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Jewish Education Survey, Cleveland, Ohio, 1936 undated.

1936 JEWISH EDUCATION SURVEY

OF

CLEVELAND

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS



Submitted

October 1936

I. B. Berkson

Ben Rosen

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The section on "Summary and Recommendations" presented herewith deal with those aspects of the educational situation which are regarded as important from the viewpoint of formulating a public or communal policy in the matter of Jewish educational work in Cleveland. There have been included several sections from the 1936 New York Jewish Education Study (made by I. B. Berkson) which treat of some of the general problems involved.

Pedagogical questions of a technical nature are not dealt with in the summary but material with reference to such questions will be found in the detailed survey which gives the factual data on which the summary is based. The detailed survey is incorporated in a special volume and includes the following chapters:

Jewish Child Population  
Variations in Enrollment  
Social Background of Homes Which Supply Pupils  
for the Jewish Schools  
Achievement and Length of Stay  
— Teachers  
Teachers' Salaries  
Course of Study, Intensity of Instruction and Program  
Finances  
Extent of Jewish Education  
Buildings  
The Bureau of Jewish Education

In connection with this survey, also, there has been prepared a study of graduates from Jewish schools noting their reactions to their Jewish education, present Jewish affiliations and attitudes. A report of the study of graduates will be submitted as a supplement to this summary.



STATUS OF JEWISH EDUCATION IN CLEVELAND -- 1936

I.		II.		III.		IV.						V.		VI.		VII.			VIII.					IX.					X.				XI.					XII.		XIII.				XIV.		
Code No.	Name of School	Type of School	Distribution of Register According to No. of Sessions Per Week						Register 1923	No. of Weeks in Session	Number of Pupils on Register			Number of Teachers					No. of Classes Distributed as to Sessions Per Week					No. of Pupils Distributed as to Departments				Total Educational Salaries	Total Expenditure	Tuition Income	Local Income	Community Subsidy	Total Income	No. of Free Pupils	Per Capita**			Physical Accommodations		Rating						
			1	2	3	4	5	Total			Boys	Girls	Total	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Total	1 Day	2 Day	3 Day	4 Day	5 Day	Total	Elem.	High	Coll.								Total	Total School	Week Day	One Day	No. of Rooms		No. of Seats	Type of Building				
A 1	Euclid Avenue Temple	Temple S.S.	689	45	99	-	-	833	1,025	38	395	438	833	2	6	12	32	44	37	4	6	-	-	47	720	95	18	833	\$ 13,411.00	\$ 14,111.00(3)	--	\$14,111.00	--	\$14,111.00	0	16.94	12.26	6.04	32	700	Spec. Sch. Bldg.	A				
2	Temple Tifereth Israel	" " "	832	140	-	-	-	972	1,022	38	467	505	972	1	7	17	34	51	38	9	-	1	-	48	799	134	39	972	15,100.00	20,580.00	--	20,580.00	--	20,580.00	0	15.53*	-	-	31	750	" " "	A				
3	Community Temple	" " "	472	-	-	-	-	472	#	38	206	266	472	-	-	3	22	25	25	-	-	-	-	25	440	32	-	472	E2,375.00	E2,500.00	E1,500.00	E1,000.00	--	2,500.00	6	5.30	-	5.30	18	470	" " "	B				
4	The B'nai Yeshurun Temple	" " "	500	125	-	-	-	625	420	38	315	310	625	1	4	15	28	43	42	-	8	-	-	50	519	89	17	625	4,237.00	4,237.00	--	4,237.00	--	4,237.00	0	6.78	-	-	27	800	" " "	A				
5	Jewish Center	" " "	709	-	-	-	-	709	1,000E	32	283	426	709	-	-	10	16	26	28	-	-	-	-	28	589	75	45	709	2,300.00	2,700.00	--	2,700.00	--	2,700.00	0	3.81	-	3.81	16	480	" " "	A				
6	Nvai Zedek	Cong. " "	112	-	-	-	-	112	-	36	54	58	112	-	-	-	5	5	5	-	-	-	-	5	112	-	-	112	360.00	360.00	None	360.00	--	360.00	E 10	3.21	-	3.21	5	E125	Vestry Rooms	D				
Total for A Schools			3,314	310	99	-	-	3,723	3,467	37	1,720	2,003	3,723	4	17	57	137	194	175	13	14	1	-	203	3,179	425	119	3,723	37,783.00	44,488.00	1,500.00	42,988.00	--	44,488.00	16	Ar. 10.14*	-	-	129	3,325						
B --	Council Religious Schools	Com. S.S.	821	-	-	-	-	821	1,116	38	361	460	821	-	-	5	21	26	43	-	-	-	-	43	771	50	-	821	3,260.00	5,180.21	349.49	238.14	5,550.00	6,137.63	E700	6.31	--	6.31	25	743	Rented Rms. Spec. Sch. Bldg.	C				
1	Mt. Pleasant	" " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
2	55th St. Branch	" " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
3	Lakeview Branch	" " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
4	Columbia Branch	" " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
5	Lake Shore Jewish Center	" " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
Total for B Schools			821	-	-	-	-	821	1,116	38	361	460	821	-	-	5	21	26	43	-	-	-	-	43	771	50	-	821	3,260.00	5,180.21	349.49	238.14	5,550.00	6,137.63	E700	6.31	-	6.31	25	743	Rented Rms. Spec. Sch. Bldg.	B&C				
C --	Cleveland Hebrew School & Inst.	Com. Weekday	-	-	-	121	-	121	2,181	44	63	58	121	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	7	-	7	121	-	-	121	1,750.00	5,728.95	1,438.80	1,717.07	3,215.51	6,371.38	43	47.77	47.77	--	21	465	Rented Rms. Spec. Sch. Bldg.	C				
1	Jewish Center Branch	" " "	-	-	-	145	-	145	521	44	81	64	145	2	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	8	-	8	145	-	-	145	1,776.00	6,247.30	1,334.28	1,866.32	2,803.48	6,004.08	42	23.28*	-	-	3	70	Rm. Priv. House	C				
2	Columbia Branch	" " "	-	-	-	180	-	180	115	44	148	32	180	2	3	-	-	5	-	-	-	8	-	8	180	-	-	180	3,130.00	8,726.12	1,762.52	2,645.79	3,992.50	8,400.81	61	-	-	5	160	" " "	C					
3	Lakeview Branch	" " "	-	-	-	86	-	86	44	44	45	41	86	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	8	73	13	-	86	1,446.00	4,648.56	347.36	1,548.83	2,028.94	3,925.13	50	-	-	3	65	Spec. Sch. Bldg.	C						
4	Kinsman Branch	" " "	-	-	-	67	-	67	287	44	28	39	67	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	5	-	5	67	-	-	67	350.00	2,667.90	223.00	823.35	1,510.35	2,556.70	48	-	-	3	48	Rented Rms. Spec. Sch. Bldg.	C					
5	Mt. Pleasant Branch	" " "	-	-	-	63	-	63	44	44	38	25	63	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	4	-	4	63	-	-	63	430.00	2,447.68	361.25	894.28	1,666.85	2,922.38	33	-	-	3	42	" " "	B					
6	Rickoff Branch	" " "	-	-	-	54	-	54	44	44	15	39	54	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4	-	4	-	-	54	2,675.00	3,743.02	240.81	651.84	1,191.57	2,084.22	35	-	-	4	80	Rm. Priv. House	C						
Total for C Schools			-	54	-	662	-	716	2,181	44	418	298	716	10	14	-	-	24	-	2	-	42	-	44	649	67	-	716	16,668.00(4)	34,209.53	5,708.02	10,147.48	16,409.20	32,264.70	312	47.77	47.77	--	21	465						
D 1	Yeshivah Adath B'nai Israel	Cong. Weekday	-	-	-	-	210	210	290	50	337	-	337	8	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	5	12	17	178	32	-	210	7,116.00	10,811.88	2,717.25	6,244.16	--	8,961.41	E200	32.08	32.08	--	8	200	Rm. Priv. House	C				
1a	Nvai Zedek Branch	" " "	-	-	-	105	22	337	#	49	23	5	28	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	4	4	28	-	-	105	E 750.00	E 750.00	E 150.00	600.00	--	750.00	20	25.00	25.00	--	2	25	Spec. Sch. Bldg.	C					
1b	Woodland Branch	" " "	-	-	-	-	22	28	#	49	149	116	265	4	-	7	8	15	26	-	1	8	27	225	9	31	265	2,337.00	2,821.00	--	2,821.00	--	2,821.00	6	8.70	14.40	4.60	13	300	Spec. Sch. Bldg.	C					
2	Sherith Yaakov	" " "	-	-	-	-	27	107	#	44	62	45	107	2	-	-	8	10	8	-	-	4	-	8	-	-	107	E1,480.00	E1,480.00	E 600.00	E 880.00	--	E1,480.00	48	14.00	--	--	4	100	Vestry Rooms	C					
3	Ohel Zedek	" " "	154	-	-	21	90	265	#	46	30E	10E	40	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	3	40	-	-	40	E1,400.00	E1,400.00	E1,400.00	--	--	E1,400.00	3	35.00	35.00	--	1	25	" " "	C					
4	Kinsman Jewish Center	" " "	80	-	-	-	-	80	#	38	26	31	57	-	-	-	3	3	3	-	-	-	3	57	-	-																				



A + B. No decrease

D increase

E. same

F. increase

G. - Decrease (see. of decline in Orphanage  
pop. (not Cleveland))

my sharp decrease in C = T.T.



3723

821

3723  
821  
-----  
4544

3467

1116

3467  
1116  
-----  
4583

716

8

716  
8  
-----  
6444



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Each part is numbered separately. The supplements are numbered independently



PART I.

ENROLLMENT AND WITHDRAWALS

Enrollment in 1936 - Comparison with Enrollment  
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inations - Recommendations on Enrollment.

Supplement No. 1. The Problem of Attendance and  
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# PART I - ENROLLMENT AND WITHDRAWALS

## Enrollment in 1936

1. In May 1936, 6,646 pupils were reported as being enrolled in the 32 Jewish schools, with 299 teachers. Of these, 5,913 were of the elementary grade, 583 of the Hight School, and 150 in college grade. As to the amount of instruction, 4,517 attended once a week; 433 twice a week; 139 - three times; 909 - four times; 648 - five times. The following table shows the distribution according to various school types:

	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Pupils</u>
Congregational	6	194	3,723 (409)
Council Religious Schools	5	26	821
Total one-day-a-week schools	<u>11</u>	<u>220</u>	<u>4,544 (409)*</u>
Cleveland Hebrew Schools and Institute	7	24	716
Congregational Week Day Schools	3	39	647 (346)**
Yeshiva Talmud Torahs	3	8	337
Orphan Asylums	2	4	186 ( 36)**
Total afternoon week-day schools	<u>15</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>1,886 (382)**</u>
All-day Schools ("Parochial")	1	2	18
Yiddishist Schools	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>198</u>
Total all schools	32	299	6,646

\* Receive additional one or two days in Hebrew instruction during the week.  
 \*\* Receive only one day a week instruction.

These figures do not include children attending heders or those receiving private instruction, of which there are probably still several hundred. On the other hand, there are some duplications; certain children attend both week day and Sunday schools, thus being counted twice. Taking into consideration these counterbalancing factors, the net attendance in recorded schools may be placed at 6,000, and including heder and private instruction, very roughly, at 6,500.



2. In terms of percentage of the total number of Jewish children of school age, the above indicates a good record. The total number of Jewish children attending elementary grade of the public schools in Cleveland in 1934 was estimated to be about 10,600 and the number is most probably no higher today. The number of children of elementary school age attending Jewish schools (outside of heder or private instruction) may be estimated at 5,500. Thus more than half of the children of elementary school age attend some Jewish school, and, in addition, a certain per cent receive heder or private instruction. Jewish school attendance in Cleveland is roughly twice as good as in New York and Chicago. Leaving the question of the intensiveness of the instruction out of consideration, Cleveland holds first place of all cities surveyed in recent years, in per cent of children receiving Jewish instruction at any one time.

3. However, the superiority in attendance is due wholly to large enrollment in one-day-a-week schools, particularly in the large Temples and Centers. About 4,500 children, or close to 70 per cent of the total attend one-day-a-week; about 1,800, or 27 per cent, attend from two to five sessions per week morning or afternoon week-day schools; about 200 attend Yiddishist schools, and a small number 18 - are enrolled in an all-day or parochial school.

In New York City, the relation between week-day and one-day-a-week school education is practically reversed. About 60,000 children attend Jewish schools. Of these 70 per cent attend week-day schools, among whom a fairly large number (5,000 pupils) are in all-day schools. There are 4,000 children attending Yiddishist schools - also an afternoon week-day form of instruction. In New York the Sunday school attendance accounts for only about 22 per cent of the total enrollment. In terms of week-day school attendance alone, Cleveland is hardly better than New York; in both cities only about one-sixth of all the children of school age attend week-day schools. In reality, the New York situation is more favorable if the intensiveness of the instruction is also considered. The Cleveland figure includes almost 500 children who attend only twice a week; while in New York



five times a week with seven hours and a half of instruction is still the usual practice in the week-day schools.

A large section of the population send their children to Sunday schools undoubtedly because one-day-a-week attendance is less onerous. But apart from this more widespread patronage of the Sunday school, there is also another factor. The children who go to Sunday schools stay there for a much longer period as will be shown below in the analysis of "Withdrawals" (see page 11). In other words, if the children who register in the Hebrew week-day schools would each stay as long as do the children in the Sunday schools, the enrollment taken at any one time would be vastly greater than it is at present. The superior attendance in Sunday schools measures not only widespread interest, but also greater length of stay.

Comparison with enrollment in previous years.

4. The 1923 Jewish Education survey found the enrollment to be about 7,864 in the schools with 300 estimated in heders and under private instruction. Among the children enrolled in schools, there were 919 duplications determined at the time by a careful check-up; the net enrollment in schools in 1923 was thus 6,845.

Up to 1927-1928, - just before the depression - there appears to have been a small net increase in total enrollments. But in the years of depression, there was a loss in registration, and although some schools have gained in recent years, the total registration today (6,646) is about 1,000 less than at the high point. It is probable that there are fewer duplications now than formerly; and thus the loss may be somewhat less, but certainly above 750.

This general movement of increase to the year of the depression and decrease after that, also characterizes the New York situation. However, in New York, the increase to 1927 was proportionately much larger; the number enrolled at the present time is still considerably greater than in 1923; and since 1932 the situation has become stabilized and the number of children in Jewish schools has, as a



matter of fact, somewhat increased. The last point, i.e., some increase in recent years, is true also in Cleveland of the Congregational schools, both Sunday and week-day.

5. Despite the fact that the survey shows a decrease in the absolute number of children attending Jewish schools, the proportion of those attending relative to the total number of Jewish children at the different periods, seems to have increased. The total number of Jewish children in the elementary classes of the public schools was about 14,000 in 1923; which would make the enrollment (7,864) over 55 per cent. If we take the 1934 school population figure (10,606) as a basis and the gross enrollment in May 1936 (6,642), we now have an enrollment of over 62 per cent; or an increase of about 7 per cent. The actual increase is, if anything, higher; the duplications in 1923 were probably greater than now; and the 1934 figure of Jewish child population probably higher than it is today.

6. All studies of Jewish child population in recent years, in various places, show a decrease relative to the total population, and this is a part of a more general situation with reference to the size of the American family. Many cities report a loss of registration in the first grades in the public schools as compared with previous years. It appears also that family limitation is a Decrease phenomenon especially marked among the Jews in process of modernization.\* In America, the cessation of immigration has brought the process to an acute development; the small size of the American Jewish family was formerly offset by larger families brought from abroad, or born to parents of recent immigration.

Another factor which accounts for some of the loss is the shifting of the Jewish population to outlying districts and to suburbs, where the children do not come within the scope of the city school census. There is a third cause making for a decrease apparent - rather than actual - of the Jewish child population: namely, as the Jewish family is assimilated, it becomes more difficult to recognize that the children are Jewish on account of change of name and manners. This would

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\* Ruppin "Jews in the Modern World" Chapter V.



enter into the "Teachers Count" method used in Cleveland by Mr. Friedland for determining the Jewish school population. The "Yom Kippur" method is subject to a similar fallacy because it may be that as the processes of Americanization go on, more Jewish children go to school on Yom Kippur now than formerly.\* However, this type of factor is probably a minor one.

That the Jewish child population has decreased in recent years is therefore incontrovertible; if there is any question in the matter it can only relate to the amount of decrease. In New York, the Jewish child population was estimated to be 332,757 in 1924-1925, and 283,204 in 1934-1935, or a loss of 15 per cent in the ten year period. In Cleveland, by the "Teachers Count" method, the child population was estimated at 13,622 in 1924; in 1934 by the same method at 10,606, or a loss of 22 per cent. It is not impossible that the various social factors at work operated more rapidly in Cleveland and this would have led to a higher rate of loss. There is nothing tangible to controvert the reasonableness of the figures quoted for Cleveland; and in any case it is clear that the decrease of Jewish population is one of the important factors in explaining the decrease of enrollment in Jewish schools.

① No decrease in S.S. - rather increase  
 of 300.  
 Decrease in Commie schools 1931, about 300  
 Total 3,723 = 3,467  
 821 = 1,116  
 4,544 = 4,583  
 Practically same!

\* For an analysis of these methods, see the detailed report Section I.

② Decrease in Orphanage pop - of 165



Comparison of changes in enrollment in the various types of schools.

7. The changes of enrollment in the various types of schools show different tendencies as indicated in the following table:

<u>Type of School</u>	<u>1923</u>		<u>1936</u>		<u>% Increase or Decrease</u>
	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Pupils</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Pupils</u>	
Congregational one-day-a-week schools	4	3,467 (240)*	6	3,723 (409)*	/ 7.4
Council Religious	3	1,116	5	821	- 26.4
Total one-day-a-week	7	4,585	11	4,544 (409)	- 0.9
Cleveland Hebrew Schools and Institute	8	2,181	7	716	- 67.2
Congregational afternoon week-day	3	375 (157)**	6	647 (346)**	/ 72.5
Yeshiva Talmud Torahs	2	290	3	337	/ 16.2
Orphan Asylums	2	345	2	186 ( 36)**	- 46.1
	15	3,191	18	1,886 (382)	- 40.9
All-day Schools	-	-	1	18	-
Yiddishist	1	90	2	198	/ 120.0
Total all Schools	23	7,874	32	6,646	- 15.6

\* Receive additional one or two days in Hebrew instruction during the week.

\*\* Receive only one day a week instruction.

8. The one-day-a-week group taken as a whole have about held their own despite the decrease in the total enrollment in all the schools. However, even within this group two points are to be noted: First, the gain is confined to the Congregational Sunday Schools, which are showing distinct recovery after the depression loss; the Council religious schools have lost considerably and are still on a slow downward curve. Secondly, within the Congregational groups, the older institutions - Ansel Road Temple, Euclid Avenue and the Jewish Center - have lost in enrollment, their losses being offset by the establishment of new Congregational Centers. In the case of the two large Temples, the decrease is attributed to the policy of no longer permitting children to attend the school unless they are members of the congregation. This is, perhaps, the most important single cause, but it may be suggested that other factors such as moving and decrease of child



population would be found to operate, in some degree at least, in the Congregational situation as well as in other types of schools.

9. The situation in the various types of afternoon week-day instruction, apart from the Cleveland Hebrew Schools, may be summarized as follows:

- (a) In the Temple week-day classes, there has been an increase from 240 in 1923 to 409 in 1936. These classes meet one or two sessions in addition to Sunday, for purposes of supplementary Hebrew instruction.
- (b) The Congregational week-day schools, generally of a conservative tendency, have increased their registration from 375 to 647, but part of these has been in Sunday school classes. The increase in week-day instruction has not been very large - from 218 to 301.
- (c) The registration in the orthodox Yeshiva Talmud Torahs of the Congregation Adath Bnei Israel has increased somewhat by about 50 pupils, - due in part to opening of a new branch. It may be added that figures in this case are probably not exact for adequate attendance records are not kept.
- (d) One all-day or parochial school has developed with a small enrollment of 18 pupils.
- (e) The Yiddishist radical type of school of the Arbeiter Ring shows an increase from 90 to 198 pupils, more than doubling enrollment. Here, too, an additional school has been opened. It may be noted that Yiddishist schools have undergone a strong development in the period under discussion, in a number of the larger cities.

