

RELIGIOUS FACTORS IN THE LITERATURE OF JEWISH
SOCIAL WELFARE

(As depicted in Jewish Charities, Proceedings
of the National Conference of Jewish Social
Welfare, Jewish Social Service Quarterly, and
Jewish Center Magazine.)

by

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Referee

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This Thesis
is dedicated to my parents from
whom I received my love of hu-
manity and my love for Judaism.

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INTRODUCTION

The literature of Jewish Social Welfare is immense, extending from the time the social legislation of the Pentateuch was written to the case record written by a social worker just a few minutes ago. To understand the literature spanning such a long time would take many lifetimes. Naturally, only a segment of the writings in the field of Jewish Social Welfare can be studied in the short space of a year. But this also is more than one person can digest. Of necessity then, this thesis covers religious factors in the literature of Jewish Social Welfare in the United States from 1900-1940.

Literature may mean case records, reports, speeches, articles in magazines, essays-- many things. Because the literature of Jewish Social Welfare in the United States since 1900 is so vast it was necessary to limit this study to an examination of Volumes I - XVIII inclusive (1922 - 1940) of the Jewish Center; Jewish Charities (Jewish Social Service after Vol. X.2) Volumes I - XI inclusive (1910 - 1921); the Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Charities, Volumes I - XV (1900 - 1930); and the Jewish Social Service Quarterly including the proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, volumes I - XVII.1 inclusive (1924 - September 1941).

The last three periodicals are really the same pub-

lication. At various times the name was changed. For all intents and purposes Jewish Charities, the Proceedings of the of the National Conference of Jewish Charities, and the Jewish Social Service Quarterly and the Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare are really one organ, the official publication of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare.

Definition of Religious Factors

In this study religious factors have been defined as comments about the attitude of various writers in the above named publications toward God, religious services on the Sabbath, Holydays and Festivals, intermarriage, kashruth and traditional practices; Jewish education as pursued in such organizations as a fosterhome, a Jewish Center, etc., social traditions of the synagogue, the Synagogue, religious liberty, Jewish Religious groups, spirituality, immortality, working on the Sabbath, expression of religion through charity, etc.

It was tempting at times to expand the definition of religious factors to include religious elements in character education, attitude of psychiatrist toward patient, the social worker toward her client, etc., but this study ^{Eng} then would have taken years to complete. In addition, nearly every copy of the two periodicals studied contained reviews of books of a religious nature. These were occasionally

read but are not included as "religious factors". One must realize too, that research into the "religious factors" in the literature that was chosen for this study does not give us a complete picture of religious factors in the Jewish Center movement nor in Family Case Work in the United States since 1900. The facts in this thesis are based on the bibliography noted above and can only be judged on that basis. Some day it will be necessary for someone with a fine religious and social work background to go into this in a more detailed way. He would have to study family and case records, see clubs in action, observe the religious influence of clean sport, ^{and} a fine personality as ^a club leader. He would have to immerse himself in the activities of a social work agency whether it be a family case work agency or a group work agency. He would have to be a genius to comprehend the manifold expressions of religion in every day life.

The first chapter of this thesis will be devoted to some of the important material read and studied. Articles in whole or in part are included in this section. It was thought necessary to collate some of the material in order to make a better contribution to the field. As always, limitations of time and space made it impossible to include all articles on religious factors. Wherever possible typical *articles* are included in this section. However all the material was studied, and the results of this research will be found in the second chapter of the thesis which will give the conclu-

sions.

Since this study covers the period of the last forty years in an ever-changing dynamic world, what holds true in 1900 does not necessarily mean that it is still of prime significance in 1941. The mass immigrations of East-European Jewry until the passage of the Johnson-Lodge Bill of 1924 nearly played havoc with Social Service in this country. Ways of handling the situation changed from month to month--no, from day to day. Attitudes of family case workers and group workers sometimes changed overnight. Religious attitudes also changed. In 1900 and for some years later rabbis were at the helm of social work agencies. At the present time there are just a few of them in active charge of family agencies and a smattering in charge of Jewish Centers (excluding Synagogue Centers).

With these few words of introduction it is now possible to view the facts.

CHAPTER I
(Collation of Material)

SECTION I

Sabbath

The first item of any religious significance in our study was a note about the Sabbath, and perhaps rightly so. The Sabbath has been of prime significance in Jewish life. In a paper before the National Conference of Jewish Charities meeting in the city of Chicago, June 11 - 13, 1900, Mr. Morris Goldstein lists as one of the causes of poverty the refusal of some men to work on the Sabbath and holidays. He stated that "it is not my intention to criticize these habits, nor will the liberal minded censure them for their expression of religion, but as times and conditions have changed, they must also change their habits to fit the new conclusions; otherwise, they meet with constantly increasing difficulties in maintaining themselves." ¹ Whether this attitude is right or not, Mrs. S. Pisko of Denver called Mr. Goldstein to task. She answered by asking: "Shall we condemn people because they will not work on the Sabbath? I do not think I can condemn a man for observing his sabbath. In Denver, I had one case, that of a man who was an excellent fellow. He was a mattress-maker, and he absolutely could not get any work at his trade because he wouldn't work on his Sabbath. This man worked very hard during the entire week at buying and selling rags and bottles, making the poorest kind of a living, and even needing some assistance --

but it was ²used for a principle, and he would not work on a Sabbath."

In an ensuing paper Miss Hannah Marks concerns herself ^{with the Sabbath} as it is reflected in the attitude of the friendly visitor toward Sabbath expenditures. "I have seen the visitor who threw up her hands in horror at the extravagance of 'those people', at the sight of the 'shabbos' fish and 'kuchen' ...; did she realize what this preparation meant to 'those people' she would know that the proper reception of the 'Princess Sabbath' is a matter of deepest significance to them, and the weekly feast and light, that break in their sordid and miserable lives, which has kept them ^{the} sound mental and moral beings we find them everywhere."³

It seems that in the early years of organized Jewish Social Work in this country (before 1920) when the influx of immigration from East-European countries was great Social workers had to deal with ^{clients} ~~cheats~~ who did not wish to desecrate the Sabbath. In the May, 1911 issue of Jewish Charities, a social worker asks, "(A) has a good trade... but will not work on Saturday, and for that reason he is unable to secure employment. He applies for assistance. Let us grant, for argument's sake, that he is very conscientious in his belief that it is a sin to work on Saturday. What steps should a charitable organization take in granting him aid? In other words, should a charitable organization keep up his family indefinitely in order to satisfy his religious

scruples?"⁴ Several answers follow this query. B. A. Palety answers as follows: "From all points of view, this able-bodied man, if conditions cannot be changed to fit his scruples, should be made to understand his duties toward his family, and if he persists, be considered a deserter and dealt with accordingly. It is the duty of Jewish charity organizations to uphold wherever possible the sanctity of the Jewish day of rest; but it is likewise incumbent upon the intelligent charity worker to point out to those who want to 'make the words of the Law a spade to dig with them' that of all the beautiful institutions the Jewish people have inherited, that of the family is most divine."⁵

On the other hand a social worker from Baltimore differs with Palety. "Jewish Charity without Judaism," he stated, "is meaningless and the Sabbath is one of the fundamental principles in Judaism...Jewish charitable institutions not only must feed the body, but must nourish the soul."⁶

In order to cope with this problem a special type of employment agency for Sabbath observers was needed. Such an agency was organized. We read in the Jewish Social Service Quarterly that the Jewish Sabbath Alliance at 302 East 14th Street in New York City seeks positions for boys and girls who are Sabbath observers.

The problem of Sabbath observers does not seem to be a strong one, at least we understand from the paucity of remarks on it in the literature we have studied. Some social

workers regard Sabbath observance as something to be discouraged quickly -- as something bothersome. Others with proper sensitivity if not with some religious feeling have felt that their ^{clients'} ~~cheats'~~ feelings on the problem should be respected. Miss Julia A. Dushkin represents the former when she stated that "the observance of the Sabbath with prohibition of cooking on the Sabbath day makes for additional cost."⁷ This attitude is not representative of the majority of social workers, who have learned to deal with this problem with the proper sensitivity we have mentioned above.

SECTION II

Charity and Religion

A. General

One of the most interesting subjects in this survey was to find the religious content in social work and the social aspects of religion. Starting with the first volume of the National Conference of Jewish Charities occasional articles were found dealing with this subject. The lead-off article was by Minnie Low -- an article filled with a deep religious feeling and a sense of consecration in helping the unfortunate. "A colleague," she remarked, "once said -- a very serious worker and a consistent believer, 'Do you think a man or woman can be truly religious without giving some time in friendly service to the poor?' This was a question well put. The foundation of religion is self-sacrifice. A selfish man cannot be a religious man, nor is he ethically sound... We go to the house of worship -- we hear beautiful sermons on the ethics of philanthropy --... but all the sermons of a lifetime will not fill the tills of our charity organizations, or arouse us from our charitable apathy, as will one short term of personal contact with the poor, a personal knowledge of their needs, a personal conviction of our duty.'"

At the first national conference of Jewish Charities Dr. Emil G. Hirsch was asked to give an address on "The Ethics of Friendly Visiting." His address, of course, was filled with religious content, even as Miss Low's. To do it

justice one would have to include the whole article. However one statement stands out: "friendly visiting is indeed but applied Gemilath' Hassadim'."²

On the last day of the Conference Dr. Hirsch spoke on "The Place of the Individual in Modern Philanthropy" and this too overflowed with religious content.³ (since this study deals with social workers and their literature, although rabbi's influence is strong, we will include only a few articles by them).

Mrs. Pisko, in her address at the first conference began with a "religious" introduction: "This belief in justice to the poor has always been so much a part of the Jewish religion, so deep-rooted has been the idea that giving to the poor is necessary for salvation, that the Jewish beggar came to consider himself as a real benefactor by giving those better provided with worldly goods to perform this religious duty."⁴

A. H. Fromelson attacked the desultory Jewishness of various settlements and institutes in New York's East Side in 1904, a few years after the first conference. He stated that, "it is this lack of Jewishness that has lost for all of the regenerative work of the East Side the full measure of its usefulness... the salvation of the Jew in the past was his religion, and whenever he has been lacking in religion he has deteriorated. Nothing in modern conditions justifies the belief that he has arrived at that point where he can do without his religion.... Let the Jewishness of the institutions be

positive. Thus much of the difficulties that beset social or preventive work on the East side of New York... will disappear. The sympathy and co-operation of the people whose sympathy and cooperation is needed most -- that is, the people for whom the work is intended, will be won... in time, the need for much preventive work will disappear."⁵

Not quite in the same vein, but still demonstrating how charity and religion are closely bound up together, Dr. Blaustein in the 1908 Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Charities, while discussing Jewish Charitable activities in Russia said, "The care for the poor, the weak and the fallen is among the distinguishing foundations of Judaism. The Jew has ever stood near to his God, and as the life of no other people has been so closely bound up with its religion as that of Israel, so no other people has been so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of 'Zedekah.'"⁶

The work of the Free Synagogue in the field of social welfare, combining both the religious and social aspects of the field, and following in the spirit stated in the preceding paragraph, has been one of the bright lights in American Judaism. Dr. Wise, the founder of the Free Synagogue gave a stirring address at the 1908 conference of Jewish Charities called "The Function of the Conference of Jewish Charities." In this address Dr. Wise stated, "The Jewish Conference is not to be a miniature reproduction of the National Conference of Charities and Correction plus a kosher

sign. This Conference ought to rest upon Jewish principles and Jewish Convictions. Failing to do this, it were not only superfluous but impertinent. Thus I have heard it seriously mooted that the synagogue should appropriate certain methods in vogue among the faith-healing cults in order to hold its own. But if our own be flabby-bodied and flabby-minded beings... then better disown them than our faith. Judaism would not purport to offer its disciples the means of prophylaxis against disease and death. Judaism is not to be an imitation of every new fashion in religion and to pretend to give man a cure for thanatophobia. In the fundamental things of social service, Israel is to be true to itself; as it is to be true to its genius in all that is primal and vital in our spiritual heritage."⁷

At the same time Mr. Charles Hutzler stated,
"that I believe it to be the function of religion:

"I. To teach man his duty to his God and to his fellowman.

II. To sympathize with his brethren when in distress.

III. To aid the poor and needy.

IV. To uplift and encourage the downtrodden.

V. To educate the ignorant.

VI. And to open the windows of every dark place,
so that the rays of the noon-day sun may enter,
and supplant sadness with joy."⁸

The address of Louis Marshall at the fifth National

Conference seemed to have been worthy of long discussion. The address on "The Need of a Distinctly Jewish Tendency in the Conduct of Jewish Educational Institutions" was followed by remarks from Mr. Charles Hutzler of Virginia whose ideas on the subject are mentioned above, by several professional social workers, a layman, and Dr. Bogen. All but the latter stated that they could not divorce charity from religion. Boris Bogen stated that the "pride of American Jews" is "that they have divorced charity from religion... I believe that it is a mistake to think that there is only one single reason for Jewish existence -- religion... It seems to me there is no necessity of injecting Jewish religion into charity."⁹

The above statements were made by social workers. What do rabbis say? Rabbi Moses Gries, of Cleveland, in his paper before the 1912 Conference said, "Let us welcome the consecration to service as the finest expression of religion and of life, serving God by service to God's creatures."¹⁰

Dr. Gutman of Syracuse stated at the same conference, "I believe that the house of worship should also be a place for practical work and in all cities where there is no charity building the temple should open wide its gates and invite the workers to come in."¹¹

At the 1927 Conference, Mr. William J. Shroder, discussing the religious inspiration of Jewish Charity without reference to the synagogue in particular, had the follow-

ing to say, "The was a time when the Jew's attitude toward social obligations differed widely from that of his neighbors. The flame of his ethical philosophy, his religious urge... was kept alive... by centuries of enforced ghetto existence amid storms of hatred and oppression... His own sufferings left him tender to the poverty, sickness or helplessness of others. So not only was his social consciousness more sensitive to social evils, but also his willingness to give materially and in service for their amelioration was greater than his neighbors. Traditional attitudes change but slowly in response to changed conditions. But the gap between him and his non-Jewish neighbors has been narrowed... by the awakened social conscience of America... Of course, the ethical ideals and religious motivation of Christianity compelled help for the unfortunate. Neighbors were neighborly, the poor were not permitted to starve nor the sick to go without care. But what was done was inspired by religion, and not by vivid consciousness of social obligation... Society owed little beyond what religion demanded."¹²

Mrs. John M. Glenn addressed this same Conference on the Field of Sectarian Social Work. "The case work attitude," she stated, "is finding its way into the Church. Social service has sprung from church and synagogue even though church and synagogue at times have been slow in recognizing its offspring. In the field of social case work this past winter, there have been in different parts of the country groups coming

together to consider how social work may draw on the church for inspiration and for definite meeting of the spiritual need of the people under care. There is coming to be a recognition of the fact that organized religion has a contribution to make which is comparable to the contribution that medicine or psychiatry or pedagogy is making... Some of the finest work that is being done in the way of revealing the spiritual to clients is being done by case workers who are serving under so-called secular societies; but in addition to what such religious-minded workers are doing there is, in my judgment, the need for the church to have associated with it those who make a specific study of the distinctive contribution that the church should make to social case work... Along with all the relationships that are being established through social work, should there not be a peculiar attention to the establishment of the greatest of all relationships, the relationship to God? May we not acknowledge that the purpose of creation is that we ourselves become creators with God? ... We case workers must, in my judgment, carry into our work of helping to bring about adjustments between individuals, of establishing relationships, cementing family ties, furthering unity; a conception of the part God himself plays in establishing relationship... In speaking to you as a body of Jewish social workers, I wish to emphasize what is my belief as a member of my own church, the Episcopal, that we each have a contribution to make to social work by bringing

into it a clearer conception of what religion is, a finer understanding of what it means to prepare one's self to reveal to others the liberating power of the life of the spirit."¹³

The next division in "Charity and Religion" is from Jewish Charities, and the Jewish Social Service Quarterly. Instead of only articles about the tie-up between charity and religion this section will also deal with references to actual cases as mentioned in Jewish Charities. Jewish Charities begins with 1910. The Temple Emanu-El sisterhood of San Francisco placed orphans leaving the Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum.¹⁴ The Free Synagogue arranged a social service conference.¹⁵ There was a Church and Social Work session at the National Conference of Charities and Correction.¹⁶ The Central Conference of American Rabbis had a Round Table on "The Synagogue and Social Service led by Rabbi (H. S.) Goldenson June 30 - July, 6, 1911."¹⁷

The services at the Temple during the annual Meeting of the National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives will be devoted to the hospital.¹⁸ (1913) A school for teaching foreigners meets in the vestry-rooms of the Temple under the auspices of Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan.¹⁹ (1913)

The notes just mentioned and a few following are representative of a tendency found during the years 1900-1920, and continued in part today. They illustrate social work in synagogues and through synagogues.

Dr. Rosenau, in April 1915 stated, "The synagogue

needs to justify its raison d'etre by social service together with other worldly purposes... The social work of the Free Synagogue is of a practical and inspiring nature, and it represents religion²⁰ put into terms of the needs of today."

An announcement of Chataqua Courses in Social Service: "The Synagogue as a Social Force," by Dr. Stephen Wise and Organization of Social Service" in the Synagogue" by Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein, again illustrates the work of the Free Synagogue in practical work.²¹

Through an article in the "Temple Tidings of Temple de Hirsch" the idea of a Federation of Jewish Charities was revived in Seattle in 1915.²² There were two relief societies connected with the Reform Temple in Seattle. Rabbi Koch took the stand that people not affiliated with the Temple are not qualified to have a voice in the development of Judaism. Therefore a few months ago (1915) the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society changed its name to the L. H. B. S. of the Temple de Hirsch. The management of the Home for the Aged is under the aegis of this group; and the Jewish settlement²³ is supported largely by it too.

"What right has a social worker to speak on social evils within the walls of a synagogue?" was asked of Jacob Billikopf, Dec. 3, 1916, at Rockdale Temple. His answer was, "Real religion must have a social as well as a moral significance. Real social work should also have a deep religious meaning. That which is sociologically correct must be relig-

iously sound."²⁴

A definite plan for developing generosity and sympathetic understanding among the Sabbath School children of Chicago, promulgated in April, 1916, was spontaneously received by the Chicago Rabbinical Association and the Sabbath School Teachers' Association. This plan is called the "Help a Child League."²⁵

Under the guidance of Dr. S. Leonard Levy of Temple Rodef Shalom a social service study class was begun. The aim is to give the members of this class the proper point of view, with regard to the social service agencies of Pittsburgh.²⁶

Cornelia N. Mayer's article concerned with the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods is of extreme value. "The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods was planned to revive with increased vigor an appreciation and love for Jewish ideals, to bring the Jewish women to the realization of her obligation towards the synagogue and to give her an opportunity to share with the men the responsibility of the congregation... The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods exemplified this theory" (mentioned in the article) "that philanthropy, religion and education are interrelated, interdependent and indispensable."²⁸

Dr. Oscar Leonard in the same supplement in which the preceding article is found writes about the social value of Jewish Nationalism. His thesis is that the Jews are not merely a religious group. The salvation of the Jew to him is Zionism.²⁹

In an article, "The Russian Jew Looks at Charity" Harold Silver, executive secretary of the Detroit Jewish Social Agencies, said, "Charity is no new thing to the Russian Jew. His prayers reminded him of it several times a day... His views on charity were well formulated by the Scriptures and the Talmud."³⁰

Mr. Harry Lurie in a symposium on "What Makes Jewish Social Work Jewish" in the September 1930 issue of the Jewish Social Service Quarterly said the following: "I trust that the Jewish agency shares with other agencies understanding, tolerance and sympathy with the folkways and customs of the clients who stand in need of service... For our own group of agencies tolerance means understanding of holiday and Sabbath observances, dietary laws, religious training of youth, respect for religious ceremonial in marriage, and divorce etc."³¹

B. Social Worker and Religion

It is difficult to distinguish between comments about the social worker and religion and charity -- and religion. However, a few articles about social workers and religion have been selected. They will in part show what the social worker thinks of himself in this regard and what the rabbis find right or wrong in the situation. Mr. Abraham Caplan's article begins this division.

