

The Marshall Sklare Memorial Lecture

New Paradigms for the Study of American Jewish Life

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Marshall Sklare loved history and deeply believed that contemporary Jewry could not be understood in the absence of a proper historical framework. He often alluded to history in his books, articles, and teaching. He encouraged his students to examine issues of change over time.

So in the spirit of his teaching, my aim herein is draw upon my own recent work on the history of American Judaism¹ to examine issues of continuing concern to social scientists, particularly the problem of assimilation, within a historical framework. I am also going to make a specific proposal concerning the American Jewish Data Bank.

Let me begin with a personal anecdote. Almost 30 years ago, when I first became interested in the history of American Jewry, I mentioned my interest to a scholar at a distinguished rabbinical seminary, and he was absolutely appalled. "American Jewish history," he growled. "I'll tell you all that you need to know about American Jewish history: The Jews came to America, they abandoned their faith, they began to live like goyim, and after a generation or two they intermarried and disappeared." "That," he said, "is American Jewish history; all the rest is commentary. Don't waste your time. Go and study Talmud."

I did not take this great sage's advice, but I have long remembered his analysis, for it reflects, as I now recognize, a longstanding fear, now hundreds of years old, that Jews in America are doomed to assimilate, that they simply cannot survive in an environment of religious freedom and church-state separation. In America, where religion is totally voluntary, where religious diversity is the norm, where everyone is free to choose their own rabbi and their own brand of Judaism—or indeed no Judaism at all – many (and not just rabbinical school scholars) have assumed that Judaism is fated sooner or later to disappear.

Social scientists surely recognize this assimilationist paradigm. It is a close cousin to the secularization thesis that once held sway in our field. Some, like Sklare's nemesis, sociologist Milton Gordon, proclaimed a "right to assimilate." "The individual," Gordon insisted, "should be allowed to choose freely whether to remain within the boundaries of community created by his birthright ethnic group, to branch out into multiple interethnic contacts, or even to change affiliation to that of another ethnic group should he wish to do so as a result of religious conversion, intermarriage, or simply private wish."²

Others, like Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, considered assimilation a misfortune but nevertheless inevitable. "Will the Jews continue to exist in America?" he asked in 1963. "Any estimate of the situation based on an unillusioned look at the American Jewish past and at contemporary sociological evidence must answer flatly—no... History, sociology, and the emptiness of contemporary Jewish religion all point in the same unhappy direction."³ Either way, whether actively by choice or passively through inaction, assimilation widely was assumed to be unavoidable. The rabbinical-school scholar was not alone in thinking that American Jewish history, if not a complete waste of time, was certainly a foredoomed enterprise.

Studying the history of American Judaism, however, I have been struck by how much more complex our past has been than the assimilationist paradigm would have led us to imagine. Far from being a simple-minded story of linear descent from Orthodoxy to intermarriage, the story I found displays a far more cyclical and unpredictable pattern: periods of revitalization as well as periods of assimilation; periods when Judaism was, by all measures, stronger than before and periods when it was weaker.

Let us consider a few examples. In the 1820s, highly motivated and creative young Jews in the two largest American communities where Jews lived, New York and Charleston, moved to transform and revitalize their faith, somewhat in the spirit of the contemporaneous Second Great Awakening. In so doing, they hoped to thwart Christian missionaries, who always insisted that in order to be modern one had to be Protestant, and they sought most of all to bring Jews back to active observance of their faith. They felt alarmed at the spirit of Jewish "apathy and neglect" they discerned all around them. Chronologically, their efforts paralleled the emergence of the nascent Reform movement in Germany, where Jews "convinced of the necessity to restore public worship to its deserving dignity and importance" had dedicated the innovative Hamburg Temple in 1818. They also paralleled developments in Curacao, where in 1819 more than 100 Jews, unhappy with their cantor and seeking a new communal constitution "in keeping with the enlightened age in which we live," had separated themselves from the organized Jewish community rather than submit to its authority. In both of those cases, however, government officials had intervened and effected compromise.⁴ In America, where religion was voluntary and established religious leaders could not depend upon the government to put down dissent, innovators faced far fewer hurdles.

In New York, the young people, "gathering with renewed arduor [sic] to promote the more strict keeping of their faith,"⁵ formed an independent society entitled *Hebra Hinuch Nearim*, dedicated to the education of Jewish young people. Their constitution and bylaws

bespeak their spirit of revival, expressing “an ardent desire to promote the study of our Holy Law, and...to extend a knowledge of its divine precepts, ceremonies, and worship among our brethren generally, and the enquiring youth in particular.” Worship, they insisted, should be run much less formally, with time set aside for explanations and instruction, without a permanent leader and, revealingly, with no “distinctions” made among the members. The overall aim, leaders explained in an 1825 letter, was “to encrease [sic] the respect of the worship of our fathers.”⁶