10. The most striking and serious change has taken place in the enrollment in the Cleveland Hebrew Schools. The development may be divided into three main periods:

- (a) In the several years before 1923, a large increase in the enrollment took place from less than 1,000 to over 2,000.
- (b) From 1923 to the depression years, the schools held their own with some increase in recent years. In 1927 the registration was 2,113.
- (c) Since the depression, the Hebrew schools have steadily declined, as follows: In 1928, the enrollment was 1,936; in 1929 - 1,505; in 1930 - 1,387; in 1931 - 1,239; in 1932 - 1,205; in 1933 - 988; in 1934 - 965; in 1935 - 924; in 1936 - 716.

Analysis of factors in changes of enrollment.

11. The trend of development in Cleveland follows the general lines observable in other cities. Certain of the processes, such as the loss of registration in the Hebrew Schools, have been greatly accelerated by special conditions



in Cleveland, and there are also certain other modifications attributable to local conditions, as will be indicated below. But the resemblance in main pattern of development is so close, as to suggest that fundamental factors in the general American and Jewish situation are to be given due attention in seeking an explanation for the changes. The factors are associated with the decrease of child population (already noted), the cessation of immigration; processes of assimilation, Americanization, or modernization; and with the economic depression.

12. There is a tendency, in all the cities recently studied, away from former emphasis on the communal or independent type of school (Talmud Torah or Hebrew Schools) which offer an intensive type of Jewish education, toward the Congregational type of school, where the instruction, even when of week-day type, is, generally speaking, less intensive. This tendency is closely associated with the shifting of the Jewish population from the immigrant districts and immigrant status to the next stage higher up in locality and in Jewish social position. Along with the geographical shifting, the moving from "downtown to uptown" so-to-speak, comes certain psychological and social changes. The social pressure to attend the Jewish school every day and to "learn" brought over from the old world is crowded out by new social ambitions and new activities. Most frequently, too, there are no Hebrew schools in the new districts to which the minority who still would want a more intensive form of education, can send their children.

Further, as the Jew moves out of the distinctly Jewish neighborhood, he feels a greater necessity of joining a congregation. A need for conscious affiliation is felt - to take the place of the more subconscious associations of the Jewish neighborhood. There is also the compensatory movement to include in the modern congregations a wide range of social and cultural activities, to give to synagogue life more than the prayer function, i.e., to make of it a community center. The development of the congregations into Jewish centers providing for a variety of cultural and social needs give them undoubted advantages for school organization



and also makes for certain superior educational potentialities. Unfortunately, along with this also goes a decrease in the intensiveness of Jewish educational work.

13. This movement toward Congregational Jewish Centers as a mode of organization may be regarded as an adaptation to the methods or needs of organization required by American ideas and conditions. It is interesting to note, however, that while the main development seems to be this synthetic tendency, there is noticeable also an increase in two opposite and extreme directions. The Yeshivas or all-day schools - in which a traditional Jewish education is given together with general education - have also grown, and a slight example of this is noted above with reference to Cleveland. More surprising than this, however, is the development of the Yiddish radical schools. This is in a measure due to the fact that socialist groups which formerly followed on assimilationist or an indifferent policy with reference to Jewish matters, have in the post-war period and more recently tended to develop a deeper sense of Jewish self-consciousness. While both of these extreme types have increased, it should be remembered that they were very small before, and still are a decided minority. There is no indication that these schools will constitute anything but minority types in the American Jewish educational scheme. An analysis of the social background of the children in these schools shows that they practically all come from immigrant homes. Nevertheless, the growth of this extreme type is interesting as a straw in the wind indicating a lesser readiness to follow purely conformist tendencies.

14. These general trends characteristic of the United States as a whole, have been accelerated - in some respects modified in Cleveland - by the predominant position held by the Reform Temples in Jewish life in general and in the educational work in particular. This is due in part to historical conditions and to the fact that the Jewish population in Cleveland is more of a central European type who follow the lead of the so-called "German-Jewish" group in interests and affiliations.



The strong desire for Jewish learning which characterizes the Eastern European Jew does not, perhaps, come into play in the same degree that it does in some of the other cities. Moreover, the splendid organization of the chief Sunday Schools in Cleveland and the exceptional interest evinced by several of the leading Rabbis in the development of the Jewish educational work has tended to make the Sunday School education in Cleveland more attractive as well as more valuable. The Sunday Schools in the large Temples have exceptional educational equipment, are generous in their educational expenditure and offer schooling at a relatively low cost to those of moderate income. The weakness of the Conservative Congregational group has also been a factor in the very rapid transition from the intensive Talmud Torah or Hebrew school work to the one-day-a-week session. In other cities, such as New York and Philadelphia, the passage has been from Talmud Torahs to week-day Hebrew schools associated with congregations, in many of which (as for instance in New York) a five day a week program is carried on. While the effective school organization of the Reform Temples has undoubtedly been a most valuable contribution to the educational situation and although these schools have expended much effort to stimulate week-day classes, indirectly, however, they have tended to weaken the tradition for intensive week-day instruction by their very success and predominance.

15. In marked contrast to the social prestige, the magnificent equipment, the variety of cultural opportunities of the Temple Sunday School, stands the poverty of the Hebrew schools, in buildings, equipment, finances. In addition to the more general causes noted above, there are several specific factors which have worked to decrease the school attendance:

- (1) The schools are situated in immigrant sections from which young parents are steadily moving away. No new branches have been opened to serve the new Jewish neighborhoods. In fact, some of the older branches had to be closed for lack of funds.
- (2) Within these neighborhoods now live a relatively poorer population, for those who are better off move away. Further, as a result of the depression many of the parents can no longer afford to pay, in fact, forty per cent are relief families. The schools thus become "schools for the poor" and their social prestige is further lowered. Also, some parents unable to afford to pay during the depression preferred to withdraw the children rather than accept charity.



- (3) As a result of the depression too, private or semi-private schools have opened up in which unemployed persons, frequently ill-prepared, give instruction in "ivri," "broches" and Bar Mitzvah at a pittance; and some prefer to give their children such "private" instruction.

These various factors in Cleveland have, as noted, had the effect of accelerating and strengthening a process of decline which in itself is caused by more fundamental factors. To indicate that the Hebrew schools are in a hard case, as a result of basic causes, is not, however, to imply that they are to be abandoned. Quite the contrary. Several main types of school are necessary, and the recommendations offered at the end of this section are intended to strengthen the week-day type of instruction wherever possible. Before making the recommendations, it will be desirable to review the situation with reference to "withdrawals" or "elimination," i.e., the dropping out of children after they have registered.

#### Withdrawals or Elimination.

16. One method of measuring the holding power of schools is to observe the annual "turn-over." The turn-over is the percent of withdrawals during the year of the total registrations during that year (that is, enrollment at the beginning of the year plus the enrollment during the year).

From May 1, 1935 to April 30, 1936, the turn-over in various types of schools in Cleveland was, as follows:

	An average of:
Congregational one-day-a-week schools	8% —
Council Religious schools	25% —
Cleveland Hebrew schools	50% —

There is considerable variation within each type for the individual schools but the difference among the three types as a whole is the striking fact. Of great importance is the low turn-over of the congregational one-day-a-week schools. In the large Temple schools, this is as low as 5 per cent which indicates full control of the child's attendance. In view of the fact that attendance in Jewish schools is voluntary, this small turn-over may be regarded as a remarkable achievement.



The congregational form of organization appears to be an important factor as is illustrated in the difference between the Congregational Sunday Schools and the Council Religious Schools. But there are, of course, other factors. The Council schools are in the center of a shifting population and they have less to offer in the way of attractive buildings and equipment and the much sought after social prestige.

The Cleveland Hebrew schools show a rate of turn-over similar to the general run of Talmud Torahs and Hebrew schools in other cities. In a study recently made of 22 of the best schools in New York the turn-over was found to be 43 per cent.

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17. Similar differences among the various types would be indicated in terms of length of stay. The congregational Sunday schools keep most of the children for the whole period of the elementary school and a large proportion remain for the High School period. In the Cleveland Hebrew schools a study of 6,750 children who left the school during the period between 1921 and 1936 shows that 2,298 (or 34 per cent) had stayed less than one year. As a matter of fact, as in the Talmud Torahs all over the country, many children leave before three or six months are up, having come evidently mainly to learn to "daven." Sixty-six per cent (4,511 pupils) were found to stay less than three years; and 25 per cent (1,707 pupils) between three and five years; and nine per cent - six years or longer. These results while greatly inferior to the Temple schools are not bad as compared with the results of the work of Hebrew schools elsewhere. Considering the intensiveness of the school course, the shifting of the population, etc., the ability of the Cleveland schools to hold about ten per cent of the children for as long as six years is an attainment not to be underestimated. Moreover, the Hebrew schools have also produced close to 500 graduates during the last ten years who are a valuable element in the community from the Jewish point of view.

7.



18. The causes of leaving in the Cleveland Hebrew schools have been investigated by the Bureau of Education and a list of 60 reasons is given in the detailed report of this survey. This list gives a graphic picture of the confused state of mind of the average parent in regard to the child's education. The reasons given bear a striking resemblance to those offered by parents and principals in other cities and include the following: Moving, distance, or necessity of crossing streets; Bar Mitzvah or graduation from the elementary classes; illness which interrupts continuity of attendance; the child working or helping at home; the parents indifferent or not sufficiently interested to insist on child's attendance, or too harrassed with the economic problem or daily duties to enforce attendance; the lessons may be too difficult for the child - he falls behind and loses interest; the school may interfere with play or with some other interest that the child has or with a friendship developed in the public school; children may not see any value in the Jewish studies; hours may be unsatisfactory; parents may be dissatisfied with the course - they may want a more intensive course, or a less intensive course, or Yiddish instruction; or be generally dissatisfied; parents may not be able to pay the tuition fee or may not be willing to do so.

Underlying the whole situation is the voluntary character of the Jewish school attendance, the shifting of the Jewish population and difficulty in payment of tuition fee which is indirectly operative in more ways than explicitly stated. We are dealing with an immigrant population in a transitional stage not only geographically, economically and socially, but from the very basic point of view of social patterns. Life is not settled. The parent follows the general impulse of the Jewish tradition to send the child to school. But this traditional force is not certain and begins to break up. The general decline of religion, the desire and necessity of conforming; the multitudinous and harrassing attractions of modern life; the state's priority on the child's time for public school; the



encroachment of other agencies on the leisure of the child -- these and many other features of the modern American scene are undermining the attendance of the traditional intensive Jewish school.

Recommendations on enrollment.

The following recommendations are made with reference to week-day instruction.

1. The introduction of uniformity with reference to number of sessions and hours in the week-day Hebrew instruction given in the Temple schools. At present, there is more or less cooperation, on an unofficial basis with the Bureau of Education; it would be desirable to work out a method of regular cooperation for the coordination of the Hebrew instruction in Temple schools.

A careful study should be made of the possibilities of increasing the enrollment in the supplementary Hebrew classes. In this connection, the possibility of opening the Hebrew classes to non-members' children, at full, or partial rates, and of the provision of scholarships should be considered.

2. A special effort should be made by the Bureau of Education to strengthen the conservative congregational week-day schools. These should become an integral part of the Hebrew school system. Direct financial assistance to these schools is not recommended, but aid may be given in kind, such as provision of material, teachers supplies for higher classes, etc., as is done in Chicago. This recommendation implies gaining the voluntary cooperation of the congregational schools.

3. An attempt should be made to foster the study of Hebrew in private groups supervised by the Bureau of Education. The Bialik School, sponsored by the Bureau of Education, is a desirable experiment in this direction. It is also worthwhile attempting to work out a series of Home Study Groups (such as are being conducted by the Central Jewish Institute, New York City) for supervised private instruction on a group basis in the homes of the children.



4. The development of a Hebrew school in one of the newer sections of Jewish settlement, such as Cleveland Heights, which might serve as a norm in schedule of hours and general program. Such a school might be developed independently by the Bureau of Jewish Education or in cooperation with the Jewish Center which is contemplating the establishment of a school. If the school is conducted in cooperation with the Jewish Center, it would be necessary to put it under the full educational supervision of the Bureau of Education. An agreement must be reached with reference to the course of study and method of appointing teachers. Such a school must also make provision for the acceptance of children of non-members.

5. In addition to these activities along new lines, a determined effort should be made to stop the further decline of enrollment in the Hebrew schools. A special attendance officer should be attached to the schools. A careful system of follow-up should be devised; but more important than this, ways and means should be found to have closer contact with the home and parents - home visits, parents meetings, parents association, etc. The same Department might also function for the Council Religious Schools.



The Problem of Attendance and Withdrawals

I.

1: The study has shown that about seventy-five thousand children in New York City are receiving some form of Jewish instruction, about sixty thousand in recorded schools and fifteen thousand in Heders or at home. From 1910 and until after 1925 - there was a steady and large increase in the enrollment and also an appreciable increase in the relative proportion of children of school age attending organized Jewish schools. The increase in the percent of children enrolled refers to attendance in schools - i.e., does not include either private or Heder instruction.

After 1929, with the onset of the depression, there was a considerable falling off in enrollment. This was due, no doubt, primarily to economic causes, but there were other factors at work such as shifting of the Jewish population to outlying districts and a reduction in the birth rate among American Jews. The large Jewish immigration had previously neutralized these factors and the cessation of immigration is probably responsible, in a number of other ways, for the decrease in attendance. The reduction in total number attending during the period of depression is quite large - about fifteen thousand; but in terms of percent of children attending the loss is not so serious.

Beginning with 1932, an increase in attendance, both absolute and relative is again recorded, and at present, 25% of the



Jewish children who attend the elementary public schools - including the eight grades, kindergarten classes, and Junior high school classes - are receiving Jewish instruction. This proportion of 25% has been maintained in New York City, for the last twenty-five years, and would indicate a stable interest in Jewish education despite the many counteracting factors.

- 2: The frequent declaration that only 25% of the Jewish children are receiving Jewish instruction - that 75% are "unschooled" as the slogan goes - has led to a false impression that the majority of the Jewish children receive no instruction at all, and that Jewish parents are rather indifferent to the Jewish education of their children. Neither of these conclusions can be drawn from the statement under discussion, which relates to the fact that of the total number of children of school age - i.e. from 5 to 15, or of those attending elementary or Junior grades of the public schools, 25% are receiving instruction at any one time. This figure does not take into consideration children within this age group who may have attended and have dropped out, or children who may still attend.

One hundred percent attendance would mean that all the children - boys and girls - who attend the elementary public schools are in continuous attendance for eight or nine years at a Jewish school or receiving private instruction. Considering the voluntary nature of Jewish school attendance and many other handicaps, it would be impractical to make "one hundred percent" in the sense defined, the basis of expectation; and certainly twenty-five percent does not indicate the proportion of families or parents who



give their children some instruction, at some time.

It would appear from this and other studies that most Jewish families do send their children to some school or give their children private instruction during some period of the child's school life. Among certain sections of the community and in certain neighborhoods, practically all families send their children - especially the boys - to some Jewish school or Heder. In other words, the interest in Jewish education, insofar as such interest may be indicated by the act of giving the child some instruction, seems to be widespread. There are circles of indifference or even of opposition, particularly among the prestige groups, the rich, and the "intellectual". To interest such groups in Jewish education is important from many points of view, but numerically speaking they have some, but not a great influence, on the percentage of children receiving instruction.

- 3: That the interest in Jewish education is widespread and not a passing phenomenon is further evidenced by the following. The number of schools - not only the number of pupils - has greatly increased in the period under discussion; there is a Jewish school, generally several Jewish schools, in every neighborhood where Jews live, and when Jews move into a new neighborhood, the establishment of a synagogue and a school soon follows. Secondly, although most schools follow middle ground views, which include an interest in religious, cultural, and communal aspects of Jewish life, a wide range of views - from extreme orthodoxy to a non-religious attitude - find ex-



pression in the various schools. Of some significance in judging the trend of development is the fact that the two extreme types - the All Day schools and the Yiddishist schools are increasing and while they will always probably remain minority types, they are indicative - in their resistance to conformist tendencies - of a deepening Jewish consciousness. The fact that about half of the cost of Jewish education is met from payment of tuition fees, and most of the rest comes from what is called neighborhood or local support, also partly derived from the parents, is a further evidence of the validity of the Jewish educational interest.

The above is not motivated by any desire to gloss over the negative aspects of the Jewish educational situation, which are many and serious. Unquestionably, the general decline of religion, the desire and necessity of conforming, the multitudinous and harassing attractions of modern life, the State's priority on the child's time for public school, the encroachment of other agencies on the leisure of the child, and many other features of our modern American scene are at work undermining the foundation of Jewish life and of the Jewish school. But as against all the sociological analyses, and prophecies of doom, which have been heard of late, it is necessary to set the bald fact that Jews do appear to give their children a Jewish education. The intention is not to imply that the interest in Jewish education is always based on a deep, or rational conviction, or that it is critical or over intelligent. But the fact that most Jewish children do receive some instruction, some time, and that seventy-five thou-



sand - no small number at that - are actually in attendance at one time, would indicate that the Jewish education tradition has not broken down altogether, and that there is still a foundation on which to build.

4: However, if the figure of 25% gives a false impression in the direction of an underestimation of the percent of the children receiving something in the nature of Jewish instruction - it also misleads in the opposite direction. It would be a vast overestimation, if some criterion of adequacy or quality of the education were applied. The percent of children who stay long enough to complete the course of study in the elementary Jewish schools, or long enough to obtain some lasting positive benefit is very small. Only about five percent of those who enter the first grade will be found in the fifth or sixth grades. Schools vary greatly but the average stay in any one school is less than a year, and the sum total attendance of the average child in various schools during his school age period is probably less than two and a half years. The quality of instruction is far from what it should be. What is achieved could in any case be accomplished in much less time by continuous attendance, and a better adjustment of the curricula to the needs of the child and of the community. It is the inadequacy of the instruction, both in length of time and in achievement, which is the glaring fact in the Jewish educational work, rather than indifference or small enrollment.

The ~~discrepancy~~ between three figures - a) the proportion of the Jewish children who receive some instruction some time, -



about three-quarters; b) the percent attending at any one time, - about twenty-five percent; c) the very small percent who receive what might be regarded as an adequate instruction - a four year consecutive course in a well organized school, - it is this discrepancy which give key difficulty in the Jewish educational situation. These general facts are well known to the Jewish educators, and were emphasized in the 1928 New York Survey, but their importance has not received due recognition in practice. It is the first aim of the conclusions here presented to point out that the discrepancy noted provides the clue for the main attack on the educational problem. The main problem is obviously not to get more children to come to school, but to keep them in school for longer periods; and - part of the same problem - to make the instruction, while the child is at school, more interesting and profitable. Another way of saying this is that our problem is qualitative not quantitative - quality of instruction must be improved an administration made more efficient. Obviously this is the best attack on the quantitative problem as well for if the child stays longer the enrollment in the schools is increased, and the better instruction may attract some who never attended.

5. If the problem is essentially to keep the child in school for a longer period, then it will be useful to scrutinize carefully causes for leaving. Several investigations have been made and they all have revealed a variety of reasons, which have been stated and summarized in the study. Among the most important causes are such as are beyond the school control, and others which are directly due to the school's inadequacy or negligence. There



is the shifting of the Jewish population; the tuition fee question is probably operative in more ways than is explicitly indicated; parents state their dissatisfaction, not always justifiable from the pedagogical grounds; there is lack of adjustment of the course to the interests, abilities, needs and time of the child; and underlying all this the voluntary character of the school attendance. The main significance of these investigations is this very variety of reasons, which indicates that a reeducation of rate of elimination or leaving can be obtained only by a many-sided effort to improve all aspects of the school work, both on the administrative and educational sides. The fact that a very great range of variation exists between one school and another in reference to rate of elimination indicates that there are possibilities of improvement. A more exact listing will be found in the study; here it will serve our purpose to concentrate the recommendations along four main lines.

A: Better Teaching

This includes an adjustment of the time schedules and course of study to the conditions surrounding American life, and to the needs and interests of the child. Several different curricula are needed; one curriculum and schedule will not fit all viewpoints or all situations; but the variety should not be as great as in the present, uncoordinated situation. What is intended is the working out of several types of course, to serve as norms.

Above all, good teaching implies good teachers. It would appear that a good teacher holds the pupil despite a great variety of types of courses, and forms of school organization. In a volun-



tary system of education, the teachers ability to attract and keep the interest of the child is of paramount importance. Good teaching, of course, becomes all the more effective when the schedule and course of study are adjusted to the child.

B: Better Administration

Many of the principals in Jewish schools would be poor administrators under good conditions, and most of the schools are poorly organized. They are small and do not permit proper gradation of pupils in accordance with age and knowledge. They are uncoordinated, each school having its own variety of schedules and version of curriculum. There are several small schools in one neighborhood when one larger school would be more economical and serve better. Too frequently there is no careful checkup of attendance and no follow up of absence and leaving. The summer vacation plays havoc with school attendance; this might be improved by adjusting the Hebrew school year to the public school year and using the vacation period for some continuation of outdoor activity and informal Jewish educational work. There is no doubt that better administration would itself lead to less elimination of pupils.