In 1913 he criticized the social worker for her lack of religion. "The Jewish social worker should be vitally interested in the religious progress of his people, not as a necessary leaven to the development of good instincts, ennobling influences, and finer morality, which ostensibly he would have propagated. What Jewish social worker is absorbed in the religious status of his people in America? Who has directed himself to translate the powerful essence of Judaism to the general progress of the Jewish people. The Christian social worker is intensely religious; the Jewish social worker is morbidly indifferent."³²

Mr. Oscar Leonard answered Mr. Caplan in Jewish Charities for May, 1913. He stated that "Mr. Caplan has mistaken the exception, the rare exception, for the rule, when he accuses social workers of being 'hard, cold and mechanical...'. I must touch, if not thoroughly, at least lightly, upon the religious phase touched upon by Mr. Caplan. The Jewish social

worker who understands tendencies at all, understands that the social ideals so fervently held by our young immigrants are essentially religious ideals. It really does not matter how religion manifests itself, whether in synagogal attendance with prayers that one may do the right, or in an effort to get the whole world to do the right. Our young immigrants have translated the faith of their fathers into social ideals... It is unfair to compare the religious work of the Christian social worker with that of the Jewish. The Christian social worker interested in organized religion often does settlement work for a purpose. The purpose being to bring those who come to the settlement 'within the fold'... To use the settlement as bait to gain church membership is wrong. I am glad that the Jewish settlement had been regarded as a means in itself, and is not merely bait for the synagogue. The Jewish settlement does everywhere religious work among children. This is proper... But to look after the synagogal life of the mature individual is not the work of the settlement... The greatest settlements are those which are ends in themselves, and are not bait for this or that denominational organization... The business of the Jewish settlement, as that of all other settlements, is to mould character. The business of religion is the same. If the settlement of today does for the young what the synagogue of old did for our fathers. Why criticize the settlement. Let us rejoice that an agency has been found to fill this need. The basic thing in

religion is not creed, but deed."³³

The November, 1913 issue of Jewish Charities included two articles of interest to us. The first, "Religion and Social Work" and the second, "Rabbi as Social Worker." The burden of the first article is "how can anything but misunderstanding be expected in a community which harbors both rabbi and social worker, where the former has few social ideas and the latter little religion... Just how the synagogue will take cognizance of the strong trend to social service we are not prepared to say. Perhaps our theological colleges might undertake to train a few of their students specifically for social work in the hope that they might find a way to unify the spiritual endeavors of the community by bringing the synagogue in sympathetic touch with social life and effort... We may expect in the near future an aggravation of the friction, at least temporarily, when workers are introduced into communities for the first time and find themselves face to face with a situation bristling with difficulties. This might not be the case if they had more attachment to the synagogue than the average American young person."³⁴

The second article (or, the "Rabbi as Social Worker" is a review of Rabbi Fox's paper at the 1914 Conference. His thesis is that "the fountain-head of all social work is the influence of the synagogue, and if that is neglected the Jewish social workers may prepare to go out of business. But the rabbi may do a great deal if he understands social work."³⁴

On the other hand Rabbi Fox stated that "a realization of the fact that the work of the minister is the work of the social worker, and vice versa, is the first step in the obliteration in a relationship that seems to have been strained traditionally."³⁵

The statement of Rabbi Fox can be understood fully if attention is given to the following note which mentions that, "The essentially religious nature of social work is well shown by the fact that most rabbis devote much of their time to organizing new forms of social endeavors as well as supporting actively those forms which already exist... The situation was sharply outlined at the recent conference of Reform Rabbis. The Committee on Synagogue and Industrial relations had submitted a report advocating most of the progressive allevial measures now being agitated in this country... It was referred to a committee, which will report upon it next year. Stephen Wise was vehement and bitter in his defense of the report."³⁶

The National Council of Jewish Women as we all know has done yeomen work in social service. Following in the steps of leaders in social work who have felt the tie between religion and charity the Council has supported courses for volunteers in religious background. According to Miss Lucy J. Chamberlain, the National Council of Jewish Women in Brooklyn, New York provided a forum in 1926 under the auspices of the Committee on Religion at which a reform, a conservative

and an orthodox rabbi spoke.³⁷

Not only has the Council of Jewish Women, and the social worker felt the need of having a religious background, psychiatrists too have felt this need. The following statement by a psychiatrist illustrates this feeling.

"We are firmly convinced that in order to appraise the various shadings of the mental life and behavior reactions of a Jewish patient, the psychiatrist must have an understanding of Jewish psychology... Jewish traditions, religious observances, habits and customs, must be understood both in the diagnosis and particularly in the therapy."³⁸

Rabbi Israel in an article, "What of Social Justice" shows the interest in social justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. "The Commission on Social Justice of the C. C. A. R. is entering more and more deeply into the fundamental problems that are agitating our industrial and social life; and more and more, the modern liberal rabbi is finding the solution to the demands of a socialized religious conscience in some great reform movements which engross so many of our Jewish social workers. Side by side, yet with uncorrelated effort, they are striving toward the same end."³⁹

Harold Silver of the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Detroit wrote in 1935: "The extreme importance of Jewish cultural values and the need for the case worker to be thoroughly at home in the Jewish background of his clientele cannot be emphasized too much." There are bi-weekly seminar discussions

on Jewish content in case work in three case working agencies,
in Detroit.⁴⁰

Louis Levinthal also is in favor of Jewish background for social workers. In the Jewish Social Service Quarterly of September, 1936 he stated that, "In the management and leadership of Jewish social service, there is a legitimate place only for affirmative Jews who have faith in the value of the Jewish heritage... If the above holds true... our social agencies... would be manifestations of the traditional spirit of Judaism... Cut Tsedakah, cut Gemiluth Chasosim, cut Chinuch off from their source, our Torah... and the administration of our communal agencies becomes a dull, colorless, passionless business."⁴¹

As we come to the end of this section we include a semi-apologetic^{article} and a critique by two very prominent leaders in the field of Jewish social welfare. Dr. Karpf's article is self-explanatory, Dr. Koh's comments are not severe. They provide a springboard^{from} from which a dynamic social work in this country can arise.

Dr. Karpf at the 1925 National Conference stated that "I believe it must be admitted that the Jewish social workers are not religious as a group, if conformity to traditional Jewish customs and religious practices be the criterion... as private persons we could legitimately resent any attempt at intrusion upon our religious and inner life and views, claiming that they are our own private affair; but as repre-

representatives of organized Jewish life and effort, we cannot consider ourselves as above such scrutiny and challenge... It is essential that we have a point of view regarding our work and relation to Jewish life which, although perhaps unacceptable to our critics should be at least rationale and consistent with a philosophy of life whatever it may be."⁴²

Dr. T. C. Kohs, who has given us a critique before of Jewish Social Service, again wrote in the recent Proceedings of the National Council of Jewish Social Welfare (1940): "as far as American potential forces and resources are concerned, we should recognize that we are not too late for a program of construction and amelioration in this area. The following suggestions would seem to be appropriate:

1. Jewish social work in all its varieties must begin to recognize its place in influencing and enriching Jewish cultural life in America. This to national agencies, specialized agencies, and the rank and file of the social work profession.

2. Jewish social work must develop a philosophy and a program which will make social work more than a detached and mechanical service to individuals in need, without relation to the direction and content of Jewish life and of Jewish values.

3. Jewish social work must not abandon those programs and activities which have shown promise for the building of a philosophy and a literature of Jewish social

work upon which such positive and constructive programs of Jewish life could be based.

h. Jewish social work must not abandon its program to prepare the type of social workers who will be sensitized to and capable of achieving these objectives." ⁴³

Rabbi Silver's article on "The Development of Human Personality through Religious Experience" will close the section on "Charity and Religion." Though this article does not seem to belong here, and perhaps should be in a section by itself we have felt that since the development of personality is an important part of a social worker's job it should be included in this section. This article will be included in part, and part of this in outline.

A. "What do we mean by personality-- the organized self of man functioning as a unit in social life. Religious Experience -- Participation in beliefs touching the ultimate spiritual realities of life and in the mood and activity which derive from them.

The question, then, presented to us is how can such beliefs in the essential spirituality of the universe and the participation in those characteristic acts and moods which we call religious, help man to function more effectively as a creative unit in society. We maintain that such a faith will, in the first place help him to surmount the intellectual difficulties which he is likely to encounter, and which, if not overcome, may overwhelm and defeat him; and in the second

place, such a faith will make possible abiding ideals in his life which will stimulate his will and give direction and unity to his life's purposes. Not all the tribulations of man are physical in their nature or psychic... There are men whose peace of mind depends upon the finding of a satisfactory philosophy of life, which will master their doubts, strengthen their hearts and give them confidence and give them hope to face the exactions and disillusionments of life."

Silver cites instances of men who wished to destroy themselves because they felt the universe is without purpose or intelligence -- a blind mechanism moved by equally blind forces, ^{and} ~~cites~~ Tolstoi in his "Confessions" who felt himself going to pieces. "Now Tolstoi lived a full life. And yet one unfulfilled need was threatening to overthrow his whole world. He lacked the sustaining influence which comes from a realization that the universe is not a thing but a personality, the manifestations and the dwelling-place of a creative and benevolent intelligence, and that man in his finite way partakes of it, and in its creative efforts is its co-worker.

There are few men who think at all about those eternal problems of life the whence and whether and why of things, who would not be helped to a sweeter and freer life once this heroic postulate of faith is made a driving motive of their life. The need of God is as real a need in human life as the need of food. Voltaire said that if there were no God the human race would be compelled to invent one. Why? Because man needs the

assurance that the great hunger for self-protection which is his goad and his goal, may someday be satisfied. There is one fundamental hunger in human life and that is the hunger for completion. He (man) knows that he is incomplete -- but he has a vision of perfection and completion.

In a godless world man's hunger for completion is doomed to disappointment and must turn to bitterness and gall. But give that man a faith that he dwells in a universe where God is, where personality reigns, in which all things are linked together by one divine purpose, whose attributes are justice and goodness, and that he, frail and finite though he is, is yet cooperating in the glorious fulfillment of that purpose and behold, what a current of hope and confidence you send into his life.

There is yet another way in which the experience of faith contributes to the development of human personality. The human soul is frequently a battlefield. The traditional moralist calls it the struggle between the higher and the lower self. The modern psychologist calls it the conflict between will and impulse, between the social self and the suppressed instincts, the anti-social self. Man's hope lies in the victory of the social self, and his well-being depends on the emancipation of the inhibited self through moral sublimation. Man can win this victory only through the exercise of his will continuously and especially in the great crises of life. And, as Professor. Hadfield correctly observed, "no-

thing can stimulate the will as patently as an ideal. But the great abiding ideals of life must find their source and origin in faith. If the world is impersonal and mechanical, and men are the plaything of heredity and environment, there can be no meaning to human ideals... Whence will come the great assurance that some day someone will make real the ideals for which we gave the blood of our souls?

Could you social workers face the drabness of that world into which your calling daily takes you, the want, the misery....if you believed that all that is, is inevitable... -- Could you bring to your ministry or could you derive from it the lift and the enthusiasm and the consecration unless you felt that life is perfectible, and that man can rise on the rungs of sin and crime and defeat to the higher level, that man can be renewed and remolded according to a higher pattern of goodness and justice and beauty? These are ideals, grounded not in knowledge, but in faith, faith in the reality of a spiritual order of goodness and truth and beauty in the universe -- faith in God.

The realization of this spiritual order underlying all things makes ideals possible. And these ideals galvanize the will of man and integrate his personality.... Just as the individual man or woman who is sincerely religious is better equipped to face the trials of life, so, of course, is the family able to meet its problems and crises with a better chance of success, if it is pervaded by a religious sentiment... The

home needs the spirit of sanctity.... If, in your daily ministry then, you can communicate this faith to a fellow human being in need of light and new sources of power, you will be bestowing upon him life's greatest boon, even as you will be enjoying life's rarest privilege.... Speak not as a professional man. Speak as a fellow human being, a traveler upon the same road, a pilgrim to the same shrine. Speak when life's flood is at its lowest ebb, when all else has failed and darkness settles on the soul, speak in a still, small, confident voice, of God. Speak and men will listen and men will understand."

SECTION III

Religious Education

The next section is devoted to religious education and consists of notes about religious education in various organizations and among the farmers in the United States. The material is varied and represents a very important segment of social work in this country. Some divisions in this section are longer than others, not necessarily because of an abundance of material but because they are either more important or could be typified by one or two comments.

A. Among Jewish Farmers

As early as 1902 the literature of social work mentions religious education for the Jewish farmer. Rabbi A. R. Levy of Chicago in an address before the Detroit convention showed the lack of such education amongst Jewish agricultural workers.¹

Whether any attempts were made by any Jewish organizations to ameliorate the above named conditions or not, J. W. Pincus speaking in Boston, June 9, 1911 at the Conference of Jewish social workers said, "Religious education is woefully neglected in most of the farming communities, and the children of Jewish farmers are entitled to religious education as much as a city child."² However Pincus continues to say that some attempt was started by the Jewish Chautauqua, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a few months previously. The former "inaugurated in the South Jersey colonies classes in Jewish History and Bible", and the latter "has sent out religious leaflets to children of Jewish farmers."²

By November 1912 the editors of Jewish Charities were able to state that "one of the difficulties encountered by Jewish farmers is the absence of the Jewish religious life, when they are scattered over a large area of the country. The Jewish Chautauqua has done a distinct service in attending to the religious needs of the farmers in the Northwest."³ Further, in an article on religious work with Jewish farmers, a corres-

pondent wrote⁴ that "from reports presented by the Jewish Chautauqua Society, there are indications of a development of growth, especially in their work in the agricultural districts, which cannot fail to be far-reaching in the extent of its magnitude....So successful was the result of the work in South Jersey that the Society endeavored to extend its activity into new fields. Last spring they inaugurated this education in North Dakota."⁴

At the fourth annual convention of the Federation of Jewish Farmers, November 17, 1912 the delegates decided officially to "cooperate with the Jewish Chautauqua Society and the Synagogue and School Extension Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in providing religious instructions to the children of Jewish farmers."⁵

While the account of the religious work seems optimistic up till now, J. W. Pincus writing in June, 1913 stated that "it is only within the last two years that the Jewish Chautauqua and the School Extension Department of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations started to pay attention to the farmers.... While this work is very commendable, it is not adequate as it only covers a very small territory. Provisions should be made to assist any farming community in securing religious instructors."⁶

By 1927 one would expect that a large dent would have been made in the problem of religious education of rural communities. But this is not so. Gabriel Davidson, writing

in the Jewish Social Service Quarterly said "that the subject of religion has thus far only been hinted at. Christian farmers have their churches and religious organizations handed down to them as a legacy from former generations. The present day Jewish farmers have no such heritage. They must build for themselves -- no easy task for a pioneer generation. The Jewish Agriculture Society has aided in the construction of synagogues and religious centers. But it was in no position to subsidize religious education. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations helped with the result that religious schools have been established in a few communities in Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Michigan. It is hoped that this is a beginning. The difficulty of providing religious education for farm children lies in the fact that even in comparatively compact communities, distances between farm homes are big. The plan adopted by the Society and the Synagogue calls for the pooling of the resources of the two or three communities close enough for an instructor to travel from one to another and get too far apart to assemble the children in the same school. The social significance of this religious effort is much deeper than is apparent on the surface. Leaders of Jewish thought tell us that religious instruction is a potent factor in combatting racial animosity."⁷

The religious work among Jewish Farmers does not seem to have made great strides from 1902 to 1927. No reference is made to such work in the later issues of the magazines

covered in this thesis. There is probably more literature on this subject such as articles in the American Jewish Yearbook and in the publications of various Jewish agricultural organizations like the Jewish Agriculture Society.

B. Reform Schools and Delinquent Children

Social workers and rabbis alike felt the need of providing some religious education for delinquent children. Thus it is not surprising to find a large number of articles dealing with this subject in our literature.

Dr. Henry Berkowitz, one of the first four graduates of the Hebrew Union College, not only was ^a leading rabbi at the beginning of the twentieth century, but a fine organizer. He helped form the Jewish Chautauqua Society. Indeed his work expanded far outside of Philadelphia. It was through his efforts that the Hebrew Sunday School Society of Philadelphia supplied a religious teacher for the large number of boys¹ and girls at the Glens Mills Pennsylvania Reform School.

The problem of delinquent children in the Jewish community in New York needed more than a Sunday School teacher. According to Falk Younker of the Y. M. H. A. in New York City in 1906 "between 28 and 30 per cent of all children brought to the Children's court are Jewish. There are three and a half times as many children among this number who are the children of recently arrived immigrants as there are of native born parents....The religious training of the children of immigrant parents is also sadly neglected. Unfortunately among nearly all the parents of these children their religion is to a large extent base upon superstition and ignorance, principally due to persecution, and counts for little, if any-

thing, as a moral factor in their lives... It remains for our educational and philanthropic institutions to step in and teach religion as it should be taught... the fundamental principles of our sacred faith, which is the essence of all true religion, and which teaches us that it is impossible to be truly religious unless religion is brought into the daily life by correct conduct and strict adherence to truth and honor."²

Social workers soon realized that though religious education is very valuable, follow-up work was necessary after the child left the institution. In 1906 Mrs. Sadie American stated that "Jews send nobody or else someone not particularly fitted to look after the children as they come out, because to send someone to an institution to hold religious services or to teach the Bible is entirely inadequate and fruitless unless it is followed up by work as the child comes out, and unless it is preceded before the child comes out, by so gaining his confidence that the child will be glad to point to the religious teacher there not merely as a Sunday School teacher, or as a holder of religious services, but as a real friend to whom he will attach himself and look for guidance."³

Stating the need for a Jewish institution for wards of the Juvenile Court, Rabbi ^{Zabin} ~~Zila~~, then Superintendent of the Jewish Aid Society of Chicago said that "these children more than others need a firm grounding in moral truths. Many me-

thods have been devised for teaching morality, but it is conceded on all sides that religion is the medium that has showed the best results in teaching these truths to children. In order to teach religion we must segregate these children from children of other denominations."⁴

Mr. Louis Marshall's paper read at the same convention dealt with the need of a "Distinctly Jewish Tendency in the Conduct of Jewish Educational Institutions." In this paper Mr. Marshall said that "a Jewish educational institution must be one which is presumably, organized for the purpose of functionalizing Jewish conceptions and of promoting Jewish tendencies, otherwise there be no reason for establishing Jewish educational institutions... There are those who, approaching the subject from an abstractly ethical point of view, would approve such a policy, and would carry their antagonism to religion and religious sentiment to the point of disapproval of all religious tendencies in educational institutions... as an educational force religion is indispensable, for it constitutes the healthful development and the giving of proper direction to man's spiritual nature, as contrasted with his intellectual and social side....Moral regeneration is possible, in an infinitely greater proportion of cases, where children are subjected to religious influences, than in the cases where they are of necessity confined in reformatories in which religious instruction is lacking.... If religion is thus important as an educational factor, then it would seem to follow as a

corollary, that, in an institution conducted by Jews, that system of religion known as Judaism should pervade the institution ... Non-sectarian Judaism is the most contemptible, the most cowardly, the most ignoble of monstrosities."⁵

Commenting on the need for more Jewish reformatories the editors of Jewish Charities stated in 1912 that "there is only one Jewish reformatory in the country -- the Jewish protectorate at Hawthorne, New York, but there is not a city of size in the Union where the need of such an institution is not sorely felt.... The Jewish reformatory institution is necessary, though, of course, it is not all sufficient. If moral and religious training have any potency in turning the youthful mind from anti-social tendencies, then in the institution of reform where this training can be brought to bear in the most natural and convincing way, there would reside a power of moral rehabilitation not quite equalled elsewhere."⁶

In line with the need for reformatories for delinquent Jewish boys ^{Miss} Mrs. Minnie Low of Chicago read a paper at the 1912 Conference of Jewish Charities on "Is there a Need for Reformatories for Jewish Girls?" "The discussion that followed was very animated. Mrs. Charles I. Israels led off with a plea for prevention and education as the surest and in the long run most effective way of meeting the girl problem. She made a strong plea for religious education, which would give the girls an emotional resource now unknown among Jewish girls, but fully availed of by workers among non-Jews. Dr. C.

O. Spivak saw no advantage in religious teaching. Judge Mack cast the weight of his judgment against the reformatory idea, and dwelt upon the necessity for intensive personal work in individual cases. He realized the advantages of education and religious training as a preventative, and for actual case work he placed personal influence above reformatory methods.... The meeting was brought to a close with a detailed and forceful address by Miss Sadie American who reviewed the entire subject and brought forward a number of stimulating suggestions."⁷

Miss American stated that "no categorical answer can be given to this question" (need for reformatories for Jewish girls). "Where such Jewish children are few in number there need be no separate reformatory, for the work of the reformatory is , after all, the function of the State, but girls placed in such an institution should be regularly visited by a Jewish woman, who brings to them Jewish religion, Jewish ideals and who, becoming their close friend, shall look after them on discharge. Girls do respond to the religious appeal much more than we realize, but religion must be made interesting and attractive to them -- it must not be formalism nor mere instruction.... We will first have to displace the mistaken ideas some of them have, as for example that of the girl whose parents have sat 'shiveh' over her in their grief and who could not for a long time be convinced that all Jews or any Jews felt differently or that Judaism

could be less harsh.... If reformatories for boys are conceded as proper and necessary it may be that the natural corollary is reformatory for girls." ⁸

Mrs. Julius Andrews writing in the February 1914 number of Jewish Charities ^{stated} ~~says~~ concerning the delinquent girl that "public neglect and indifference are accountable for a large per cent of girl delinquency, but as many of the direct causes are now recognized we may, in the future, do much to lessen the evil by synagogue and church realizing their responsibility to provide recreation as well as spiritual guidance for the young wage-earner and the youth of the congested districts." ⁹ Mrs. Andrews mentions other means of lessening the problem, but for our purposes the illustration will suffice.

By 1924 a detailed study could be made of previous religious education of boys at the Hawthorne Reform School in New York. The religious education of 258 boys was as follows:

- 38 attended synagogue on holidays only.
- 56 attended synagogue with more or less regularity for one year prior to admission.
- 31 attended synagogue two years.
- 85 attended synagogue for more than two years.
- 50 did not attend at all.
- 74 attended cheder one year or less.
- 35 attended cheder two years.

84 attended for more than two years at cheder

65 did not attend at all.

Of the 258 boys, 186 were of orthodox parents, 7¹⁰ were reform, 65 in doubt. No conclusions were drawn after this survey was made.

The National Conference of Jewish Charities held its 1924 meeting in Toronto. At that time Mr. Jess Perlman, The Director of the work of the outside activities of the Board of Guardians of New York City, read a paper on Jewish Juvenile Delinquency. "I hold myself more or less strictly limited to the discussion of Jewish juvenile delinquency. I wish to say, in passing, that part of our success in this work lies in our ability to forget the Jewish aspects of the problem, in our ability to do the work in a scientific spirit. For this advance from narrowness to breadth, we may be thankful, but I must also say, and this emphatically, that our failures lie in the same tendency to forget the Jewish aspects of this problem. For, from any angle, whether it be that of prophylaxis or therapy, no treatment of any problem of behavior maladjustment among Jewish children can be sound that omits to reach out out to the causative and to the curative factors that lie inherent in such life-factors as the Jewish home, the Jewish school and synagogue, Jewish industry and the Jewish social agency.