In these endeavors, we see all of the themes familiar to us from the general history of American religion, not only in that era but in many other eras of religious change, including our own: for example, revivalism, challenge to authority, a new form of organization, anti-elitism, and radical democratization. Given the spirit of the age and the fortunate availability of funding, it comes as no surprise that the young people plunged ahead, boldly announcing “their intention to erect a new Synagogue in this city,” that would follow the “German and Polish *minhag* [rite]” and be located “in a more convenient situation for those residing uptown.”⁷ On November 15th, the new congregation applied for incorporation as *B'nai Jeshurun*, New York’s first Ashkenazi congregation.⁸

In Charleston, where a far better-known schism within the Jewish community occurred, one finds several close parallels to the New York situation. Again the challenge to the synagogue-community came initially from young Jews, born after the Revolution. Their average age was about 32, while the average age of the leaders of Charleston’s Beth Elohim congregation approached 62 (generation gaps and their implications are not a new phenomenon). Dissatisfied with “the apathy and neglect which have been manifested towards our holy religion,” somewhat influenced by the spread of Unitarianism in Charleston, fearful of Christian missionary activities that had begun to target local Jews, and above all, like their New York counterparts, passionately concerned about Jewish survival, 47 men petitioned congregational leaders to break with tradition and institute change. The Charleston reformers were about two-thirds native born, and most were people of comparatively modest means who participated in local civic affairs. According to one account, almost three-quarters were not paying members of the synagogue (note how change here moves from the outside inward). The reforms in traditional Jewish practice that they sought were far more radical than anything called for in New York. They advocated, among other things, an abbreviated service, vernacular prayers, a weekly sermon, and an end to traditional free-will offerings in the synagogue. When, early in 1825, their petition was dismissed out of hand, they, anticipating the New Yorkers by several months, created

an independent Jewish religious society, "The Reformed Society of Israelites for Promoting True Principles of Judaism According to its Purity and Spirit"—a forerunner of American Reform Judaism.⁹

This is not the place for a full-scale discussion of how these young Jews in New York and Charleston transformed American Judaism and helped shape the pluralistic, competitive model of Judaism we know today. The point is that we have evidence here that Jews who formerly had not been interested in Jewish religious life became interested in the 1820s, and that Jewish life as a result of their efforts became stronger and more diverse. We have independent confirmation of some of these trends from Rebecca Gratz of Philadelphia, the foremost Jewish woman of her day and a perceptive observer: "Our brothers have all become very attentive to *shool* [synagogue] matters....," she wrote in an 1825 family letter. "They rarely omit attending worship. We all go Friday evening as well as on Saturday morning -- the [women's] gallery is as well filled as the other portion of the house."¹⁰ Note how in this revival, as in all subsequent ones, women numbered significantly among those affected by the new religious currents.

The 1820s marked the first revitalization of Judaism that I know of in America brought on by young, native-born men and women concerned that Judaism would not survive unless they initiated change. But it was certainly not the last. I have written elsewhere at considerable length about the immensely influential American Jewish awakening of the late 19th century. It was spawned, I argue, not by East European Jews, but by American-born Jews like Cyrus Adler and Henrietta Szold on the East Coast and Ray Frank on the West Coast, along with others who grew alarmed at evidence of assimilation in American Jewish life (religious laxity, intermarriage, interest in Ethical Culture and the like). Spurred also by the growth of anti-Semitism in this era, they created what they called alternately a "revival," an "awakening" and a "renaissance." If I may be permitted to quote myself:

A major cultural reorientation began in the American Jewish community late in the 1870s and was subsequently augmented by mass immigration. The critical developments that we associate with this period—the return to religion, the heightened sense of Jewish peoplehood and particularism, the far-reaching changes that opened up new opportunities and responsibilities for women, the renewed community-wide emphasis on education and culture, the 'burst of organizational energy,' and the growth of Conservative Judaism and Zionism—all reflect different efforts to resolve the crisis of beliefs and values that had developed during these decades. By

1914, American Jewry had been transformed and the awakening had run its course. The basic contours of the twentieth-century American Jewish community had by then fallen into place.”¹¹

The late 19th-century awakening, for all of its importance, does not appear in any textbook. The reason for this is that it does not fit into our paradigm of linear descent. Central European Jews, all of us were taught, assimilated out of existence—how, then, could they have stage a revival? Even scholars, we see, have been loath to permit the evidence to stand in the way of our most cherished preconceptions.