C: Contact with Home and Parental Education

The Jewish instruction received at school is in a sense the extension of the family tradition - much more closely bound up with family life than the education of the public school. Furthermore, by a "voluntary system of education" is meant a system which exists by the will of the parent. But influenced, perhaps by example of the public school, and a too narrow preoccupation with the work of the classroom, the Jewish school is not in sufficient con-



tact with the home.

Congregational schools of the more modern type have, theoretically, at least, a certain advantage in this regard. The rabbi does come in contact with the family life. Well established congregational schools in smaller cities do seem to benefit by this fact. But in a city like New York, the simple fact of congregational auspices is not in itself sufficient to secure continuous attendance. Rabbis are not infrequently changed; not all of them are interested or prepared to lead in school work; many of them are harassed by multitudinous duties. Nevertheless congregational schools have a potential superiority in this regard, and other types of schools should develop methods of closer contact with the family, which are suitable to their form of organization.

The contact of school with home should lead to influences working in both directions. The teacher must have a regard for parents' views. On the other hand the school must also try to develop a more intelligent and deeper parental interest in the Jewish education of the children. Parents are frequently satisfied with some gesture toward a Jewish education. They may remove the child from school for a trivial reason or for an invalid one. Some remove the child because mechanical reading of the Prayer Book is not accomplished quickly enough; some do so as soon as this feat is accomplished; many withdraw the children at Bar Mitzvah or confirmation. The parental education has to go far beyond the "Send your child to a Hebrew school" type; and should endeavor to build up a lasting and intelligent interest in the child's Jewish education.



#### D: Creation of Public Opinion for Jewish Education

In the old centers of Jewish life in Eastern Europe there was an impelling social tradition in the matter of sending children to school, that is to say boys. There were definite social patterns as to when the boy was sent to school and how he proceeded through Heder and Yeshivah. The impulse was for education in general as well as for Jewish education specifically and naturally the public school and general educational institutions have absorbed much of the energy of this drive. Parental education must be carried on to reestablish the old Jewish social tradition insofar as this is possible. Such education must be broader than is connoted by the term "propaganda", which is frequently used in this connection. It should have a wide basis and this requires the cooperation of all organizations concerned in the strengthening of Jewish life.

A particular task which faces the Jewish educational agencies arises out of the fact that the whole pattern of Jewish education has been destroyed by the variety of viewpoints and systems. In the present uncoordinated situation nearly every school has its own system and the children register at all ages and all seasons of the year. Part of the effort to strengthen the remnant of social momentum, for Jewish education, which still exists, is to reduce the confusion with reference to schedules, content of courses, and types of schools. One norm may not be possible even within the Week Day type of school; several different norms, not too many as to be conflicting, should be developed and an endeavor made to have them widely established. Propaganda for Jewish



education among parents would be more successful if a valid, more normal type of Jewish education would be worked out and introduced into the various sections of the city.

A special problem in increasing enrollment arises out of the fact that traditionally, in the old centers of Jewish life, the education of the girl was generally confined to the home; very few girls received a school education. The Sunday schools have gotten beyond this tradition and the proportion of attendance of girls is even somewhat larger than that of boys. Progress has been made also in the Week Day schools, but not as much as is to be desired. The proportion of girls to boys in the Week Day schools is less than one-third and does not seem to have increased since the 1928 New York Survey of the Jewish educational situation. The increased attendance of girls would mean, of course, a larger proportion of the children of school age in attendance.

In summarizing it is desirable to emphasize that while strengthening of the general interest in education is an ultimate aim, this cannot be accomplished by general propaganda alone. The specific concrete problems outlined above must be attacked. It would be well to fix the attention on the following:

- a) Lengthening the period of Jewish school attendance for the average child, with all this implies as to establishing a normal type of course, improvement of instruction, etc.
- b) Inducing greater attendance on the part of girls.
- c) Elaboration of types of curricula which would interest groups now indifferent.



6: There is a glaring contrast between the number of children of elementary school age on the one hand, and the number of children of high school age on the other, who receive Jewish instruction. In the former case there is a comparatively large attendance, the main problems being to keep the children at school longer and to improve the quality of instruction. In the high school age group the problem is quantitative as well. It is estimated that there are about 140,000 Jewish boys and girls of high school age, of which a large majority (about 110,000) are attending the public high schools, but only about 2,500 are recorded as receiving some form of Jewish classroom instruction. Additional numbers come under some Jewish influence in recreational centers, Jewish camps, etc., but nevertheless the vast majority do not receive any Jewish education outside of what they may obtain in their homes.

From the point of view of loyalties, social orientation and vocational adjustment, this period in the life of the boy and girl is universally recognized as being of the greatest importance. The subject of the education of the Jewish adolescent requires intensive consideration, parallel in scope with this study which has been mainly devoted to the analysis of the Jewish education of the elementary school child. If a new central educational agency is set up, one of its first problems in educational research should be an adequate treatment of the Jewish youth problem.



PART II.

PROBLEMS IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Religion vs. Nationalism

Subjects of Study - Congregational vs. Communal  
Organization - Intensive Hebrew Education vs.  
the One Day a Week School.

Relation to Minority Type Schools

Principles Underlying Communal Support of  
Schools - Application of Principles to Cleve-  
land Situation.

Supplement No. 2. The Problem of Instruction,  
Types of Schools, Courses of Instruction and  
Teachers - From the 1936 New York Jewish Educa-  
tion Study.



## PART II - PROBLEMS IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY\*

### Religion vs. Nationalism

In connection with the educational aim of the Jewish schools in Cleveland, a discussion has arisen on the question of "religion" vs. "nationalism." It is assumed in some quarters that the Temple schools are mainly "religious" and that the Cleveland Hebrew schools represent the "national" interpretation of Jewish life. When posed in this form of a sharp antithesis, the question can hardly be discussed fruitfully. The difference of emphasis implied is undoubtedly of significance, but the terms mean different things to different people. It is preferable to treat the problems involved more concretely. There are three main aspects that will be discussed (a) the subjects of study in the schools: (b) the "congregational" form of organization as against the "communal"; (c) "intensive" education as against "one-day-a-week."

Subjects of Study. When the courses of study in the Sunday schools and Hebrew schools are examined, a striking similarity of subjects will be found. The subjects of study generally are: Hebrew, Bible, Jewish customs and concepts, Holidays, Jewish history, Jewish current events, and Palestine. Both Sunday schools and Hebrew schools include elements which one cannot help referring to as "religious" and "national," using these terms in the usual, not in any forced, sense. Needless to say, the amount of time given to each subject, their relation to each other, and the methods and spirit of teaching may differ in the various types of schools; but the first thing to notice is that there are so many similarities.

The Temple schools in Cleveland differ significantly from the old-fashioned conventional Reform Sunday schools. They represent new tendencies in Sunday school work which have been developing in recent years. The changes have been in the direction of eliminating anti-Zionist attitudes; more than that, of

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\* See also, at the end of this Chapter, the section on "The Problem of Instruction" from the 1936 New York Jewish Education Study which may be read in way of introduction.



making full provision for a knowledge of Zionism and the new Palestine. As a result of a more enlightened pedagogical approach also, the former tendency toward theological bias and unctuousness has greatly diminished. The teaching of history has become normal, a subject in its own right, no longer subordinate to so-called "moral lessons." Hebrew, in all its forms - for synagogue and ritual, for reading of the Bible, and as a modern language - is receiving more favorable consideration. Current events and problems of Jewish life are being dealt with in a more realistic fashion. In this general movement towards the modernization of the Sunday schools, the Cleveland Temples have marched in the vanguard as far as practical application is concerned. An observer cannot help but think of them in terms of a "religious-national" synthesis. 2

The Cleveland Hebrew schools also represent a synthesis of national and religious elements as in fact do all modern Talmud Torahs. The "nationalist-secular" Hebrew school which has been the subject of warm discussion is rather a figment of the imagination. Such an ideology has existed formerly more than now - but there are no schools which follow this ideology in practice. Upon analysis, the Talmud Torahs will be found to represent a fusion of the old elementary heder and the heder metukan (reformed heder) which developed in Eastern Europe during the last generation or so - with some adjustment to American conditions. The Cleveland Hebrew schools have emphasized the modern Hebrew tendencies representative of the heder metukan more than the average Talmud Torah, perhaps, but the religious and the traditional elements still predominate.

Siddur reading, simple prayers and blessings are emphasized in the first two years. Hebrew is taught by a mixed method including conversation, writing and grammar; modern stories and songs are used but the vocabulary and forms are designed as a preparation for reading selections from the Bible as well as from modern Hebrew literature. More time is devoted to the study of Hebrew in connection with the prayer book or Bible than to purely "secular" Hebrew. Sabbath services are conducted, attendance being voluntary. Palestine and Zionism occupy an important ? ?



place in the schools, by emphasis and attitude rather than by amount of time devoted to these topics as special subjects.

Much, of course, depends upon the method and spirit of teaching but the visits did not reveal any sharply defined differences on the religious vs secular issue. The work in the classroom depends to a large extent on the personality and preparation of the teachers, and the two groups of teachers do not, taken as a whole, represent distinct groups. For instance, they do not differ essentially with reference to synagogue attendance as determined by questionnaire. In both groups, about three-fifths of the teachers reported that they attend the synagogue from time to time; about one-quarter attended regularly, and 15% did not attend or did not answer.

The Congregational schools, of course, are associated with the Synagogue life; religious services are a regular part of the school work; and there is the influence of leadership of the Rabbi. But what the total effect of these influences are on the religious life or views of the pupils - apart from the effect of the classroom instruction - is not very certain, as is indicated by the study of the graduates.\* At any rate, it cannot be said that the influence of the Temple schools is altogether "religious" and that the Hebrew schools altogether "national."

The criticism levelled against the Cleveland Hebrew schools for their alleged nationalism probably arises from the attitude that Mr. Friedland, and certain of the leading members of the Board of the Hebrew schools, are reputed to entertain. That Mr. Friedland has an enthusiasm for Hebrew literature and is actively associated with the Zionist movement is no secret; undoubtedly, his personality and spirit have been a force in the molding of the general character of the Hebrew schools. But with all this, a study of the school program and observation of the actual work done in the schools leads to the conviction that the attitude of parents and the general views current in the community have been reckoned with and that a balanced program of studies has been achieved.

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\* A study of the attitude of graduates was made in connection with the survey, on which a supplementary report has been prepared.



The purpose of the above is not to put the stamp of final approval on any particular combination of subjects and methods. It may be that certain modifications of program are needed to satisfy the parents in certain of the localities but this can be determined only by a more careful study in each neighborhood. The purpose of the above is never to correct any one sided impression.

2. "Congregational" vs. "communal" organization.

The antithesis "religious" vs. "national"<sup>\*</sup> is at times confused with "congregational" vs. "communal." The second pair of terms has to do with method of organization, not necessarily with content. That a communal or non-congregational school need not be "secular" is clearly indicated by the fact that the Orthodox schools, e.g., the Yeshivahs, are communal in form of organization.

As far as tradition is concerned, the Jewish school was considered as parallel - not subsidiary - to the synagogue. This is in accord with the emphasis that Judaism has always placed on the study of the Torah. Jewish schools were sometimes organized alongside of synagogues, but very frequently also independently. The heder in Eastern Europe was a private institution organized by a teacher and maintained by parents' fees, sometimes under communal supervision. The Talmud Torah, which originated as a charity school, was maintained by the community. With the large immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe to America, many Talmud Torahs were founded and for a time it seemed that this type of institution, independently organized and communally supported, would become the main instrument for Jewish elementary education in the United States. Due to many factors, the tendency in recent years has been to make the congregational unit a general basis of Jewish organization, and the educational development has been in the same direction. On the other hand, there has also been a tendency on the part of the congregational schools to be influenced, as far as content of instruction is concerned, by the course of study and methods of the modern Talmud Torahs.

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\* The customary term "communal" is used here, but "non-congregational" "autonomous" or "independent," would perhaps be better.



In favor of the congregational type of organization, a number of points may be urged. The child appears here in the framework of his family. There are activities for the youth and for parents, and it may be said that the congregational schools strengthen the family ties. When the congregation has developed a wide range of Jewish interests, the educational work is conducted in an environment of Jewish activities and the communal sense of the child may be developed. From the point of view of Jewish education as participation in Jewish institutional and communal life, the congregation thus offers possibilities. The congregational schools have certain superiorities from the point of view of their ability to retain pupils and from the angle of self-support. It is, of course, to be remarked that congregational organization is not of itself a guarantee of effectiveness. In New York, for instance, congregational schools are generally small and poorly organized. What is meant is that the congregational school, organized as a modern center, with good equipment and finances, has unusual potentialities for educational work.

There are, however, also certain possible disadvantages. The educator naturally favors the independent school because he would like to approach the educational problem from the viewpoint of the child's interests and the needs of education itself. In the synagogue organization, there is danger that the curriculum, methods of teaching, and the activities be subordinated to the adult conceptions which dominate the life of the synagogue. Putting the matter in an extreme way, there is danger that the course of study may become a sort of prolonged homiletical dissertation, i.e., that the teaching may become preaching. This is an evil from which many congregational schools in fact suffer. In Cleveland, however, in the case of the important schools, this unpedagogical tendency has been counteracted by the large size of the school, employment of special principals and good teachers, and their modern approach.

That there are elements of divisiveness in the congregational organization cannot be denied. The Orthodox are divided from the Reform; there is a tendency even within a single viewpoint, for congregations to be pitted against each other



in none-too-friendly rivalry. The element of social class separatism is not absent, intensified by limiting school attendance to member's children. It is not desirable to subject the children of the community to such divisions. One of the benefits of the American democratic public schools has been to bring together the citizens regardless of race, creed or social status. Similarly, in Jewish education, the communal form of school organization tends to bring the children of different groups and classes in the population together, united by Jewish teaching and Jewish loyalty. The educational outlook should deal with the Jewish community in its broader aspects and not be too narrowly directed to synagogal organization and conceptions.

Finally, there are many Jews today who wish to be associated with Jewish life, who value Jewish knowledge and Jewish ideals but who do not wish to identify themselves with organized religion. The congregational school is no solution for such Jews.

The congregational school is unquestionably here to stay and must be regarded as an important, perhaps the chief, Jewish educational instrument. But there is a need and place also for the communal type of school. The solution seems to be in the maintenance of schools either independently, in congregations, or in recreational centers as opportunity permits; and in the bringing of schools, no matter what their form of local organization, under the influence of some central educational agency, communally directed which will coordinate the educational effort and assist in keeping it up to a high level of educational achievement.

### 3. Intensive Hebrew education and the one-day-a-week school.

While there is no logical ground for associating "religious" education with a minimal Jewish education, and "nationalism" with a more intensive form, as a matter of fact such mental associations are very frequently made. For instance, in the interviews with the graduates, a mental association is revealed between Zionism or nationalism and any positive attitude towards the promotion of Jewish



life - one person defines Zionism as the study of the Bible. The term "Reform" on the other hand, is sometimes used when the person wishes to indicate a lesser degree of religious adherence or observance, or sometimes to connote an attitude of assimilation. When the antithesis "religion" vs "national" is presented in connection with the educational problem, in some circles the main question at issue appears to be the intensiveness of the instruction of the frequency of school attendance.

Among the factors which are responsible for this is the emphasis that Sunday schools in the past have placed upon moral instruction and the inculcation of religious ideas. Common sense (of the tough-minded variety) and modern pedagogy, both cast doubt on the effectiveness of moral admonition, and of the teaching of abstract ideas about ethics and religion as far as any results on actual conduct or on inner faith. However, following a widely prevailing idea that such instruction is effective, and pressed perhaps by inadequate amount of time, the Sunday schools of the olden type fell into this specious method of teaching by the transmission of doctrines and religious ideas.

Traditionally, Judaism reflects quite an opposite tendency. Little confidence is expressed in preaching; emphasis is always laid upon action. A deep necessity is felt of embodying ideas and ethical attitudes into many concrete laws and practises. Similarly, no faith is placed in abstract ideas or dogmas. An intensive devotion to the study of the Torah is enjoined. The study of the Torah may be regarded as an essential of Judaism - whatever it may be considered to be, religious or national. Though the pattern evolved by the modern Talmud Torah or Hebrew school differs in many respects from the traditional heder and Yeshivah, it is impelled by this same ideal of a knowledge of Jewish literature in the original Hebrew and thus is in the direct line of continuity with the Jewish school tradition.

It is unfortunately true that the Talmud Torahs achieve their aim only in the case of a comparatively small number who continue through the high school and

*See under*  
*who*  
*Studies*  
*Torah*  
*in*  
*T.T.?*



training school. Most of the pupils drop out before even an elementary knowledge of Hebrew is attained. As far as the average pupil is concerned, the Temple Sunday schools in Cleveland have an important achievement to record in their ability to retain the pupils for many years of instruction. Particularly is their ability to hold the pupils through the high school grade to be commended. It is hoped that the Temple schools will be able, in the future, also to attract a large number of pupils to the Hebrew classes and that the instruction in Hebrew will be more intensive than it is today. However, though the number of graduates is comparatively small, only the Hebrew schools are giving a minimum Hebrew education providing students for the high school department and the training school, and it is upon this system that the community must depend in the main for avoiding a complete cessation of the Jewish tradition of intensive education.

#### Relation to Minority Type Schools

A request has been made for an expression of opinion with reference to the advisability of giving communal support - financial and otherwise - to the Yeshivah-Talmud Torahs\* and the Yiddishist schools, both of which may be regarded as minority school types in view of the small enrollments. The discussion which follows might include also the problem of all-day or parochial schools, but in view of the fact that the parochial school in Cleveland has only eighteen pupils, it was not regarded as necessary to elaborate on this aspect of the problem. A general discussion on the principle of day schools will be found in the excerpt from the 1936 New York Education study included herewith.

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\* The term Yeshivah-Talmud Torahs is used for the Yeshivah Adath Bnai Israel and its branches. The term Yeshivah is usually applied to all-day schools while these schools are conducted in the afternoon as Talmud Torahs regularly are. The language of instruction in these schools is Yiddish. The course of instruction consists of the traditional curriculum, including Humosh and Talmud. The schools referred to as "Yiddishist" are not to be confused with the above. The latter are non-religious in character and are devoted to the study of modern Yiddish, reading, writing, literature, Jewish history and legends.



It should be stated at the outset that on purely practical grounds no new institution should be given financial support until the schools and the educational activities at present supported by the Bureau of Jewish Education are properly provided for. The discussion presented herewith is, then, on the basis of the principles involved. It should also be understood that the question is one of public and communal policy, not only of an educational expertness; differences in opinion in these matters exist and the final responsibility for the decision in any locality must rest with the communal body that is concerned.

General principles underlying communal support of schools.

One of two alternative positions may be taken:

Plan A. As a prerequisite for financial support,

- (a) The central Board of Education may lay down certain standards with reference to externals, such as, sanitation, type of building or financial stability; and also reasonable conditions with reference to orderly administration and pedagogical method. But it may not interfere with the question of educational policy or lay down any particular program of studies.

Plan B. The other viewpoint is,

- (b) In addition to the prerequisites mentioned above, there are also certain "minimum essentials," as they are called, in the program of studies which all schools must fulfill. Schools may be of various types, but underlying the course of study of all the schools there must be some common educational program expressing itself in the choice of studies as well as of the methods used.

The position of the Jewish Education Association of New York which follows the first principle may be gathered from the following paragraph quoted from a recent report:

"In the case of those (schools) which received financial aid of any sort from the Association, the maintenance of certain standards were demanded and these were examined through inspection visits to the schools by a representative or committee from the association. Among the requirements made of a school by the association were included continuous records of attendance and enrollment, income and expenditure, sanitary and safe building provisions as worked out by a committee of public school principals, a responsible board of directors, the employment of licensed teachers certified by the Board of Licenses which had been organized by the Association. It may be added that



qualifications for licensed teachers included an adequate knowledge of the Hebrew subjects, a certain degree of secular education and special pedagogical training."

The Jewish Education Association has given financial aid of one sort or another to schools of various types including the Yiddishist schools\* and of aiding schools even of the old-type Yeshivahs. The majority of schools which are receiving financial assistance are, however, of the Hebrew week-day type both of the communal and congregational form of organization.

The Federations in various cities, have had a more selective policy. They have never formulated any principles, but as a matter of practice they have not given aid to schools of the Yiddish or of the all-day or parochial type. It has been stated that in Akron, Ohio, financial aid is given from Jewish communal funds to Yiddishist schools. The nature and terms of this assistance have not been investigated but in any case Akron could hardly serve as a "precedent." By a precedent, in this sense, is meant an established procedure widely supported by tradition or public opinion.