It is in these five allied departments of Jewish life, that we will discover some of our failures in our work

with Jewish juvenile delinquents." ¹¹ Mr. Perlman then continues to give a more detailed critique of the five departments of Jewish life he ~~mentions~~ ^{noted} in his introduction. His thesis is that religious background is necessary for every child, but that the present approach by synagogue and school is wrong. "It has been... the unwise concentration on the courses of study instead of on method that has caused so much failure in attracting the older boy and girl and in holding them, where Jewish training has been offered at all. Were less emphasis laid on curriculum and more on method, the Jewish school would prove itself a prime factor in the promotion of behavior adjustments and the prevention of maladjustments."

The discussion that followed this paper is of interest both as to the religious education of delinquents and the attitude some social workers have toward religious training. Miss Hattie Rose stated that "the American born child has little or no respect for Jewish ceremonies, due, no doubt, to the lack of proper training and carelessness in the home. But in this, too, does the Social Worker fail. The child does not observe the Jewish customs because no intelligent information is given him or her of the meaning and sacredness of these customs. Strange as it may sound, a well informed Gentile with respect for the Jewish religion and traditions brings this home oftentime, better than does a Jewish worker. For some unexplainable reason most Social Workers of our own faith do not stress religious training as an important factor

in their daily rounds. Oftentimes they have more influence with a child than either or both of his parents and could assert this influence in creating a religious spirit within the heart of the child."¹²

Mr. Samuel Goldsmith followed Miss Rose in the discussion and stated that "the synagogue has not failed, it has changed. There are as many spiritual men in the Jewish ministry today as there ever have been. But the synagogue reflects the Jewish community."¹³

Dr. Louis Hurwich's remarks concerning Mr. Perlman's paper, though criticizing the school and the Synagogue showed that the influx of immigration, ignorance of the usefulness of the synagogue and other factors were some of the causes for the lack of influence on the part of the rabbi and Sabbath school teacher alike. "Now what is the duty imposed upon us? The duty is very clear. We must look upon the Jewish school as a real instrument of prevention. As such the Jewish school must become a professional agency."¹⁴

Two years after the Toronto Conference Dr. John Slawson presented a paper on "Factors in Boyhood Delinquency" during the course of which he discussed the relation between Jewish education and delinquency. "Statements frequently have been made as to the relation between Jewish Education and conduct to the effect that there is a positive association between the absence of Jewish education and anti-social behavior. The assertions made, however, are not based on any

adequate analysis of objective facts. There is probably very little doubt that Jewish education, if conducted through the medium of modern pedagogical methods, contributes to the mental health of a boy or girl by dissipating feeling of inferiority that may result from feelings of difference. Whatever promotes mental balance would be expected indirectly to promote social behavior and hence, in that manner, modern Jewish education would be a potent factor in delinquency prevention, but the assertion that there is a tendency for those who have not received a Jewish education to become delinquent is ill-founded. As a matter of fact there are some data now available, although not conclusive, that contradict most of these positive statements. It should not be necessary for the proponents of Jewish education to justify the movement on the basis of questionable relationships. Jewish education does not need to resort to such subterfuges, as it can fully justify itself from the point of view of social welfare, on a positive basis of mental hygiene and personality adjustment.¹⁵"

Mr. Leon Stern writing in 1926 in the Jewish Social Service Quarterly stated concerning probation and parole of delinquents, "While a purely religious approach to the offender has limitations, an approach made by a worker of the offender's faith, when that worker is also trained in case-work methods, offers opportunity for mutual understanding between the offender and the social worker, often difficult to attain otherwise.... Many years ago, at a Prison Conference, Mr. Henry Thurston quoted one of his probation officers saying, "I some-

times think... we are too severe, too searching and scientific and lamely lacking in that indispensable qualification called love.' Through love, sympathy becomes understanding.¹⁶"

Miss Palensky's article in the June 1927 Jewish Social Service Quarterly should be of extreme interest to Jewish educators. She writes concerning "An Ideal Program for an Institution Dealing with Delinquents." "I know a capable case worker who used to take twenty-two incorrigible girls regularly once-a-week to a religious service in New York City. These girls enjoyed the trip enormously, conducted themselves becomingly and returned to the institution in good order. To have denied them the pleasure of this excursion was considered a severe punishment....Whenever delinquency is mentioned today, there also you will hear much about religion as a panacea. This is a disastrous simplification of the problem. Religion is only one form of therapy, and as it is at present conceived, a very weak one.... The ritualized religious service which is now so conspicuous in most institutions seems to be hopelessly ineffective. The mechanical learning of prayers and the weekly sermons of exhortation fall upon deaf ears. Surely religious experience is an individual matter if nothing in the world is... It will be well to recognize that to some temperaments religion is the bread of life; to others gall and wormwood. Religion as a subject will be secularized in Christianity; that is, it will become a part of the educational curriculum for those who want it and it will be made an interesting and

worthwhile subject, taught by competent teachers, not by the lower orders of the clergy. The right kind of religious advisor will know that there are many other kinds of spiritual self-expression besides formal religion and with this knowledge and his own dynamic personality, he will be able to unfetter the imprisoned soul and set it upon the path toward wide horizons." ¹⁷

Julia Goldman, discussing "Case Work with the Child in the Institution" says concerning religious training that "the religious activity of the institution (Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, Pleasantville, New York) finds three-fold expression in the home, the school and the synagogue, and plays an important part in the life of the child." ¹⁸

The Cedar Knolls School of the Jewish Board of Guardians of New York has done some interesting work with Jewish juvenile delinquents. S. R. Slawson and Harry M. Shulman write about the "Re-educative Activity for Delinquent Youth at Cedar Knolls." Part of this educative process consists of religious services and religious education. ¹⁹

It is worthwhile in passing to note a study made in 1936 of fifty cases of Juvenile Delinquency in the Old City of Jerusalem by Stephen Krauss. Most of these children first attended a religious school like the Cheder or the Talmud Torah. No conclusions were drawn as to the relation between religious education and delinquency. ²⁰

This division on religious education in reform schools and for delinquents is closely tied up with the next division which concerns itself with jails.

C. Jails

Delinquent adults have also been discussed by social workers. Although material about them is limited to a few remarks we have, Leonard Palitz's article written in 1912 a very interesting reaction to the problem. "In religious training the criminal Jew is markedly deficient," he stated. "The Jew, as compared with the Gentile, is most orthodox in his religion, and, therefore, when he is religious he is not criminal... Certain it is that most of these very criminals would, under the influence of a Jewish home, have developed into normal individuals useful to the community. No time of life is too late to administer religious training to them. I have had some good results from the distribution of Bibles-- results that are encouraging for the future."

We find this announcement concerning concerning prisoners in a 1914 number of Jewish Charities. "A new impetus has been given this year to welfare work among Jewish prisoners. The task of bringing the consolation and comfort of religion so well begun with the holiday season will be continued during the rest of the year. During the holiday season this work was conducted under the joint auspices of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Order of the B'nai B'rith and the Department of Synagogue and School Extension."

D. Orphans

The care of the orphan is one of the fundamental charity principles of Judaism. American Jewry has not shirked its task. Taking care of the physical welfare of the orphan was less difficult than providing him with a religious education. However, religious education of some sort has always been provided for orphans. Edward Lauderbach of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York, speaking before the National Conference of Jewish Charities in 1904 demonstrated in his comments the fundamental philosophy of organizations taking care of orphans toward religious education. He said that "the principle is now fully recognized that the organizations that stand in loco parentis toward the wards under their care must accord to these dependent children the benefits of religious instruction according to the tenets maintained by their parents!"¹

On page 82 of the same issue of the Proceedings Rudolph I. Coffee, then Superintendent of this same Orphanage, in an article called "What Becomes of our Graduates" stated that, "they have been schooled in proper Americanism. At the same time are given a sufficient grounding in the principles of their religious faith by means of which they will become in a short time as we hope, interested and active workers in the vineyard of Judaism."²

New York City, because of its very large Jewish pop-

ulation has always had a more intensified religious education system. Thus, it is quite natural to find Child-caring institutions in New York having an intensified religious program. Solomon Lowenstein described this program in 1906 in an issue of the Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Charities. "All our institutions furnish religious instruction. Services are regularly held in all on Sabbath and Holy Days, in some daily. Religious schools are conducted in all. Now in a Jewish institution there should be no real reason for divorcing religious instruction from the daily life of the child-- making it something distinct and for special consumption. It ought to be a part of his daily life, part of his regular instruction -- of at least equal importance with reading, writing, and arithmetic."³

"The need of a distinctly Jewish tendency in the conduct of Jewish Educational Institutions" was again suggested in an address of Louis Marshall's, and delivered by Dr. Lowenstein in 1908. Mr. Marshall corroborates the view set by Mr. Lauderbach in 1904. "A Jewish Orphan Asylum should, above all," he said, "afford to its inmates, that religious training which their parents, as faithful, observing Jews, would have given them had they been spared."⁴

Dr. Blaustein still further corroborates the statement of Mr. Lauderbach by stating that "the religious instruction in schools and in the orphan asylums, should be as nearly as possible the religion of the home from which the children go."⁵

"Perhaps as complete and as comprehensive a curriculum for a child-caring institution as has ever been drawn up, certainly for a Jewish institution, was one recently presented to the board of directors of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Orphan Asylum of New York, by its superintendent, Dr. Ludwig B. Bernstein." ⁶ (1911) In these words the editor of Jewish Charities prefaced Dr. Bernstein's article.

Dr. Bernstein stated in his report that "our curriculum is based on the theory that no education is complete without an adequate religious program, and it provides for a very thorough and intensive six years' curriculum along this line (five years at the rate of five obligatory periods a week, and one year at two periods per week)." ⁶

In like manner the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York in 1911, trying to improve its religious instruction sought newer methods in education. At this time Dr. Benderly was gaining fame in the field of Jewish education and his system of teaching Hebrew was introduced. However, as Dr. Bernstein stated "it would be a mistake to imagine that the Alpha and Omega of Dr. Benderly's pedagogy consists merely in the conversational part of Hebrew. The religious and historical phases of the work in Jewish religion are likewise taken care of in accordance with the latest pedagogic thought." ⁷

Speaking at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Alumni Society of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York, Mr. Henry ^{Wolf} ~~Wolf~~ paid tribute to Dr. Herman Baar who was "for twenty-

three years the teacher and advisor of the vast majority of men and women who have emanated from that asylum for helpless helpless childhood, which has been the pride of three generations." While honoring Dr. Baar, Mr. Woolf mentioned the religious background of Dr. Baar and his institution. "The children," Mr. Woolf said, "were supposed to be brought up in the tenets of so-called reform Judaism, yet the religious training by the Doctor was so conservative -- he having ministered to the conservative English Jewry, with whom, from 1857-1866, he had occupied a prominent pulpit -- that our present day reformers would hardly interpret his religious plan of education as within the category of their creed. Doctor was himself progressive, and therefore did not believe in the endless multiplication of forms, which were introduced at different periods, into the life of ancient and medieval Israel by the various rabbis, who interpreted the law so as to adapt it to the condition of their times. His philosophy of religious training for children, however, accepted the doctrine of formalism as a necessary adjunct of their proper up-bringing. He was a believer in reform, but was opposed to the 'unform' that was slowly forging its way into many synagogues and homes, and which later had the effect of unforming the religious life of a considerable portion of American Jewry, with the result that with the existing three aspects of Judaism, the formless, the formal, the reformed, was added a fourth aspect, the informal Judaism."

By 1912 religious life in orphanages was a pretty well established fact. Solomon Lowenstein, in his description of the organization at Pleasantville, New York outlined the Religious Life in the cottage in Jewish Charities. "To usher in the Sabbath appropriately the cottage mother will pronounce the Kiddush as well as the blessing over wine. The cottage mother shall assign certain children in her cottage to say grace before and after noon and evening meals. The children shall be made to recite the morning and evening prayers. In all religious matters, it must be carefully borne in mind that the religious attitude of the child should grow out of the cottage home life and atmosphere in a perfectly natural and spontaneous way. Under no circumstances must there be any religious hypocrisy. The children should not be compelled to live up to religious duties which the cottage mother herself does not live up to. For instance, it would be wrong to impose upon the children the duty of living up to the Dietary laws if the same are violated or broken by the cottage mother or other members of the staff."⁹

Realizing the need of after-care for orphans, Miss Alice L. Seligsberg, for many years directress of social activities at Pleasantville, with the aid of friends organized the Guild of Friends; whose sole purpose was "to take the place of the parent, the relative and the friend of the child."¹⁰ Fellowship House, an institution financially and administratively independent of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, was established. According to David J. Schweitzer, Headworker

of this organization "the spiritual life of the child is not overlooked. That the soul may be kept from starvation, that fewer may drift away from Judaism, Friday evening services have been instituted. These are generally attended by a spirited group of boys and girls, a large number of whom have constituted themselves into a choir."¹⁰

While many orphan children and children from families who have been separated have been placed from time to time in orphan homes, we find a parallel movement that places these children out in private homes. In a very interesting article, Saul Druck¹¹ of the Jewish Children's Bureau of Baltimore suggested that his organization try to find homes among Jewish rural inhabitants. He presented this idea to the Federation of Jewish Farmers in New York in 1916. The idea took root. Concerning the religious education of these children the author stated that "another question... that awoke critical discussion" (at the convention) "was the religious education to be given the children, as the farmer confronts a problem in giving a school, and especially a religious, education to his children. From the general consensus of opinion expressed by them, it seemed that they hoped for a happy solution of the educational problem when they had a sufficient number of children in the vicinity to warrant the employment of a Hebrew teacher."¹¹

It seems that the work of various child-caring organizations in New York State is discussed more frequently in Jewish Social Welfare literature than the work of like insti-

tutions in other states. During a speech at the National Conference of Jewish Social Service in 1926, Dr. Leon Goldrich described the religious work at the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society. Through his description of religious education is not much different than Dr. Lowenstein's fifteen years earlier it might be interesting to observe what he has to say. Listing religion under the heading "Ethical Character" Dr. Goldrich stated that "our permanent motto at the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society is 'Character and Service' and we teach, preach and carry into practice the ideals embodied in this motto on all possible occasions... In the religious department of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society we stress cultural Jewish ideas and the higher ideals of the Jewish faith in our daily religious classes, in our synagogue, on our Sabbath and other holy days and at all important Jewish festivals during the year. In our cottage homes as in all good private homes, we endeavor to give to each child the greatest amount of valuable intensive, moral and religious training, and to implant the deepest spiritual values and Jewish ideals into the soul of the child so that he may forever retain an abiding love and faith in the most beautiful fundamental principles of his own religion, and practice in his daily life those virtues, those doctrines of right and righteousness and all those other spiritual lessons which his own religion has taught him to know, to feel, to admire and to revere. Every opportunity is taken to stress moral and ethical values and religious ideals, first

through the living examples of those who are in close contact with our children, and then to careful attention to all matters that develop the ethical and religious lives of the children under our care, and, finally, by developing in our children right habits of personal and social contact and a deep feeling of reverence for a Higher Power through the daily performance of kindly and moral acts, the observance of those religious duties and prayers and quiet moments of spiritual meditation, with brings the human soul into communion with the Divine."¹²

These several articles on religious education in orphanages illustrate some of the work done in that field in the largest Jewish orphan homes in the country. Needless to say the intensity of religious work in these organizations depends on the superintendent in charge. From the few facts gathered here it would seem that religious education ~~plays~~ is included in the program of most orphanages if not all of them.

E. Work with the Deaf

Although the two articles on religious education with the deaf, which make up the next division, are from the years 1911 and 1913 they exemplify the work done in this field today. There is a Jewish Committee for the Deaf in New York City at the present time. No other reference to religious work with the deaf was made in the material with which we were dealing in this thesis.

Work with the Deaf

"Among the agencies making for the religious and social uplift that have recently come into existence is the New York Jewish Committee of the Deaf" (1911), "whose work deserves to be more fully and more widely known."¹ Included in the scope of this committee was the desire "to provide the Jewish deaf-mutes of New York with religious instruction and opportunities for public worship.... Till quite recently, absolutely nothing was done to provide for the spiritual wants of the Jewish deaf. As a result of the indifference on the part of the Jewish community there was little or no Jewish feeling among the Jewish deaf.... A beginning was made some five years ago to change this condition through the zeal of Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, minister of the Shearith Israel Congregation.... The Committee assists in the maintenance of the Hebrew Congregation of the Deaf.... Religious instruction is regularly given and services held at the institution on Lexington Avenue every Friday evening and Sabbath morning. A Sunday School is being conducted for the children of the Port Washington Institution every Sunday morning."¹

A. J. Amateau, General Manager of the Society for the Welfare of the Jewish Deaf in 1914 wrote an article some years after the Committee mentioned previously was organized. In this article he described the work with the Jewish deaf. Concerning religious work with the deaf he stated that "there

are two congregations: the Hebrew Congregation of the Deaf, Manhattan and Brooklyn, respectively.... Up to June, 1913,. Rev. Dr. Elzas was in charge of the religious work of the Society, being minister to both congregations and conducting religious classes at the deaf institutions. Since the severance of his connection with the Society, the work in the congregation is being conducted by layreaders, while the religious classes are being conducted by special teachers. There are five such classes. The Society contemplates having one who knows the sign language ordained as minister of the deaf."

F. Feeble-minded

Although many institutions for the insane and feeble-minded have religious services, as does Longview Hospital in Cincinnati, the only statement about such services found in this survey was in Jewish Charities for December, 1917. According to this account "Rabbi Max C. Moll, of Rochester, New York acts in the capacity of chaplain to the State Custodial Asylum for Feeble-minded women at Newark, New Jersey. Rabbi Moll, who recently conducted services at the asylum, reports the presence of 70 Jewish girls in the institution. He plans to make monthly visits to look after the inmates." ^{Eng.} 1

G. Children's Camps

We would expect camps sponsored by the Jewish Welfare Board or by other Jewish organizations to provide some sort of religious program for their campers. This is verified from the few references found in the Jewish Center magazine and the Jewish Social Service Quarterly. The camp movement is not very old, and the Jewish camp movement is still younger. By 1924 the Jewish Camp movement was old enough for its sponsors to sit back and form a philosophy of the Jewish camp movement. Joseph C. Hyman, in an article on camp organization and administration in March, 1924 stressed the importance of adequate provision being made¹ for religious observances and services. While Beatrice P. Seman, describing special problems of the Girls' Camps in the same issue of the Jewish Center magazine stated that "the camp director should show respect for the historic and traditional background which is sure to be stressed at home."²

"Though no religious instruction is given the children" in the Fresh Air Camp of Detroit, according to Caroline L. Epstein, "Friday evening is observed by the lighting of candles and occasional services when a Rabbi is obtainable."³

Samuel D. Gershovitz, the present Middle-West representative of the Jewish Welfare Board summarized the attitude of the Board and camp executives toward the Jewish educational program in camp in a very useful article appearing

in the 1939 Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare. He stated that "just as there has been a growing awareness among all educational groups of the efficacy of the camp as a social and cultural impregnation area, so there has been an increased sensitivity among Jewish educators, center workers and others concerned with the future of the American Jewish community to the possibilities for the development of a synthesis of Jewish cultural life through a carefully conceived Jewish educational program in camp.... Three main types of camps can be said to have recognized this need of the Jewish masses and grasped the opportunities offered to them by the camp environment to institute a Jewish educational program. These three are:

- a) the private camp;
- b) the organizational or semi-public camp; and,
- c) the ideological camp, such as those sponsored by the Workmen's Circle...

It is in the latter two types of camps, the organizational and the ideological, that the Jewish educational program has really flowered and its true functions become dynamics in the life of the camp and the campers. The reason for this state of things must be obvious. Both types of camps are intimately related to the communal life of the community through their sponsoring organizations. Campers have been, in most cases, at least partially conditioned to this type of program. The camp has become a part of a con-

tinuing program and does not remain an isolated experience for the camper. Staffs are regularly imbued with the importance of their work and selected with an eye to their ability to contribute toward the creation of a sympathetic atmosphere for the development of the program.... The camp directorate as a whole is more sensitive to the needs of the community and more inclined to meet them, even though adequate funds may be lacking. Despite their advantage in the proper presentation and carrying through of the Jewish educational program, both types of camps have their weaknesses... The ideological camps, because of their philosophy and objectives, have a tendency to eliminate various elements which one might consider essential to a well-rounded Jewish educational program. The Hashomair Hatzair camps, for example, lay stress on Jewish history and its modern economic implications, and take little or no cognizance of Jewish religious practices and observances and their historical significance in both ancient and modern Jewish life.... The organizational camps, on the other hand, although including most of the elements one would deem desirable in a proper Jewish educational program, have not developed these elements as extensively nor stressed them as fully as they might.... We shall attempt now to indicate what we think would be a proper Jewish educational program for a camp.... The program divides itself naturally into two parts, the religious phase and the general cultural phase. The religious phase of the program revolves about the

Sabbath services, the grace, etc. Its importance in the attainment of our objectives cannot be minimized." In closing, Mr. Gershovitz states that "the presentation of a well-rounded Jewish educational program in any camp depends: 1) on the knowledge of its objective, 2) on a mature, educationally qualified staff with a positive attitude toward Judaism, 3) familiarity with and ability to employ progressive educational principles, 4) the willingness to experiment in order to present Judaism to the campers in a modern form."

H. In Settlement Houses

It is quite difficult to divide the religious activities of the settlement house from those of the Jewish Center or Y. M. H. A. In many respects the latter two organizations or movements are similar to the settlement. As a matter of fact in many instances they grew out of settlement houses as did the Cincinnati Jewish Center. The main difference is in their financial set-up. In the case of the Y. M. H. A. and the Jewish Center the majority of the members pay an annual ^{fee}, while in the case of the settlement a minority pays a fee. However, in few instances are any of these organizations self-supporting. Either the Federation of Jewish Charities or the Community Chest helps to finance these institutions.

