. As early as July 31, 1831, Rebecca Gratz was anticipating his victory.

I am determined to accompany you [Mrs. Benjamin Gratz]

to Washington at the inauguration of Mr. Clay at which occasion Hyman [Gratz] has always promised that I should be a witness—It is rather long to be sure to wait.<sup>15</sup>

More than one year later another letter indicates the increasing tempo of this political campaign. Her brothers seem to have been active in the Whig cause.

Tell Ben [Gratz], Philadelphia has done wonders at the Election on Tuesday—the Anti-Jacksons are triumphant—and Jo [Joseph Gratz] bids me say, that there is great possibility—nay almost a certainty that Pennsylvania will give an Anti-Jackson vote—they are all up & doing here—Hyman was as busy with ward and general Election as he could be—I believe Mr. C— [Henry Clay] has not a warmer friend—they wanted to send Jac [Jacob Gratz] to the Legislature—<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately for Rebecca Gratz and his many other supporters, Henry Clay was once again defeated in his quest for the presidency.

In 1844, Henry Clay again entered the arena for the presidency. Rebecca Gratz's enthusiasm and optimism remained undampened. One can see her preparing once more to attend Mr. Clay's inauguration.

. . . . our Whig politicians are in good spirits—the presentation of Mr. Clay's picture, has drawn many together to make speeches—they have a long time to keep up enthusiasm, but I hope this time they may succeed—<sup>17</sup>

Next year I hope we shall see better scenes at the Capitol—Will you not meet us there to see Mr. Clay inaugurated? We talk of such things with high hopes here, tho' a whole year off—and we 'know not what a day may bring forth'—<sup>18</sup>

Because of his noncommittal stand and letters on Texas and his many other political blunders, Henry Clay was defeated by James K. Polk, who had a popular majority of but 38,000 votes.<sup>19</sup> Rebecca Gratz wrote her regrets as did innumerable others.

I have been so put down by the unfortunate termination of all my bright hopes for our countrys good and the elevation of her noblest citizen. that I have felt too low for any agreeable occupation—well now Mr. Clay cannot direct the destinies of America, he may imitate our glorious Washington—and watch as he has before done for an opportunity to save her. it is strange to hear, how many loco focos are disappointed, that he was not elected—who wished that he had been & would have voted for him, if they had not thought his majorities would have been so large that he did not need their aid—we are just beginning to rally our spirits in this house—<sup>20</sup>



Although he had reached the age of seventy-one in 1848, Henry Clay still hoped to be elected President. However, in the Whig convention which was held in Philadelphia on June 7, 1848, he was defeated by General Zachary Taylor. Once again disappointed, Rebecca Gratz writes with political understanding of his defeat.

How do Mr. Clays friends take the result of the Convention, and how does the sage himself bear it? I am mortified for him, that he did not, in the full strength of his triumphant personal popularity, while the whole country was turning out to do him honor decline being a candidate for public office. Then had his political friends preserved & given him their nomination, his feelings would have been spared from mortification & perhaps his chance been even better than it stood when the convention met. The Whigs would no doubt have preferred Mr. Clay tho' they thought that Gen. Taylor would be more likely to succeed, and they would not risk another administration—Military titles seem the only qualification looked for in President making.<sup>21</sup>

While Henry Clay was frustrated in his ambition to be elected President, he did return to the Senate in 1849 and died on June 29, 1852 in Washington serving his nation.

Of his last days, Rebecca Gratz writes:

The late accounts of Mr. Clay are sadly discouraging—Lizzie Lee (Elizabeth Blair Lee, a niece of Mrs. Benjamin Gratz) writes me that Mary Riggs is constant in her attentions, being twice every day with him—Mr. Crittenden [Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky] and Pendall [probably Richard Pindell, a great-nephew of Henry Clay<sup>22</sup>] are also careful of his comforts—alas! What is the greatness of this World to a man in his dying hours—what the voice of Faune, compared to the soft soothing of domestic love? that such a man as Henry Clay should die, among strangers to his blood—is indeed a sad reflection!<sup>23</sup>

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## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Joseph R. Rosenbloom. *The Life and Times of Rebecca Gratz*. (An unpublished doctoral dissertation, on microfilm, in the Archives of the University of Kentucky Library.)