In connection with this whole question, the position outlined by the Committee on the 1936 Jewish education study in New York City may be of interest as illustrating Plan "B" indicated above which requires certain "minimum essentials" as well as "standards." The following is a quotation from the section on educational policy:

"If any form of financial assistance, either in kind or through scholarships or subsidies be given, the New York Committee may require the fulfillment of certain usual conditions, such as, provision of sanitary quarters, balancing of budget, employment of certified teachers and inclusion of minimum essentials in the course of study. But the Committee will not interfere with the religious, philosophical or educational viewpoint of any institution nor attempt to impose any particular viewpoint upon."

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\* Except in the case of the extreme "left" type of Yiddishist school which has a definitely anti-religious program.



As to the "minimum essentials," in another paragraph it is indicated that:

"The following are accepted as guiding principles:

- (a) Jewish education is regarded as supplementary to the general education received in the public schools;
- (b) Religious elements receive full consideration, both in course of study and in practice, as in the conduct of Sabbath services and celebration of holidays. With reference to the particular religious viewpoint in any school, the principal and teachers must be guided by the general attitude prevailing in the homes from which the pupils come;
- (c) Hebrew is included as an important element in the course of study;
- (d) English is regarded as the vernacular and would be used in all elementary courses as the language of instruction in "content" subjects where free discussion is necessary, such as history, current events, certain aspects of Jewish literature."

In coming to the above decision, the New York Committee may be said to have been motivated by the following circumstances:

- (1) The Jewish school should not compete with the public school in the matter of general education, but should be organized solely for purposes of teaching Judaism and Jewish affairs.
- (2) Elements that have traditionally characterized the Jewish school such as religion and the Hebrew language must be regarded as elements that define the very character of Jewish education.
- (3) In the United States the Jewish school must adapt itself to American conditions. One of these conditions is that Jews in America use English as an ordinary language of intercourse. Both from a pedagogical and social point of view, therefore, English should be favored in the teaching of history, current events, etc.
- (4) Due consideration was given to the fact that the types of schools which were excluded - the parochial and the Yiddishist - were attended only by a small minority of the Jews and that the program outlined would unite the very large majority of the Jews.

However, scholarships are now being given to the several types of institutions in New York City by the Jewish Education Association and it was felt that the position of the schools ought not to be worsened by the proposed new policy. A compromise was found necessary and it was decided to make a distinction between "scholarships" and "subsidies." The former term was used to designate comparatively



small sums given on a per capita basis in behalf of poor children representing a certain limited percentage of the school enrollment, while the term "subsidy" was defined as financial aid given to a school which forms a major part of the income needed for maintenance. In the case of "scholarships," it was argued that the parent's choice of school to which to send the child, should not be limited by the fact of poverty. This was a matter of consideration of individual persons. However, the subsidy was given for the maintenance of an institution and is considered as a promotion of that type of institution. With reference to this differentiation, it was recommended by the New York Committee that:

"No subsidies...are at present to be given by any of the central educational organizations to the Yiddishist or the all-day schools, and on the grounds of precedent the New York Committee would be justified in concentrating its efforts on the very large middle group of schools which include the week-day and Sunday schools."

#### Application of principles

Applying each of the two methods to the Cleveland situation, the following would be the positions: In accordance with the first plan (Plan A, page 9):

1. The Yeshivah-Talmud Torahs should be required to introduce certain changes to meet standards of sanitation, proper records of attendance and finances. The educational and professional qualifications of the teachers should also be ascertained. Such standards would, of course, be the same as the Bureau of Jewish Education sets for all other affiliated schools.
2. The Yiddishist schools would be entitled to support providing that a sufficiently large number of pupils attend these schools which should be ascertained. In standards of sanitation and qualification of teachers and methods used, they seem in a general way to meet current standards, but this, too, should be verified.

Has  
none

In accordance with the second Plan B outlined above (page 9) which requires "minimum essentials" as well as standards.

1. The Yeshivah-Talmud Torahs would be required to introduce the following changes: Systematic teaching of Hebrew with grammar, etc. by any approved modern method, and the introduction of a systematic course in Jewish history preferably taught in English.
2. The Yiddishist schools would not be eligible for communal support for several reasons: First, they do not include any religious element, and in the second place, while the general principles



2. indicated above do not contain any opposition, teaching of Yiddish as a special subject or even to its use as a medium of translation where local conditions warrant, nevertheless making the Yiddish language and literature the main subject of instruction and the implication that Yiddish is the language of the Jews, would be contrary to the general principle laid down. A further objection made in some quarters is the connection of the Arbiter Ring schools with the labor or socialistic program. No objection can be taken to the individual beliefs of teachers but it is argued that the sole purpose of the Jewish school should be Jewish education and that it is not the proper function of a Jewish school to engage, also, in socio-economic questions.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized again that the final decision on this matter must rest with the local community which will consider the general principles developed above in the light of local conditions and attitudes. If the viewpoint of the writer\* is desired, he is ready to state that he holds to the second position (or Plan B), viz., that - besides standards in externals, qualifications of teachers etc. - some "minimum essentials" in the course of study must be required as prerequisite to receiving support from any communal educational agency.

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\* This summary has been formulated by Dr. Berkson.



The Problem of Instruction, Types of Schools,

Courses of Study and Teachers

II.

- 1: Of the four main types of schools - Hebrew Week Day, Sunday, All Day and Yiddishist, the last named represents the smallest,\* in terms of pupil enrollment. The Yiddishist type is the most recent in development and departs from the Jewish educational tradition in fundamentals. These schools are outspokenly non-religious in character, although the Bible is sometimes taught as literature, and certain Jewish holidays are celebrated for their cultural and social value. These schools attempt to achieve a socialist-Jewish cultural synthesis and emphasize the teaching of history, Jewish problems, Jewish arts, and particularly Yiddish literature. Yiddish was chosen because it was "Volkstumlich," the language of the Jewish masses, its literature dealing with the actualities of present day Jewish life. Hebrew, if taught at all, is relegated to a secondary position - since it is considered too much the language of the Book, and of classic and religious literature, too much associated with the synagogue and prayer. In this choice of Yiddish there was also an expression of self-respect and self-determination, a recognition of the values of Yiddish despite the fact that it is looked down upon by upper classes and assimilated Jews. Whether one agrees or not with their point of view, it must be admitted

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\* i.e. without the communist schools of the International Workers Order, which cannot properly be regarded as Jewish schools.



that these schools are the sincere expression of certain groups of Jews, who though non-religious, have a loyalty to Jewish life and to its social ideals and who wish to inculcate Jewish self-understanding and self-respect among their children.

However, it is questionable whether these schools can be considered an integral part of an American Jewish educational system. Orthodox or strongly religious Jews would rule them out for their non-religious character. Perhaps others would not favor the tying up of Jewish teaching with socialism - as being a definitely partisan, politico-economic viewpoint - although these schools are technically clear of any official partisan connection. The most valid objection, perhaps, comes on neither religious nor political grounds but on the questionable adoption of the Yiddish language as the sole medium of instruction. The study of Yiddish as a language and literature certainly cannot be objected to - no more so than the study of any language. But making Yiddish primary and Hebrew secondary - or eliminating it altogether - is quite another matter from the Jewish point of view. Furthermore, the schools teach history and all content subjects in Yiddish and this seems counter to the view that English is the vernacular. The theory that Yiddish is the language of the Jewish home is being broken down by the fact that many of the children attending the Yiddish schools have to learn Yiddish at the school.

The Yiddish schools, although still a small minority, have been growing in recent years. Whether they are permanent or passing phenomenon is impossible to say. But whatever the future may bring, these schools have not as yet won that position in Jewish



life which would justify a central Jewish educational agency, representing the Jewish community, in actively promoting this type. Such schools should not be excluded from any benefits of service and others. Active support through direct financial assistance, - through subsidies, however, is not recommended,

- 2: At the other extreme in general viewpoint are the All Day schools, particularly the Yeshivahs. The Yeshivah is motivated by a strong religious and Jewish purpose, the desire to promote Jewish tradition, Jewish learning, and a pious attitude toward life. Despite these praiseworthy purposes, no modern educator can condone keeping the children from nine in the morning to seven in the evening confined to intellectual studies, and the relegation of the secular general education to the afternoon hours from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. The modern Hebrew type of school is less objectionable in this respect; it aims at a balance between the Hebrew and general subjects. In best examples this form of school represents a noteworthy attempt to overcome the dualism that resides in having the Jewish and general instruction given under different auspices, and endeavors to avoid the conflict and lack of integration which this involves. Insofar as it does this, it is performing an excellent educational function.

The importance of the All Day school for Jewish life is being more fully recognized as the realization grows that Talmud Torahs or Hebrew afternoon schools must reduce the number of days and



hours of instruction so as to allow for a more normal type of schedule. This is absolutely necessary, once the public school has been accepted as the usual mode for general instruction, but it makes an intensive Jewish education, such as characterized the traditional Heder and Yeshivah, quite impossible. Judaism has always depended on a profound knowledge of Bible and Talmud, and while the majority who attended the Heder never attained great scholarship, learning was open to all; and there always existed in the community an upper layer, a sort of intellectual class, both rabbis and laymen, well versed in the classic literatures. A number of the All Day schools developed along modern lines which provide a better balance between general and Jewish subjects, and give the possibility of a more complete knowledge of Hebrew and the Jewish literature are to be welcomed. They have at least the same right to exist as private schools.

As in the case of the Yiddishist schools, however, there is a question whether the All Day schools, even when worked out along modern pedagogical lines, can be officially sponsored by the Jewish community. The majority of American educators regard the public school, where Jew, Catholic and Protestant, natural and foreign born, rich and poor, are educated together, as a basic element in American democracy. Insofar as the Jewish position may be judged by the actual practice of Jews - only a few percent of the Jewish children attend All Day schools - the Jews have fallen in with this general principle. No doubt practical difficulties and the high cost of conducting All Day schools have been a factor. But statements by Jewish leaders indicate that the All Day school is not



avored by Jews on grounds of principle as well. For instance, David de Sola Pool, rabbi of the orthodox Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, reviewing the Jewish position in the 1932 Year Book of the International Institution of Education, states: "The Jews of the United States have thrown in their cause wholeheartedly and completely with the public school system". In the light of this, the All Day or Parochial school should be regarded as a minority type, which must depend for their support on the groups which favor their maintenance. They are entitled to a certain assistance on the part of a central educational agency, as in the case of the Yiddishist schools, but cannot be regarded as the typical form of Jewish educational endeavor.

- 3: The Sunday School illustrates the extreme of the adaptive or conformist tendency. In its desire to conform to the non-Jewish world, the conventional Reform Sunday School has lost all savor of the Jewish school. There is no attempt to retain the concept of study of Torah or Jewish learning. Jews brought up in the traditional manner, even when not orthodox, feel the theological emphasis of the Reform Sunday school to be unJewish in essence. Moreover while it has conformed outwardly to American conditions - in matter of reduction of hours of instruction - the viewpoint is rather an outgrowth of intellectual and philosophical movements current in Germany in the 19th century, than a true expression of what is vital and democratic in American life. It is essentially an upper class affiliation which it promotes. Until recently the Reform Sunday school was strongly opposed by Jewish teachers of the more conservative and orthodox schools, and "national" schools.



However, certain changes are beginning to be noted in the Sunday school program in the direction of bringing it closer to Jewish traditional conceptions and to Jewish affairs as well. The dogmatic anti-Zionist attitude has largely been replaced by an interest in the upbuilding of Palestine. A more favorable consideration of Hebrew is noticeable and this has led some schools - particularly in the middle west - to introduce one or two additional week day sessions for some of the children. There has been much improvement in the teaching of history. The introduction of Sunday schools by conservative congregations - in addition to the regular week day schools is also tending to change the general character of Sunday school instruction.

Due to these causes a more favorable attitude to Sunday school instruction is being developed. A practical point is urged in its favor:- the Sunday schools when well organized seem to retain the pupils over a longer period than other schools. In view of the continuous problem of leaving in Week Day schools, under certain conditions, the average child in Sunday schools receives more instruction in the long run than the average child attending week day schools. An education point:- that there is more emphasis on history and on the ideas and ethical content of the Bible and while these matters may not be well taught in Sunday schools as a whole, the emphasis is there, and if methods and conceptions are improved, would give the Sunday schools a valuable orientation. The Talmud Torah course, while aiming at Jewish learning and knowledge of Hebrew literature, do as a matter of fact spend an undue amount of time on teaching mechanical reading of the prayer book, and on



linguistic instruction in general.

The Sunday school, supplemented by club work and holiday celebrations, as is being done in some of the more progressive institutions, is not to be neglected as an educational means. However, although it is attended by more children than go to the other types described above, it is to be regarded as a minority type.

4: The Hebrew Week Day Schools, which meet on afternoons after public school hours and on Sunday mornings, represent the largest group of schools. About 37,500 children attend this type of school which constitutes 60% of the total. Besides the instruction received by the 15,000 children who are taught privately or in Heder conforms, in a general way, to the Hebrew Week day pattern. It may be said that the Week Day type is the contribution of the Jews to the problem of the organization of religious instruction in the United States. While the Catholics have promoted the Parochial school, and the protestants accepted the Sunday school, the Jews as a whole have identified themselves with the intermediate form - the Week Day school.

The Hebrew Week Day schools differ among themselves considerably; on the one extreme is the Heder-like Talmud Torah, on the other hand the Synagogue Religious school, which is an extension of the Sunday school in the direction of a more conservative viewpoint. Both of these types are tending toward the central type, which is usually referred to as a Talmud Torah and which may be



said to exemplify the following principles:

- 1: It is supplementary to the Public School
- 2: The course of study includes the main subjects of the traditional Jewish elementary school, (the elementary Heder in its proper sense), such as Siddur (Prayer Book), Humosh (the Pentateuch, Former Prophets, and occasionally other parts of the Bible. The Hebrew texts are always used.
- 3: The traditional course has been modified by modern Jewish influences. The most important change is in the teaching of Hebrew. Formerly Hebrew texts were translated into Yiddish: now in most Talmud Torahs, Hebrew is used as the language of instruction and is studied also for its own sake. History has also been introduced but is generally taught inadequately. Singing of Jewish songs, secular and religious, are included. Zionism and Palestine are centres of interest.
- 4: The Talmud Torah is close to Jewish tradition and at the same time responsive to movements and affairs in Jewish life. Their attitude is frequently described as national-religious, but this is not due to any definite theory but the reflection of interest in the various aspects of Jewish life. The Talmud Torah is the outgrowth of the traditional school as modified by modern Jewish movements and as changed by American conditions, rather than the product of a definite view on Jewish life, as in the other types - Sunday School, (Reform), Yeshivah (Orthodox), Yiddishist (Socialist).

As noted here and more fully outlined in the report, the Talmud Torah has made progress in the last twenty-five years, but it may still be regarded - except in a very few instances - as inadequately orientated by the American scene. The balance between the principle of maintaining the traditional forms of the school and adapting it to the American life is still wanting in the second respect. While it still has a strong hold in sections where the parents have received their own early Jewish training in the Eastern European Heder or Yeshivah, it is losing ground among parents born or educated in the United States. In order to preserve its essential elements, it must be modified. Its limitations are:



- 1: The Schedule usually requires attendance five times a week, four afternoons and Sunday mornings.

This interferes unduly with the play time of the child, or other cultural interests such as music. For the majority of the children, a three time a week schedule is the most that can be expected. This does not preclude a more intensive form of instruction for those who are particularly interested in an intensive course in Hebrew language and literature and who come from homes where such an intensive course is desired. Such five time a week schedules should be limited to the older age groups. Several types of schedule must be elaborated to meet the needs of different interests and abilities, but as noted above, not so many as to create confusion.

- 2: The Course of study is overweighted with linguistic elements.

Too much time, relatively, is spent in teaching the "mechanical reading", as it is called, of the Hebrew Prayer Book, and too much proportionately also in the attempt to teach Hebrew, with the effect that "content subjects" such as history, teaching of Jewish concepts, and discussion of current events are usually sacrificed.

- 3: There is inadequate correlation with general aspects of Jewish life, and general needs of the child's development.

In the old centers of Jewish life the child got his basic Jewish education from the environment, home, synagogue, street. The school confined itself to instruction in the sense of book learning. In America the Jewish school has a broader, more rounded educational task - despite the fact that it has less time at its disposal - and must bring the child into contact with other aspects of Jewish life - holidays, Jewish affairs, etc. This means thinking less in terms of "instruction" or book learning - and more in terms of "educational activities".

Furthermore, because of the crowding of many interests in modern life, due care must be taken to correlate the Jewish educational work with other cultural or with recreational activities. The conduct of Jewish schools in Jewish Centres, where the same authority may supervise various aspects of the child's development would assist such correlation.

- 4: Inadequate correlation with general education.

If the Talmud Torah is in any true sense "supplementary" to the general education in Public Schools, it should be correlated with it in the general educational procedure, in manners, and in personalities. Otherwise a conflict may arise in the child's mind a lack of harmony in his general psychological makeup. A very strong argument for an All Day school is this potential dualism. If the supplementary Talmud Torah is adopted as a main Jewish school type, there is the greater need of giving thought to this



aspect. This involves all sides of school procedure, the aesthetic character of school quarters, the type of teachers, the principles underlying the teaching of history, etc.

Despite these limitations, the Talmud Torah is the basis of the Jewish School of Tomorrow, as it has been called. The ideas for such a school life have been elaborated by certain Jewish educators, some text books have been produced and methods elaborated. A few schools are working in the direction of tendencies outlined and one or two may be said to be approximating the proper balance of work. It would be of great assistance in crystallizing the thinking and experimentation, to set up a school or several schools in which the conception outlined here could be embodied under adequate conditions, where ideas could be tried out, the experimental work could be demonstrated, text books and educational materials could be prepared. One of the greatest difficulties encountered in attempting to get schools to improve their work is the lack of better text books and teaching materials. Enough has been said thus far, to indicate that the problem is not one of improving this or that method, or of making this or that change in course of study, but of working out a normal school type in all its aspects - schedule, course of study, type of teacher, relation with parents, teachers salaries, methods of administration, etc. While some aspects could be worked out in existing institutions - though there are few with adequate conditions for experiment - the problem must be worked out in an integrated fashion, with a unified group of teachers adequately trained, and with similar educational attitudes. This will require one school or several schools under complete con-



trol of those promoting the experiment, and with adequate, though not elaborate conditions.

Working out the Week Day type of school will not, of course, solve the problem for the other types - although some of the elements, text books and methods, could be used by all schools - particularly by the more progressive Sunday Schools. But by working out the Week Day Type a contribution could be made that would fit the interests of the very large majority. There are, of course, shades of religious views and differences of practice among parents who send their children to the Week Day type of school. For the most part they fall between the extreme of Reform and Orthodoxy. The only way to meet this problem in any school is to follow the general attitude prevailing in the homes from which the children come. It would undoubtedly be desirable to have several schools in various sections of the city.

#### 6: Organization Auspices of the Week Day School

The Hebrew Week Day Schools may be organized a) independently (usually called "Communal"); b) as part of a Synagogue (Congregational) or part of an institution mainly devoted to other purposes, such as a YMHA (Institutional). In former years most of the Talmud Torahs or Hebrew Schools were organized independently or "Communal", but there has been a strong drift to the Congregational types, and their comparative merits have been the subject of considerable discussion, not always, however, on the relevant points.

The discussion has been confused by an injection of the religious vs. national attitude in Jewish education - on the assumption that the so-called Talmud Torah emphasized the Hebrew lang-



uage and Jewish nationalism more than religion. An examination of the courses of study, however, does not verify such a distinction. The Talmud Torahs are nearer to the Jewish traditional conceptions in religion, while some of the congregations place emphasis on the synagogue as the center of Jewish life. As a matter of fact, while the auspices is becoming more and more congregational, the type of course of study has been strongly influenced by the Hebraic emphasis of the Talmud Torah. Congregational schools are also becoming "communal" in the sense that they are admitting children of non-members, and thus are really neighborhood schools.

At the present time congregational schools in New York City still labor under many disadvantages. They are small, and the rabbi is not generally ready to merge his school with a neighboring congregation. The difference between the Conservative and Reform congregations in some neighborhoods is more of a class or social distinction than a doctrinal or religious one and the congregational school thus unnecessarily divides one group of Jewish children from another, instead of bringing them together. Sometimes the tendency is to center the Jewish interest too narrowly on the local Synagogue rather than on the "Congregation of Israel" in the lofty, universal sense of Israel as an international, spiritual community.