For the sake of clarity and ease in compiling the material, religious activities of the settlement will be described in one division while like activities of the Y. M. H. A. and the Jewish Center will be discussed in a separate one.

The settlement, though not indigenous to these shores, received its greatest impetus and growth in the United States. Copied after the great settlement of Toynbee Hall in England it helped change the immigrant to this country, Jew and Christian alike into an American. The first settlements were started at the focal and stopover points of immigration such as New York and Chicago. The Jewish people in this country soon felt the need of organizing their own

settlements and so in New York City the first of many Jewish Settlement Houses in America was begun. In the following pages we will see one aspect of this movement, the religious one. We will see ^{many} leaders in this movement striving to find a rationale for the movement -- some desiring to dispense with all religious and Jewish cultural elements and just having an Americanization program, while others though finding the Americanization program necessary still not willing to give up the Jewish religious elements. Lillian Wald's biography has given the American public a fine description of the work at Henry Street Settlement in New York City, but a definitive work on the Jewish Settlement House in America must still be written.

Early in the century when the tide of Jewish immigration to this country was growing by leaps and bounds Isaac S~~h~~ectorsky, director of the Educational Alliance in Cleveland (1902), an organization which still serves the Jewish community, wrote an article describing the advantages of Jewish Settlements over non-Jewish settlements. This is the first article about settlements in the literature covered by this thesis. In it Sectorsky suggested that the settlements provide Hebrew classes for its members.

Some years later Falk Younger of the Y. M. H. A. of New York City, in an article about delinquent children stated that "recreation centers must be established wherever needs most, and here our Jewish youth must find healthy amuse-

ment to offset the temptations of the street and at such centers moral and religious influence must be brought to bear upon them."² Earlier in the article Mr. Younker had demonstrated the need of immigrant children for religious education.

Very realistically, Allan Davis, the newly appointed director of the Educational Alliance, New York, pointed out that "the East Side does not need moral religious instruction. Considering the conditions here it is the most moral and most religious community we have ever heard of. The trouble with the East Side is poverty."³ (1910).

Louis H. Levin, writing in the October, 1910 Jewish Charities, gave a critique of settlement work. He said that "the test of the value of settlement work is the hold it gets on families.... The criticism that it is most open to is that its work is fragmentary, often making for the dissolution of the family, however much it may improve some of its members.... It has been said that there is not a Jewish settlement in the country the closing of whose doors would occasion a ripple of excitement among the people at large.... If this be considered an exaggeration, it nevertheless will be generally admitted that the settlement house has not made its way into Jewish consciousness as an institution having any important relation to the life of the Jewish masses. The suggestion thrown out below attempts to point out a possible way to bring the settlement to the Jewish

passes so that it will engage their sympathy from the beginning. The accepted institution among the Jews to deal with the training of boys and girls in a Jewish way is the Talmud Torah.... It is the institution intended to conserve those moral teachings which have appealed to the Jewish heart and mind as the best assurance of an honored and an honorable life.... Given the Talmud Torah, with its Jewish population from 100 to 1,000, why should it not be possible to make it also the center of the best activities of the settlement house?... The limitations of space will not permit the further development here of the particular possibilities that settlement work, growing out of the popular Jewish training school for religion and morals, namely, the Talmud Torah, is weighted with, but many of them will readily suggest themselves to the Jewish worker... once the way can be shown, or even indicated... and we can hope for progress -- not, be it understood, toward the religious indifference which we are all too prone to call breadth, but toward that revitalization of religion which will make it a factor to reckon with in actual life, that touching of conduct with emotion, which all the churches are now seeking, and which the Jews cannot afford to neglect."

Dr. Charles S. Bernheimer, superintendent of the Hebrew Educational Society of Brooklyn (1910) writing of the Society's new plans stated that "it is well recognized that in neighborhoods where Jews predominate those who most readily

come to settlements and social and educational centers like this are largely college and high-school boys and girls and pupils of the public schools. It is my purpose to reach out to another element that should be greater opportunity for social development."⁵ To this end Dr. Bernheimer introduced Yiddish lectures on alternate Saturday evenings. "In addition to these lectures, plans are under way for the creation of a 'Yiddish Platform' to discuss the following subjects in Yiddish:

1. Citizenship
2. Jewish History
3. Literature and Drama.

There will be individual lecturers on special subjects under these heads. Lectures on Jewish and ethical subjects, to be delivered in English, have been arranged for a number of Sunday and Saturday evenings. The lecturers are well known rabbis and scholars from this and other cities. A class for the study of epochs in Jewish history and literature is also contemplated, but plans have not as yet been definitely formed. The chief activities which have been in existence for some time are: a well organized Sabbath School, having an average attendance per session of over 600 boys and girls; two Hebrew classes, meeting five days in the week, in which Hebrew translation into English is taught according to modern methods..... This partial presentation of plans and proposals will give some idea of our problems and of how we are

trying to reach the several elements of the Jewish community." ⁵

Allan Davis, discussing the new activities at the Educational Alliance (1910) reported that "while the work of Americanization is the basis of the activities at the Alliance, the institution endeavors to help the Jewish immigrant adapt himself to his surroundings without becoming de-Judaized. Accordingly, schools of religious work, a people's synagogue, and a number of additional synagogues for the holidays have been part of the regular activities." ⁶

A note in the February, 1911, issue of Jewish Charities described the work of the Council Educational Alliance of Cleveland, Ohio. The article stated that "the annual meeting of the Council Educational Alliance was held February 9. Rabbi M. J. Gries, president, presided... Over 5,000 members are regularly attending the Alliance. Features of the work are Sabbath-school, and People's Synagogue..." ⁷

A later account of the Council in Cleveland, while describing the new head worker, Emanuel Sternheim, stated that "he has worked in the religious field among both orthodox and reform, and was at one time manager of the Hebrew classes of the Jewish Religious Union of London. Mr. Sternheim is a strong Jew, and believes that a Jewish spirit should pervade a Jewish settlement. Developing this idea he says:

'I am very anxious to have it added that I hold very

strongly that the settlement work should not be entirely divorced from religious work. While sympathetic toward co-operation of my esteemed non-Jewish fellow-workers, I propose to develop the Alliance upon pronounced Jewish lines. I am not concerned with dogmatic religion, so much as with the Jewish spirit, best expressed as a Weltanschauung, to which alone I attribute our survival, and without helping which I hold such a settlement as the Cleveland Educational Alliance has no reason d'etre."

The first number of the second volume of Jewish Charities (August, 1911) divides the material into various subject headings. Boris D. Bogen was the editor of the division called "Settlements". At this point in our listings of notes and articles on the Settlement, it will prove useful to note some of Dr. Bogen's comments. He wrote that, "Probably the first Jewish neighborhood center (a Settlement without residence workers) was established in New York in 1856, and the first Jewish settlement in Chicago in 1893. There seems to be a growing sentiment in ^{Favor} ~~favor~~ of having specifically Jewish centers, but in a great number of instances the non-sectarian character is strongly emphasized, and the mentioning of anything Jewish is carefully avoided. A striking exception in this particular respect presents itself in the Chicago Hebrew Institute, which boldly announces that it is Jewish and Jewish American; its purpose is to blend the strong individuality of the Jew with the noble features of the

American, to help him to become an American Jew."⁹

Dr. Bogen continues to expatiate on the settlement and on the immigrant whom he says "needs readjustment, needs new knowledge, new customs...; but in the process of Americanization, woe is to him if he loses the strong and healthy characteristics which he brought with him and which are expressed in the word 'Jewishness'".⁹

After his introduction, Dr. Bogen described different activities in various Jewish settlements:

New York

"The Educational Alliance conducts... Religious services on Sabbath."⁹

Kansas City

"The Educational Alliance maintains... Hebrew Classes."⁹

The next issue of Jewish Charities also contains reports by Dr. Bogen. He wrote that "there is a great demand for religious services at Jewish settlements, especially during the New Year Holidays. Buffalo and Pittsburgh are the only cities that report adequate facilities for Schules, and consequently no necessity for conducting services at the institute."¹⁰ Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Detroit, Cincinnati and Kansas City arranged for services in their own buildings or rents halls.¹⁰

According to a note in Jewish Charities, Zion House,¹¹ a Jewish settlement in Buffalo has a Sabbath school.

Again Dr. Bogen wrote that " a Jewish settlement, unless it represents Jewish interests, promotes and strengthens Jewish ideals and serves specific Jewish interests, has no¹² *raison d'etre* for existence."

At the annual dinner meeting of the Federation of Jewish Charities of Cleveland, (1912), Miss Edna Goldsmith, secretary Council of Jewish Women reported that her organization was conducting at the Settlement (Alliance) 56 classes and clubs and a Sabbath School, the largest of its kind in the world."¹³ (The Council of Jewish Women of Cleveland still conducts the Sabbath School at the various branches of the Alliance.)

Dr. Bogen again discussed the settlement in Volume II, 9 of Jewish Charities. He stated that,

"The synagogue of old used to bear an inscription indicating that it was a house of worship for all nations. The settlements are houses for all ages. Just as the synagogues of old were the centers where communal affairs were discussed, so the modern settlement is the center where the affairs of our own age are discussed. It is imperative that we see to it that all does not end in discussion, but that the discussion is translated into deeds of helpfulness, both individual¹⁴ and collective."

In the Jewish ^hCharities for 1910 the editor suggested that the Talmud Torah become part of the settlement. Some few years later (February, 1913) Jacob Billikopf wrote a letter

to the editor concerning his proposal and stating that he organized such a school in Kansas City. Mr. Billikopf wrote that "realizing that such work forms an integral part of a Jewish settlement, the Board of Directors of our Institute cordially extended to the Talmud Torah Association the privilege of maintaining their school in our main Institute and in a branch, specifically established for that purpose and located in another section of the city.... at last I have begun to realize that the Jewish Settlement has a definite reason for existence, provided it concerns itself with matters specifically Jewish."¹⁵

One of the most interesting and educationally useful articles read during the course of study for this thesis was Dr. Bogen's "Jews of Many Lands." He prefaced his account of the Exposition of the Jews of Many Lands held at the Jewish Settlement of Cincinnati, during the third week in January, 1913, by a discussion on Jews and Judaism. Dr. Bogen asks "What do the Jews of today represent? Are they a nation, a race, a religious sect? The Jews themselves cannot agree upon their own social status... Whatever the case may be, the Jews present a most wonderful stability of social unit, making the Jews of the world into one people, no matter under which clime and condition they may live... Why should the young generation of Jews... produce, even in individual instances, negative types unknown to Jewish history? The answer is easily give.... it is the loosening of the ties which bound

him inseparably with the old, the lack of knowledge of the spiritual past; the estrangement from the old tradition of religious ceremonial life, which in the case of the Jews, more than any other people, meant a patriarchal home and family life... A strenuous effort, therefore is made in different directions to revive the interest toward Jewish ideals; to return to Jewish culture; to develop an interest toward Jewish history, and to strengthen the weakening ties of the Jews of all the world. A most striking example in this new educational crusade among the Jews is to be found in the exposition of the Jews of Many Lands, held at the Jewish Settlement of Cincinnati. Fifty-one local Jewish organizations...lent their cooperation in fostering this new undertaking." ¹⁶

The editor of Jewish Charities had this to say about the exhibit: "'Jews in Many Lands' illustrates the possibilities for picturesque representation of aspects of Jewish life. Dr. Bogen, with much skill, patience and labor, produced a vivid exhibit of Jewish life that was both charming and interesting." ¹⁷

It would seem from the references we have made about religious activities in several settlements during a ten-year period that all was well with such activities. But at a meeting of the National Conference of Jewish Charities in May, 1913. Mr. Bernard T. Richards, the secretary of the New York Kehillah, presented a paper on "What has the

Settlement done in Judaizing its Clientele?" He pleaded for more Jewishness in our settlements. If we have a necessity for Jewish settlements at all, was his opinion, our settlements must be more Jewish; must attract through their medium of the neighborhood who crave for an opportunity to be impressed with the traditions, antiquities, customs, past life of the Jews, and should interpret modern life from a Jewish point of view. That the children of immigrant parents...be given an opportunity to learn of the past history of their people so that they may respect the holidays, the customs of the parents who adhere strictly to the customs of their forefathers which have been largely responsible for the perpetuation of the Jews.¹⁸

Activities of the Hebrew Educational Society of Brooklyn receive mention in the first issue of volume 4 of Jewish Charities. "The Society... is planning to erect a new building.... It is expected that the new building will be completed by May 1, 1914. It will contain" (among other things) "a Hebrew classroom... The clubrooms will be used as classrooms for the Sabbath School on Saturday mornings."¹⁹

The Jewish Educational Alliance of Atlanta also has a Sabbath School. It is "primarily Jewish in its tendencies and activities. The Talmud Torah, the Sabbath Schools, are considered very important. All of the Jewish holidays and festivals are properly celebrated... For the young men and women there are many clubs, dancing classes, classes in

Hebrew, etc."²⁰

Cincinnati at this time (1914) seems to be the most ambitious city in settlement work. Whether it was due to the fact that Boris Bogen was one of the editors and had a facile pen or for other reasons, the fact remains that Cincinnati seems to have been in the lead in Jewish activities in the settlement houses.

In December, 1913 "the Cincinnati School of Jewish Social Service... made an inquiry into the activities of Jewish settlements and cognate institutions. Among other things, the question with relation to the activities of the season was also put. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that this year the Hanukah period was practically coterminous with the Christmas vacations, and it was interesting to find out to what extent Jewish settlements and like institutions are asserting their Jewishness. The replies, on the whole are very promising. There seems to have been a renaissance in Jewish settlement work. Jewish settlements are beginning to realize that... they must justify their very existence by doing work distinctively Jewish for their constituents.... Inquiries were addressed to New York City, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Kansas City, Cincinnati, Atlanta, Cleveland Milwaukee, Chicago and Detroit."²¹

The 1914 convention of the National Conference of Jewish Charities was held in Baltimore. "Two weighty papers were presented at this session. (Friday morning) The first,

'Advance in Settlement Work', by Mr. Jacob Billikopf of Kansas City, was read by Rabbi Louis Bernstein of St. Joseph, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Billikopf. It told of new ideals and methods in settlement work, and recounted the steps the Kansas City settlement had taken in introducing into the settlement a Hebrew School conducted on the Benderly system. The result had been at once to bring the parents of the children into close relation with the settlement and to raise religious education in the eyes of the child in value and dignity... Mr. Charles S. Bernheimer asserted that the synagogue had not reached the young people to the extent and in the same way as the settlement had reached them -- a contention that was traversed by Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger. Mr. Bernheimer thought that both of these institutions had their proper functions, and that they could be developed apart. Jewishness could be brought into the settlement by Friday evening lectures, by the observance of Jewish holidays, and in other similar ways. He stood for Jewishness in the settlement, even if there were no Hebrew school there. All speakers emphasized the necessity of a Jewish settlement being Jewish. There is no possibility of a doubt as to the attitude of Jewish workers on this point. The non-sectarian Jewish settlement had not a friend at the Conference, or if it did, he did not make himself heard."²²

Conferences of any type usually encourage discus-

sion. The 1914 Conference of Jewish Charities followed this rule. At this conference papers were read concerning Jewish Activities in the settlement as noted in the previous reference. The twelfth issue of volume four of Jewish Charities contained an editorial about this problem. The editor wrote that "At Memphis the feeling was strong that a Jewish settlement must be Jewish. This is a good preliminary announcement, but when it comes to determining just what 'Jewish' means in this respect, there is a wide difference of opinion. In one city, a well conducted Talmud Torah is part of the settlement activities; some have children's services, and perhaps a Sunday school; many observe the Jewish holidays with appropriate ceremonies. It is possible to do all this, and the settlement still fail of being Jewish, for in the settlement the spirit, the influence, is the fundamental factor... 'Judaizing' a settlement is no easy matter, on account of the diverse groups that are, or should be, drawn to it... Perhaps the difficulty would not be so great if those in charge of settlements were people of strong religious convictions themselves, and could by the very force of their own feeling create a religious atmosphere that would permeate the settlement and achieve its 'Judaization'... Settlements, we believe, have not drawn upon the Jewish ministry for workers and directors; and on the other hand, ministers have not felt the call to the work.... the settlement waiting to be Judaized and the man whose mission it is

to Judaize it must come together somewhere --" ²³

The Chicago Hebrew Institute (now the People's Institute) is an organization that is an educational alliance, center and settlement at the same time. In July, 1914, a peace club was organized in this institution. According to Dr. Seman "the children are recruited from various classes conducted at the Institute, particularly from the Sabbath and Sunday School... at a recent meeting of the teachers of the Sabbath School, we have made clear that the teachers, in instructing the children in Bible history, should underestimate the heroism, too often made much of in the Sabbath schools, regarding the wars the Hebrew fought in early days, and to draw ethical lessons in favor of peace." ²⁴

In 1915 the Jewish Communal Home dedicated a new building. "The objects of the organization to promote religious, educational, charitable, civic and benevolent objects among the Jews of Syracuse.... We have several religious classes and we have a lecture course treating of Jewish subjects." ²⁵ (N. B. This organization may be included under Y. M. H. A. also, but since it is promoting charitable objects we have included it under the settlement.)

"The Jewish Settlement Again" is the title of Walter Leo Solomon's article, a protest against opinion at Memphis. "The very term 'Jewish Settlement'," he said, "is a misnomer, for the settlement, as I conceive it, is neither Jewish nor Christian, Mohammedan nor Buddhist... The German

or Irish, Hungarian or Polish settlement is likewise unknown, and the 'Jewish Settlement, conceived of as a racial or national group, is equally an anomaly... No one can or would deny the value of social work among Jews by Jews. But to the minority it is rather distressing to find the roots of such efforts fast in a hardening deposit of religious or racial limitation. To some of us it would seem that we had caught but a reflection of the spirit of America if we conspicuously and deliberately surround the eager young souls clamoring to understand American ideals and American democracy with the atmosphere of any other ideal, or of any other civilization. Of course, tender loyalty to the traditions of their own people would be a part of these new ideals,... for an American Jew is more truly American when he interprets the ideals of his new country in terms of the traditions of his fathers... If our object as Jewish social workers is to inspire Jewish young people with the hope of a resurrection of a Jewish nation, then, it seems to me, the cry of Jewishness in Jewish institutions is legitimate. But if we conceive our function rather as a contribution toward preparation of Jewish immigrants and their children for participation in the best that is America, then I plead for the increase in Jewish neighborhoods of settlements. These real settlements will be Jewish in their reverence for all that is fine in the religious and social heritage of their people, but in their outlook on secular problems will be domin-

ated by American ideals."

Occasionally the student comes across statements by social workers of either the worth or lack of worth of religious education. Mr. I. Edwin Goldwasser's statement at the Conference Convention in 1915 is of interest: Mr. Goldwasser who was chief of Board of experts, National Council, Y. M. H. A. and Kindred Organizations stated that "in its ideal state, a settlement is the formal expression of the desire of a community to fund its resources for the benefit of all.... If this view is accepted, a settlement must inevitably be non-sectarian. Religion, which should be the great binding force in human relations, has done more to divide the world than any other concept which a developing civilization has formed. A settlement is essentially a socializing institution... It is the equalizing, the leveling force in a community. Whatever separates, whatever divides man from his fellows must be denied admission to its precincts. The ideals of a settlement must therefore continue independent of any consideration of religion. Its attitude, while not unreligious, must always be non-religious."

Mr. Walter Leo Solomon's article in the sixth volume of Jewish Charities continues in the same vein as Mr. Goldwasser's. He stated that "no settlement can live unless its fabric is pervaded with a deep religious quality -- if we take religious to mean deep and noble convic-

tions. Religions rise and fall; religion lives while man lives. But if one views religious quality through the more or less narrow window of any creed or sect, the settlement loses its universality and becomes a mission -- perhaps a Home mission -- but still a mission." ²⁸

Isaac Aaronsen wrote an interesting settlement diary in Jewish Charities. Included in the activities of the Educational Alliance of Baltimore were a Hebrew school, Children's afternoon service on the Sabbath and Hanukah parties. ²⁹

The preceding reference dealt with the activities of a Jewish settlement or social center. "The varied impress which such an agency seeks to make upon the general elements of the population is illustrated by the following synopsis of activities as carried on by the Hebrew Educational Society of Brooklyn:

Judaization

Sunday Afternoon Religious Discourses

Friday Evening Lectures

Sabbath School

Bible Talks (illustrated)

Holiday Entertainments

Six Hebrew Classes" ³⁰

Mr. Walter Leo Solomon and Mr. Goldwasser stated in the article quoted above that religious particularism should not be a part of the settlement program. Barnett

Brickner writing in 1916 stated the antithesis. However all three agree that it must be religious. Brickner stated that the settlement "should embody the spiritual factors in Judaism... It is the function of the Jewish Settlement should strive not only to integrate the Jewish immigrant into America's political and civic life, and to foster its ideals and aspirations; but it is important that this integration take place through the re-evolution of those cultural mediums which the Jewish immigrant brings with him from the other side, namely and inseparable, and indissoluble love for his Religion, his keen love of learning and education, and an intense desire to live a specific Jewish life here, to perpetuate Yiddish and Hebrew and the best of other cultural elements he brings with him."³¹

Charles S. Bernheimer, writing an article in the same issue of Jewish Charities in which Brickner wrote agreed with his thesis. He wrote that "the programme of a Jewish settlement or communal centre involves the conservation of Jewish consciousness, the development and maintenance of a normal social life, and the process of making the Jewish immigrant part of the web and the woof of the nation... Finally, in view of the inability of parents themselves to draw the young people into the synagogue, it becomes part of the activity of a Jewish centre to provide some means whereby these young people will be given the opportunity of obtaining Jewish instruction and retain-

ing the Jewish spirit."³²

The Jewish Educational ^{ALLIANCE} of Kansas City was built in 1909. "In this building is carried on all Relief work and in addition classes, clubs and recreational activities for all ages, from the smallest child to the adults... Hebrew School: Classes are held daily from 3:30 to 7 o'clock. ... Sabbath School: The Sabbath School meets every Saturday afternoon from 2:00 to 3:30, and has an enrollment of two hundred children. The school is under the auspices of the Temple and the expense incident to its maintenance is met by the congregation."³³

Some years passed before we read of settlement work again. Dr. Henry Moskowitz reiterating in part Dr. Brickner's comments noted above stated in Jewish Center of 1923 "subjectively there is little of the Jewish spirit in the settlement... It's origin is Christian."³⁴ Dr. Moskowitz tells of the orthodox Jews' fear of the settlement. To him it was a proselytizing agency. Moskowitz ends his article by saying that "the world needs emphasis of Hebrew religious genius and not of Pagan force."