<sup>2</sup>More than fifteen hundred letters written by Rebecca Gratz and received by her are extant. Copies of them are preserved in the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

<sup>3</sup>William V. Byars. *B. and M. Gratz. Merchants in Philadelphia, 1754-1798*. (Jefferson City, Missouri, 1916), pp. 269-305.

<sup>4</sup>Henrietta Clay. *Bits of Family History*. (Lexington, 1932), p. 3.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>Clement Eaton. *Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics*. (Boston, 1957), p. 67.

Clay. *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup>Eaton. *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 70, 71, 77.

Clay. *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>David Philipson. *Letters of Rebecca Gratz*. (Philadelphia, 1929), pp. 58, *et passim*.

<sup>9</sup>J. Winston Coleman, Jr. *Last Days, Death and Funeral of Henry Clay*. (Lexington, 1951), frontispiece, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup>Stern Genealogical Charts, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

<sup>11</sup>Rebecca Gratz Collection, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio. Rebecca Gratz to Mrs. Benjamin Gratz. Philadelphia to Lexington. Undated. Number 93 of the author's collection.

<sup>12</sup>Philipson. *op. cit.* p. 76. Rebecca Gratz to Benjamin Gratz. Philadelphia to Lexington. February 27, 1825. Clay was accused by the Jackson supporters of having used his great influence as Speaker to insure Adams' election. Adams offered Clay the Secretaryship of State which he accepted. This lent color to the charge of the Jacksonians that he had made a bargain with Adams. This charge had been mentioned publicly in a Philadelphia newspaper, *The Columbian Observer*. It was promptly denied by Clay who denounced the author of the article as an "infamous calumniator, dastard and liar." The Kremer mentioned in this letter, a representative from Pennsylvania, revealed himself as the writer of the article. He offered to furnish proofs but when the crucial test came, he weakened. The "bargain" story, however, would not die and it was used effectively in the campaign of 1828 when Jackson ran against Adams and was elected by a large majority.

<sup>13</sup>Eaton. *op. cit.*, pp. 23f., 60f.

<sup>14</sup>Rebecca Gratz Collection, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio. Rebecca Gratz to Mrs. Benjamin Gratz. Philadelphia to Lexington. April 25, 1826.

<sup>15</sup>Philipson. *op. cit.*, p. 125. (Rebecca Gratz to Mrs. Benjamin Gratz. Philadelphia to Lexington. July 31, 1831.)

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 160. Rebecca Gratz to Mrs. Benjamin Gratz. Philadelphia to Lexington. October 12, 1832.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 300. Rebecca Gratz to Benjamin Gratz's second wife, Mrs. Ann Maria Shelby, nee Boswell, a niece of his first wife, whom he married on July 6, 1843.) Philadelphia to Lexington. January 29, 1844.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 304. Rebecca Gratz to Mrs. Benjamin Gratz. Philadelphia to Lexington. March 24, 1844.

<sup>19</sup>Eaton. *op. cit.*, pp. 170-179.

<sup>20</sup>Rebecca Gratz Collection, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio. Rebecca Gratz to Mrs. Benjamin Gratz, Philadelphia to Lexington. November 21, 1844.

<sup>21</sup>Philipson. *op. cit.*, p. 349. Rebecca Gratz to Mrs. Benjamin Gratz. Philadelphia to Lexington. June 25, 1848.

<sup>22</sup>Sarah S. Young. *Genealogical Narrative of the Hart Family in the United States*. (Memphis, 1882), p. 12.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 383. Rebecca Gratz to Mrs. Benjamin Gratz. Philadelphia to Lexington. May 7, 1852.



REVEREND MAXIMILIAN J. MICHELbacher (1810-1879), RABBI OF  
CONGREGATION BETH AHABAH, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA FOR THIRTY YEARS.  
*(Courtesy of the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Va.)*

## HERMAN HECHT

Baker of Fine Breads  
and Cakes

DEPT. AND BAKERY BUILDING  
C. O. BOX 11  
DURHAM, TENN.