Many of the practical and educational difficulties arise out of the fact that the school is only too frequently a secondary consideration in the congregation, the synagogue in general being adult centered. On the other hand, the congregation has the ad-



vantages of contact with the family noted above and the disadvantages mentioned are not insurmountable. In the degree that the congregation develops along the lines of a Jewish centre, with a more balanced attention to all age groups in the family and with a more communal attitude the conduct of the schools is likely to improve.

A similar tendency toward broadening out into a "Jewish Center" is observable in recreational institutions, and to some extent in the Talmud Torahs as a whole. The general tendency in American Jewish life is toward some form of Jewish Center which attempts to satisfy the social, recreational, cultural, communal, and religious interests of Jews. The Congregational Center approaches the matter from the viewpoint of the adult and the synagogue service; the recreational centre from the point of view of the young man and recreational, cultural and social needs; the Jewish School Centre from the point of view of the education of the child. In thinking of the future of the Hebrew Week Day School it is conceived by the writer in terms of a Jewish Community School Center (like the Central Jewish Institute) which will deal with the child as one unit in the family, and provide extra-curricular as well as recreational activities.

All these forms, the institutional, congregational and so-called "communal" types are really public or communal in character when properly developed, and schools should be conducted in all such institutions. As long as little communal support for special Jewish schools is available, the tendency must continue to be in the direction of congregational or center schools, because these



types of organization lend some backing and support to the school. From the educational viewpoint, however, the Jewish School Community Center has advantages since its primary aim is education and it is orientated by interest in the child.

<sup>Sometimes made</sup>  
A practical argument in favor of the congregational school is its greater self-support. It is true that the congregational organization offers a method of obtaining local support, and of developing a definite clientele for the school. But the writer believes that the superiority has been exaggerated, the view being influenced by the situation in richer congregations. Many congregations balance the budget by the simple expedient of reducing the teacher's salary. Congregational organization is helpful in assuring a degree of local support and this is not denied, but on more careful analysis it will be found that for the maintenance of high standards of instruction, communal supervision, as well as communal support will be found necessary for the average congregational school as well as for the independent or so-called communal school. The congregational unit - though valuable does not eliminate the need of communal viewpoint and methods. As a matter of fact, the "congregational" unit is valid insofar as it also becomes "communal", and not purely local.

Teachers Training Schools and the Jewish Teachers.

There are an adequate number of teacher training schools and courses for teachers, representing the main school types and viewpoints. The excessive number of institutions noted in the 1928 Survey have been reduced as a result of the depression. The coexistence of separate institutions representing different viewpoints



is necessary and this should not be regarded as duplication. However, there is still some work that could be dispensed with on the basis of strict economy. However, the institutions or courses referred to as superfluous are not supported by any central agency and their maintenance is a problem for their own Boards.

The two main institutions from which leaders for the Hebrew Week Day Schools are supplied are: the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Conservative) and the Teachers Institute of the Yeshivah Isaac Elchanan (Orthodox). Both of these institutions depend for their support on the Rabbinical Seminaries with which they are associated. Both of them at the present time lack adequate funds for the proper development of their pedagogical work; particularly they require critic teachers, practice schools and instruction in club work, extra-curricular activities. Their importance for the educational work makes it highly desirable that the central educational agency should cooperate closely with the teachers institutes. It is not suggested that support of these institutions should be taken over by any central agency, but certain assistance outlined in the Recommendations may be given.

#### The Jewish Teacher

There has been a great improvement in the type of teacher employed in Jewish schools. There are still an appreciable number of old-fashioned teachers who are ill prepared for the task of teaching the American born child, but the majority are modern trained persons, who have a combination of Jewish knowledge,



general education, and pedagogical training. There is room for improvement in this as in all other aspects of the Jewish educational work - the perfect Hebrew teacher must fulfill many difficult requirements. But as a whole the teaching staff in Jewish schools represents a devoted group, with a professional attitude toward their work.

However, the economic difficulties in the way of making Jewish teaching a life work are very great. Jewish teachers would be ready to continue to devote themselves to this profession at a certain financial sacrifice, for most of them have chosen their work out of their special interest in Jewish life. But the wages paid are entirely inadequate, less than half of what is paid in elementary public schools. Most of all there is no security. The schools being individually organized on an autonomous basis, subject to local Boards only, the teacher may be dismissed at will. The local organization of schools, regarded by some as an evidence of initiative and vitality, bring with it undue influence of local Boards, not always free from petty politics and backward ideas. The teachers, who have gone through years of training, are frequently prevented from utilizing their best knowledge. In addition to poor pay, and insecurity of position, they find themselves thwarted in their purpose of doing effective educational work. The result is that many of the best teachers drop out.

In the opinion of the writer, the problem of a minimal, adequate wage, and security of tenure, presents the most difficult



of all the problems, in the Jewish educational situation. While something may be done by a well organized central educational body through administrative methods and moral influence, in the final analysis this is a problem of adequate finance. A minimum wage scale and proper conditions cannot be made effective without a measure of communal control and of financial support of schools by some central body.





PART III.

THE BUREAU OF JEWISH EDUCATION  
FUNCTIONS, ORGANIZATION, AND FINANCES

Functions of the Bureau of Education

The Training of Teachers and Other Personnel -  
Demonstration or Model School - Extension Educa-  
tion for Youth - Development and Supply of Text  
Books and Education Materials - Standards, Methods  
and Attendance - Coordination of Congregational  
Schools - Subsidies for Maintenance of Schools.

Organization of the Bureau

Director of the Bureau - Independence of the Hebrew  
School Board.

Finances of the Bureau of Jewish Education and Hebrew  
Schools and Institute

Income of the Bureau - Income of the Hebrew Schools -  
Teachers Salaries in the Cleveland Hebrew Schools -  
Deficit - Financial Control of Subsidiary Organiza-  
tions by the Bureau - Proposed Budget.

Supplement No. 3. Function of the Bureau of Jewish  
Education - From the 1936 New York Jewish Educa-  
tion Study.



PART III - THE BUREAU OF JEWISH EDUCATION FUNCTIONS,  
ORGANIZATION AND FINANCES

The Bureau of Jewish Education, organized in 1924, served mainly, at first, as an instrument for the financial support of constituent groups, particularly the Cleveland Hebrew Schools and Council Religious Schools. However, in its early period additional activities were conducted. At the present time, the work of the Bureau includes an Institute of Jewish Studies for training of Sunday school teachers and club leaders, and a Department of Extension Education for Jewish youth. The Bureau also engages in miscellaneous activities designed to assist schools, societies and clubs in their educational work: the Bureau helps organizations to formulate their programs for the year; teachers and principals of affiliated and other schools come to the Bureau for advice on curriculum, text books and teachers; the files of the Bureau are drawn upon for holiday material, music, etc.

The Bureau may be said to be, in a transitional state from a body whose main purpose was to secure funds for constituent organizations, to a Department of Jewish Education with the functions of guidance, coordination, financial support and standardization, such as exists in Chicago and other cities. It is desirable to formulate the functions of the Bureau more clearly in alignment with this conception, to work out a more balanced program of activities, without, however, sacrificing the nucleus of intensive Hebrew instruction which depends upon the Bureau of its main support.

The main functions of a Bureau of Education may be subsumed under the following main headings:

1. Educational, administrative and financial service to schools.
2. Educational research, experimentation and the development of educational material.
3. Public relations and the development of public interest in Jewish education.

As a supplement to this section of the report, there is submitted a detailed list of activities of a Bureau of Education taken from the 1936 New York



Education survey. Each community will modify this program in accordance with local needs and financial means. The list is here offered as descriptive of the type of activities which may properly be included among the functions of a full-fledged Bureau of Education. The following more specific recommendations are made for the Cleveland Bureau of Jewish Education, both with reference to functions, activities and organization. The recommendations are made, in part, on the basis of what is already being done and requires development, and in part includes new work.

#### Functions of the Bureau of Education

##### 1. The training of teachers, club leaders and other personnel for Jewish service

Three stages of training are herewith outlined:

###### a. Preparatory high school stage.

Provision in the high school department should be made for two courses; one, for graduates of the Hebrew schools and the other, for pupils who have little or no Jewish training. From the second category, club leaders, Sunday school teachers and social workers may be drawn.

Pupils who have no vocational purpose should be encouraged to take this course providing they have the proper qualifications and pursue the work seriously.

It is desirable that high school students from Sunday school and extension activities come together with the students doing more intensive work periodically and in connection with holidays or celebrations of communal events. It is desirable, also, to have some suitable central place for such meetings; such meetings may also be held in the various congregational centers in rotation.

###### b. Professional training stage.

From the high school department, those who wish to train themselves for some form of Jewish service should enter the Teachers Institute of Jewish studies. Courses designed to increase and deepend Jewish knowledge will be continued but professional work in pedagogy to prepare for teaching in various types of schools, would also be given. There should furthermore



b. Professional training stage. (Continued)

be courses in club leadership and in extension activities. In addition to the graduates of high school courses, others with proper qualifications may be admitted.

c. Improvement of teachers in service.

The two stages indicated above are already included, in some form, in the present organization. A third stage should be introduced - the guidance of teachers in the early years of their service in the schools. This function is already being exercised in some degree in an informal way by contact of teachers in various schools with the Institute and with Mr. Friedland. The guidance of "teachers in training" should now become a definite function and the supervisors mentioned above (page 2 ) should make it one of their main tasks to visit and direct the teachers in the early periods of their service.

The certificate given to the graduates of the Teachers Training School should be of a temporary character until their work shall have been shown to be satisfactory. It should become permanent only after an initial probationary period of two or three years, as will be determined. The weakness in teachers training generally lies in inadequate direction of the teacher during this probationary period and great loss is sustained thereby for the teacher's usefulness in all subsequent years.

It is thus recommended that the training of personnel for Jewish service be made a central activity of the Bureau. This would require transferring the high school and Institute work now conducted by the Cleveland Hebrew schools to the Bureau and a union with the Institute of Jewish Studies. Proper quarters, equipment and a larger budget than at present will be required for doing this work properly.

2. Demonstration or model school

The Bureau should have under its control at least one school in suitable quarters for working out a normal week-day pattern or type - including time schedules, course of study, methods of teaching and auxiliary extra-curricula activities. This school should be part of, or closely associated with the Teachers Institute and should be used as a demonstration or practice school.



As far as the schedule is concerned, the logic of the American scene indicates a three-time-a-week school - two afternoons and Sunday (or Saturday) morning. However, both in New York and in Chicago, it would appear that those who want an intensive Jewish education are ready - perhaps prefer - to send their children five times a week, daily afternoons and Sunday morning. It is questionable whether this tendency will persist for long. The suggestion made here is that the demonstration school, if organized, should be on a three session per week basis, but the final decision should be left to the Bureau depending upon local conditions. As noted above (Part I - page 15) it may be possible to cooperate with the Jewish Center in the development of such a school.

It should be noted incidentally that no recommendation is made for decrease in the hours of instruction or number of sessions in the present Hebrew schools. On the contrary, one drawback to these schools may be that the instruction is not intensive enough to satisfy the wishes of the parents. It may be desirable to try the experiment in one center, of including Sunday morning in the sessions by cooperating with the Council Schools, thus making the Hebrew school attendance five times a week instead of four. In this way, the four afternoon sessions would be devoted to Hebrew with Sunday morning for history, current events, singing, etc.

### 3. Extension education for youth

The importance of the education of the Jewish youth is well recognized in Jewish educational circles; activities in this field are being carried out by various organizations and there is more educational material than formerly for this purpose. But in comparison with the immensity of the problem, little has been done in the way of effective attack. Bureaus of Jewish education in the various cities are still essentially concerned with elementary education, and parents, as a rule, still regard Bar Mitzvah or confirmation as the be-all and end-all. The almost exclusive identification of Jewish education with "learning" in the elementary age period has also obscured the necessity of a complete reorientation with reference



to methods of work when the youth are concerned. The adolescent age is the period of vocational adjustment, of changed social orientations, of the formation of loyalties, and the work with the youth must be motivated by recognition of these powerful factors.

While no doubt active participation in Jewish institutional life in the synagogue, in communal welfare activities, in Zionism and work for Palestine are matters of prime importance, these are not the only centers around which the work with youth should be organized. The youth must be led to a self-understanding of himself as a Jew in his relation to other Jews and to the non-Jewish world. He should also be brought to an appreciation of the basic ideas and ideals of Judaism which includes a discussion of Jewish thought for its own sake and some knowledge of the Jewish literatures. Further, it should be borne in mind that youth is profoundly influenced by personal leadership, by interest taken in the individual personal problem, and this fact too should be emphasized more than is usually done in the matter of Jewish youth education.

The Bureau of Jewish Education is giving some attention to the subject. It is here suggested that it become a more central activity of the Bureau and adequate funds for this purpose be set aside. A reading of the individual reports in the investigation of graduates indicates the weakness of an elementary education not followed by guidance and contact during the adolescent period.

#### 4, Development and supplying of textbooks and educational materials

Good textbooks, proper teaching materials and well-worked out syllabi in various subjects are universally recognized as of the greatest aid to teaching. The Bureau conducts a miscellaneous number of activities in the direction of giving such educational helps. For example, it has a multigraph machine and Hebrew typewriter which services various institutions; an experiment in the children's library and supervised study is being conducted in the Kingsman section; textbooks, pamphlets history outlines in English and Hebrew have been worked out for the Council Religious



schools as well as the Cleveland Hebrew schools. The more important work in this department is the publication of the Sippurim Yafim series created by Mr. Friedland. This series is used not only in Cleveland but in many other cities. The enterprise is, to a large extent, self-supporting but requires additional capital investment for first printing. This activity should be continued and other similar ones developed with special view of service to the Cleveland schools.

This department should also maintain an exhibit of the best textbooks published by other organizations and a syllabi developed by other bureaus.

5. Standards, Records, and Attendance

The term "standardization," itself not too happy, is used to designate a series of activities aimed to introduce uniform standards.

a. While it is not desirable to have all pupils study the same things, nevertheless certain definite patterns with reference to curriculum, are highly desirable. One function in the category of standardizing is to work out uniform courses of study in collaboration with the schools.

b. A second sphere for standardization is the filing of records used in schools - attendance, progress and financial reports. It is highly desirable to have uniform records in all schools so that complete information is kept and that the records of the various institutions be comparable. Most schools in Cleveland have good records and with slight changes they can be made uniform. On the other hand, some of the schools, particularly the congregational week-day schools, the Yeshivah-Talmud Torahs and the Yiddishist schools, are lacking in this respect. Uniform records and standardized reports have been used by the Jewish Education Association of New York and the Associated Talmud Torahs of Philadelphia and these may serve as guides.

c. One of the basic records which the Bureau should provide for is a central register of pupils enrolled in all schools and of withdrawals. This record would make it possible to determine the extent of net enrollment (without duplication) at any given time and the duration of the child's schooling. At the present time,

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- (1) To build up attendance
- (2) Introduce uniformity in curriculum -  
textbooks - supply materials -  
recruit and train teachers -
- (3) Help with classes

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while it is possible to trace the length of stay in any one school, it is impossible to determine what is the total years of education of any one child in all schools.

d. Standards are required with reference to teachers' qualifications and for their certification. Along with this should go a standardization of the terms of service and salaries of teachers.

e. The Department of Attendance suggested in the recommendations on enrollment in Part I (page 14) might be included under this heading as an activity of the Bureau and should be made to serve - besides the Hebrew schools - also the Council schools and the congregational week-day schools should the latter become affiliated with the Bureau of Education.

#### 6. Coordination of Congregational Schools

The Bureau should be charged with the function of assisting congregational schools, the conservative as well as the reform, to build up their week-day departments. It is necessary that a degree of uniformity in time schedules, subjects of the curriculum and methods of teaching be introduced, among the congregational schools with due respect to the main divisions of conservative and reform synagogues and with due regard to the autonomy of each school in the final choice of teachers and curriculum. The intention here is not to impose any ready-made pattern of instruction, but to assist the schools to eliminate differences due to accident of development and to lack of coordination, to supply them with materials of instruction, to recommend teachers, to help unite classes of various schools where there is an insufficient number in each school: - in general to eliminate duplications and supply deficiencies which arise out of local uncoordinated effort.

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The Chicago Bureau of Jewish Education has gone furthest in developing a system of coordination of the congregational week-day work - also to some extent of the Sunday schools. The program of supervision in Chicago includes teacher guidance, visits to classrooms, exchange of experience among teachers of various schools, cooperative elaboration of curriculum, uniform tests and the introduction of standard records of progress, attendance and reports. In Chicago, all of this



has been done with the full cooperation of the congregations. As a matter of fact, a fee is paid by the school for affiliation with the Bureau of Education.

Despite the fact that Sunday school work is excellently developed in Cleveland, particularly in the larger temples, still a great deal of good could be accomplished by cooperation of the Sunday schools through some central body which would ensure the exchange of experience and the development of cooperation among the teachers. The by-products of collaboration in the educational field would also not be unimportant for the general strengthening of unified community spirit. why

To effectively carry out the work of supervision suggested above, the Bureau of Education would have to include additional personnel, one supervisor for the "content" group of subjects - history, current events, etc. and another supervisor for Hebrew instruction. Both of these supervisors should be chosen with reference to the fact that their work would be with the congregational schools essentially.

#### 7. Subsidies for maintenance of schools

From the above, it may be observed that the main functions of a Bureau of Education are conceived to be in the field of coordinating the various educational activities, the improvement of the quality of instruction, and the conduct of central institutions which no individual locality can properly maintain. Assistance rendered to schools by the Bureau of Education should be essentially in the way of supervision, teacher guidance, supplying of educational material, etc. It may be found necessary also to include a plan of scholarships for children who live in neighborhoods near congregational schools but who cannot afford membership in the congregation. However, such assistance is regarded as secondary as far as congregational schools are concerned, it being understood that these in the main must be self-supporting.

In the case of the communal schools, - the Hebrew schools and the Council Religious schools, - the Bureau must continue to give substantial grants large enough to permit the proper conduct of these institutions, on a normal basis. It many



would not be right to force a further curtailment of these schools; upon them the community depends in the main for the more intensive type of Jewish education and they serve as a basis for the high school and teachers training classes. To reduce them, furthermore, would be to deprive the poorest sections of the population of Jewish school facilities. Expansion of these schools may not be warranted at the present time but the existing institutions should be placed on a normal basis which implies a balanced budget and a minimum standard wage for the teachers.

### Organization of the Bureau

#### Director of the Bureau

1. It is desirable - particularly in view of the changed balance of function contemplated - to eliminate a certain amount of indefiniteness that has arisen from having the same person manage both the Hebrew schools and the Bureau. This arrangement may have been necessary in the past for practical reasons but if the Hebrew schools are to retain their independent character under an autonomous board, it would be desirable to free Mr. Friedland from his responsibilities as principal of the Hebrew schools and to allow him to devote all of his energies to directing and expanding the Bureau.

#### Independence of the Hebrew School Board

2. The Joint Study Committee of Jewish Education in 1928 suggested that the Bureau assume the fiscal and administrative control of the Cleveland Hebrew schools and other subsidiary organizations, leaving to the latter, at their option, the right to continue to function in determining the internal educational policy. This proposal grew out of certain difficulties in the present arrangement. The Hebrew schools and Institute form a completely autonomous body financially as well as from the administrative and educational point of view. As a matter of fact, however, it has become largely dependent upon the Bureau for its financial support; while its own ability as well as its right to obtain funds from independent sources has been narrowly limited. An anomalous situation has arisen in which the moral -

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ago



and eventually the actual - financial responsibility must fall on the Bureau, while the Bureau has neither the corresponding sense of financial obligation towards the Hebrew schools nor the necessary technical control over their finances.

The point made by the Joint Study Committee is recognized in the recommendation for greater financial control outlined below (page 19). However, after due consideration, the recommendation to transfer the physical responsibility directly to the Bureau is regarded as inadvisable for the following reasons:

- a. As a matter of general policy, it is not desirable for bureaus of education to undertake direct financial responsibility for any particular institutions. The final responsibility for any school or group of schools should rest with individual board of trustees. Both in New York and Chicago this "decentralized scheme" is regarded as the cornerstone of the policy in the relationships of Federation to educational institutions.

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The reason for this policy should be obvious. In theory, it might appear that the added financial control in the centralized scheme would enable the Bureau of Education to resist increases in expenditure and to make drastic cuts when necessary. In practice, however, a central Bureau of Education would be subject to very great pressure if it attempted to close schools and drastically reduce teachers' salaries. The greater assumption of control on the part of the Bureau of Jewish Education may, in the last analysis, mean a greater financial responsibility, not a limitation of it.