Some three years later, writing in the Jewish Social Service Quarterly, Dr. Moskowitz repeated in part his statements appearing in the Jewish Center magazine.³⁵

Sometime in 1917 Mr. Morris D. Waldman originated the so-called "District Service" plan for the Boston Federated Jewish Charities. "Mr. Waldman found an organi-

zation not representative of the community at large... He decided upon a radical change in the form of government, and the creation of machinery which would enable federation to recognize new needs and to make adequate provision therefore. 'District Service' was designed to establish a close relationship between the social service administration and the community.³⁵ The district service plan is closely related to a variety of other movements.³⁶ The Settlement, the Cincinnati Social Unit (cf. Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Science, 1923, p. 159) and the Community Council. In south-western Baltimore the District house practically became a settlement or a Jewish Center. "In addition to general social service there are eight clubs for boys... There have been lectures for the older folks on subjects of general Jewish interest..."³⁶ (also see Jewish Charities, Vol. IX, pp. 139-140).

In 1926 at the National Conference of Jewish Social Service Mr. Kahn stated that "there is a satisfying working agreement between the district house and the Talmud Torah" (in Baltimore). In addition Miss Craftin pointed out "that they are trying to do at the present time relates to clubs and classes in Jewish history. For instance they produced several plays during the different holidays, on Passover, or any other Jewish holiday. They claim to be doing everything pertaining to Jewish education in which they specialize."³⁷

Mr. Glucksman, in his paper at the 1923 National Conference had this to say about Institutes, Alliances and Settlements: "Among the institutes and alliances generally, there is a definite Jewish program. Among the settlements, however, which really are a copy of the settlements organized under non-sectarian auspices, there are some, though in Jewish sections, that persist in being non-sectarian, treating the residents as individuals without reference to their specific backgrounds. It is an open question how long a time Jews will continue to support an institution designed to meet the needs of Jews which insist upon an artificial non-sectarianism that is contrary to every modern theory of the social adjustment of immigrant groups... a non-sectarian enterprise for Jews and among Jews, it seems to me, means adherence to an idea which must sooner or later give way to the realities."³⁸

The above reference is the last reference in this division. To a certain extent Jewish Settlements in this country have, since 1923 been diminishing in numbers. A great number of them have become Jewish Centers or Jewish Centers have taken their work over in part. Their force in American Jewish Life was strong. Many of the leaders of the Jewish Settlement movement are now leaders in Federations and Jewish Centers.

I. Industrial Schools or Trade Schools

There were only two references to "Religious Education in Industrial Schools" in our literature. They are of interest to us because they show that even in an Industrial or Trade School religious work with children was not neglected. The first reference is to the Clara De Hirsch Trade School, which is a school for girls. Besides their training in various trades "on Friday night the girls go to services besides which they receive Biblical instruction on Saturday afternoon."¹

Israel Davidson's article on "Jewish Religious Education in Industrial Schools" concerns itself with an orphan asylum which teaches all trades to various children. Mr. Davidson's thesis is that religious education in an institution of this sort is different from that of an ordinary Hebrew School. His experience leads him to "think that it is an erroneous idea to compel every child in an institution to learn Hebrew... What seems to... be a plausible way out of the difficulty would be to select such children as show ability and inclination for the study of Hebrew, and exempt them from any other activities, while backward children should be given a course of general information touching religious matters."² Davidson suggests¹ that the child be taught customs and ceremonies, Hebrew melodies

should be sung, Jewish holidays emphasized, etc.

J. Homes for the Aged

It is to be expected that homes for the aged would have religious activities. Mrs. Max Swotton and Mr. Armin Berger discussed religious activities of their organizations in their comments in the 1930 Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service. According to Mrs. Swotton the residents within the San Francisco Home enjoy all the holidays with proper celebrations. Mr. Berger, discussing the Montefiore Home in Cleveland stated "Our home is conducted in every way on Jewish principles. We believe in cultivating the religious sentiment ... Every Friday evening and Saturday morning, also on holidays, divine services are held in the chapel of the Home, in accordance with Jewish tradition."¹

Mr. Benjamin Glassberg's article on "Old Age Pensions and their Effect on Jewish Homes for the Aged" pointed out the need for such homes. He stated that "the need for Jewish homes for the aged has for the time being not been modified by the establishment of old age pension laws... Jewish homes for the aged would still find a definite field for activity because of the nature of the Jewish aged whose requirements and needs cannot be so easily satisfied through private care as through institutional care. ... To the aged Jew, the old folks' home is more than a home. It is also a place of prayer and worship. Private home care does not satisfy this longing and this need for spirit comfort."²

K. In Jewish Social Work Training Schools

Intermittently between the time the National Conference of Jewish Charities was organized and the Baltimore Conference, leading Jewish social workers had suggested that a training school for Jewish social workers should be organized. At the Memphis conference George Ellman spoke on "Training Schools for Jewish Social Workers." Mr. Ellman's address was sprinkled with quotations from the Bible and Pirke-Aboth. His thesis is that the Jewish social worker in addition to her knowledge of the history of a family should have a knowledge of the education and surroundings it lived in when in European countries. Mr. Ellman suggests that the social worker know something of the teaching of the prophets, the psalms, the ethical portions of Leviticus, Pirke-Aboth -- "Train your social worker to be a Jewish social worker. Let him have a sign above the door reading 'The Jewish Educational Alliance', or any epithet to indicate to the outer world that this is a ¹ Baith Elohim¹, a house of a God of Israel."

The School for Jewish Communal Work described by ^{Bernstein} L. B. Bernstein in Jewish Charities of October, 1915, has courses on Jewish history, on Jewish religious life and ² on Jewish ethical and religious education.

The Training School for Jewish Social Work organized in 1925 under the leadership of Dr. Karpf included

courses on Jewish history, customs, etc., but no courses on religion per se. This school is not in existence any more. It was hoped for some time that it would become a part of the Hebrew Union College, where it certainly would have received much religious influence. That plan has not materialized as yet.

L. Palestine Jewish Education

One of the most interesting experiments in modern Jewish education has been going on in Palestine. Noach Nardi wrote of the problems of Palestine Jewish Education in the June, 1932 issue of the Jewish Social Service Quarterly. The study of Hebrew is at the base of Palestinian culture, not as a media for learning prayers, as it is in the modern American Jewish Sabbath School, but as the media of a living tongue. "In line with the various modes of working out through the curriculum different ideas based on social and religious convictions, the Hebrew School to-day in Palestine falls into three groupings as follows:

The Mizrahi schools, where the pupils are brought up in the Jewish religious tradition, much time being devoted to religious studies, especially to Talmud.

The General schools, where the study of the Bible occupies an important part of the curriculum. These schools are in sympathy with the religious tradition as part of the Jewish culture. Religious practices are respected but their observance is not obligatory in the school.

The Labor schools, situated chiefly in the agricultural settlements. They closely reflect their environment. These schools emphasize the correlation of education with life in the colonies and are attempting experiments along the line of progressive education. In addition to this

group, which are maintained by the Jewish Agency, there are about 108 other Jewish schools" including "forty-three 'orthodox' schools (Talmud Torahs or Heder). For the most part the language of instruction is Yiddish. All the books of instruction are in Hebrew, which as it is regarded as a sacred language is used as an end in itself."

Not much was written about Palestine religious education in the literature used for this thesis. To some extent, however, the mere inclusion of even one article shows that social workers do have some interest in the religious education of Palestine.

M. Army and Navy

One of the most useful activities of the Jewish Welfare Board has been its sponsorship of religious activities for men in the United States Army and Navy. The necessity for such activities was given impetus by America's entrance into the First World War in 1917. Throughout all the various magazines studied for this thesis reference upon reference is made to the articles of the Army and Navy Committee of the Board. Services are arranged for the major holidays, generally men are invited to Seders in nearby communities, Seders are given at the Army Posts, and where there is a chaplain connected with the post Sabbath Services are held.

The outstanding development in the work conducted under the direction of the Army and Navy Committee of the Jewish Welfare Board has been the expansion of the service rendered to Jewish young men in the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Now that the Selective Service Act has gone into effect the Jewish Welfare Board is arranging for additional chaplains to help with the religious programs at the various camps and posts. It has indeed done a remarkable piece of work in providing some religious activity for Jewish men in the various services. (As stated above, references to Army and Navy Committee are to be found frequently in the

literature of Jewish Social Welfare. Since the material is greatly repetitious in nature it was found more practical to summarize it without providing footnotes.)

N. Y. M. H. A. and Jewish Center

(A) Programs

Falk Younker of the Y. M. H. A. of New York has been referred to before in this study. Describing the religious activities of this "Y" in 1910 he wrote that "religious services are conducted every Friday evening, arranged specially for young people. The various clubs of the buildings are represented at the services, and members take turns in occupying a seat on the platform and reading one of the weekly prayers. A trained choir of children's voices, selected from the Hebrew Free School, helps to make the service very inspiring... A Hebrew School was started a few years ago to provide religious instruction to the poor children in the neighborhood. The school fills a long-felt want, and the attendance is so large that the school is divided into two divisions, each section meeting twice weekly. The children receive a thorough training in Hebrew and religion... Sabbath afternoon services, arranged specially for children, are held weekly. Services are held on the high Holy Days, which the young men of the Association and their parents and relatives attend."¹

In 1912, Dr. Boris Bogen outlined the work of the same organization. It is interesting to note that the total attendance at services was 7,615.²

The Cincinnati Jewish Center is an example of a

settlement becoming a Center. The Y. M. H. A. of San Francisco in 1912 is an example of a "Y" ^{becoming} a settlement. "The Young Men's Hebrew Association... sold its property and made arrangements to open a Young Men's Hebrew Association social center in the midst of the thickest Jewish settlement in San Francisco. Here it proposes" ³ to have among other things a Sabbath School.

According to Jewish Charities of September, 1914, "the Young Women's Hebrew Association of New York will shortly move into its new home... The religious work in the building will be taken in charge by the department of education of the New York Kehillah." ⁴

Charles F. Freund, discussing the activities of the Y. M. H. A. of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania in 1915 stated that I was especially struck by the activities carried on by the auxiliaries of the Y. W. H. A. consisting of young women of the community. These auxiliaries are an important factor in infusing enthusiasm and their work is, indeed, altruistic. This is especially evident in that feature of religious work which the Y. W. H. A.'s social agencies have taken upon themselves. In the smaller communities these organizations concern themselves largely with religious schools for children of recent immigrants and such personal service as will fit the newcomer to his environment. Somehow or other, these children are not adequately reached by the agencies that are in existence, e. g., reform temples and the

synagogues that have long existed..."⁵

"Within a few months the Savannah Jewish community will possess a magnificent social center." (1915). "The Savannah Hebrew School will have its home in the new building."⁶ In June of 1916 Isadore Kadis stated that "as a Jewish educational institution we aim at promoting Jewish tendencies and fortifying Jewish ideals."⁷ Kadis was the director of the center.

Describing the new Jewish Center in New York to be located at West Eighty-sixth Street, Mr. William Fishman (1916) stated that "the one main feature that will distinguish this new center from all others is that it will be strictly Judaic in all its atmosphere, yet it will not lack the social and educational features of our American institutions... The atmosphere of the undertaking will combine the ancient traditions of Judaism with the modern democratic spirit of good fellowship... Everything therein will recall their ancestors and act as an impetus for furthering of their religious belief... Among other features, this new center will boast of the only Jewish kindergarten in the city of New York, a Talmud Torah... It is to be a haven of delight for the young and those of mature years who care to keep the spirit of true Judaism alive in its broadest scope."⁸

Isaac Swett described the Portland Oregon Neighborhood House in the seventh volume of Jewish Charities.

"The purpose of the Neighborhood House is to make it a community center... It includes Hebrew, Yiddish, and religious classes... clubs for the study of Hebrew literature and Jewish history... The Hebrew School... is conducted in conformance with the orthodox principles... The Sunday School has an enrollment of 130 children."⁹

According to an article in the May 1918 issue of Jewish Charities that Y. M. H. A. of Kansas City, Missouri has religious activities. "Social, educational and religious activities are being emphasized in proper proportion, with the result that there is an active demand for each of these activities."¹⁰

The need for some organization to help provide religious services for Jewish soldiers was felt by the Y. M. H. A. movement. "The National Office of the Y. M. H. A. and Kindred Associations has received notice of the organization of a Y. M. H. A. in France among the Jewish soldiers of the twenty-sixth division. These young men held religious services on the various Jewish holidays; sometimes these were held in small synagogues and sometimes in dug-outs at the actual front."¹¹

In 1923, one of the addresses at the National Conference of Jewish Social Service was "Tendencies in the Jewish Center Movement." In this article Mr. Glucksman defined the Jewish Center and described activities in several typical centers and Y. M. H. A. and Y. W. H. A. or-

ganizations.

92nd Street Y. M. H. A. of New York City

"The program of the Association is more positively Jewish than was apparently planned by the founders. Religious activities and Jewish cultural work form a decidedly important element in the program... The Y. M. H. A. is also the home of a neighborhood Hebrew School."¹²

Y. M. H. A. of the Bronx

"It includes also a synagogue for the people of the neighborhood, a large Hebrew school integrated with the association..."¹²

Y. M. H. A. of Perth Amboy

"Has a new structure containing a Hebrew School."¹²

Synagogue Centers (see section on synagogue centers.)

Conclusion

"In these manifestations of the Jewish Center movement... with the possible exception of the settlement, there is... a desire to emphasize and make meaningful the Jewish content of the program, thereby supplementing organized Jewish educational efforts and the task of the synagogue. In short, the common goal is to provide an effective instrument for the perpetuation of Jewish life in this

country."¹²

The first volume of the Jewish Center was issued in 1922. Starting with this issue and continuing on to the present issue the editors have included resués of programs in many Jewish Centers and Y. M. H. A.'s. In outline form we shall describe typical programs that include religious content and suggestions made by leaders in the movement:

1. Louis Kraft suggested that Jewish holidays and festivals be observed by services and other mass activities. If possible the Center should provide for a Talmud Torah.¹³

2. Describing activities at the Louisville Y. M. H. A. Charles Nemser stated that "Jewish activities are participated in by adults both as actors and as audiences in the celebration of Jewish holidays."¹⁴

3. Describing possible elements of programs for Jewish Centers, T. David Zukerman suggested:

I. Adult

- a) Services on Sabbath and lesser holidays.
- b) Bible study classes.
- c) Services on High Holy Days.

II. Junior

- a) Talmud Torah.
- b) Sunday School.

- c) Children's Synagogue. ¹⁵
- d) Jewish Club Activities.

4. Jack Nadel stated that the 92nd Street Y. M. H. A. in New York "attempts to develop among Jewish young men the Jewish consciousness as the means to the highest spiritual life." ¹⁶

5. Lewis Goldberg remarked that the Y. M. H. A. aims to provide Jewish education from youth through life. ¹⁷

6. Marion Schaar described the program of the Hartford Y. M. H. A. which celebrates the Jewish holidays and has Sunday School classes. ¹⁸

7. Aaron G. Robinson stated that the aim of the Newark Y. M. and Y. W. H. A. "will be to Judaize every department of work." ¹⁹

8. Isidor M. Konowitz in his article on making the Jewish Center Jewish described the difficulties in introducing Friday evening services. He pointed out ways to attract members to holiday and festival celebrations. ²⁰

9. In a study made by a committee of the National Association of Jewish Community Center Secretaries concerning the status of Women's Work in Jewish Centers, of which committee Miss Solis-Cohen was chairman some interesting facts were found: "Nine groups (out of ninety organizations) are studying Hebrew. There are three Hebrew clubs reported, which may or may not be additional. Seventeen read Jewish history... There are seven Bible groups

and one for Biblical literature."²¹

10. Rabbi Aaron Robinson made a survey of Jewish activities in Jewish Centers. 137 questionnaires were filled out more or less satisfactorily, representing as many Jewish Centers. "From these a certain amount of information can be gleaned which, on the whole, demonstrates that our Centers are making a very serious attempt to carry on a program of activities that are motivated by the Jewish spirit."

- a. 76 conduct classes in Jewish education
- b. 88 schools in these institutions
- c. 42 Sunday schools
- d. 82 out of 137 Centers habitually celebrate Jewish holidays.

If the Jewish Center has failed to develop as a Jewish religious institution, it is due, in part, to the fact that the synagogue has failed to supply us with the necessary leadership."²²

(See)

11. Dr. Mordecai ~~Saltz~~ suggested a program of Jewish activities for Jewish Community Centers.

- I. Festival Celebrations
- II. Religious Services -- Center buildings should be open on Friday evenings and Saturday afternoons for limited activities.
 - a. Community Singing -- folk songs, psalms and prayers set to appropriate music

- b. Story hours for youngsters Saturday afternoon as part of Minchah service
- c. Current events; Jewish problems and institutions
- d. Study group -- ethics of the fathers. ²³

12. Rabbi Alter F. Landesman, superintendent of the Hebrew Educational Society of Brooklyn, New York stated that, "the Jewish Center should become the spiritual home of the Jewish neighborhood, where all in whose souls there still lives a remembrance of their forefathers, and a yearning for the finer things in life, may come to find satisfaction. 'Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it' ... The Jewish spirit must permeate all our activities." ²⁴

13. Harold Beyker of Philadelphia, writing about educational activities in Jewish Centers, stated: "Let us grant first place to the classes in Hebrew and related subjects, for adults. These classes in Biblical History, Post-Biblical Jewish History, Hebrew, the Bible, the Talmud, Jewish Current Events, Fundamentals of Jewish Religion, and the like -- are traditional at the 'Y', as the educational realization of its religious ideals." ²⁵

14. The Hillel Foundation is a Jewish Center in the University. Lee J. Levinger stated that : "The fraternities and sororities have provided for their members a solution of two problems, housing and social life. They

have however, seldom furnished intellectual or religious influence for their own members, and have been largely a division rather than a unifying influence on the Jewish student body as a whole.

Other student organizations sprang up. Jewish student congregations were formed -- but they provided only the religious interest, and that either exclusively Reform or Orthodox.

The essentials of the Hillel Foundation not previously provided by other approaches to the problem are exactly the same as those of any Jewish Center -- an adequately equipped building and an adequately trained full-time director.

Hillel -- The status on the campus is that of a religious foundation, and the status of the director is the same as that of a university pastor, with faculty courtesies, but without official standing in the university.

The activities taken up in the Hillel Foundations depend, first, on the Jewish values to be cultivated; second, on the need and desire of the students for self-expression."²⁶

15. Louis H. Sobel describing the work at the Bronx "Y" stated that children must attend religious services.²⁷

16. Rose Cahan, discussing parental education stated: "it has been my experience that before the course

is ended (lectures on parental education), parents become aware of the needs of teaching Jewish living more directly and they always request a session on religious education." ²⁸

17. Dr. David De Sola Pool describing religious work in a Community Center remarked that the "Center and the Synagogue complement each other's program. In a community with no synagogue it is the moral duty of the Center to provide services." ²⁹

18. In an article on "Cooperation Between Jewish Centers and Jewish Education", Mordecai Saltes stated: "According to information available at the Jewish Welfare Board, 109 Centers house weekday religious schools and Sunday religious schools." ³⁰

The first part of this section on Y. M. H. A.'s and Jewish Centers has dealt with religious programs in these organizations. The second part will include some articles on their philosophy.

N. Y. M. H. A. and Jewish Center

(B) Philosophy

By 1912 the Y. M. H. A. movement in this country numbered some 100 associations with a membership of about 20,000. B. A. Palitz, superintendent of the Y. M. H. A. at that time wrote an article entitled the "Timely Advent of the Y. M. H. A. Movement." The purpose of the Y. M. H. A. according to him is "to instill into the young minds and hearts, devotion to the true spirit and the highest ideals of effectual and religious Judaism and loyalty to America and American institutions."³¹

At the Cleveland Conference in 1926 Rabbi Kadushin spoke on "The Place of the Jewish Center in American Jewish Life." The theme of his paper was that the Jews of America are a sharply defined, self-conscious group and that the underlying purpose of the Jewish Center ought to be to foster and encourage Jewish group consciousness. Charles Nemser took issue with Rabbi Kadushin on a few points but both seem to feel that "the Jewish Center is a Jewish communal center embracing all individuals and groups; it is a recreation center for re-creating and re-habilitating personality; it is a Jewish Center for the cultivation of Jewish ethical and spiritual values; and it is a young people's center because the hope of the future is always in a better generation of young people."³²

Dr. Philip Seman, writing in the Jewish Social Service Quarterly stated that "The Jewish Community Center is thought by many to be a new phase of social expression as a part of our Jewish community life. All one needs to do is to search into the documents of past achievements of the Jew as far back as the building of Solomon's Temple, to be confronted with the fact that there was the first and most comprehensive of Jewish Community Centers.

...There was no expression latent in the hearts or in the minds of the citizens of the community, which did not find an outlet in the Temple. It was a real Community Center, for it expressed the life of the Jew outside of his home.