My Dear Boy Armand:-

This morning I wrote you a short letter, because I had no time to write a long one, but now while I

### LETTER FROM HERMAN HECHT TO HIS SON, ARMAND

Sept. 5/19

•My Dear Boy Armand:

This morning I wrote you a short letter, because I had no time to write a long one, but now while I have lots of important work yet to do & that is paying bills, yet I feel it is just as important to write you, for the fact that New Year is fast approaching & also that you are now practically starting out in life, to become a factor not only for your self but also for others.

To the New Year I wish you such wick only a good Parent can wish a Son who so far has held the utermost confidence of his Parent while you have had & possibly still have some minor faults wick are only due to your young years, but as a total your parents feel that they have an Ideal Son & our Heart & everything els is with you constantly, & May The Almighty keep you & watch over you for us.

Now my dear Boy, I recall the first letter I have received from my Dear Father Selig in wick he asked me not to forget the teachings of my Parents & in this he said above all be Honest & Upright to your self & Fellow Man this very advise I can [not] impress to strongly open you, for the temptations at times are great & trying, & it takes a strong character to allways withsdand it, but those that withsdans it will have great satisfaction throuth their lives.

Be kind to your fellow man & allways before acting aske your self How would I like this? by asking your self this question & with honesty of purpose you will always then treat your fellowman as he should be treated.

As to your education, I have spoken to your personally never the less I shall put a few words in writing by saying that you know my Pocket Book is open for you to get all such education that you

need & ought to have I am ready to go to the full length but I will  
ask to beware of temptations that might be put before you at times  
which would mean neglect of your education, remember you can not  
know too much & lost time can not be made up. In writing you all  
this I do not want you to misconstrue the meaning of my advise for  
as stated in the beginning of my letter your Parent have the utmost  
confidence in you, but no one knows better than I what temptations  
you likely have to content with in advising you as I do I feel that it  
might take deep root in your Heart & Mind, so that no matter what  
comes before you that you allways have my advise in mind. That we  
miss you greatly goes without saying & when I notice your Dear Mother  
when she gets your letters how she tries to suppress her feelings then I  
realize the more the sacrifice we are making for your future, but all is  
done willingly & with an abundance of love that you can only repay, by  
doing the right thing at the right time, which I am sure you will. In  
conclusion I will say do not be unmindful of your body & soul for only  
by doing this, you can accomplish the other duties as outlined above.

We received your letter & sorry that you have such a hard  
bed but no doubt by the time you get through a days exercise you can  
sleep on wood. I am going to take this letter home to Mother & will send  
it to morrow as Mother wishes to write, so will close again sending my  
best wishes for the New Year and for all time. a Parents' Love.

God Bless You is the wish to your ever loving Dad  
Herman [Hecht]

\*This letter written on the eve of the New Year by a father in a small city  
on the Tennessee-Virginia border (in the year 1918) reflects the tradition of  
parents imparting moral concepts and ideas for the religious and secular guid-  
ance of their children, a tradition centuries old among those of the Jewish faith.  
The original spelling has not been changed.

#### ACQUISITIONS

The Southern Jewish History Society has recently been given  
on loan various papers and documents from the estate of  
Mr. and Mrs. Alvin Bryant Hutzler, Richmond, Virginia.  
Included among these papers are marriage contracts of early  
Richmond residents. The Society maintains a fire-proof re-  
pository, located at the Valentine Museum in Richmond.

## MONTICELLO AND THE LEVY FAMILY

By RABBI MALCOLM H. STERN, D.H.L.\*

Several years ago an official signpost was erected at the entrance to Monticello—Thomas Jefferson's home near Charlottesville. This sign [which, we believe, has been altered as a result of this research], labelled "The Story of Monticello," read, in part: "After Jefferson's death in 1826, Monticello was occupied by his daughter for two years. When her husband, Governor Thomas Mann Randolph, died in 1828, she felt that she could no longer afford to remain at Monticello.

"The estate was then advertised in the 'Herald' of Alexandria, Va., as being worth \$71,000, and containing 409 acres. It was sold, however, to James L. Barclay for \$7000. Four years later it was acquired by Uriah Phillips Levy, of New York City, for \$2500.