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- b. The Hebrew schools and Institute still raise certain sums of money and have certain tangible assets. These resources are less valuable than formerly but when taken together, still constitute an appreciable part of the school income. Centralization of financial responsibility in the Bureau would probably lead to a more rapid fall in this income.

In view of the above, a midway position is recommended whereby a better definition of responsibilities and a greater degree of control should be secured without, however, abolishing the Board of the Hebrew school and Institute. The following changes in the present relationship are suggested:

1. Parallel with the transfer of Mr. Friedland's services entirely to the directorship of the Bureau, a principal should be appointed for the Hebrew schools who should be directly responsible only to the Hebrew school Board.



The principal should be chosen with an eye to building up the attendance in the Hebrew schools, the formation of a parents' organization and the development of local interest around each school. Perhaps it would be better to have the office of the principal in one of the schools.

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The high school and teachers training school, as already noted, should come under the direct responsibility of the Bureau.

Perhaps it would be desirable to strengthen the Hebrew school Board by including representation from local parents' groups.

There should be carried with effect, a thoroughgoing plan for the control of the financial administration of subsidiary institutions and for the liquidation of the deficit of the Hebrew schools. A detailed suggestion is made below.

From the point of view of financial administration, there is even less reason for autonomy for the Council schools than for the Hebrew schools. But here too there is a deep interest on the part of the Council in the Sunday school work. They were the creators of this project and have been active in its direction even after the Bureau undertook the financial report. In this case also it is desirable to continue the autonomous organization under proper regulation. The Bureau should have a large measure of control with reference to educational arrangements, particularly in so far as this is necessary for coordination of the work of the Sunday schools with the work of the Hebrew schools in each neighborhood.

Finances of the Bureau of Jewish Education and Hebrew  
Schools and Institute\*

1. Income of the Bureau

From 1924 to 1931, the Bureau raised its own funds independently; beginning with 1931, the Bureau became a constituent of the Jewish Welfare Fund. The following table shows the income during the two periods and also the allotment to the Cleveland Hebrew schools:

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\* Costs of other schools are given in the detailed report accompanying these recommendations and are summarized in the master chart on the "Status of Jewish Education in Cleveland" included above.



Independent Period

<u>Year</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>To Hebrew Schools</u>	<u>% To Hebrew Schools</u>
1925	\$39,013.41	\$25,500.00	65%
1926	53,455.93	34,200.00	64%
1927	62,583.99	22,703.74	36%
1928	55,896.38	22,742.38	41%
1929	52,329.54	29,996.68	57%
1930	45,428.52	26,513.88	58%

Jewish Welfare Fund Period

1931	45,781.75	30,000.00	65%
1932	29,553.16	20,892.00	70%
1933	22,888.00	15,525.00	60%
1934	26,333.43	16,689.60	63%
1935	27,518.75	16,409.20	59%
1936	36,000.00		

The decrease in income reflects the economic depression; the decrease during the period of association with the Welfare Fund being in proportion to the general curtailment. However, the amount allocated for education represents only a small part of the total expenditure on Jewish public activities. The combined budget of the Jewish Welfare Federation (\$400,000) and the Jewish Welfare Fund (\$220,000) is \$620,000, the sum expended on education for 1936, i.e., \$36,000 - constitutes something less than 6% of this total

Besides the income from the Welfare Fund, the Bureau has other very minor sources from small trust funds and miscellaneous items. Following is a brief summary of income and expenditure from March 1, 1935 to February 29, 1936:

Income

Jewish Welfare Federation	\$28,000.	
Miscellaneous and Balance	<u>1,222.</u>	\$29,222.

Expenditure

Administration	<u>\$ 2,039.</u>	\$ 2,039.	
Hebrew Schools and Institute	17,178.		
Council Religious Schools	5,550.		
Extension Education	3,125.		
Institute of Jewish Studies	<u>500.</u>	26,353.	
Equipment, etc.	<u>\$ 253.</u>	<u>253.</u>	<u>28,645.</u>
Balance			<u>\$ 577.</u>



## 2. Income of the Hebrew Schools

The finances of the Hebrew School and Institute have fared even worse than those of the Bureau as can be seen from the following table:

Year	Total	Bureau	%	Tuition Fees	%	Other Income	%
1925	\$83,312	\$25,500	30%	\$29,428	35%	\$28,384	35%
1926	80,099	34,200	42%	28,181	35%	17,718	23%
1927	73,208	22,703	31%	31,014	42%	19,491	27%
1928	80,128	22,742	28%	34,000	42%	23,386	30%
1929	77,080	29,996	39%	26,693	34%	20,391	27%
1930	67,167	26,513	39%	20,144	30%	20,510	31%
1931	62,157	30,000	48%	14,522	23%	17,635	29%
1932	45,679	20,892	43%	7,932	17%	16,855	40%
1933	31,272	15,525	49%	6,014	19%	9,733	32%
1934	35,128	16,639	47%	5,944	16%	12,495	37%
1935	32,264	16,409	50%	5,708	17%	10,147	33%

The decline of the Hebrew School income has been in reference to all its sources. The greatest decrease, however, has been in the tuition fees which, in 1927 and 1928, were over \$30,000; in 1931 income from this source dropped down to less than half. The decline is, of course, in part due to the reduction of the number of pupils (from 2,150 to 1,300), as well as to the direct effects of the depression. In 1932 there was a sudden drop to \$8,000. The tuition fees have continued to decline. The schools are now serving a very poor clientele. Ten years ago, the average per capita payment was \$1.50 a month; now it is about 70¢. On October 1, 1935, of the total of 724 pupils in these schools, 292 (or 40%) were on relief with the CCRA and the Mother's Pension.

In view of these facts, it is doubtful whether concentration on the problem of collecting larger amounts from tuition fees would yield any appreciable results. Perhaps by devotion to the problem of attendance and length of stay as recommended in a previous section, some betterment may be attained. It might be desirable to eliminate gradations of 25¢ and force the payments up to the next 50¢ step, or more radically to the whole dollar unit, making the fees as follows: Free, \$1.00, \$2.00, \$3.00, \$4.00, with 50¢ gradations permitted only when there are two or three children in the family. A higher per cent payment may also be achieved by limiting the number of free cases to a certain percentage of the total, although



in the face of a large number of relief cases, it is hard to justify such a step. These various methods may help somewhat but evidently the Hebrew schools have become, in large measure, schools for the children of the poor. The tendency has been aggravated perhaps by the policy introduced in congregational schools of permitting attendance only to members' children. Cleveland is developing two distinct classes of Jewish school, one for the upper middle class; the other for the poor. This division is undesirable from a public and educational point of view.

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The "other income" consists of sums derived from membership, dues and donations, the Matzoh Fund, rentals and miscellaneous. The Matzoh Fund which formerly netted as much as \$9,000 or \$10,000 per year has now shrunk to \$3,000. The question has been raised whether in the light of the reduced income it is desirable to continue this business. It has been suggested that if all expenses in raising the income - direct and indirect - would be properly charged against it, the profits would shrink to a negligible point. This cannot be determined by hearsay and is something that should be investigated locally. It has also been suggested that in any case, engaging in the Matzoh business, is not compatible with the conduct of schools. But in the present stage of financial stringency, this alone, however, would hardly be a reason for discontinuing.

Along the lines of strengthening the financial responsibility of the Board of the Hebrew schools, it is recommended that certain spheres of revenue should be officially permitted. At the present time, membership dues up to \$3.00 per annum are allowed. Perhaps other methods not incompatible with the major collections of the Jewish Welfare Funds can be developed. In so far as possible, it is desirable to permit the Hebrew schools to develop local support of certain types.

The income derived from the central public source has also declined but in proportion it is now somewhat a larger part of the total school budget. Before 1931, the proportion of central funds to the total ranged from 30-40%. At the



present time, the contribution of the Bureau to the Hebrew schools is about 50% of the total cost. The loss of tuition fees and other local income makes a larger proportionate contribution from central sources imperative if more classes are not to be closed.

### 3. Teachers' salaries in the Cleveland Hebrew schools

The curtailments made have been drastically reflected in the cuts in teachers' salaries which are now very much below normal. The average teacher's salary is \$615. But this figure is misleading for it includes part time as well as full time teachers. The salaries as reckoned in terms of annual earnings are low on account of several factors:

- a. The hourly rate is low. The average hourly rate is \$1.28. In the Arbiter Ring schools it is \$1.80. In the Temple week-day schools it is \$1.90 per hour.
- b. The number of hours for a full time post is sixteen. This is small but only a minority of the teachers are employed full time; most of them half, and some even one-third.
- c. The remuneration is given in terms of monthly payments. On account of the curtailments, they receive only ten months' salary instead of the full year.

The preparation and knowledge of the teacher is approximately equal to that of public school teachers but the Hebrew school teachers' salaries are so much lower that a comparison would be painful and discussion in such terms quite academic. Something, however, must be done to raise the teachers' salaries to some minimum, and the following recommendations are made in this direction:

- a. The salaries should be increased to the minimum of a normal scale. According to one proposal submitted by Mr. Friedland, this would require an additional \$4,000 annually, including a payment for twelve months instead of ten. The proposal made is a modest one and should be further studied. In any case, teachers should be paid in accordance with some standard scale approved by the Bureau.
- b. The possibility of decreasing the number of persons employed and increasing the number of hours for each remaining person should be very seriously investigated.



- c. The high school and Institute teachers should be paid on a considerably higher level than the elementary school teachers.

#### 4. Deficit

The work of the Bureau of Education and of the Hebrew schools has been harrassed by the existence of a large deficit dating from the period before the formation of the Bureau. In accordance with the financial statement, this deficit amounted to about \$33,259 in 1924, and now amounts to \$44,379. These summary figures do not tell the whole story, for at various periods the Building Fund and other sources have been drawn upon in order to offset current deficits. The sum of \$44,376 can be offset somewhat by assets or by abandoning certain properties now held. The net amount of cash needed to liquidate the deficit is probably around \$35,000.

The deficit consists at the present time of the following items:

Salaries payable	\$32,669.
Other accounts payable to various creditors	1,886.
Matzoh account	1,851.
Accrued interest, taxes, rent, etc.	7,970.
	<u>\$44,376.</u>

There has been much discussion, misunderstanding and even bitterness on the question of this deficit. It would not be possible, and perhaps not profitable, to enter into a detailed discussion. To make a careful investigation would have required a large expenditure of time and funds. The material for analysis is available in the annually audited reports of the Hebrew schools. From the examination made, the following summary has been drawn up giving the main features of the story.

There are three main periods in the development of the deficit:

##### a. Up to 1924

The problem of the deficit arises in major part from the method of administering the schools during this period before the formation of the Bureau of Education. The deficit is due to a rapid expansion of the school system without due regard to the possibilities of obtaining the income to cover the expansion. The period was in general



one of inflation. The coming of Mr. Friedland to Cleveland had stimulated enthusiasm for the Hebrew school work. The Hebrew Institute Board also had considerable assets on which a high valuation was warranted at the time and evidently the Board felt that in the final analysis the reserve in their assets would serve as a "cushion" for the deficit.

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b. 1924 - 1931

When the Bureau of Education was formed, it was hoped that the Bureau would be able to raise funds large enough to maintain the regular program on a broad scale and to meet the deficit as well. The Bureau did not undertake any definite local responsibility for meeting the deficit. It is, however, claimed that in the propaganda for funds the meeting of the deficit was always included. At any rate, the Bureau did not cover any part of the deficit, nor did the Hebrew school contract their work in order to permit its liquidation. Between the years of 1925 and 1931, the deficit averages the same amount, although there were some fluctuations from year to year. After 1927, the income of the Bureau and the Hebrew schools began to decline. In this period the expenditure of the Hebrew schools was decreased, and the work contracted enough to meet current decrease in income, but not enough to liquidate any part of the deficit as well. If there is any complaint as to the manner of handling the deficit, it is for the period of 1927 and before, rather than for the subsequent time. It is not clear why the Bureau did not do something in the way of reducing the deficit during the years between 1924 and 1927 when its income was high.

c. 1931 - 1935

During the last period, after association with the Jewish Welfare Fund, the financial administration has been improved in the sense that the deficit has actually been decreased. The item of unpaid salaries has been reduced by an amount of \$9,847, and the net deficit by \$5,306. In the five years between 1931 and 1935 inclusive, there was a surplus of income over expenditure during three years. In 1933 the budget was just about balanced with a small deficit of \$350. One year, 1935, shows a fairly large deficit of \$1,944 which was due to several factors, decrease in income from Matzoh Fund, from tuition fees and from some unavoidable salary increases.

As to the question of responsibility, it is admitted that the legal responsibility rests with the Board of the Hebrew schools in the sense that they are the body liable to the teachers. On the other hand, it is clear that the Bureau was expected to meet the deficit and as a matter of fact frequently discussed doing so at the meetings of their Board. The minutes of meetings show



that such discussions took place every year between 1924 to 1928 inclusive. In 1931, in making its budgetary request to the Jewish Welfare Fund, the Bureau also included a request for \$5,000. for amortization of the deficit, providing the total amount granted by Federation would be \$50,000. It appears therefore that the Bureau through its discussions and other acts has made itself a party to the moral responsibility of covering the deficit, although essentially it was created by the Hebrew schools in a period prior to the organization of the Bureau.

Whatever may be the final historical verdict, it is absolutely essential for the proper conduct of the educational work, that the deficit be met - not only talked about - and a plan should be worked out and put into effect. Any realistic treatment of this troublesome question must begin with the fact that the Hebrew School Board cannot raise the funds to cover the deficit, however much it may desire to do so. There is only one way out, that is, for the Bureau explicitly to take upon itself the task of meeting this deficit, making it a primary charge on its income.

The following procedure is suggested:

- a. An auditor should be engaged by the Bureau to determine the exact amount of the deficit and a list should be drawn up of the individual creditors.
- b. Indebtedness on properties held should be liquidated wherever possible by sale or abandoning of property. The Hebrew School Board should be advised on this matter, but the Bureau need not undertake any responsibility for such indebtedness.
- c. A definite plan of paying the deficit should be made. The salary item, which constitutes the major part, shall be liquidated in twelve annual installments. Regulations should be drawn up for earlier payment in case of resignation or death of teacher.
- d. The obligation for teachers' salaries taken over by the Bureau and their payment shall be made a first charge on Bureau income, the payment being in respect of each individual teacher, in monthly installments.



5. Financial control of subsidiary organizations by the Bureau

In order to avoid future misunderstandings, it is desirable that the Bureau institute a regular procedure of control of the balancing of the budget of subsidiary institutions of the Hebrew schools and Council schools. The case of the Hebrew schools is most important in view of the large sum that is involved and previous financial difficulties. It is assumed that the Bureau makes balancing of budget a condition of any subsidy given.

A certain difficulty is experienced on account of the fact that the fiscal years of the various bodies involved, the Jewish Welfare Fund, the Bureau of Jewish Education, the Cleveland Hebrew schools, are not the same. Annual discrepancies may arise due to this fact and should be taken into account. On the other hand, this of itself should not lead to any too serious difficulties if a regular procedure is observed.

The budget for the schools should be worked out on the basis of the academic year. The Bureau of Education should be able to announce its contribution to the subsidiary institutions several months prior to this and not later than June 1st, in order to permit rearrangements and proper notice to teachers if discharge is necessary. Even so, a difficulty remains because the contribution announced in June can be assured only for part of the subsequent academic year, since the fiscal year of the Welfare Fund does not, as noted, correspond with the academic year. For instance, the contribution of \$36,000 from the Welfare Fund to the Bureau announced last spring covers the period from March 1, 1936 to 1937, while the academic year is September 1936 to October 1937. The half year from March 1937 to September 1, 1937 is thus undetermined. The practical way is to permit the school to run at the same scale for the second half of the academic year, neither curtailing nor expanding, and if a deficit occurs, this should be met during the following year unless the Bureau and the Welfare Fund approved of some other arrangement. If the regular procedure outlined here is carefully followed, any deficit developed will not prove burdensome.



In making out the school budgets furthermore a conservative estimate of income from tuition fees and local sources is imperative. If the trend of the previous years shows a downward curve, then the estimate for the next year should be lower, unless changed economic conditions are such as to certainly warrant the same estimate of the previous year. Moreover, the final judgment of the validity of any estimate of income from tuition fees or local sources should be approved by the Bureau and not by the subsidiary organization.

The payments to subsidiary institutions should be made regularly at periodic intervals, each month or every three months as will be decided, after a financial statement for the previous period has been submitted by the subsidiary institution and approved by the Bureau of Education.

#### 6. Proposed budget

The sum now appropriated from community funds to the Bureau of Jewish Education is wholly inadequate even for a minimum balanced program of Jewish education, without taking into consideration any increase of the number of children enrolled in the schools. A detailed estimate can be worked out by the authoritative local bodies, but it is obvious that if some of the more urgent needs are met, the appropriation cannot be less than \$50,000.

Following is a summary of the main items recommended above for which increases are required:

##### A. Normalization of present Hebrew school work.

1. Provision for liquidation of the deficit.
2. Raising teachers' salaries to a minimum normal level.
3. Appointment of a principal for the Hebrew schools.
4. Establishment of an attendance department for contact with the home and development of parents' associations.

##### B. Inclusion of new institutions.

5. If a decision is reached to include the Yeshivah-Talmud torahs and the Yiddishist schools in the communal system, additional financial provision must be made.



Functions of a Central Bureau of Jewish Education

III.

The functions of the New York Committee for Jewish Education will be divided into three main departments:

- 1) Education research, experimentation, and educational material.
- 2) Educational, administrative, and financial services to existing schools.
- 3) Public relations, propaganda, and membership.

1: Department of Educational Research, Experimentation, and Educational Material

A: Educational Research and Experimentation.

- i) Maintain a school, several schools, or classes for the purpose of working out suitable educational programs, including types of curricula, methods of teaching, administrative techniques, extra-curricular activities, Sabbath services and holiday celebrations, parents' organizations, etc.
- ii) Cooperate with existing schools, which may wish to experiment and develop curricula along the above lines, providing there exist proper conditions for such experimental work.

B: New Types of Instruction and Educational Activity.

- i) Supervised Home Study Groups  
for small groups of children, who live in outlying districts, or whose parents prefer private instruction.
- ii) Summer vacation programs - through a) informal courses in schools; b) indoor home camps; c) Jewish educational work in camps.



iii) Extension education for youth

through clubs and other informal educational activities.

iv) Informal activities for children under the age of eight who do not attend any Jewish schools, and cooperation with other organizations conducting such activities.

C: Text Books, Syllabi, Educational Material, etc.

i) Write and publish text books, syllabi; create educational materials and paraphernalia, required by experimental schools and classes, home study groups, extension activities, etc. mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

ii) Books and materials for home and library

a) holiday pamphlets for children, youths and adults;

b) literary classics and story books for use in children's library and home reading.

c) children's newspaper and periodicals.

iii) Children's illustrated encyclopedia for home and school use.

D: Publications

i) Publication of experiments in teaching; surveys and reports of education, books on education, etc.

ii) Bulletins on special aspects of instruction and conduct of the school such as how to conduct a Jewish club, a choir, graduation exercises, records, etc.

iii) Publication of statistics and information on school enrollment and attendance.



E: Research Fellowships

- i) For study of special pedagogical problems in connection with the development of courses of study.
- ii) For research in history and Jewish problems required for text books.

2: Department of Educational, Administrative and Financial Service to Existing Schools

A: Educational Services

- i) Maintain a staff of critic teachers and supervisors for guidance and instruction in various subjects, Hebrew, history, current events, etc.
- ii) Cooperate closely with teachers institutes and assist them in various ways, such as supplying critic teachers, instructors in club leading, dramatics, arts and crafts, and giving assistance in providing opportunities for practice teaching.
- iii) Maintain an exhibit of text books and educational materials with a supervisor in charge.
- iv) Maintain a supply department for renting and lending out slides, motion pictures, costumes, and other materials and paraphernalia needed by schools.
- v) Supply special services for teaching of dramatics, singing, arts and crafts; assistance in holiday celebrations and other school events.
- vi) Cooperation with public high schools and other organizations concerned with teaching of Hebrew, history, or other forms of Jewish instruction to the high school youth.
- vii) Cooperation with organizations engaged in adult Jewish education.



B: Administrative Assistance

- i) Cooperate with the Principals and Teachers' associations
- ii) Organize Parents' Association and parental education
- iii) Maintain a Board of Examination and Teachers' License  
in cooperation with teachers' institutes and teachers organizations.
- iv) Building service:  
assistance in planning school buildings and major repairs,  
suggestions for financing, etc.
- v) School records, attendance, and collections.