Later, with the development of the Synagogues... the Synagogue took the place, in part, of the Community Center. Outside of its religious function, the Synagogue offered an opportunity for education, largely if not entirely limited however, to the study of the Talmud and other Hebrew lore. But the social and recreational life of the people were also expressed there. All the great holidays were celebrated within the confines of the synagogue and its immediate environment. All of the philanthropic expression of the community was likewise centered in it... The synagogue, in short, represented the finest expression of the Jewish Community Center.

...With the growth of our American communities

the question of the Community Center quite distinct from the Synagogue becomes a problem... (Mentions history of the Center movement etc.) ... The Community Centers are above all frankly Jewish -- Jewish in the fullest sense of the word. They have helped to develop in the last few years, an interest in Jewish matters as far as Centers are concerned which is bound to have a great effect on the development of a healthy national Jewry, one which will not cringe and be ashamed of its Jewishness.

... "Note the change" (from the so-called 'simon-pure' Americanization work to the) "increase in the number of celebrations of Jewish festivals and the type of program arranged." ³³

Mr. Samuel H. Hofstadler discussed the function of the Y. M. H. A. as follows: "The conscious, proud, and logical Judaism of hundreds of young men today owes its existence to the Y. M. H. A. (The Temple and Synagogue have failed.) The "Y" is the great common denominator. Orthodox, Conservative and Reform mingle freely together. The Y. M. H. A. therefore becomes for them the proponent of the eternal obligation of every Jew, be his religious complexion whatever it may, each by his individual contribution to preserve the integrity of Judaism and of the people whom the ages have consecrated to its priesthood." ³⁴

In 1925 Charles Nemser, then president of the National Association of Community Center Secretaries stated: "The problem of American Jews when boiled down to its essence is a religious one. For our part, we must relate our work more

consciously to Jewish education and to the Synagogue, for in the interpretation and perpetuation of Jewish life all three are inextricably bound together. Jewish education, broadly conceived includes the informative, the cultural and the spiritual. This does not imply that the Jewish Center ought to be a Synagogue adjunct merely, but it does imply that the program is ultimately based on the effectual inculcation of moral and spiritual values.

"The spirit of the oneness of God and His Decalogue, from which spring a thousand significant implications of living, are truly the kernel; all else is husk."³⁵

Rabbi Max Kadushin discussed the "Place of the Jewish Center in American Jewish Life" in the Jewish Center magazine. He remarked that "The synagogue is no longer the Jewish communal organization. ... It dare not minimize its task, at once delicate and extremely difficult. For it must construct out of the Jewish past and the present western culture, a conception of God consistent with Jewish thought and modern science, intellectually appealing, personal, emotionally satisfying. It must make this conception of God once more the point of reference for the Jewish group culture... The synagogue, if it succeeds in this supreme adjustment will not confine itself to services... The culture itself in all its phases must be interpreted to the individual in terms so personal, so immediately relevant to his spiritual needs, as to constitute a necessary and stimulating factor in his outlook upon life. The history of the

group must be taught so as to become the ground for a firm belief in God, which will act as an incentive to right conduct. The customs must be made not conventional gestures but symbols, speaking to us of the essential aesthetic harmony of human history and cosmic plan. The ethics and laws must be made practicable and applicable. The Bible and other Jewish writings must prove the sanctions and inspiration to our conduct. The language must be the bond of the world-wide community of Jews and the key to Jewish literature.

Services alone will not achieve the ends I have described; the synagogue can engage in any activities which can serve its purposes; and many of these activities are found in the program of the Community Center.

...The mood which the synagogue will seek to induce is religious.

There must be an institution to provide the means whereby the group culture will nourish the group consciousness. The Community Center is that Institution. Judaism is not a religion only. It is a civilization -- if you will, a religious civilization."

The Differences in Synagogue and Center

"With the single exception of services there is no difference between them in the kind of activities conducted. The difference lies in the points of reference integrating the group culture. The synagogue relates everything under

its auspices to a conception of God. In less theological language it strives to render the culture of use to the individual's spiritual life. The Center relates everything under its auspices to the conception of Israel. The goal of the synagogue is the individual's welfare; the goal of the Center is Israel's welfare."

"I am opposed to the Jewish Center's conducting services because, in that case, services would be simply one of the activities of an institution. Services ought to be the expression, socially, of the consciousness that the focus of the group culture is God. The synagogue, where the directing mood is religious, i. e., where the focus of the group culture is the conception of God, is unthinkable without services. The Center, however, can only do harm to itself if it deliberately adopts services as an activity.

Yet the exclusion of worship from the province of the Center does not mean that the Center is a purely secular institution.

The synagogue is right: in the long run the group culture must be made appealing to definite, personal, spiritual needs. Yet sometimes I have grave doubts whether the synagogue will succeed in its attempts to accomplish this. It appears oft times too rigid and set. I cannot help but wonder whether in time, the Center will not evolve from itself the synagogue of the future... In time it may outgrow its present philosophy, and take on another more in harmony

with traditional Jewish thought in which the chief emphasis is upon religion."³⁶

In the discussion that followed Rabbi Kadushin's remarks Ezekiel Landow, Charles Nemser and Rabbi Landesman took part. Their statements are as follows:

"To compare the synagogue and the Center is to reckon lightly with the difficulties arising from disparity of age and relative fixity of character... The synagogue was, is, and apparently will be the Jewish place of Jewish religious worship. The Center, on the other hand is a new entity... there is general agreement that the Center is an aspiration rather than a reality -- a Platonic idea if not and ideal... The origin of this creative evolution known as the Center lies in the wishes and needs of the Jewish youth of America... they were something which other Jewish agencies did not supply. The synagogue, for instance, was built, managed and conducted without specific regard to the needs of young people. (Some with Jewish philanthropy, fraternal organizations, etc.) ...Out of response to those needs rose the Jewish Center."

"The 'group' cannot displace God, whether as a point of reference or as the object of loyalty."

"We, in the Center work have found that the only way we can effectively reach the group is by reaching the individual. No matter what else we may do for our client, we shall not have done our fullest by him if we do not help

him find his peace with God." (Landesman)

Nemser stated that "The Jewish Center conceives its job to partake of bringing into the every day, work-a-day lives of the people the spirit of our religious life that the synagogue develops.

The idea of recreation as an agency to help conserve the man-hood and the womanhood of our communities for their own good by banding them together and utilizing their leisure time for the enrichment of Jewish personality and the advancement of the Jewish group is the distinct contribution of the Jewish Community Center."

Alter F. Landesman stated that "We want to create a Jewish Community life in this country which will be responsive to the spiritual claims of Judaism as well as of America. -- Importance of a knowledge and definite conception of Judaism, and of the place of the Jewish community in its American environment.... Jewish program depends upon all-round development... We must provide for the mental, physical, and social needs and desires of the members... Judaism is not only religious in the sense in which we often use the term, and it is not only ethics. "It is the sum total of all the needs of the nation based on a religious basis. Judaism is a religious civilization that has always projected its great ideas about God and human duty into ordinary relationships of human living."

"In brief, Judaism includes the whole of life."

"...And lastly, we must remember that we do not want to be fed up with culture merely. We want to produce compelling convictions. Action and purpose are primary... The emotional response is therefore important. We are not merely interested in knowing about the synagogue, the Sabbath, our festivals, the Bible, the value of worship, and Judaism; we want our people to live and practice Judaism. Such a process includes the three aspects of enlightenment, commitment, and reinforcement. (...We must lift the synagogue attendance into the realm of ideals. It must become "A matter of devotion to an ideal, and intelligence response to well reasoned purposes tinged with religious patriotism."

Another Jewish institution which ought to receive our greatest attention is the Sabbath. It is one of the great Jewish contributions to modern social ethics as well as a potent force in the preservation of the Jewish people."³⁷

The section of "Religious Education in Y. M. H. A. and Jewish Center" closes with the preceding quotation. The section on "Religious Education in Synagogue Centers" follows immediately. It was thought that a description of the activities of this interesting movement would help to clarify the distinction between it and the non-synagogue Center.

The Synagogue Center is an outgrowth of the Center movement and has not achieved the success of the Jewish Center not connected with the synagogue.

O. Synagogue Centers

The Sinai Social Center connected with Temple Sinai in Chicago had a fall religious program in 1914 according to Dr. Joseph Peclott. This organization conducted a daily Hebrew school for orthodox children of the neighborhood and for children of members of the synagogue. In addition "a class in Hebrew for adults is also about to be opened."¹ Dr. Hirsch conducted a Normal School Class for Sunday School Teachers and a class in New Testament literature from the Jewish point of view.¹

An article in volume nine of Jewish Charities suggested that the synagogue be used as a recreational center in the small community. "It is in the small community that the Jewish emphasis is most effectively secured; Jewish community holiday festivals, community observance of holiday ritual... all these help to build up a consciousness of unity as Jews and at the same time furnish wholesome, satisfying and universally appealing recreation."²

In the same issue of Jewish Charities the editor or one of his associates reviewed an article published in the Menorah Journal called "The Promise of the American Synagogue," by Elliot E. Cohen. The article was concerned with "a highly developed community center, containing recreational facilities, relief activities, communal services and a general clearing house, all organized under the auspices of

the synagogue... to make up the ideal synagogue group... There is one thing that the rabbi of an ideal synagogue must be: a leader. And the quality most needed for leadership is sincerity, belief in his work, his religion, and in his profession."³

Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein suggested an institutional synagogue in the tenth volume of Jewish Charities. "I am firmly convinced that the besetting failure of the past can be overcome through the creation of numerous institutional Synagogues which will embrace the religious, educational, and social activities now undertaken through three media without correlation."⁴

In 1926 Rabbi Goldstein again discussed the Institutional Synagogue stating, "Instead of remedying the weaknesses of the synagogue other institutions were created which neither took its place nor relieved its shortcomings. When immigrants from Russia, Poland, Austria, and Hungary first began to come to this country they were interested in erecting houses of worship not only where they might pray, but also where they might meet their countrymen, their 'landsleute' " ... "The religious services of all occasions represented the chaos, the lack of decorum, and the peculiarities of the European communities from which these people came. The provincial synagogues, as a rule, merely represented the transplanting of the East European synagogue to American soil. As soon as these men were able to

save money ... they went beyond the pale of the ghetto, took up their habitations among non-Jews, adopted the customs of their neighbors, and ceased to attend the synagogue three times a day; nay, many of them came not more than once a week, namely, on the Sabbath.

... In certain sections of New York City and of other large cities, the synagogue never had a school connected with it and so the children were left to the caprice of the 'Melamed'. He would go from home to home and give the children a smattering of Hebrew. He taught them in Yiddish, a language in which they did not think, and thus they could not absorb the true meaning of the Jewish religion, nor become inspired with the proper love of their faith. This is evidenced by the Jewish religious conditions as they exist today."

"I do not think that the Talmud Torah Institution is an ideal one, because it is fractional in its work and divorces the child from the Synagogue. I have a similar objection to the Y. M. H. A. movement the expression of social work, as I have to the Talmud Torah movement, the expression of Jewish education. I feel that Jewish life should not be subdivided. We are wasting effort and money in surplus institutions, which ought not to occupy quarters by themselves. The Y. M. H. A. fails to implant religion in the minds of its youth. It does not stand for positive religious conviction. It is neither orthodox nor reform.

It is partial because it only takes the boy out of the street, and does not give him the education of a Jewish religious environment.

My plea for the future is the Institutional Synagogue which would embrace the synagogue, the Talmud Torah and the Y. M. H. A. movements ... In short, if we desire to perpetuate the real Judaism of the past we must so shape Jewish spiritual activity that it will all find expression in one institution. This institution would be a revival of the historic Synagogue... all of our efforts in Judaism must have the religious as their center. The synagogue represents religion, therefore any institution that seeks to express Jewish conceptions must have the synagogue as its hub. All activities must radiate from this central point."⁵

In the same year Albert P. Schoolman discussed the Synagogue Center as follows. "The Synagogue Center is one in which the worship and the ceremonialism of the Synagogue together with the religious and social rites associated directly with it, constitute the focal elements of the institution... Its essence as a type lies in the effort to cluster around the synagogue ceremonial and the pulpit, the multiplicity of cultural values that make up the Jewish heritage. In a sense it is an attempt to reproduce under modern conditions the more or less all inclusive synagogue institution of the ghetto. It is also an attempt to have the theological concepts of the synagogue brought under one roof

with all the other elements which constitute that which we call Jewish culture.

The Synagogue Center^{is} Subject to Limitations.

There is an applied assumption in this point of view, that modern Jewry will connect the entire fabric of Jewish cultural life with the liturgic ceremonialism of the synagogue -- an assumption that is difficult to concede. ... To attempt again to subjugate the entire fabric of Jewish spiritual and cultural value to the theological doctrine and assumption would seem to be retrogression rather than progress.

There is still an additional consideration. Participation in the synagogue ritual by a person or group implies that the individual or group has experienced a successful socialization into the Jewish group, particularly with regard to its religious aspect. It is, in other words, a sign of accomplishment in the effort of transmitting at least part of the Jewish heritage. The Jewish Center, on the other hand, is to be concerned primarily with the process of socialization, with the task of bringing the individual or group to an understanding and acceptance of the social heritage. Herein it would seem we have something of an inherent contradiction in the conception of the Synagogue Center."

6

P. Philosophy

For some years now the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare and the National Conference for Jewish Education have had some joint meetings at their national conferences and both organizations have profited from this arrangement. As a result the literature of Jewish Social Welfare has included in the past years many articles on religious education, with special reference to Jewish education. ~~Many~~^{None} of these articles are quoted in this study because it was felt that they really should be included in a Jewish education survey. They do not represent the work of social workers, but that of professional Jewish educators. Despite this, the mere inclusion of such articles in Jewish Social Welfare literature shows that social workers are interested in Jewish education and some remarks about these articles should have been included to give a fair representation of Social workers' interest.

The three references utilized in this division, "The Philosophy of Religious Education" are from articles by Social workers not educators. They illustrate to some extent that social workers have given some thought to Jewish education during the course of years.

The 1926 Conference included a symposium on the future of American Jewish Education. Such organizations as Menorah, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Day School and the Yeshivah, etc., were discussed. James Davis introduced the subject by saying that "religious education is as important to our well being as is food and raiment... A religiously imbued community will greatly lighten the burden of the social worker in all his complex activities... Unfortunately, either through lack of funds or lack of interest, religious education is reaching but a small proportion of our children, and this is the greatest danger to our well being... we can only hope to achieve the best results by a union of effort between the professional social worker and the interested layman."¹

In her article on "Changing Standards" Miss Razofsky discussed religious education. Quoting Horace M. Koller she stated that "the future of Judaism depends upon the educational institutions of Judaism, and these, in their hierarchies and sectarian variety... depend, not upon their wealth and the elaboration of their machinery, but upon the specific contemporary relevancy of the tradition they pass on..."²

Dr. John Slawson's paper at the 1928 Conference in Cincinnati on Jewish Education as a Jewish Social Work Function attempted to "evaluate a philosophy for Jewish education." Dr. Slawson stated in his introductory remarks: "Of all the lacks that we now have in the field of Jewish

social service... the greatest is the absence, on the part of the majority of the army of workers, lay and professional, of a positive philosophy of Jewish adjustment and, more generally, of a crystalized outlook with reference to ethnic group life... we will find ... that the concept of personality preservation and enrichment is one that expresses this object best" (the object of all social work) ... "On this basis, namely that of personality health, the Jewish social worker surely is concerned with Jewish education, providing Jewish education is able to supply the nourishment that will prevent this ethnic malnutrition."³

SECTION IV

Communal Life

The next section in this study is "Communal Life". Under this heading are included such varied subjects as religious life of the Levantine and Sephardic Jews of the United States, communal progress (educational and religious developments) in several large cities in the United States over a period of years and religious developments in a few foreign countries. Although some of this material might be properly included in the section on "Religious Education" or under other headings, it was thought advisable to place it in the separate category "Communal Life", since this was the way the Social Welfare literature referred to it.

It was surprising to the author of the thesis to find so much material on Communal Life. The editors of this social welfare literature show a deep interest in community progress, and the fact that so many notes about various communities were found, possibly illustrates that the average social worker is also interested in these facts.

The first division under the heading, "Communal Life," will deal with the Levantine and Sephardic Jews in the United States because they are the first group of Jewish people referred to in our literature.

A. Levantine and Sephardic Jews

One of the most interesting types of Jews in American Jewish life is the Levantine Jew. Their number in New York City was small in 1913, when the first article about them was written in Jewish Charities. According to the information in this article the Levantine Jewish group presents problems, in language, religious customs, poverty, etc. Existing agencies planned for English or Yiddish Ashkenazic groups cannot help Judaeo-Spanish, Greek or Arabic-speaking Sephardic groups. The author, whose name is not mentioned, suggests an Educational Alliance "from which influences for hygienic, educational, social moral, and religious uplift shall radiate."¹

The following year Maurice B. Hexter wrote an article about the Levantine Jews in Cincinnati (Many of this group still live in the Price Hill section of this city.). The problem presented by Mr. Hexter is one that was found after a survey was made. Most of the families were clients of the United Jewish Social Agencies. Since their ritual was different from that of the Ashkenazic co-religionists they organized their own services. "They are all religious; cleanliness and ¹galliness are handmaidens to success among these people."²

The various problems connected with the arrival of many Levantine Jews after the Turkish War in 1908 must

have been felt keenly enough to warrant a great deal of thought on the part of social workers. Dr. David de Sola Pool, who worked in behalf of the Levantine Jews for many years, was asked to present a paper at the Memphis Conference in 1914 outlining "practical measures toward a proper understanding and solution of the question."³ The paper was most enlightening and presented many important facts to the social workers. However, since this thesis deals with the religious phase and that solely we will try to cull some of those facts from Dr. de Sola Pool's address.

The Levantine groups in the United States speak either Greek, Ladino or Arabic. "The Arabic-speaking group is the most observant religiously... the Greek-speaking group is also religiously observant. But many of them, through economic pressure, are now engaging in work that does not allow of Sabbath observance... The Ladino-speaking group is divided among the observers of traditional Judaism and those who have drifted far from it. The latter, some of whom have given up all Jewish observance, are often past pupils of a school of the Alliance Israelite Universelle. The Hebrew knowledge of the Ladino-speakers is not as good as that of either the Greek-speaking or the Arabic-speaking Jews... All three groups in the United States show very exclusive tendencies. The large majority are Sephardim... Their own Hebrew accent and liturgy and religious ceremonies and traditions are all sufficiently individual to pre-

vent their uniting with their American, German or Russo-Polish brethren in synagogue life... Time's relentless attrition will wear down these prejudices, which at present fill a useful function in stimulating these settlers to create their own religious organizations... As is usually the case with immigrant Jews, the first form of organization effected is a burial society, composed of a group coming from one city or district. The society in time conducts a synagogue, at first temporarily for the holy days and later permanently... These synagogues are unable to make provision for the religious education of the young other than through the services of a pitifully paid reader. In New York City there are several Talmud Torahs, which are usually quite primitive in equipment and methods, but which are surprisingly efficient in inculcating a knowledge of Hebrew. The parents of the children... often will not send their children to the existing Talmud Torahs or Hebrew schools of the Russo-Polish, German, or American type, so that the children especially in the smaller centers outside of New York in very many cases are growing up without any religious instruction. There is a plethora of Hebrew teachers, mostly of the old-fashioned type, but almost a complete lack of qualified Schochetim and Mohelim, and a complete lack of rabbis."

Dr. de Sola Pool then continues in his paper to suggest ways and means to help the Levantine Jews by organ-

izing a center for them, special Talmud Torahs, etc.

The above account was written in 1914. By 1926 some improvement was made in the lot of these Jews, as far as Jewish education is concerned. Mr. Louis Hacker, writing in 1926 in the Jewish Social Service Quarterly stated that "religious differences have led to the founding of independent synagogues for the services of Sephardim exclusively" but "there is no vital religious life in the community (Sephardic Jewish community created in 1924) with the result that the synagogues languish and the younger generation is being frightened off. There are at present only two Talmud Torahs worthy of the name, and one, supported by Sephardic Jews, is in continuous financial difficulties. "⁵

B. American Jewish Communities

The following section is devoted to Communal Progress in American Jewish Communities. The material will be presented by cities with no comment other than the critiques by Drs. Baron and Drachsler.

Chicago:

"Two years ago Chicago was considered behind other Jewish communities in Jewish educational work. (1923) The Jewish Educational Committee (organized in 1923) believed, however, that Chicago was a very fertile field for developing an adequate Jewish school system. A preliminary survey disclosed that 51,000 children of school age were available. Of these, less than 5,000 were being taught in the Hebrew Schools and Talmud Torahs, 6,000 in the various Sunday Schools and about 1,000 more were being instructed in private schools and by private teachers. The majority of children receiving Hebrew Education were being taught in Talmud Torahs which followed antiquated pedagogical methods. There was no definite curriculum and no cooperation between the various schools...

...against opposition it was maintained that the Jewish Charities were properly responsible for the development of the educational program and could not be considered merely as a charity organization in its narrower sense. The general policy being followed is to avoid over-centralization of authority and to place the main responsibility upon the local school boards and congregations, giving only

such additional help as is found necessary. The appropriation for this work has increased from \$38,000 in 1923 to \$103,000 in 1925. Of 5,000 children taught in the Hebrew Schools of Chicago, over 3,500 are now found in those affiliated with the Jewish Educational Committee. Uniform curricula for the Talmud Torahs and for the Hebrew Schools have been agreed upon in order to coordinate the teaching in the several types of schools. In some of the Talmud Torahs, English has been substituted for Yiddish as the medium of instruction. A Central Hebrew High School has recently been organized. A traveling principal was appointed to help the smaller schools -- particularly those connected with congregations and institutions. A home visiting service was instituted to connect more closely the home and the school. An extension department weekly school paper, the Hatzofeh, a Jewish youth league, are all examples of further activities of the Committee. A College of Jewish studies was established in the winter of 1924 to provide Jewish cultural activities for young adults and to help in the training of Sunday School teachers and club leaders.¹

-- H. L. Lurie.