"In 1912, a movement was started to bring Monticello under public ownership as a National Shrine. Eleven years later, on December 23, 1923, the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation purchased the property from Jefferson M. Levy, for \$500,000 . . ."

The obvious implication of this sign was that the Levy family parlayed Jefferson's estate into a most profitable real estate venture. What are the facts?

The best available history of Monticello is Wilstach's *Jefferson and Monticello*<sup>1</sup>. Chapter XIV narrates the history of the estate from Jefferson's death in 1826 until its acquisition in 1923 by the Memorial Foundation.

Wilstach points out that Martha Jefferson Randolph, Jefferson's only surviving child, inherited an estate indebted to the extent of \$40,000. To meet this debt a number of the furnishings were sold at auction. The house, itself, was put on the market, but there were no buyers.

On November 1, 1831, a trade was arranged between Martha and an eccentric chemist, pharmacist, and preacher, Dr. James Barclay. Barclay obtained Monticello and 550 acres surrounding the house in exchange for a house in Charlottesville, several parcels of real estate, and a cash outlay. Barclay was moved by no reverence for the deceased ex-President; he believed that Monticello could become a center of silk-worm culture. When this project failed and the property became too expensive to maintain, Barclay departed for the Holy Land, and the estate was again on the market.

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\*DR. MALCOLM H. STERN who serves as rabbi of Ohel Shalom Congregation, Norfolk, Virginia, is also Genealogist of the American Jewish Archives of Cincinnati, Ohio. His *Moses Myers and The Early Jewish Community of Norfolk* appeared in the November, 1958, issue of the *Journal of the Southern Jewish Historical Society*.

Public sentiment was aroused in favor of restoring the estate to Martha Randolph. A Mr. Hall, of Frederickshurg, took it upon himself to travel to Boston, where Martha was living with her daughter, Ellen Coolidge, and there he enlisted financial support for his scheme among some wealthy Bostonians. While returning to Charlottesville to negotiate with Barclay, Hall stopped off in New York, where he was introduced to Uriah Phillips Levy, then a Lieutenant in the United States Navy. Levy expressed intense interest in Monticello and asked to know Barclay's price. Hall visited Barclay, reported back to Levy, and then went on to Boston to complete his negotiations with the Boston financiers.

According to Wilstach, Levy thwarted Hall's intentions by proceeding at once to Monticello and by purchasing the estate from Barclay at a price "reported to have been \$2500."

Wilstach comments that the estate saw little of Levy because of his "unfortunate marriage," and adds: "He is said to have accumulated a considerable fortune before he died in New York in 1862 . . . During the period of this abandonment, Monticello experienced its worst days . . ." Levy left the estate in the hands of an ignorant dirt farmer, one Joel Wheeler, whose only pay was the use of the house and land. Wheeler permitted the house to fall into decay, moving from one room to another ahead of the rubble and the rats.

During the Civil War, the Confederacy confiscated the property but did not touch it. Levy, who died at the height of the conflict, made the following provision for Monticello in his will: The property was to go to the people of the United States, but if Congress failed to take ownership, then it was bequeathed to the State of Virginia, and if the State failed in its trust, the "Portuguese Hebrew Congregation of New York" was to take responsibility. Because of the Civil War, no action was taken by any of the parties named. Levy's nieces and nephews entered suit to have the will broken and the court declared the terms too vague.<sup>2</sup> Litigation lasted until 1879, when the property was awarded to Uriah's nephew, Jefferson M. Levy, who eventually purchased the surrounding land to a total of 683 acres. Wheeler, who claimed "squatter's rights," had to be forcibly ousted.

Jefferson Levy, in 1889, engaged a scholarly engineer, T. L. Rhodes, and for the next thirty-five years, Rhodes supervised the restoration of the estate. Wilstach acknowledges that "the intelligent reclamation and preservation of Jefferson's home was due to these two men, Mr. Levy and Mr. Rhodes."