C: Financial Aid

- i) Material assistance rendered in kind,  
supplying teachers for special classes, lending educational paraphernalia.
- ii) Text books and other materials at reduced prices  
to enable schools to use approved texts, instead of cheap books published for commercial purposes.
- iii) Assistance in repairs of buildings  
to stimulate provision of better school quarters by participating in expenditure made by local institutions. (See IV 3)
- iv) Payment of scholarships:  
the term is used in the limited sense to designate payments made to schools on behalf of parents who cannot afford to pay the tuition fee. Such payments are regarded as being only a minor element in the school income. (See IV 4)
- v) Subsidies:  
the term is used to designate substantial grants-in-aid, designed to supply the differential between what may be obtained



through local support, including tuition fees, and the sum needed to conduct the school on approved standards in administration, minimum teachers' salary and educational work.

(See IV 5)

3: Department of Public Relations, Propaganda, and Membership

- 1: Development of membership and financial support for the New York Committee for Jewish Education.
- 2: Assistance to local committees in organization of campaigns and in the development of local membership and support.
- 3: Parental education designed to increase attendance and to prolong the period of the child's stay at school.
- 4: General publicity and education to develop and better understanding of the Jewish educational problems - unconnected with appeals for funds.



# UNITED HEBREW SCHOOLS OF DETROIT

בית הספר העברי דטרויט

*Location of Schools:*

1245 W. PHILADELPHIA AVENUE  
4000 TUXEDO AVENUE  
15705 PARKSIDE AVENUE  
9243 DELMAR AVENUE  
550 FARNSWORTH AVENUE  
2415 WENDELL AVENUE

Main Office Phone: Madison 8555



*Location of Schools:*

17750 BRUSH STREET  
3526 TWENTY-NINTH STREET  
JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER  
SHAAREY ZEDEK SYNAGOGUE  
MACCULLOCH PUBLIC SCHOOL

Rabbi Abba Silver - Page #2 - November 6, 1936

1935-36 budget - 52,493.43

32,264

Obtained as follows:

Allied Jewish Campaign	21,000.00
Tuition Fees (Our fiscal year is from June 1, 1935 to May 31, 1936)	16,689.60
Membership Dues	3,141.57
Woman's Auxiliary	2,000.00
The rest as above	

16,409

(This year -

5,708

I am also enclosing our curriculum for the elementary seven-year course, and for the Junior high school, 2 years, and for the Senior high school, 2 years.

If there is any other information you desire, please let me know and I shall be glad to supply you with whatever information you may want to have.

Sincerely yours,

Bernard Isaacs, Sup't.

United Hebrew Schools of Detroit

P. S. The seven-year elementary curriculum is now being revised which version will be ready in a few weeks. I shall be glad to send it to you if you want to have it.



## GENERAL IMPRESSIONS AS A RESULT OF THE JEWISH EDUCATION SURVEY INTERVIEWS

### Congregational Schools

The confirmants of the Congregational Schools should be divided in two groups: those who graduated from the Reform Schools and those who graduated from the Conservative Schools.

What impressed me more than anything else about the graduates of the Reform Schools is their lack of participation in Jewish activities and their indifference to present day Jewish life. They felt, to a large extent, that it was not necessary to identify oneself with a militant Jewish organization as it was far better not to segregate oneself, but rather mix freely with non-Jews. Many of them believe in assimilation. (1)

The majority had no real conception of what Zionism is, and when it was explained to them, they said that they were not interested in it. (2)

Judaism, which to most of them is synonymous with religion (defined by them as the observance of certain practices and rituals) seemed to play an insignificant part in their lives.

Such negative reactions on their part are due mostly, I think, not so much to their educational training as to their home environment---homes where "everything Jewish" has been cast off and where hardly any Jewish publication is received.

The recent events in Germany seemed more than anything else, to have evoked in them some Jewish feeling, a closer bond toward their brethren here and abroad, and a greater interest in Jewish affairs, which, however, have not as yet been translated in any positive action.

Attending Sunday School was to a great number of the graduates merely a means of making social contacts. Many of them felt that during the first five or six years of school, the course of study was overlapping and repetitious, thus causing a great waste of time. All, however, said that they enjoyed their work in the pre-confirmation and confirmation classes where modern history and current events were part of the curriculum. This feeling was expressed by the confirmants of all the Sunday schools. The graduates of the Congregational Schools particularly, expressed their happy experience of their contact with the Rabbi whom they had as a teacher in the confirmation class.

The graduates of the Conservative Congregational schools although equally inactive in any Jewish organization showed a somewhat greater interest in Jewish problems. The home seemed to have had the greatest Jewish influence in their lives in the sense that they learned of the religious customs and ceremonies. They seemed to know more of Zionism and were more sympathetic to its ideology.



### Council Religious Schools

The graduates of the Council Religious Schools also showed a lack of interest in Jewish organizations and problems. Their knowledge of Jewish history and literature is at a minimum. Hebrew is to them practically a dead letter.

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While the graduates of the Congregational Schools could join and do join at times the Alumni Associations of their respective synagogues, those of the Council Religious Schools miss that opportunity of participation in a Jewish group and thus lose all contact with the school and with the Jewish community at large.

### Cleveland Hebrew Schools

The graduates of the Cleveland Hebrew Schools as a group, impressed the interviewer as being very expressive and critical. Expressive in the sense that their knowledge of either Yiddish, Hebrew, Jewish literature, history, ancient and modern, and their understanding of Jewish life in general were greater than those of other groups. Critical in the sense that they felt that they should have learned and known more.

Avukah, Young Judea, Hashomer Hatzair draw their leadership and membership from this group. Many of them have either been or are still active in some Zionist or Hebrew speaking organizations. Most of them are well informed of present day Jewish problems and the advent of Hitlerism did not consequently awake their Jewish consciousness to the extent that it did with the other groups, except that of the graduates of the Yeshiva Adath B'nai Israel.

### Yeshiva Adath B'nai Israel

Most of the graduates of the Yeshiva Adath B'nai Israel interviewed still hold fast to traditional Judaism. Jewish studies influenced them in the sense that they learned the reason for the observance of the customs and ceremonies. Upon graduation a great number of them carry on their interest in Jewish studies and Jewish affairs by affiliating themselves with the Young Israel Organization where adult classes in Talmud are held regularly and where they participate in social, educational and fund-raising functions.

### Workmen's Circle

The graduates of the Workmen's Circle who were interviewed were few in number. Most of them were either attending high school or were freshmen in some out-of-town college. The average age of this group was much lower than that of the other groups and they therefore have not as yet acquired a philosophy of life.

With the exception of two graduates, as I recall, they expressed their satisfaction in having attended the school where they learned Yiddish -- "the language of the Jewish people" -- which enables them to read Yiddish literature and Yiddish newspapers. The economic philosophy taught at the school did not seem to have influenced them greatly. They are not religious in the sense that they do not observe and practice the Jewish customs and ceremonies -- a factor which is undoubtedly due both to the influence of the home and of that of the school.



### Non-Graduates

In giving one's impressions of the group of non-graduates, one must bear in mind the fact that they were chosen from membership lists of various Jewish youth organizations, and thus they are ipso facto participants in some phase of Jewish activity.

Broadly speaking, their knowledge of Jewish culture and literature is practically nil and their reading on subjects of Jewish interest is wanting.

The present crisis in Jewish life caused by the onslaught of Naziism has aroused their Jewish consciousness and is to a large extent instrumental in their joining of a Jewish organization.

The affiliation of their organization with the Council is having a salutary effect on the individual members. In contributing to the Welfare Fund, they become not only an integral part of their fellow-Jews throughout the world, but become also acquainted, even though indirectly, with some of the various problems of present day Jewish life.





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GENERAL IMPRESSIONS AS A RESULT OF THE JEWISH EDUCATION SURVEY INTERVIEWS

CLEVELAND, OHIO

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

General impressions of the various groups interviewed during the course of this survey are fraught with dangers in their interpretation. Of course these impressions are not based on a statistical summary of the questionnaire's various items. It is possible that these impressions might be influenced by some very emphatic statement of some one person who was interviewed, or that an outstanding exception to the group might have colored the writer's opinion in regard to that group as a whole. Therefore these impressions are presented merely as general feelings without benefit of statistical tabulation, garnered through some eight weeks of consistent interviewing with almost two hundred men and women who have had varying Jewish educational experiences and varying degrees of affiliation with Jewish schools. (1)

CLEVELAND HEBREW SCHOOL

The students of the Cleveland Hebrew school who were interviewed were quite critical of the school setup. They criticised the teachers, their youth, their lack of preparation, their lack of knowledge of pedagogy, their lack of background. Some criticised the supervision. The standard of pay for teachers was often mentioned as being low and to this was attributed a lowering of morale on the part of the teaching staff. (2)

But despite all these adverse comments the general impression received of this group of some 100 students was that a great number were sincerely interested in Hebrew culture. Many were interested or active in Zionist groups. Many carried on further in Jewish education than perhaps any other group. Their concern about Jewish affairs today as it affects the Jews all over the world was greater than most groups. They were not interested as much in religious activity as they were in communal affairs, Zionist groups, etc. Most of them come from homes with an orthodox background, but they designate themselves as conservative and reform. Those who are observant maintain this only out of respect for parents or grandparents, in the main. (100)

A greater reading of Jewish literature in the form of periodicals and books seems to take place among this group. Reading of Hebrew periodicals, though infrequent, takes place almost entirely in this group.

COUNCIL RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

In interviewing some fifty students who completed confirmation courses or went further into the high school department of the Council Religious School, a varying picture takes place. There are some who feel that the school was very fine and gave them a good Jewish education. Some feel that the school was loosely organized and that the teachers and the school did not hold the respect of the child. Some commended the school as being in a strategic position of offering a Jewish education to the child whose parents could not afford to affiliate with a congregation and who might otherwise lose the opportunity of being educated Jewishly. The people interviewed as a group

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## GENERAL IMPRESSIONS AS A RESULT OF THE JEWISH EDUCATION SURVEY INTERVIEWS

CLEVELAND, OHIO

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gave the general impression of not being much concerned with Jewish current problems. They knew they existed, but only a vague sort of way. They were not well read in Jewish literature and current periodicals. Zionism was a vague sort of thing to them. A number had distorted ideas as to what Zionism was, due primarily to lack of coherent information. Hebrew was not a familiar language to any who had no other type of Jewish education. A few students seemed to have been greatly influenced by certain individual teachers whom they look upon as being their ideals. This group in the main is not affiliated with Jewish organizations and activities.

### CONGREGATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOLS

One hundred students from four large Temples were interviewed. Many pointed to their school experience as being valuable primarily from the social contacts they made. Few are vitally concerned with Jewish life as it manifests itself throughout the world. A general impression is that many of them sever all connection with Jewish life either directly through failure to join organizations or indirectly through lack of interest in Jewish literature and periodicals. Hitler is the most outstanding figure in their concept of Jewishness today. Some of them were critical of the schooling they received. They feel that their interest was not held by the teachers or the subjects. They looked upon school as a lark, a point of relaxation from their regular weekday public school. Zionism is a vague entity to most of them. Some never heard of it. Some feel that it is a movement to bring all the elderly Orthodox Jews to Palestine so that they may die on holy soil. Affiliation with organizations may be limited to membership in the alumni association of the congregation to which they went to school. Most of them are unfamiliar with Hebrew though some of the more recent confirmants can read it. Yiddish is a foreign tongue and asking whether they receive Yiddish newspapers at home often brings forth a titter. Of course exceptions to the foregoing exist. There are persons who are vitally interested in Jewish life; are active in Jewish youth activities, respond to fund raising campaigns as solicitors and as donors. There is a tendency toward lack of observance entirely. A few attend Sunday morning services at the reform Temples. A few state that they are more religious than are their parents.

### YESHIVATH ADATH B'NAI ISRAEL

This group is the most positive in the carryover of their schooling to their everyday life and philosophy. They may criticise the old fashioned methods of their European style teachers, they may criticise the inadequacy and poor ventilation of their quarters, but most of them seem to agree that the Yeshivath is the only way to get a real foundation in Jewishness. A few have strayed as far as strict observance is concerned, but many of them are very religious according to the strict orthodox interpretation. Some go to Universities and maintain their adherence to Kashruth, Friday night and Saturday observance there. Almost one hundred per cent they state that the teaching of Hebrew should have a basis of Hebrew grammar and that the students should understand what they are reading, but they are willing to excuse all these things in their final summing up and they give a general statement to the effect that other types of schooling are superficial and insincere as compared with the Yeshivath.



## GENERAL IMPRESSIONS AS A RESULT OF THE JEWISH EDUCATION SURVEY INTERVIEWS

CLEVELAND, OHIO

-3-

### WORKMAN'S CIRCLE

A greater interest in the economic and social problems of the Jew and an interest in his status as a member of the working class seems to typify the 15 members of the workman's Circle group interviewed. They are seldom concerned about observance or religion as such. (Some of them conform to a certain amount of ritual because of respect to their parents or grand-parents. In many cases this is not even so because the parents are not much concerned about religious observance. They are interested in books that are translated from the Yiddish as well as books which can be read in the original. The Yiddish culture means much more to them than does Hebrew culture. The efforts of Zionists in Palestine to bring Hebrew to the fore meets with disdainful remarks by them because they feel that it is a dead language and that Yiddish is the language of the common Jewish person. Many feel thankful to their Workman's Circle training because it opened up to them the realm of fine Yiddish literature which they would never have met otherwise. Many of them were very much satisfied with their work at the Workman's Circle and had few suggestions to make as to how it might be improved.

### NON-GRADS

This group of course was quite heterogeneous and cannot be judged entirely as a group but attention must be paid to them as individuals. They all have one thing in common and that is that they are affiliated at present, or were affiliated in the near past with some Jewish youth organization, usually of a social nature. This was inherent in the manner in which they were contacted for interviews since club lists were the sources.

Those who have had a little Jewish education, in the main, wish that they might have had more. Some feel that they did not miss anything. Some attempt to compensate for what they consider their lack of Jewish education by affiliation with various types of Jewish organizations and quite a few are very active in these groups.

Many of the less than one hundred non-grads are completely out of touch with Jewish life, are unfamiliar with Jewish movements of today, have little idea of Jewish activity in the community. Some of them during the interview had discussed for the first time various components of Jewish life in the United States. Some were "conscience stricken" about their lack of interest and activity and asked where they might discover things of Jewish interest in which they could participate. Many excused themselves for lack of participation and lack of Jewish education by stating that they had no time or that they lived in non-Jewish neighborhoods all their lives and therefore were not subjected to Jewish influences.



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PART IV.  
 STUDY OF GRADUATES

Details of Study - Attitudes Towards Jewish  
 Education Received - Attitude Toward Aims of  
 Jewish Education - General Impression of the  
 Influence of the Various Types of Schools -  
 Non-Participation in Jewish Activities -  
 Non-Graduates

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#### PART IV - STUDY OF GRADUATES

In connection with the survey, an attempt was made to study through questionnaire and interview, the after effects of the educational work in the schools. This is the first time that such a study has been carried out in connection with a survey of Jewish education and the results should be suggestive. However, it should be understood that all studies by interview or questionnaire are subject to certain reservations. People do not find it easy to express the reasons for their actions or points of view and the personal equation of the interviewer may also affect the result. The answers to questions are various even within one group and the attempt to summarize statements of any group taken as a whole either by the descriptive or quantitative method is subject to limitations and, at times, to error.

Subjective elements may enter into interpretations of findings. Perhaps the most important fallacy to avoid is a too direct connection of effect and cause between the results noted and the work of the schools. It is obvious that other influences - outside of the school - are at work in bringing about the effects noted. The differences in answers of graduates from the various schools may be due in greatest measure to the different home backgrounds. Nevertheless, despite all these criticisms, taken with the proper qualifications, the study has valuable features and is a definite contribution to an understanding of the Jewish educational situation both in Cleveland and elsewhere.

#### Details of the Study

The age of the group studied was generally between eighteen and twenty-eight, with a few exceptions older or younger. There were 310 graduates of the various schools and 89 persons who had attended but who had not completed the course in any school. The original plan of the study called for a larger number of graduates and also for a control group but apparently limitations of time prevented the execution of the full plan.

The following is a list of schools from which those interviewed were chosen:

<u>Graduates</u>	<u>Original Quota</u>	<u>Interviewed</u>
<u>"One-day-a-week Schools"</u>		
Euclid Avenue Temple	25	25
Ansel Road Temple	25	25
Jewish Center	25	25
Temple on the Heights	25	25
Council Religious Schools	50	48
	150	148
<u>"Week-day Schools"</u>		
Cleveland Hebrew Schools	100	98
Yeshiva Adath B'nai Israel	50	49
	150	147
Workmen's Circle Schools	30	15



	<u>Original Quota</u>	<u>Interviewed</u>
Non-graduates	150)	89
No Jewish Education	150)	

Two persons were employed to conduct the interviews, both well-qualified from the point of view of professional case work experience, and general education. The interviews lasted from thirty minutes to an hour and were made on the basis of a questionnaire filled out by the person interviewed. In most cases, the conferences were held at the offices of the Jewish Welfare Federation, but sometimes at the home of the subject or at the Council Educational Alliance. Every effort was exerted to make the interviews as private as possible, and both in the method of selecting the samples and in the conducting of all the elements in the procedure, every effort was made to assure the objectivity of the study. The questionnaire was supplied by the directors of the study, but the choice of the investigators and actual conduct of the work was made under the auspices of the Jewish Welfare Federation.

In each case, as noted, a questionnaire was filled out by the person interviewed. After the conference the interviewer wrote a summary giving his reaction on each case. In addition, both investigators drew up summary statements giving their general impression of each group of graduates and of the non-graduate group. The individual statements from the 399 cases and questionnaires provide a very rich source of material and it is recommended that a thorough analysis be made of this material in the future. For the purposes of this study, limitations of time have necessitated a rather hasty summary, herewith presented, which is based on the statements of the investigators, a perusal of a representative number of individual questionnaires, and an analysis of some of the tabulated statistical material.

not all?

#### Attitude towards Jewish Education Received

Table "A" shows the attitude towards Jewish education as revealed in the answers to three questions: Are you glad you went to a Jewish school? Do you think you got any good by going to a Jewish school? Did your Jewish studies influence you to be a) a better Jew; b) religious; c) a Zionist; d) a better person.

The results indicate that - with a few exceptions and a number of doubtful cases - nearly all those interviewed stated that they were glad to have received a Jewish education. Among the exceptions were those who believed in intermarriage and assimilation, several communists, and others. There is complaint concerning the inadequacy of the education, unsuitableness of content and method or organization, but there is almost a unanimity of opinion concerning the value of attending a Jewish school and learning to know about Jewish history, the Jewish religion, Jewish literature, etc. In accordance with the able, it would appear that a large proportion of the non-graduates gave a negative answer to the question, "Are you glad you went to a Jewish school?", but reference to the original questionnaires indicates that this is an error in tabulation in many, if not in most, of the cases. Some of these

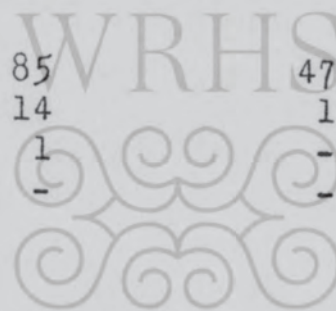
\* See page 13.



TABLE "A"

ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWISH EDUCATION

	Congregational Sunday Schools	Council Religious Schools	Cleveland Hebrew School	Yeshivah Adath B'nai Israel	Workmen's Circle	Non- Graduate	TOTAL
Total Number in Each Group	(100)	(48)	(98)	(49)	(15)	(89)	(399)
GLAD WENT TO JEWISH SCHOOL							
Yes	92	48	93	47	15	51	346
No	6	-	4	2	-	16	28
Doubtful	2	-	1	-	-	2	5
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	20	20
BENEFITTED FROM JEWISH SCHOOL							
Yes	85	47	93	46	15	57	343
No	14	1	5	3	-	18	41
Doubtful	1	-	-	-	-	4	5
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	10	10
INFLUENCE OF JEWISH SCHOOL							
Better Jew	55	37	73	40	12	21	238
More religious	16	12	21	26	-	9	84
Zionist	14	19	55	16	-	4	108
Better person	57	27	64	36	13	20	217
None stated	29	5	12	6	1	59	112





had had private instruction or preferred it, rather than school attendance. As a whole, it is clear that those who did not complete the course of study regretted the meagerness of their Jewish education.

A very large majority also stated that they had received benefit from the Jewish instruction. However, evidently some of those who said they were glad they had gone to a Jewish school stated that they had not received any benefit therefrom. It has been suggested that some of the persons may have interpreted the term "benefit" to mean a practical benefit. Also, in certain cases, as will be noted below, particularly with reference to the Temple schools, the benefit derived is conceived of being social rather than educational. The matter, however, is not very important since those answering negatively are not a large group.