Detroit:

"Jewish education has not been enthusiastically 'sold' to all of the Reform Jews, nor has the Jewish Chautauqua one of the beneficiaries, aroused any passionate enthusiasm in the hearts of the Orthodox members of the community."²

-- Morris D. Waldman.

Omaha;

"There is less of Synagogue leadership in Omaha than perhaps in many other communities, and because of that the Federation became a substitute -- Judaism in action. Religiously, the Omaha community is understaffed -- In large measure the strength of the Omaha Federation is due to this lack of religious leadership." ^{2a} WILLIAM
-- R. Blumenthal.

Boston:

"

The Bureau of Jewish Education of Boston was organized in the fall of 1917 for the purpose of standardizing Jewish education in Boston. It was reorganized in 1920, when it took in also the Sunday Schools of the Community. The milestones in the work of standardization, in which the teachers and principles have taken a creditable part are as follows:

The Hebrew Teachers College, organized in 1921 with 13 students. Now has a total of 150 who attend daily. Two year high-school preparatory course preceded the four-year college course. Hebrew College. A uniform curriculum for weekday schools. Three twice-a-week schools-- total attendance, 700, have been organized as an attempt to increase the amount of time given to children who heretofore attended Sunday schools only. Since the organization of

the Bureau, attendance in Jewish schools has more than doubled. The Federation, through the Jewish Bureau of Education spends on the average of about \$50,000 a year, -- 40 per cent is for maintainance of Hebrew College, the balance is spent on subsidies to week-day, twice-a-week, and Sunday Schools. One of the Greatest achievements of the Bureau of Jewish Education is found in the unification of all the elements of the community, the orthodox, the Conservative, and Reformed on the platform of Jewish Education. " ³
-- Maurice Taylor.

Dallas:

"Nine per cent of the Dallas Federation Budget is allotted to the Hebrew School; which amount represents 40 per cent of their total requirement, the balance being supplied through its own Board. The School is housed in the Synagogue; one block from the "Y" in modern quarters, and conducted by an able staff of teachers." ⁴ -- Samuel C. Blumenthal.

Denver:

"There are not less than a dozen houses of worship who conduct their services in accordance with the various minhagim. The largest among them is Temple Emanuel (reformed), the Beth Midrosh Hagodol (conservative) and the Zera Israel (orthodox). We have Sunday Schools and Tal-

mud Torahs, but 70 per cent of the children still do not receive any Jewish education."⁵ -- C. D. Spivak.

Toronto:

A letter from Toronto stated that "Approximately 1,000 members, practically all Federation subscribers as well, support the Talmud Torah."⁶ -- Joseph A. Woolf.

Detroit:

Project for two more Hebrew School Buildings.⁷

Chicago:

"Board of Education supervises many of the congregational and institutional religious schools, both weekday and Sunday Schools which do not receive subsidy from the Board."⁸ --

California:

"Oakland has one Temple, Sisterhood Religious Schools, Talmud Torah which at present is an adjunct of one of the Orthodox Synagogues. There are also two other centers for orthodox religious worship.

A Hebrew Center in Berkley combines the activities of a Synagogue, Center and Religious School. A similar institution in Alameda ministers to the needs of the Jewish group there."⁹ -- Harry J. Sapper.

Minneapolis:

"The Emmanuel Cohen Center is an outgrowth of the Talmud Torah, which institution holds a very prominent place in the cultural and social life of Minneapolis.

Two conservative synagogues, a reform temple, and about eight orthodox synagogues. At the present four new ¹⁰ synagogues are being built to replace the old ones. --

Anne F. Skolsky.

San Francisco:

Formation of a permanent San Francisco Council for Jewish Religious Education -- amalgamation of the Talmud Torah and the Jewish Education Association, the two major organizations in San Francisco sponsoring Jewish religious ^{10a} education. -- ~~Anne T. Skolsky.~~

Cleveland:

"Jewish education has been steadily gaining ground in Cleveland.

Budget: 1925 - \$42,000; 1927 - \$85,000

The Bureau of Jewish Education, fostering through the Cleveland Hebrew School and Institute, twelve daily afternoon Hebrew Schools and through the Council of Jewish Women about seven one-day-a-week religious schools." --
John Slawson.

Baltimore:

"In the field of Jewish education there is still much
to be accomplished."¹² -- H. Joseph Hyman.

Milwaukee:

"Jewish education in Milwaukee presents a somewhat paradoxical picture. Community support weak. The Talmud Torah at present has a registration of about 190. It has been estimated that but 900 children are receiving some form of Jewish education in Milwaukee in the various congregational schools out of a total of 3500 children of elementary school age. Movement launched under the leadership of Joseph L. Baron to form Bureau. Through this bureau it will be possible to stimulate interest in Jewish education to organize a central Hebrew School -- possibly a Junior College -- and to add general Jewish cultural activities to the school curricula. One of the major tasks facing such a bureau will be the inauguration of a program of adult education."¹³ -- Benjamin Glassberg.

St. Louis:

"Through the efforts of the Jewish Federation of St. Louis, the consolidation of the Hebrew Schools of this city was brought about in April, 1926. There are Hebrew kindergartens in various parts of the city. Efforts are being made to establish a Hebrew Teachers' College in St. Louis. The

Federation also supports the Yeshibah." ¹⁴ -- Ferdinand S. Each.

Boston:

"Progress in the field of Jewish education. The Hebrew Teachers' College has been honored by being given authority by the Massachusetts legislature to grant degrees." ¹⁵
-- Maurice Taylor.

Atlanta:

"Has five congregations... Closely associated with the larger Orthodox congregation is the United Hebrew School. All the congregations as well as the Jewish Educational Alliance conduct schools which reach about 800 children." ¹⁶ -- Edward Kahn.

Omaha:

"One child out of four affiliated with any Jewish educational institution. The temple has 300 members, has a Sunday School with a regular attendance of 200 children. Talmud Torah has an enrollment of 200 children." ¹⁷ -- Samuel Gerson.

Minneapolis:

"Dr. George Gordon is in charge of Talmud Torah. He has plans for a Bureau of Jewish Education with teaching

centers in all the synagogues and temples." ¹⁸ -- Anne F. Skolsky.

New York:

Since 1920 an incomplete count shows that at least 93 Talmud Torahs were built in New York and vicinity. It is not unlikely that 150 would be nearer the correct figure. It would not be very far from wrong to estimate that the capital investments of the Jewish community in Greater New York in Jewish education since 1920, have been in the neighborhood of \$10,000,000." ¹⁹ -- Louis M. Hacker.

Oakland:

"Temple Sinai of Oakland boasts the largest post-confirmation class actively on the Pacific coast. Has largest enrollment in its religious school that it has ever experienced.

New Conservative synagogue planned and a religious school. Oakland Talmud Torah is being reorganized.

A splendid start was made a year ago in the direction of making the celebration of Jewish festivals a community function. The B'nai B'rith is sponsoring community Succoth and Hanukah celebrations, and Sinai Men's Club held its first annual Simchas Torah dinner this fall." ²⁰

Savannah:

"Savannah has one small and one large orthodox synagogue, one Reformed Synagogue, a Hebrew School, etc. Declining population has hurt these institutions. Jewish education in Savannah has come to mean the ability to deliver the Bar Mitzvah speech."²¹

Erie, Penn.:

Jewish Population 1500-2000 out of 125,00. Two²² Orthodox Synagogues, a Reform Temple and a Talmud Torah.
-- Aaron M. Lopez.

Baltimore:

"Baltimore Hebrew College is included in Board of Jewish Education which is a constituent of the Associated Jewish Charities and includes five Talmud Torahs receiving complete financial support and one Hebrew School partially subsidized."²³ -- HARRY GREENSTEIN

Milwaukee:

"A Board of Jewish Education was formed in Milwaukee. It has under its supervision the former Milwaukee Talmud Torah, two congregational Hebrew Schools one of which has been merged with the Talmud Torah, and two congregational Sunday Schools with a total registration of about 550 chil-

dren. One very important group has recently asked to be admitted. This would leave but one congregational school which has the largest Sunday School in the city, not affiliated with the Board."²⁴ - - - Benjamin Glassberg.

Pittsfield:

Bureau of Jewish Education formed in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Temple Ansha Amonim opened a Hebrew department and all Hebrew instruction and Sunday School instruction has been unified.²⁵

New York:

"A board of license, for the purpose of issuing certificates of qualification to candidates for the position of teacher in the Jewish religious schools, was established by the Jewish Education Association of New York."²⁶

New Haven:

Jewish home for children -- 34 children in home and a thorough knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish history is taught there. Sunday School there through efforts of Council of Jewish Women.

Hebrew Institute established a parochial school. Ten children attend the classes. Attempt to organize Bureau of Jewish Education.

The conservative synagogue, the reform temple,

the Children's Home and the "Y" conduct Sunday Schools. About 400 children are accommodated by these organizations. There are thirteen congregations in New Haven including conservative and reform. ²⁷ -- Jacob Mirviss

Omaha:

Survey in Omaha-- Recommended the organization of a Council of Jewish Education which would take in present Talmud Torah and its branches, also the Temple Israel (Reform) Sunday School and the Center Sunday School. ³⁷ per cent of Jewish Children in Omaha are now receiving a Jewish education. ²⁸ -- Samuel Gerson.

After the above survey on February 17, the directors of the Talmud Torah voted unanimously to move to the Center. ²⁹

Intermediate Communities

(61 American Jewish Centers with Population
5,000 to 25,000)

"Following the traditional pattern of Jewish group organization in the United States, we find in the intermediate community the religious congregations, orthodox synagogues, conservative centers or reform temples, largely concerned with religious worship and religious instruction." ³⁰
-- Michael Freund and Geo. W. Rabin

"The intermediate Jewish Communities in the West

have never really instituted programs of Jewish education, for the term 'program' presupposes the existence of a community consciousness that motivates mass interest and proper setup..... In none of our immediate communities has an effort been made to coordinate the independent unit into an integrated program of Jewish education."³¹ -- Harry J. Sapper.

Communal Life in the South:

"Religious demonstrations are a powerful influence in the life of the south. Congregational affiliation assumes, therefore, added importance."³² -- Edward M. Kahn.

The Jewish Community:

"The acids of separation and disintegration would have dissolved the communal ties time and again had not a matter of legal compulsion reenforced them in critical moments. Such enforcements were partly derived from its own religious law, enjoining obedience and reverence for the for the expounders of the Torah, demanding admission to the Jewish Court of justice, fostering public education and social work and imposing severe secular as well as religious sanctions for the violation of these injunctions. . . . "

"Total membership of three or four national associations of Reform, Orthodox and Conservative is estimated today at but one-fifth of the congregations. . . . "

"With the breakdown of the religious law and the

removal of state privileges some new element of compulsion must be devised to insure the supremacy of the social will over the individual whimsies of its members. . . . "

"In its essentiality the Jewish Community in Exile has always been the organizational counterpart to a basically non-political religion and culture... "The unique compound of an ethnic-religious culture and the then overwhelming power of an established religion all contributed to make of the Jewish communal organism a singular living entity..."³³
Salo W. Baron.

Jewish Communal Life in the United States

"What is a Jewish community?" "I use the term to describe a group, whose constituent members have a common cultural and religious background of which they are conscious, and which, in a communal or cooperative way they strive to conserve and improve and adapt to the general social milieu in which they find themselves..."

The efficacy of the modern synagogue as a factor in conserving Jewish group identity is difficult to appraise. There are doubtless deeply hidden powers of adaptability which the synagogue, one of the most ancient of Jewish institutions, possesses and which have not yet been typed. The almost universal participation upon at least two or three of the chief holidays, is an indication of the tenacity with which it persists.

...While formal Jewish instruction plays a relatively minor role in developing and sustaining a sense of group solidarity, the immediate social environment exercises a more powerful effect than would appear upon a first superficial analysis."³⁴ -- J. Drachsler.

C. Foreign Jewish Communities

Panama:

The synagogue in Colon has many limitations, and has no religious school. The Jewish Welfare Board helps.¹
-- E. Charles Sydney.

Mexico:

The small parochial school "Beth Sefer Ivri" was organized by the congregation of the community "Nidche Israel."

Religious situation:-- "There are two congregations in Mexico City -- one controlled by the Sephardic section of the community, the other officered and directed by the Ashkenazim. This community sadly lacks a real religious leader to bring some order out of the chaotic circumstances.

...According to the fundamental law of the state, religious leaders must all be native born. This is quite openly aimed at the Catholic Church, but winked at by the authorities, who are prepared to do the same with respect to Jewish ministers."²
-- Maurice B. Hexter.

Cuba and Argentina:

Cuba has an extremely orthodox synagogue and and a Jewish Community Center having a religious school. Argentina has a number of Jewish congregations and a wide network of schools for religious instruction maintained by I. C. A. and other agencies.³ -- Cecilia Razovsky

Berlin:

"The history of Berlin Kultus Gemeinde communities organized for the purpose of regulating the religious life of the Jew. Under the term "religious life" were also included philanthropic agencies and activities.⁴ -- George Wolf.

Libau, Latvia:

Libau has a kehillah. There are 10 congregations under the supervision of the kehillah. Officially there is one rabbi in Libau.⁵ -- Jacob ben Lightman

Germany:

"Social workers seek to penetrate into the teachings of Judaism and grasp the significance of the Jewish festivals."⁶
Dr. George Lubinski.

Jews in Latin America

Cuba. By 1930 religious services were conducted in private apartments used as houses of prayer. Public worship was not permitted under Spanish rule until 1898, and no regular synagogues have yet been built by any of this Jewish group. "The "Americans" have had their own Maham since 1914, while the needs of the Polish and Russian immigrants were attended to by a rabbi "imported" from the United States.

There is no synagogue in Mexico so far; but the majority of the Jews observe Yom Kippur, even though otherwise there are no organized religious activities.

There is no synagogue in Bogata, Colombia, and there is a small synagogue in Lima, Peru.⁷ -- Stephen Naft.

England:

"The Jewish citizen who is anxious to maintain ties with his religion registers with the synagogue which he wishes to attend."⁸ -- Adele Beerenson.

Prussia:

"At the beginning of the twentieth century, 400,000 Jews were living in Prussia, with six hundred separate Gemeindes, five hundred Jewish educational institutions, including one Jewish real Schule, two teachers' seminaries, and twenty-five institutions for the advancement of Jewish

Science. It required over 130 rabbis, 600 male and female teachers, and over 1200 other paid employees to take care of the religious, educational, philanthropic and financial activities. Up to 1812 only Catholic and Protestant Churches in Prussia were officially accepted as religious organizations, subject to general governmental supervision and guidance. These two religious bodies, known as "Religions Gesellschaften," were to be distinguished from other religious groups that were merely tolerated, but for which regulations did not exist as to forms of worship and internal organization. This was particularly true of the Jewish religious group known technically as the "Judische Religious Partei" which was tolerated without constituting a "Gesellschaft", that is, a juridically binding union of communities controlled by one central organization."

"The first body of laws (Juden-Edikt), affecting the religious and communal life of the Jews in Prussia, was issued in 1812; but it was not until 1847 that actual freedom of communal growth was granted to the Jews. The law known as the "Patent" of 1847 provided for the development within Prussia of definitely limited districts, each comprising a certain number of congregations and vested with the right of Juridical persons. Communally speaking, by far the most significant provision of the law was that which prescribed that all Jews living within a particular synagogue district must belong to a Jewish congregation. This is compulsory

membership, or "Gemeinde Zwang." It may well be considered, -- although undoubtedly not so intended by the government;-- as the very foundation upon which the organization of Jewish communal life in Prussia was developed..."

"The law did not require Jewish children of school age to attend Christian religious instruction, but imposed upon the Jewish community the duty of making adequate provisions for Jewish religious instruction. The curriculum was left to be worked out by the Jewish communal authorities, but provision was made for the inclusion of ethical and moral instruction as a component part of the program. The law prescribed the educational and professional qualifications of instructors of religion. Only those who had passed the usual state examination for elementary school teachers could be employed."⁹ -- Ludwig Bernstein

SECTION V

Kashruth

Section V, which follows, deals with Kashruth and other Orthodox Jewish customs. We have attempted to show the attitude of social workers and organizations toward kashruth in particular. Some of the material might have been included under other headings, but for the most part all pf the references have to do with kashruth.

SECTION V ** KASHRUTH

The first note that is referred to in this section is from Jewish Charities of 1910.

The sixth annual report of the Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society of Denver, Colorado emphasized the¹ question of kosher food.

"When outings for children of the Cincinnati Jewish settlement occur ample kosher food is supplied."²

Mr. Lurie discusses Kashruth in the following article: "The passing of the two great Jewish child-care institutions of New York from a non-kosher to a kosher dietary is an incident of more than ordinary significance.

1. On the face of things change appears to be the natural result of the advent of large numbers to whom kashruth is a strong religious necessity, and who now form to a great extent the constituency which Jewish institutions serve.

In the case of the child-caring institutions, the change may evidence deeper currents, more refined causes. A decided feeling has arisen in Jewish circles, as it has elsewhere, for a more efficient religious influence in the training of youth, and every educator is on the qui vive to ascertain what form of teaching will make a permanent impression upon the youthful mind.... The change also denotes a subtler handling of the child. Attention is given to his

psychology, to the reactions that have been established in in him, to the peculiar association of ideas which has become a part of his mental makeup. The rejection of so much of his personality as has been thus established is a waste that no educator can afford; hence the increasing attempt to approach the child from his own point of view, and of this approach the change to kashruth, noted above is a single instance."³

Ludwig B. Bernstein describes kashruth in the New York Hebrew Orphan Asylum as follows: "One of the most important phases in last year's work at the Hebrew Orphan Asylum was the introduction of a kosher kitchen for the children of that institution. This step is no doubt in many respects very significant, if not an epoch-making concession, made by the leaders of our reform Jewish community to the justified demands of certain elements in our Jewish community."... "It is fair to assume that the maintenance of the kosher kitchen cost the Orphan Asylum not less than \$6,000 to \$7,000 a year more than formerly." "May the hopes of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum expressed so frankly in the report, that by this step they might gain the financial support of large numbers of 'extremely religious members of the community,' who are non-subscribers to the Orphan Asylum be realized."⁴

"Similar considerations prompted the directorate of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Orphan Asylum to promise

certain leaders of the Orthodox Jewish Community to adopt a strictly "kosher" kitchen in its new cottage home institution in Pleasantville, a promise which they are determined to carry out regardless of cost."⁴

"The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society for the year ending December 31, 1911, showed that the Society secured a kosher kitchen at Ellis Island."⁵

Sometime in the fall of 1915, Rabbi Leo Franklin read a paper before the Wayne County, Michigan Nurses' Association on "Orthodox Jewish Customs in their Relation to the Nursing Profession." Rabbi Franklin prefaced his account of the ceremonies with this remark: "It is axiomatic that, next to the knowledge of the technical details of her profession, the greatest need of the nurse who shall attain to her real efficiency in her work is sympathy with her patient I mean the understanding of the mental attitude of the patient and of his environmental influences that go to shape that attitude.... In the case of the Orthodox Jew this is particularly noteworthy. Due to religious customs which, through long usage, have become part of his very life, but which are strange and peculiar "to the nurse", the patient is frequently unresponsive to the best-intentioned offices of the nurse who, in the goodness of her heart, is doing the very things which, from the nature of the case, must be absolutely repulsive to her patient. In order that a closer bond of sympathy between the nurse and her patient of ortho-

dox Jewish faith may be established, it shall be my purpose in this paper to deal with some of the more important ceremonies practiced by the orthodox Jew, which have a more or less direct bearing upon the nursing profession."

Mr. Armand Wyle of Rochester visited eleven orphan asylums in 1915. He had occasion to visit communities "where two orphan asylums existed with only sufficient funds to maintain one adequately. Where there is an abundance of money for the purpose it would doubtless be ideal to pay for two overhead charges... The open difference is usually attributed to the question of kashruth, but it is usually due to the mutual distrust of the Orthodox and Reform factions frequently existing in cities. The real difference could easily be adjusted by a display of tolerance on either side. The difficulties and additional expense of maintaining kashruth consistently must be met, as must the higher educational standards demanded."

In an enlightening article on "Cooperation between All Groups in a Community", Morris Waldman in 1916 showed that "considerable coordination and authority have been developed in the public ritual life of our orthodox coreligionists with regard to kashruth, mikvehs, ghet and provisional synagogues for the fall holidays. Some will question the propriety of the Jewish community as a whole being involved in such issues. But here, too, it must be conceded that these issues do affect non-observant Jews especially when abuses

have developed. When Jewish ritualism becomes commercialized,⁸ the reputation of the Jews as a whole suffers."

The note on the "question of Kashruth" in the November, 1917, issue of Jewish Charities calls to mind the present Selective Service training in the various service branches of the United States armed forces. In 1917 the Jewish Board for Welfare Work in the United States Army and Navy (the present Jewish Welfare Board) had been considering "the question of furnishing kosher food to soldiers and sailors. The Board is consistently and sympathetically taking up this matter of furnishing kosher food, and is awaiting the final settlement of the men in the National Army camps before attempting to take definite steps with the War Department."⁹

The new home of the Hebrew Sheltering Aid Society of America contains a synagogue and two separate kosher¹⁰ kitchens (1920).

In 1920 the Women's League of the United Synagogues opened a kosher cafeteria opposite the College of the City¹¹ of New York.