The Jefferson family burial ground on the estate, under State law, remained for all times the possession of the Jefferson family. At one time, souvenir hunters completely chipped away Thomas Jefferson's tombstone. Congress made several appropriations which ultimately led to a replacement. When the appropriation proved more adequate than was needed, Jefferson Levy suggested that the surplus provide stone

steps to the graveyard gate. Congress agreed on condition that Levy would give the public right-of-way to the top of the mountain on which Monticello is located. Levy refused, so the steps were abandoned.

Repeated attempts to have Congress or subscribers purchase the property met with failure until 1923, when the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation was organized, and by subscription purchased the property from Jefferson M. Levy for \$500,000.

So much for Wilstach's account. We are fortunate in having a well-documented biographical article, "Uriah Phillips Levy: The Story of a Pugnacious Commodore," by Abram Kanof,<sup>3</sup> which offers some important contradictions to Wilstach and some significant additions to the story of Monticello:

It is a well-known fact among American Jewish historians that Uriah Phillips Levy was an extravagant admirer of Jefferson. At his own expense, Levy commissioned in Paris the statue of Jefferson signing the Declaration of Independence which now stands in the rotunda of the National Capitol. According to official Capitol guides this is the only statue presented to this national shrine by an individual.<sup>4</sup>

Kanof quotes the deed whereby James T. Barclay and his wife conveyed Monticello to Uriah P. Levy, on May 20, 1836, for the sum of \$2700.00. The deed specifies that the purchase includes 218 acres (not the 550 acres originally purchased by Barclay).<sup>5</sup>

Kanof adds, on the authority of a privately printed work by G. A. Townsend<sup>6</sup>, that Levy "did a beautiful job of restoring the neglected estate." Who is correct, Wilstach or Townsend? Did Levy neglect or restore the estate? There are probably elements of truth in both authorities. From the time of his purchase of Monticello in 1836 until his death in 1862, Levy was intermittently on Navy duty. His official Navy record<sup>7</sup> shows only two periods of lengthy duration when he might have resided at Monticello: 1841-48 and 1850-58. And as Kanof clearly shows, during much of both these periods he was elsewhere.

The "unfortunate marriage" to which Wilstach alludes was his somewhat odd alliance with his own niece, Virginia Lopez<sup>8</sup>, when he was past 60 and she barely 18. At the time of the marriage, Levy was inactive, but on his return to duty in 1858, as Commodore of a Mediterranean squadron, he secured permission to take his bride to Italy. Kanof alludes to flirtations aboard ship which may account for Wilstach's use of the adjective "unfortunate." It is doubtful whether Levy's marriage contributed to the neglect of Monticello as much as his official duties.

Wilstach fails to do justice to the terms of Levy's will, which provided that Monticello be turned into an agricultural school for the orphaned children of Naval warrant officers, supported by the income from Levy's New York real estate, and administered by one of the three agencies whom Wilstach mentions.



According to records of the litigation, Levy's New York real estate was valued at \$200,000; his personal estate at \$131,000. The farm at Monticello is described as consisting of 2-3000 acres! Another Virginia property in his possession—the Washington farm—consisted of a further 1100 acres<sup>9</sup>, and its wood was bequeathed by Levy to provide fuel and fencing for the proposed Farm School.

Levy's death at his New York residence, 107 St. Mark's Place, on March 22, 1862, found Monticello behind the Confederate lines (if not, as suggested above, in actual Confederate hands), and the Civil War in full progress. Under these circumstances, neither the Congress of the United States, nor the State of Virginia, nor "the Portuguese Hebrew 'Congregations'" of New York, Philadelphia, and Richmond, were in any position—even if so inclined—to carry out the terms of Levy's will.

Two years later, Levy's widow joined with other heirs in an effort to break the will, on the grounds that the will was not specific enough in designating the heirs and assigns of Monticello. The court eventually upheld this claim and by 1879, Jefferson Monroe Levy had bought off the rights of the other claimants to the estate.