On the third question relative to the type of influence exerted by the school, the questionnaire permitted stating more than one influence in each case. The answer "better Jew" seems to be the favorite while the answer "religious" least frequently given, excepting in the case of Yeshivahs where it is next to last.\* In all the groups (except the Arbeiter Ring), though not in the case of all individuals, a positive influence is stated with reference to all points mentioned - "better Jew," "religious," "Zionist," "better person." In the case of the Arbeiter Ring the pupils answered positively to "better Jew" and "better person" but not to "religious" or "Zionist."

It is interesting to note that a number did not specify the type of influence and that this number is larger than those who stated they had received no benefit from attendance at the school. This may be largely due to the fact that some persons have a general feeling that they received a benefit but when asked to state what the benefit is in a concrete way are at a loss to know what to answer.

A reading of the answers to the questionnaires indicates a very wide range of difference in intelligence. Some of the persons are of high intellectual calibre having won scholarships in universities. Others, however, appear confused and their answers are sometimes contradictory. It would have been interesting to make a tabulation of the students in accordance with their profession and education. The general impression is that those who continue their education to the college grade are more appreciative of the values of Jewish education than others, but this general impression should be verified by further analysis.

#### Attitude toward aims of Jewish Education

Table "B" indicates what persons interviewed believed to be the correct aims of Jewish education. Two questions were asked (1) To check all of the aims regarded as correct, (2) the most important aim. The aims were stated in the

\* This lesser frequency of religious influence as stated by the students from the Yeshivah is to be explained probably by their belief that the religious influence on them as coming from the home rather than the school and does not of course mean that the influence of the school has not been religious.



TABLE "B"

	Congregational Sunday School		Council Religious Schools		Cleveland Hebrew School		Yeshivah Adath B'nai Israel		Workmen's Circle		Non- Graduate		TOTAL	
Total number in each group	(100)		(48)		(98)		(49)		(15)		(89)		(399)	
(a) Preserve religion	90a	22 <sup>b</sup>	45a	20 <sup>b</sup>	81a	15 <sup>b</sup>	47a	19 <sup>b</sup>	11a	1 <sup>b</sup>	76a	11 <sup>b</sup>	350a	88 <sup>b</sup>
(b) Preserve literature and culture	94	20	48	7	97	26	46	15	15	7	85	16	385	91
(c) Participate in Jewish community life	90	7	44	1	86	10	48	1	13	-	83	6	364	25
(d) Train for ethical living	92	17	44	7	82	16	44	11	15	2	85	14	362	67
(e) Adjustment to the non- Jewish world	87	21	39	12	82	27	43	9	10	-	78	24	339	93
(f) Develop a feeling of loyalty to Judaism and Jews	88	7	46	-	92	17	48	3	13	1	86	11	373	39
(g) Defense against anti- Semitism	84	10	44	8	93	7	46	3	14	7	85	13	366	48
None Stated	-	13	-	3	-	14	-	7	-	2	-	14	-	53

a The first column indicates ALL aims checked

b The second column indicates the MOST IMPORTANT aim. It should be noted that some checked two "most important" aims, so that the total number is larger than the number of persons interviewed.



questionnaire so that the person interviewed did not have to formulate them. The aims were stated as follows:

- a. Help us to preserve the religion of the Jewish people and hand it down to our children
- b. Help us to preserve the literature and culture of the Jewish people and hand them down to our children
- c. Prepare us to participate in Jewish organizations and community life
- d. Train us for moral and ethical living; in other words, teach us to do good in our daily lives
- e. Adjust us to the non-Jewish world. This means to make us understand the difference between us and non-Jews, and prepare us to live in a world where we are a minority
- f. Give us a feeling of loyalty to Judaism and of kinship with Jews the world over
- g. Prepare us to defend our people against anti-kinship

In the following discussion on the attitudes of the various groups of graduates, the votes on all the aims, stated in the first column (Table B) will be considered together with the opinions expressed on the most important aim stated in the second column (Table B).\*

In the Congregational Sunday schools, the vote for all aims runs fairly even. It is interesting to note that preservation of literature and culture is mentioned most often. As far as the most important aim is concerned, the largest vote goes to "religion", but it is interesting that only 22 out of the 100 regard this as the most important aim, and the vote for "religion" is closely paralleled by "adjustment to the non-Jewish world", "preservation of literature and culture", "training for ethical living". Strikingly low is the vote for "participation in Jewish community life" and a "development of a feeling of loyalty to Judaism and Jews". From a perusal of the questionnaire, it is evident that the subjects of the interview regard such aims as being a deterrent to intermingling of Jews and gentiles.

In some respects, the Council Religious schools indicate a similar distribution with reference to all aims. However, only 39 out of the 48, or about 80 percent regard "adjustment to the non-Jewish world" as an important aim. This is due to the mode of formulating the question which indicated that the Jews are to continue as a minority. The same tendency towards assimilation is indicated by their statement of the most important aim. None in this group, gave the answer that the "development of a feeling of loyalty to Jews and Judaism" was the most important aim of the school and only one, "participation in Jewish community life". The graduates of the Council Religious schools state that "preservation of religion" is the most important aim in more than 40 percent of the cases. This is about double the rate for the Congregational Sunday schools,\*\* and even somewhat higher than the Orthodox

\* See page 5

\*\* Incidentally this indicates the fallacy of the view that the Congregational school is necessarily religious and the Communal school not religious.



schools. It would seem that "religion" has been more exclusively emphasized in these schools than in all other schools.

The Cleveland Hebrew schools, like those mentioned above, give strong support to all aims, with "preservation of culture and literature" and "Jewish loyalty" somewhat stronger, and "preservation of Jewish religion" somewhat weaker. It is interesting to note that in the statement of all aims, "preservation of literature and culture", feeling of "loyalty to Jews and Judaism" and "defense against anti-Semitism" held first place. In the statement of most important aim, "adjustment to the non-Jewish world", "preservation of literature and culture" held first place. As explained above, "adjustment to the non-Jewish world" was formulated in such a way as to include preservation of the Jews as a minority group within the total society, so that the high vote for each of these purposes is quite consistent. As many as 30 percent of those interviewed regard the "preservation of religion" as the main aim of Jewish education, while over 80 percent include this as one of the aims of Jewish education.

In the Yeshivah-Talmud Torahs, perhaps even slightly more than in the other cases, there is a consistently high approval of all aims. As far as the most important aim is concerned, "preservation of religion" and "preservation of literature and culture" rank high with "training for ethical living" also fairly strong. A weakness is indicated in "participation in Jewish community life" as a main aim of Jewish education, and in reading the questionnaires, it would appear that these schools to some degree still retain an attitude of worldliness.\*

In the Workmen's Circle schools,\*\* the contrasts are somewhat greater, although here too the group as a whole includes approval of all the aims. The contrast is most striking when the most important aim of Jewish education is stated. Very definitely, the graduates of these schools conceive "preservation of literature and culture"\*\*\* and "defense against anti-Semitism" as the main aims. "Participation in Jewish community life" and "adjustment to the non-Jewish world" received not votes at all. These activities are regarded as opposed to assimilation or international conception. In one case, "preservation of religion" is stated as the main aim, but a reference to the questionnaire shows that this person attended the Yiddishist schools mainly to learn Yiddish and does not accept the general socialistic point of view. She states "preservation of literature and culture" to be equally important with "preservation of religion". She had also attended other schools before including the Cleveland Hebrew schools and the Council Religious schools. One graduate also regards the "development of a feeling of loyalty to Judaism" as an important aim. Upon looking up his questionnaire, it is revealed that this

\* For instance, when one of the graduates of the Yeshivah was asked whether he belonged to any Jewish organization, he replied that his association was limited to that of the Rabbis in the Talmud.

\*\* Unfortunately, only 15 cases from these schools were studied. It was planned originally to have 30, but for some unexplained reason this was reduced to 15.

\*\*\* By literature and culture, the graduates here have reference to Yiddish literature and culture. With reference to Hebrew, indifference or opposition is generally expressed.

Mr. Ganda



student also attended other schools, and emphasizes that attendance at several schools is desirable. He appreciates the Workmen's Circle schools more than others because they gave him a practical knowledge of Yiddish which he can apply to several aspects of his every-day life.

In the case of the "non-graduate" answers, some state they regard the "adjustment to the non-Jewish world" as being the most important aim, 24 out of the total of 89 having taken this position. Other important aims noted are "preservation of literature and culture", "training for ethical living", "feeling of loyalty" and "defense against anti-Semitism." "Participation in Jewish community life" holds the lowest place as a main aim, although it figures very high among the various aims. Incidentally, it should be noted that in general "participation in Jewish community life" does not hold a high place in the column of the most important aim.

An analysis of the "total" column is interesting as a reflection of the views of this group of young adults as a whole. With reference to all aims, there is a high degree of consensus of opinion. The lowest degree of agreement is on "adjustment to the non-Jewish world", but even in this case as many as 85 percent of those questioned agree that this is an important aim. When we observe the column on the most important aim, on the other hand, we find that this is ranked first (to some extent due to overweighting by the non-graduate group). This difference of results in the two columns would indicate that there is considerable individual difference of opinion on this question; some regard it as the most important aim while others do not consider it important at all. The difficulty with this question is due partly to faulty formulation as noted above, but in part undoubtedly also to real difference of opinion.

On the all aims count, "literature and culture" has the highest rank and this aim also comes out well on the most important test, where it ranks second. It appears quite evident that all those interviewed, both the non-graduates and the graduates, the reform and the orthodox and radical regard the "preservation of Jewish literature and culture" a basic aim of Jewish education. The "religious" interest ranks very high as the most important aim, particularly if we exclude the non-graduates, but on the "all aims" question it ranks only sixth. It should however be remembered that even here, close to 90 percent of the total regard this as one of the important aims.

It is of interest to note also that on the most important test, "participation in Jewish community life" ranks quite low. Only 25 expressions of opinion favor this as the most important aim. This may be due to the fact that the ordinary person regards the school as an institution for "learning" rather than as an agency for preparation for social life. What the average person regards as being important in education may not necessarily be so from the community or the educators' point of view. In the light of the voluntary character of Jewish organization in the United States and the calls made upon American Jewry, it is important to lay stress on participation in Jewish communal life.

The above relates to the attitudes of young people. There are also questions in the study with reference to active participation in Jewish organizations, the extent to which they read Jewish books, attend Jewish meetings, observe the Sabbath, Jewish holidays and ritual, etc. A complete analysis of this material is not possible at the present time. The tabulations have been



scrutinized and taken into consideration in the following summary of the general influence of the various types of schools.

Total General Impression of the Influence of the Various Types of Schools

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Reform Sunday Schools

The graduates of the reform Sunday schools do not, taken as a whole, make as good a showing with reference to their Jewish attitudes and interests as do the other groups. This is the impression made on both the investigators from the personal interviews; and the record of activities and interests as revealed in the tabulation of replies bears out this general impression. As already noted, how much is due to family background and how much to the school influence cannot be determined, at least without further, very careful, analysis. It should be remembered also, that the persons interviewed received their education years ago before more modern methods were introduced into the Sunday schools and perhaps the results obtained today are better.

① While it is some times claimed that the Sunday schools emphasize religious education, it does not appear that these graduates are particularly imbued with a sense of religious values. As to Hebrew instruction, dissatisfaction is indicated: the suggestion is made that Hebrew ought not to be taught at all, if it cannot be taught in a more interesting or better way. It would appear that the graduates associate the Sunday schools, to a large extent, with "social" interests and position. Many value the Sunday school for this reason; on the other hand, occasionally there is an outburst against what is termed "snobbishness" and the partiality of the Temple for the wealthy and socially well-placed.

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An analysis of the present Jewish activities and interests of the Temple graduates reveals them to be not only less interested in Zionism, than the graduates of the more intensive type of Hebrew school, but less concerned with all aspects of Jewish life. A fewer number are affiliated with Jewish organizations; a smaller number read books of Jewish interest.

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② There is much concern with the question of assimilation and accommodation to the non-Jewish world. As distinguished from the other groups, one meets, not infrequently, expression of antagonism to Jews, an echo of the anti-Semitic judgments, that the Jew is sharp in business' practice, etc. There are of course many exceptions to this general rule but a reading of the questionnaires leaves on the whole a bad taste with reference to the question of Jewish self respect.

③  
④ An unexpected finding is the frequent criticism made against the discipline, pedagogy and general conduct of the Sunday schools. As the sub-heading indicates, the above discussion relates to the reform Sunday schools which are regarded as most representative of the Sunday schools program. A different total impression is given by the graduates of the conservative Sunday schools as summarized in the following quotation from one of the investigator's reports:

"The graduates of the Conservative Congregational schools although equally inactive in any Jewish organization showed a somewhat greater interest in Jewish problems. The home seemed to have had the greatest

*not  
Lewis*



TABLE "C"

## NON-PARTICIPATION IN JEWISH ACTIVITIES

	(100) Congregational Sunday School	(48) Council Religious Schools	(98) Cleveland Hebrew School	(49) Yeshivah Adath B'nai Israel	(15) Workmen's Circle	(89) Non- Graduate	TOTAL
GENERAL JEWISH ACTIVITY							
Organization Affiliation	39 39%	14 29%	28 28%	11 22%	2 13%	15 16%	109
Volunteer Service	78 78%	44 91%	66 67%	36 73%	11 73%	60 67%	295
Public Gathering	24 24%	17 35%	27 27%	15 30%	2 13%	24 26%	109
Jewish Radio	31 31%	9 18%	23 23%	14 28%	2 13%	30 33%	109
Books of Jewish Interest	52 52%	20 41%	30 30%	25 51%	6 40%	49 55%	182
Read Newspapers or Periodicals	19 19%	8 16%	4 4%	5 10%	—	15 16%	51
Total Percent Non-Participation	40%	38%	30%	34%	25%	35%	

Note: The percent of non-participation has been calculated as follows:

The number of cases in each group times six has been taken as the denominator, and the total number of non-participation as the numerator.

This of course is only a rough guide for it is difficult to weight organization affiliation as against listening to the Jewish radio and frequencies have not been taken into consideration.

## ATTITUDE ON ZIONISM

Opposed	6	1	3	2	2	2	16
Not Interested	43	18	14	9	2	38	124
Interested	48	28	63	33	10	47	229
Active Zionists	3	1	18	5	1	2	30



Jewish influence in their lives in the sense that they learned of the religious customs and ceremonies. They seemed to know more of Zionism and were more sympathetic to its ideology."

Many of them felt that during the first five or six years of school, the course of study was overlapping and repetitious. On the other hand, very definitely positive reactions are given with reference to work in the pre-confirmation and confirmation classes where modern history, current events were part of the regular curriculum.

The above criticisms may not apply to all schools alike. No attempt has been made to differentiate between one institution and another. The purpose here being to present a rough general impression made by the various groups taken as a whole.

#### Council Religious Schools

The Council Religious School graduates give definitely the impression that they have pleasant associations with their Jewish educational experience. Expressions like "the school was a real value", "happy experiences", is frequently met. On the other hand the knowledge of Jewish history, literature, Hebrew seems to be at a minimum and their present interest in Jewish organizations and their understanding of Jewish problems very seriously wanting. While some of the pupils seem to have been influenced by fine teachers in a general way, the attachment to Jewish life is evidently not strong and they look with some apprehension on tendencies which will obstruct mingling with non-Jews. They seem less strongly positive and less strongly negative than the other groups.

#### Cleveland Hebrew Schools

The graduates of the Cleveland Hebrew schools, as a whole, make a clearly different impression on the investigators than the former groups. In terms of active interests, they are a diverse group and the statistical treatment of their activities would indicate them to be only relatively better than the Sunday school graduates; the results are not satisfying in all cases, or in all ways. In certain particulars they are definitely superior. In the matter of reading books of Jewish interest, they are considerably better than the Sunday school graduates; also, it is in this group only that we find readers of Hebrew periodicals. The greatest difference with reference to any specific point is on the question of Zionism. While forty percent of the Sunday school graduates say that they are not interested in Zionism, there are only 15 percent not interested among the graduates of the Cleveland Hebrew schools.

The main difference is not, however, revealed in specific activities so much as in a totally different orientation toward Jewish life. The graduates of the Cleveland Hebrew schools give the impression of knowing more about Jewish life and being sincerely interested in its various aspects. One investigator writes "their knowledge of either Yiddish, Hebrew, Jewish literature, history, ancient and modern and their understanding of Jewish life in general was greater than all other groups." The other investigator states "that their concern about Jewish affairs today as it affects the Jews all over the world was greater than most groups." Jewish youth organizations,



such as Avukah, Young Judea and Hashomir Hatzair obtain their leadership as well as membership from the graduates of the Cleveland Hebrew schools.

At the same time the graduates give expression to adverse criticism of their school experience. They feel that they should have learned more. Many of them think that the teachers were too young, lacked preparation and background. Mention was also made of the low pay of the teachers as a factor contributing to the difficulties with reference to the teaching staff.

How did they know it?

#### The Yeshivah-Talmud Torahs

The graduates of the Yeshiva-Talmud Torahs schools of the Adath B'nai Israel also exhibit a strong positive attitude toward Jewish life. They do not read books of Jewish interest, ~~it~~ is interesting to note, to any greater degree than the Sunday school graduates. There are quaint illustrations of other-worldliness with an exclusive interest in the life, thought and personalities in the Talmudic literature. But many of the graduates show an active as well as intellectual interest, affiliate themselves with Young Israel organizations and participate in social, educational and fund raising functions. Most of them still hold fast to traditional Judaism and keep the orthodox religious ritual observances.

Their attitude toward their school experience is favorable. They criticize the inadequacy and poor ventilation of the school quarters and they recognize that the methods used by their European style teachers were old fashioned; nearly all of them stated that the teaching of Hebrew should have been more systematic with a basis in Hebrew grammar. In the final summing up, however, they express <sup>the</sup> conviction that the only true basis for Jewish life is to be found in the Yeshiva orthodox education and that other types of schooling are superficial in comparison.

The graduates of the Workmen's Circle school with few exceptions express satisfaction in having attended these schools where they learned Yiddish, the "language of the Jewish people", which enables them to read Yiddish literature and Yiddish newspapers. Toward the effort of the Zionists in Palestine to bring Hebrew to the fore, there is a rather disdainful attitude. They seem to have a great interest in economic and social problems of the Jew and of his status as a member of the working class youth among the other groups; but they do not seem to have been indoctrinated in any particular partisan economic philosophy. They indicate a wide awake interest in Jewish affairs, though perhaps they are not so positive about the value of Jewish survival. They are seldom concerned about observance of the religion as such; some of them conform to a certain amount of ritual because of respect to parents or grandparents, but in many cases even this is not necessary, because the families from which they come do not themselves keep the religious observances. They are on the whole, less critical of the methods and pedagogy of the schools they attended than the other groups and appreciated the intimate relation between teacher and pupil.

#### Non-Graduates

The group of non-graduates were chosen from membership lists of various Jewish youth organizations and thus are all ipso facto participants in some Jewish activity, at least members of a Jewish club. Outside of this



connection, however, many of them are completely out of touch with Jewish life; they are unfamiliar with Jewish movements and communal activities, have very vague, frequently confused notions of Jewish problems and ideas. Although some of them feel they did not lose much by their failure to obtain a regular Jewish education, most of them are apologetic about their lack of knowledge, conscious stricken and attempt to excuse themselves that they live in non-Jewish neighborhoods or in other ways. Their affiliation with a Jewish organization is having a salutary effect and they appear to be experiencing a sense of satisfaction in being in some way connected with Jewish life. This group was particularly heterogeneous and they are clearly inferior to the graduates in their knowledge of Jewish things and their understanding of Jewish affairs.





C O P Y

"PLEASE REFER RABBI SILVERS ARTICLE JEWISH DAILY BULLETIN  
SUNDAY NOVEMBER EIGHTEENTH ATTACKING ENTIRE SYSTEM AMERICAN  
HEBREW SCHOOLS BUREAUS JEWISH EDUCATION STOP BULLETIN UNDOUBTEDLY  
PREJUDICED SILVERS FAVOR BUT BELIEVE WOULD NOT DARE SUPPRESS  
PUBLICATION NUMEROUS LETTERS FROM JEWISH LEADERS AND BUREAU HEADS  
STOP SUGGEST YOU SEND PROMPTLY VIGOROUS ARTICLE TO BULLETIN AND  
JEWISH DAY AND TAKE OTHER STEPS TO MAKE THIS MATTER PUBLIC ISSUE  
PLEASE REPLY BY WESTERN UNION."

This telegram was signed by A. H. Friedland, Nathan  
Brilliant, and Alfred Sachs.