In 1926 the editor of the Jewish Social Service Quarterly discussed kashruth as follows: "It would appear that the time has now arrived when such questions (different phases of ritual observance) can be considered purely objectively and without passionate discussion. So far as the aged and the sick are concerned there can be no doubt

that the opportunity for following these practices (traditional) conduces to their happiness in homes for the aged and their most satisfactory psychological conditions in hospitals and other agencies for the sick. With regard to the children in charge of our various types of child care agencies it would seem to be axiomatic that since these agencies stand in the relationship of artificial parent to the child, they ought to provide so far as possible for such conditions with respect to these items as would represent what the parent would have desired for the child if he had been able to continue his normal relationship. There is no reason for disregarding the sensibilities of those groups in the community. They are coming to play an increasingly large part in the support of communal activities, and are deeply and sincerely attached to these forms of religious observance. It would seem to require but little more than graciousness and courtesy of attitude in the part of controlling groups to render complete satisfaction in these respects and to obviate the necessity or the assumed necessity for the creation of duplicating or completing agencies merely because of the non-observance of these portions of the ritual so important in the eyes of our orthodox brethren." ¹²

In 1930 "Jewish Customs and Traditions" (12 lectures, an hour each, twice a week) were given by the Associated Jewish Charities of Baltimore. Dr. Samuel Rosenblatt, an orthodox rabbi and a member of the faculty of Johns Hopkins

gave the course. The outline included:

- I. The Sabbath
- II. The Holidays
- III. Minor Holidays
- IV. Fast Days and periods of mourning
- V. Ind. Mourning
- VI. Laws of Marriage
- VII. Laws of Divorce
- VIII. Family Life
- IX. Social Laws
- X. Dietary Laws
- XI. Health Laws
- XII. Prayers

SECTION VI

Removal Work

One note about removal work (removal of immigrants from port of entry) is included in this study. With proper understanding the author of this reference advises social workers to have regard for an immigrant's religious proclivities.

Discussing removal work from various ports, David M. Bressler stated in 1910: "the man may be sincerely religious or he may be indifferent to religious matters; in every case his honest convictions should be respected without a patronizing air."¹

SECTION VII

Judaism and Prostitution

Prostitution and social disease are ever recurring problems for the social workers. Though very little is said about the "Jewish" attitude toward these problems in our material, one reference was striking enough to be used as an illustration in this section. This is by a rabbi, who is pointing out the problems to rabbis and social workers alike.

Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee of Pittsburgh wrote an article, January 1913, about prostitution and its vicious concomitant, venereal disease. He introduced his paper by stating the traditional Jewish attitude toward prostitution and said "our ancestors, as no other people, realized the insidious harm which it" (prostitution) "caused, and legislated accordingly.... At present, a most determined movement is on to fight this black plague... because the world has never been free from the prostitute means nothing... Today, the people in every part of the country are attacking this issue, and why should not Israel take the lead?... The position of the rabbi is clear. He should quote freely from the Scriptures and make his people acquainted with the words of the prophets concerning this vice... our religious instruction fails of its highest purpose if we do not prepare our children for future living by careful teaching in the very problem of life itself."

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SECTION VIII

The Synagogue

The subject of the synagogue with reference to many types of activities, organizations and philosophies is a very popular one in Jewish Social Welfare Literature. It was impossible to include every reference to the synagogue, but instead we have chosen one reference by an outstanding social worker from each of the periodicals used in this study.

Of course rabbis also had occasion to discuss the synagogue in these periodicals, but their articles were less critiques, and more in the nature of apologies. Dr. Bogen, however, in his article does quote from a statement of a rabbi -- Rabbi Edgar Magnin.

The Synagogue

B. A. Palitz's article on the "Timely Advent of the Y. M. H. A." in Jewish Charities for February, 1912, criticized the synagogues for not doing anything for youth. In the past, "the synagogue, next to the home, was another factor of social elevation... These conditions obtain no longer... The synagogue faintly rings its parish bells for the flock of little ones to come and be formally instructed in the 'ancient' religion.... I t is no longer the nesting place to keep the spiritual life of the young warm and their minds alert against the dangers and temptations that lure¹ them without."

Professor Julius Drachsler's article, part of which contains a section called "The Struggle of the Synagogue", is a forceful critique. He stated "That the synagogue does not occupy the central place it used to in earlier days, under ghetto conditions and even before these became predominant, is almost a commonplace... The solvent forces of the emancipated countries have made their inroads upon the ancient institution to no less a degree than they have upon the Christian Churches. Writing in 1917 "Affiliation with the synagogue" in Jewish Communal Register, 1917-1918 pp. 120-121, Mordecai Kaplan draws some gloomy conclusions: "The synagogue has lost hold on more than one-half of the largest community in the world." Out of 900,000 Jews (who would normally attend) only

about 415,000 are 'synagogue Jews'. He further notes the unevenness in the percent of the population affiliated, when judged by districts.

Less than one fifth of the permanent synagogues have reckoned with the environment and have, to some extent at least, taken part in American life. (Out of a seating capacity of 217,725 there are only 39,260 seats in synagogues where English sermons are preached.) ... It may be that the so-called institutional synagogues, and those having social centers as adjuncts, in spreading their services to groups outside the immediate congregation, will, with some reason, expect and receive communal aid in the future."²

Dr. Bogen in his address on "Jewish Community Life" at the 1925 Conference quoted Dr. Edward F. Maghin in regard to the function of the synagogue.

"The synagogue," says he, "can and should supply the inspiration for community effort. It should provide the stimuli for community service, but the organization of community endeavor, the administration of various functional activities, should be left to special organizations. If the synagogue fails to recognize the intricacies of modern organization, it fails in serving its own function and interferes with and duplicates the efforts of agencies specially fitted to do specific work for which they are intended."³

Bruno Lasker's article on "An Inquiry into the Jewish Way of Life" also discussed the synagogue. He stated that: "It is the misfortune of ancient institutions that they become hallowed by antiquity.... The synagogue has suffered somewhat less from this seemingly inevitable tendency than other venerable institutions because centuries of persecution have robbed it of the aloofness that usually befalls the priestly office, have forced it, in order to survive, to be close to the homes and lives of the common people. But in our day, and especially in America, the synagogue, like the Christian Church, is in danger of becoming a house of empty words and gestures.... So, a generation ago, there began a movement away from the traditionalism of the synagogue to the hard discipline of science. Within the synagogue this movement was reflected by a trend toward reality, toward preoccupation with questions of the day. Unfortunately, this trend did not always go deep enough to help those who were seeking solutions for the permanent problems of life. Too often the sentimentalism of the older era became the sensationalism of the new -- a rootless drifting on the current of contemporary public opinion..."⁴

SECTION IX

Jewish Divorce (The Ghet)

The "Ghet" does not seem to be much of a problem today in this country. But it was important enough to be discussed at a National Conference only sixteen years ago. The one reference to the Ghet follows:

Cecelia Razovsky delivered a paper at the 1929 National Conference of Jewish Social Service on "Changing Standards in Social Service as a Result of the New Immigration Policy" (Registration of Aliens Bill). In regard to the "ghet" the author stated that "two important duties confront all social agencies with regard to this far-reaching subject. One is to agitate for an international Conference of Nations on marriage and divorce, with the ultimate hope of having uniform regulations adopted by all nations, and of having reciprocal agreements adopted by all the nations for the purpose of apprehending deserters. Social agencies interested in Jewish clients should recommend a convocation of rabbis to recodify the Jewish law on the subject of the "ghet" so that it be no longer medieval in nature, and so that the well known principle that the Jewish code is always subsidiary to the law of the land may be restated for the benefit of existing Jewry."

SECTION X

Intermarriage

Surprisingly enough there were only a few remarks relating to intermarriage in our material. Two are included in this section.

A letter was sent to the editor of Jewish Charities in April, 1914, regarding assistance to families of mixed marriages (three men married non-Jewish wives and children were not brought up as Jews). The answer of the editor was as follows: "While charity does not discriminate between creed, sect, and nationality, yet Jewish relief societies are primarily organized to take care of Jewish unfortunates only. It would be impossible for any Jewish relief society to attempt to give permanent relief in a non-sectarian way. The question, therefore, presents itself: What attitude should Jewish relief societies take in cases A, B, and C? Should they be treated as Jewish cases because the husbands are Jews by birth? I am not aware as to whether this question has ever been brought up for discussion."¹

Ludwig B. Bernstein's article on intermarriage is interesting. He stated that, "A short time ago the community of Pittsburgh was confronted with an unusually interesting problem, as to whether or not Jewish social service should take a definite attitude with relation to intermarriage, quite aside from our religious or theological implications involved. The case more particularly affected a Jewish girl

seventeen years of age who was in love with a Catholic boy of eighteen years, and although a marriage was not contemplated as a step in the immediate future, it was, nevertheless, an ultimate objective upon which both young people were bent..."

(The writer wrote to fifty federation executives. Of this number, forty-four answered. Of the forty-four, thirty-four federation executives also served in their respective communities as heads of their case working agencies. Perhaps the simplest way of presenting the results of the inquiry is by selecting two answers which are representative of the forty-four replies)

I. "Intermarriage is contrary to the spirit of Jewish communal service, irrespective of whether an individual case worker believes it or not." In this category of answers representing the large bulk (37 replies), there are a number of exceedingly interesting communications, of which I would like to quote one in particular coming from a southern city:

"Religion is too important a thing to be lightly cast aside, for sooner or later the problem arises..." In speaking of the influence of the Catholic Church upon the boy, the letter continues as follows: "A Catholic boy is trained in every conceivable aspect of his religion, he is taught to be a Catholic and nothing else..."

The communication next attacks the difficulties and aggravated difficulties of intermarriage as follows:

"Marriage has enough bars, enough shoals and wrecking places without starting off with the extra handicap of two different religions and backgrounds... Yet, how much more it would be when the difference would be as great as another religion. It might be argued that, as a matter of fact, it is not a question of religion, as one of reason, tolerance and consideration and that these things alone will overcome all obstacles, but is it really so? What religious tenets, beliefs or prejudices have ever given way to reason or logic? None, for reason is a matter of mental deduction whereas faith is the chief element of religion."

II. "Intermarriage may or may not be discouraged as a case working policy depending upon circumstances."

"From the whole tone of the correspondence, it was quite obvious that there was a strong feeling, nay, an intense conviction, on the part of the overwhelming majority of all executives that it would be futile to maintain a Jewish social service program in any community without the implied understanding that in our social work we would attempt to foster ideals of Jewish life and, of course, of Jewish home life... the concensus of opinion on the question of intermarriage is that it is incompatible with the ideals of Jewish social service."²

SECTION XI

Jewish Science

Very little is heard about the subject of Jewish Science today (the healing cult, not the movement fostered by Zunz). Yet in 1927 Dr. William Fineshriber of Philadelphia wrote about it in the Jewish Social Service Quarterly, for social workers. He showed clearly enough that it is not a heresy, and that is what social workers wanted to know. Dr. Fineshriber's remarks follow in this section.

"Jewish Science originated in the mind of a rabbi, Dr. Albert C. Moses of Mobile, Alabama. His sole idea was to show that Judaism contained many of the elements which many Jews, ignorant of their own faith, imagined only Christian Science possessed.

The present movement does not attempt to create a schism or sect. It does not contend that only spirit is real, matter being the product of human error. It merely emphasizes the old Jewish thought that matter and spirit are different sides of the same shield... The prognosis seems to be a favorable one. If it will teach people to refrain from needless worrying,... if it challenges the indifferent Jews in our congregations, stimulating them to think of God and prayer and the spiritual life -- dayenu--¹ it is enough."

SECTION XII

Jewish Court of Arbitration

Like something out of the past came the two references to a Jewish Court of Arbitration which are to be found in this section. The first one is from 1913 and the second from just a few years ago, 1938.

In May, 1913, a Jewish Court of Arbitration was organized in Baltimore. Mr. J. Louis Schochet described this court in Jewish Charities. He mentioned several cases tried before the court such as a suit against a mohel, a suit between two butchers regarding terefah, and a suit against a synagogue by one of its members.¹

William Boxerman described a modern Bet Din in an article in the Jewish Social Service Quarterly of December, 1938. The Jewish Community Council of Detroit organized this court so that problems concerning Jewish tradition and religious observances should not be brought up in regular court.²

SECTION XIII

Judaism and Youth

The last section in Chapter I is devoted to the subject of Judaism and Youth, as discussed by two rabbis and one social worker. The point of view of each of the authors is different, but underlying all three is the belief that religion is a force that youth can have if properly trained and more properly understood. The quotations from Rabbi Silver's article, "Leisure and the Church" do not discuss youth in particular, but outline the problem in general.

Rabbi Kohn discussed "What Judaism Offers Our Young People" in the Jewish Center in 1924. He pointed out that, "It is not the value of Judaism which is involved, but the lure of Judaism. Jewish youth hungers for that which all youth craves..."

Today I believe we are fairly alive to the fact that the Jewish synagogue and the Jewish school, yes, that all institutions that seek to uphold Jewish life, must be endowed with charm inherent in beauty and order if they are ever to convey their deeper message to the leading youth of Israel." Rabbi Kohn continued to say that, "Hedder Mitzvah is the duty to adorn and embellish the pageantry of religious observance so that it would appeal to the aesthetic sense and through it all the more deeply to the religious emotions."

Nor was Judaism a religion intensely prone to exalt solemnity at the expense of joyousness or to look with suspicion upon the innocent pleasures of life, as among the temptations of the evil one...

Suffering long drawn out imposed a certain somberness upon Jewish life. It took some time for synagogue and church to realize that the craving of youth for new social contacts, for various forms of self-expression, etc., represented a vital instinct which could be cultivated to fine social and religious ends or perverted into a fruitful source of social and individual corruption. Today organized religion everywhere approaches with sympathy this tremendous urge in the heart of youth...

Youth as such is sensitive to other appeals than those of joy and beauty. It will accept certain of the more austere gifts of Jewish faith and life, and the reason why these are not more frequently offered as Judaism's legacy to the spirit of youth is because our understanding of youthful psychology is inadequate....In the heart of every growing boy and girl there are depths of aspiration unexplored by the mature gaze, to which only the rarer aspects of religious life can appeal... The Bible can help." ¹

Rabbi Silver deals with "Leisure and the Church" in the following reference. He remarked that: "The Church is, of course, vitally interested in the provision for leisure for men, and in the uses to which such leisure is put. I

think that one of the proudest and most justifiable boasts of organized religion is that it made a rest for at least one day a week compulsory.

The church is interested in leisure because it knows that no culture, no civilization, no spiritual religion are possible without leisure. It is quite important for the church to know what people are doing with their leisure, for what people do with their leisure is of as great importance as what they do in their working hours. The church cannot undertake the whole problem of leisure, nor can the church, by itself, set about to solve it.

I maintain, however, that in localities where there are no other agencies doing this work of salvation, the church ought to take the initiative until such time as distinctive agencies arise in the field which can take over that work and carry it on." (Rabbi Silver has reference to youth activities in this paragraph.)

"As regards our adults, the church again has a specific mission to perform... A man should work of course, and he should work hard to establish himself and provide for himself and his family. But a man should never permit himself to become so consumed as to be incapacitated for other concerns of life.

The church ought to teach men to have more respect for amateurs. The church, in its emphasis upon spiritual, rather than material qualities, ought to teach men, first to

prepare themselves for the role of amateurs in life; and secondly, to revere such men in society."²

Mr. E. Charles Sydney wrote an article on "Tendencies in the Life of the American Jewish Youth" in the Jewish Center for September, 1927. He said, "It is difficult if not impossible, to say what is the Jewish life and surely what is the religious life of the Jewish youth in America today...certainly there is a great hiatus between what was the general Jewish and the religious life of the Jewish youth of yesterday in Eastern Europe and what that same life is in America today.

Two generations ago they began coming here...all was left behind, but they brought with them a faith that had not nearly imprinted itself upon them, but had engrained itself in their very lives...

To the masses of the newly arrived the real problem was the religious training of the children." (Describes the Cheder and difficulty of understanding Sunday School etc.)
"The religious training and development of the child during this period was a failure because the Jew who had come to America from other lands attempted to apply in a new environment, which he did not well understand, the methods by which he had been taught. That which had made the father regard Judaism as life, for the son was an imposed burden...

Jewish youth is alert in its individual life, but complacent in its approach to common problems.

But when it is aroused first in the field of general communal life and then in the field of religious life, its response to the latter is not a literal acceptance of the past. Rather is it a desire to build a spiritual life in its own way... It is not desirous of destroying the prayer-book but it does want a service which will arouse its sentiment and interest and bring it close to God...

It is our task to make our youth feel Judaism in a natural normal way, just as our grandfathers did it in their environment before they came here in the generations now gone by."³

CHAPTER II
(Conclusions)

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions found during the course of this survey of material will be presented with few footnotes. It would be just a repetition of quotations from the first chapter if they were added.

According to the definition of "religious" suggested in the introduction of this thesis, the writer can say unequivocally that there are many religious factors to be found in the literature of Jewish Social Welfare covered by this thesis. Every volume of Jewish Charities, the Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service, the Jewish Social Service Quarterly, and the Jewish Center Magazine contained religious material.

Up until 1920 many rabbis were active leaders in Jewish social work. Their influence was felt in all quarters -- from settlement houses to family agencies -- and from national Jewish hospitals to foster homes. Of course, in one way or another their social work reflected their religious background. On the other hand, many lay leaders whose background was non-rabbinical, but nevertheless religious influenced Jewish social work in this regard. Many of the non-rabbinical leaders had come from orthodox homes in the United States or from Europe where the term "Zedakah" meant more than just giving -- where to give "Zedakah" was a "mitzvah" -- a religious duty.

These first twenty years of Jewish social work in this century were years of trial and error progress, of tremendous adjustments for social workers and clients alike. There were no tried and true methods on which to rely. The methods used by our people in Europe could not be used here. A different environment, albeit more congenial, made it difficult to do the job of charity in all its phases as well as the leaders thought it should be done. It was much easier to provide charity in Europe, and especially in Eastern Europe. There were no complications. Everything radiated from the synagogue. Everyone belonged to the synagogue. In Europe (Eastern Europe) the social worker didn't have to worry about the religious content of his social work. As a matter of fact, the social worker as we know her was not to be found in Eastern Europe. Even Western Europe had few trained social workers. Either the officers of the synagogue, the rabbi, or a designated official took care of the charity.

With the onrush of immigration in 1882 and during the following years the first duty of the social worker in this country was to help the immigrant to adjust as well as he could to the American environment. Americanization plans were foremost in the eyes of both worker and client. It is a wonder to us looking back upon the scene from our vantage point in 1941 how any religious content except the humanitarianism of the social worker, could have been included in social work. In the notes on "Religious Education" in the third

section of the first chapter of this thesis will be found how religious content was included in every phase of social work. Starting with work with farmers and ending with Jewish Centers and Y. M. H. A.'s the social worker has encouraged and helped to initiate religious content in the programs of various Jewish organizations. This situation does not only hold for the years 1900-1920, but also for the last twenty years. Although rabbis do not have the positions they formerly held in this field, the trained social workers themselves have encouraged religious content in their work.

To be honest and give the true picture, we should say that most social workers have desired some religious content in their work. Others have not. But they too have had a religious outlook, but it has been a universal^{'istic} one and not a particular^{'istic} one. This thesis is not a critical analysis. The author is not sitting as a judge over social workers. Many have desired no Jewish content in their work, nevertheless their work did contain religious content. The best illustration of this was the former director of the Council Educational Alliance of Cleveland, whose views on this point will be found in the notes under "Settlements", note 26. Mr. Walter Leo Solomon's life and work reflected his deep religious feeling, but Mr. Solomon believed that the settlement should be universally religious in character, not Jewish.

We have come at this point to the crux of the problem of the social worker and religion. This research has shown us that most social workers are religious, that religion is

reflected in the work they do and the organizations with which they have contact, but that most of them are not interested in formal religious practice . Many of the leaders in Jewish Social Service are interested in formal religious practice, but the majority are not. As for the rank and file of the Jewish social workers, though religious content is found in their work they do not associate themselves with houses of worship. The picture presented in this paragraph holds true in more detail for the past decade.

These are the main conclusions drawn from this survey. The author wished to verify his own impressions gained through contact with social workers through five years of experience working in a Jewish Center and through a short but stimulating experience as a volunteer in the United Jewish Social Agencies in Cincinnati. Social work of any kind, as he sees it, is deeply religious. Any help man can give to man is essentially a religious experience, even though the word "God" is not mentioned. However, for the purposes of this thesis the term "religious" was expanded as explained in the introduction. The author has not tried to extend the conclusions to any great length. The facts are there -- any more would be fruitless and futile.

Social workers have contributed much to religion and a great deal to Judaism. Forty years are only a few spots in the chart of time. There are many more years ahead, in which much more can be contributed to the fields of social

work and religion. Social work and religion, as this writer sees them, are not really two distinct fields of endeavor or thought, but one field so intertwined as to be impossible of separation. This last conclusion was strengthened article by article during this study. Our hope is that in the years to come less ameliorative work will be necessary for American Jewry and that social workers and rabbis will together be able to do the preventive work, which is the province of both professions.

NOTES

Chapter I

Section I, The Sabbath

1. N. C. is the abbreviation for the Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Charities. (During the course of years this name was changed to N. C. of Jewish Social Service and later N. C. J. S. Welfare. Instead of repeating these various times we have selected the abbreviation N. C. to stand for this publication. The Volume numbers are according to the Hebrew Union College Library Catalogue.
2. J. S. S. Q. is the abbreviation for Jewish Social Service Quarterly.

* * * *

1. N. C., Vol. I, pp. 80-81
2. N. C., Vol. I, p. 86
3. N. C., Vol. I, pp. 122-123
4. Jewish Charities, Vol. I, 10, p. 6
5. Jewish Charities, Vol. I, 10, pp. 11-12
6. Jewish Charities, Vol. I, 10, p. 12
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