From all of the above, the following facts regarding the Levys and their connection with Monticello may be summarized: The estate which Uriah Phillips Levy purchased in 1836, out of veneration for Thomas Jefferson, for the sum of \$2700, was in a somewhat dilapidated condition, and reduced from the original 550 acres to 218. He repurchased some of the surrounding land and began the work of restoration, but this was interrupted by his Naval duties, so he left the estate in the hands of the farmer Wheeler, who allowed the house and grounds to decay, and who finally was evicted by Jefferson M. Levy, who obtained the property by litigation and by purchase seventeen years after the death of his uncle, Uriah. Jefferson Levy employed the engineer, Rhodes, for a period of thirty-five years to restore the house and gardens, repurchasing many of its furnishings. Jefferson Levy sold the property in 1923 to the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation for \$500,000.

Several unanswered questions require further research: How much restoration did Uriah Levy do? Did the Confederate troops overrun Monticello (as Kanof reports) or ignore it (as Wilstach claims)? How much did Jefferson Levy expend the property? Is there any basis for a verbal tradition that Jefferson Levy contributed to the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation a generous share of the purchase price?<sup>10</sup>

#### FOOT NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Paul Wilstach—*Jefferson and Monticello* (New York, 1928).

<sup>2</sup>For the full text of Uriah P. Levy's will, see: Abram Kanof. "Uriah Phillips Levy: The story of a pugnacious Commodore," (In: *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXXIX, 1-66.) The will appears as Appendix II, pp. 61-66.

ibid.

<sup>4</sup>cf. Kanof. *op. cit.*, p. 10; Lewis Abraham. "The relation of the Jews to our national monuments" (in *PAJHS III*, 97f.), which is quoted in full in Simon Wolf's *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen*. (Philadelphia, 1895. p. 625f.)

<sup>5</sup>Kanof, *op. cit.*, footnote 25.

<sup>6</sup>George Alfred Townsend. *Monticello and its preservation, 1862-1902*. (Monticello, Va.: privately printed, 1902). I was unable to locate a copy of this work.

<sup>7</sup>Kanof, *op. cit.* Appendix I, p. 55f.

<sup>8</sup>Virginia Lopez, wife of Uriah Phillips Levy, was born in Kingston, Jamaica, September 25, 1835, the daughter of Abraham Lopez and his wife, nee Fanny Levy (a sister of Uriah). On June 28, 1866, four years after Uriah's death, Virginia married a Danish Jew, William Ree, by whom she had at least one child, William Lopez Ree. She died in New York, May 3, 1925. (Shearith Israel Vital Records).

<sup>9</sup>I am indebted to Mr. Robert C. Nusbaum, of Norfolk, for permission to search various printed records in the Library of the Norfolk-Portsmouth Bar Association, whence these data were derived.

<sup>10</sup>The late Dr. Louis D. Mendoza, my revered predecessor as Rabbi of Congregation Ohel Sholom, held a recollection that Jefferson M. Levy had contributed \$100,000 to the purchase of Monticello by the Foundation.

# GEORGE JACOBS, A VERSATILE JEW

## Reminiscences of Her Father

By EMILIE V. JACOBS\*

George Jacobs was born September 24, 1834 in Kingston, Jamaica. His attractive personality as a young man has been recalled by his cousin, Alice Levy, who lived with her family on a plantation which they owned at Mt. Salis, near Kingston. The Levys would watch with pleasant anticipation the approach of young George on horseback when he came to visit them. Many delightful hours were spent together, George playing a flute, and his cousins singing and playing on the piano.

That the Jacobs family were of a religious nature is attested by records in the Historical Society of Kingston. Henry, George's older brother, is registered in 1850 as Secretary of the Jewish congregation, and Samuel, their father, is noted as Vice-President of the congregation in 1841.

George received a liberal education both religious and secular. He early developed a leaning toward the pulpit, and fitted himself for that sacred calling by indefatigable labor and zeal. His vast scholarship and ability were recognized when he was appointed minister of the Sephardic Congregation Beth Shalome in Richmond, Virginia in 1857. He had located in Richmond in 1854 and two years later, December 10, 1856, he married Adeline Hyneman Levy, a native of that city.

Stirring times and tragic years lay ahead for the citizens of the Capital of the Southern Confederacy, and the Civil War took its toll in many families. Adeline's young brother Isaac was killed near Petersburg. Another brother searched the battlefield to bring home the body of the martyred soldier. Jacobs delivered the funeral address, full of deep pathos, the manuscript of which is still available. In his voluminous scrap-book we find in George's beautiful penmanship a detailed list of the Jewish Confederate soldiers at whose funerals he officiated.

Another tragic note was struck when little five year old Martha, their first child, was fatally stricken with scarlet fever. Two more daughters and two sons were born in Richmond.

The salary of a Jewish minister in those war beset days was insufficient for the maintenance of a family, and Mr. Jacobs found it

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\*The information contained in this article is drawn from a collection of manuscripts, publications, scrapbooks, personal papers, and photographs which had belonged to Reverend George Jacobs and are now in the possession of the author and her sister, Miss Virginia Jacobs. The one hundredth anniversary of the marriage of their parents was commemorated by an exhibition of these articles in the Jacobs residence in Philadelphia. The personal recollections by one still living of events so long ago are rare, and it is for this reason that the article is presented in this issue.

necessary for a while to engage in a mercantile business. After his store had been ransacked by the northern soldiers, he applied to the British Government for redress as a British citizen. However, this "Albemarle Claim" was not honored upon the assumption that the marauders were an entering rabble, not the regular army.

Before the emancipation of the slaves Jacobs hired Virginia Courtney from her owner, G. W. Harris, for the annual rental fee of \$150.00. The curious contract is preserved in the aforesaid scrap-book. Her devotion to the family was so great that she accompanied them when they moved to Philadelphia, working many years for them at appropriate wages.

His influence was far reaching, and no man was more highly respected by the citizens of his adopted city than George Jacobs, so that he became identified with every important movement both secular and religious. The affection and esteem in which he was held led to the urgent request for him to return to Richmond for a visit after he had taken up residence in Philadelphia. A serious calamity had occurred, killing 56 persons and injuring many others. In the Senate Chamber at the Capitol, then used as the Supreme Court of Appeals, the balcony crowded with spectators, crashed through the floor below. Jacobs consented to visit the bereaved and suffering, offering what solace and comfort he could give them.

While in Richmond he became affiliated with the Masonic Fraternity, assuming membership in the Richmond Lodge No. 10, of which he was a Chaplain, the Rimmon Lodge No. 68, and the Lafayette Chapter, No. 43. Of the latter he became High Priest of the Royal Arch Chapter. He arose to the highest stations and was considered "one of the brightest Masons in the State."

His connection with three Jewish orders, B'nai B'rith, Keshner Shel Barzel and The Free Sons of Israel dated almost from the period of their inception, and he continued his membership throughout his entire life.

In 1874 he was elected Grand Saar of the Order Keshner Shel Barzel, and in 1875 he became President of the Grand Lodge of the I. O. B'nai B'rith. He was also a member of Jeshurun Lodge No. 59, of Montefiore Lodge No. 13, and of Shekinah Lodge No. 69. He rendered incalculable service to the orders. He wrote the ritual for the Free Sons of Israel and for the ladies' lodges, and aided in framing the ritual for the B'nai B'rith and for Keshner. He was sent as representative of the B'nai B'rith to the Grand Lodge, and to the convention of the Order.

In 1866 he refused an offer for the ministry in Savannah, and later for one in Charleston when his brother Henry vacated the latter congregation to assume a pulpit in New York. However, in 1869 he accepted a call to come to Philadelphia to occupy the pulpit of the

Sephardic Congregation Beth El Emeth, vacated by the death of the illustrious Isaac Leeser. Jacobs later spoke at the dedication of the Leeser monument in Beth El Emeth Cemetery.

During Rev. George Jacobs's 15 years of ministry in Philadelphia he preached every Sabbath and Holyday; an onerous task, for one conducting the entire service without an assistant. During this period he continued his study and research, always endeavoring to reach greater efficiency in his beloved profession. His sermons were characterized by a choice style, effective delivery and an earnest spirit of religious faith.

These qualities, in addition to his faultless English diction, rendered him a much sought after lecturer, and he was frequently a guest speaker on many pulpits and rostrums through the East. When the Jewish Hospital was founded in Philadelphia in 1872 Rev. George Jacobs delivered the invocation at the laying of the corner stone. When the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati was opened, he lectured and served on the Board of Governors. He assisted at the dedication of the Chapel for the Jewish Orphan Asylum in Germantown. He was a frequent lecturer at the Young Men's Hebrew Association, acting as Chairman of the Literary Committee. He preached at the consecration of the Petersburg Congregation Rodef Shalom in 1866. That same year Congregation Beth Shalom of Richmond rededicated their synagogue on Mayo St., and he preached the consecration sermon on that occasion. In 1869 he delivered the consecration address for Richmond's Congregation Keneseth Israel, also on Mayo Street.

In 1861 Maimonides College was founded in Philadelphia under the auspices of the Hebrew Education Society. Its object was to fit its students for the rabbinate. This was doubtless the first Jewish theological seminary in America. Rev. George Jacobs served as a member of the Board of Officers from 1869 to 1874, and occupied the chair of Professor of English literature. An evidence of his fitness for this position was seen in his library, which contained a fine collection of Hebrew books, some quite rare. In addition he owned over one hundred volumes of "The British Poets," many of the works of Bulwer and Thackeray, and a complete set of Dickens. Some of the latter first edition contained the famous Cruikshank illustrations.

He was a member of the editorial staff of *The Jewish Record*. His frequent contributions to the Jewish press of New York and Philadelphia are too numerous to be fully noted here. Among the interesting and instructive articles from his pen were "Specimens of Hebrew Literature" covering the period from the redaction of the Mishna to the year 1800. "Sketches of Abarhanel's Commentaries" appeared also. Four extensive critical articles on the Biblical Divorce Laws as interpreted by Abarhanel were published in the "Hebrew Leader" of New York, the first dated March 25, 1870. Three essays were entitled "The Asmonean Period", "The Roman Period", and "The Final

Struggle of the Israelites for Independence". They display a deep religious spirit linked with a philosophical insight which recognized the significance of the influence exerted by the Jews of those times upon the history of the world. Another long comprehensive lecture essay treats the subject of "Jewish Statesmen". It begins with Abraham, and wide research and insight carries it down to the nineteenth century.

In 1881 an article concerning the assassination of President Garfield appeared in the daily paper. Two catechisms published by Rev. George Jacobs, "The Path of Truth" and "The Elementary Instruction in the Hebrew Faith" were used as textbooks for many years in the religious schools throughout the United States. In collaboration with his brother, Rev. Henry S. Jacobs, of New York City, he published a hymnal, comprising their original poems to be sung during the synagogue services.

The extensive labors in which he engaged rendered him greatly in need of a rest, so some of his friends sent Mr. Jacobs to Europe in 1882. On the outgoing steamer, the "Illinois", he notes in his diary this interesting experience: "Asked by the Captain and many passengers to hold Divine Services at 2 P. M. As it seemed such a general wish I consented and had a large congregation from cabin and steerage. A desk was fixed up and Bibles all around. Read 2 psalms and spoke on the Common Brotherhood of Man, and closed with a Prayer. I was surrounded by ladies and gentlemen thanking me and praising my efforts. It seemed like a 'Yom Tob.' Faces that seemed cool are now wreathed in smiles, and a sort of mutual satisfaction party can be found on all sides".

Mr. Jacobs's versatility of interests can be judged from this diary, in which he records in great detail his opinions concerning the many paintings and the sculptures viewed often in company with his wife's first cousin, the sculptor, Moses Ezekiel, then residing in Rome.

Notwithstanding the many demands made by his public life George Jacobs was essentially a family man. His wife and children were always his chief concern. His diary continually voices his thought for his dear ones at home, and his nostalgia for his beloved wife. During his absence he notes the birthdays of his children, with a prayer for their welfare. Each child was remembered with a letter and with a gift upon their father's return.

Those who knew Rev. George Jacobs described him as a tall, handsome man, of striking individuality. He always seemed strong and robust, but the strain of his many activities apparently undermined his health in the prime of his life. On July 14, 1884 the gifted teacher, lecturer, writer and minister passed away leaving two sons and six daughters besides his wife. She survived him less than two years. On his tombstone in Beth El Emeth Cemetery in Philadelphia are inscribed these appropriate words, "He giveth His beloved sleep."