The history of American Judaism is, of course, not just one of ongoing revivals. We dare not sweep evidence of assimilation under the historical rug. To the contrary, as we move forward into the interwar years we find a situation in American Jewish life that actually looked far worse—and this, to my mind, is most significant—than anything we know today. During those years between the two World Wars, synagogues, Jewish schools, and other Jewish institutions languished from neglect. The American Jewish Year Book, in 1919, estimated that only just over “three-quarters of a million of the Jewish population of the country [including wives and children] are regularly affiliated with congregations” – less than 23 percent of the total Jewish population, which had grown to 3.3 million. The 1926 U.S. Census of Religious Bodies found only one synagogue per 1,309 Jews, far higher than the comparable figure for Christian churches, which was one per 220. In San Francisco, in 1938, only 18 percent of Jewish families had one or more of its members affiliated with a synagogue.¹²

Weekly attendance figures were even worse. In the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, renowned at the time as the “Jerusalem of America,” only 8 percent of adult Jewish males, and even fewer females and children, regularly attended synagogue. Three quarters of young Jews surveyed in New York in 1935 had not attended any religious services at all during the previous year – not even, apparently, on the high holidays. A related study, particularly interesting because it was comparative, determined that among a sample of youth in New York City in 1935, only 10.8 percent of Jewish boys and 6.6 percent of Jewish girls attended synagogue in the week prior to the inquiry, while among Protestants the comparable figures were 37.8 percent and 42.2 percent, and among Catholics, 60.5 percent and 69.5 percent. Surveys of Jewish college students from New England to North Dakota, summarized in 1943, gave no cause for optimism concerning the future. They found that the students by and large considered synagogue attendance marginal to their lives as Jews, and that they “observe[d] few of our customs.” “The Jewish religion as a social institution is

losing its influence for the perpetuation of the Jewish group," an article in the highly respected *American Journal of Sociology* concluded. It went on to predict "the total eclipse of the Jewish church in America."¹³

The situation concerning Jewish education was no less dire. A study of 566 Jewish children in the immigrant section of East Baltimore, published in 1920, found that 65 percent of them "had received no Jewish education." A broader survey, the U.S. Census of Religious Bodies, in 1926, estimated "the average length of stay of a Jewish child in a Jewish school" at about two years total. Other nationwide figures vary widely, but in what was then America's most populous Jewish community, Brooklyn, New York, only 12 percent of Jewish youngsters reputedly received any kind of Jewish education in the 1920s, notwithstanding the fact that the community was home to some of the most innovative and vibrant Jewish schools in the United States. In New York City as a whole, in 1924, 17 percent of Jewish children attended some kind of organized Jewish school (the number who studied privately with a tutor is unknown). Nationally, about a quarter of a million Jewish children were receiving a Jewish education in 1927—this out of a total Jewish population that numbered over 4 million.¹⁴

Naturally, Jewish leaders were alarmed by all these developments, particularly the decline in religious education and practice. At the Reform Movement's Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1923, "speaker after speaker...stressed the imminent danger of a religiously ignorant, untaught and unbelieving generation, following upon the heels of an indifferent one." At the convention of the fervently Orthodox Agudath HaRabbanim in 1926, the main speaker castigated his audience for the deterioration of Jewish religious life: "In recent times we sense that the situation has grown progressively worse. The deficiencies in [Jewish religious] life have multiplied horribly." Reform and Conservative rabbis bewailed in 1930 that the American synagogue was "being invaded by secularism." The decline in synagogue attendance seemed so pronounced in the early 1930s that Judge Horace Stern of Pennsylvania devoted an entire article to the subject in the *American Jewish Year Book*. He blamed the problem, among other things, on the competition that synagogues faced from "automobiles, golf clubs, radios, bridge parties, extension lectures, and the proceedings of various learned and pseudo-learned societies."¹⁵

This data about the interwar years is important for two reasons. First, it demonstrates that by most measures, with the significant exception of intermarriage, the religious and educational situation of American Jews between the wars was worse by far than it is today, something that practically nobody knows or appreciates. At no time in the post-World War II era has American Jewish life fallen to the nadir

that it experienced during the 1920s and early 1930s. This serves as yet another reminder of my point that the history of American Judaism is anything but linear.

There is, however, a second reason: because the data is incredibly difficult to find. It is not part of the National Jewish Data Bank or any other data bank that I am familiar with, and it therefore is all but inaccessible to social scientists who would like to study change over time in American Jewish life. Most longitudinal studies today assume, quite wrongly, that American Jewish statistics date back only about 30 years, to the first National Jewish Population Survey, and that everything before then is a statistical desert. In fact, invaluable data bearing on American Jewish life dates back to the 19th century, when we have both U.S. government data from the Census of Religious Bodies and a survey of Jewish religious life by the Board of Delegates of American Israelites. In the 20th century, dozens (maybe hundreds) of statistical studies appeared in the American Jewish Year Book, some of the best of them undertaken by Harry Linfield and the Bureau of Jewish Social Research. Other studies appeared in standard sociological journals and monographs. Admittedly, these studies sometimes lacked methodological sophistication, but that is true even of some of our much-touted contemporary studies; it certainly is true of the U.S. Census in its early years. Nevertheless, scholars make valuable use of all of these data sets, their faults notwithstanding. In my view, the reason we generally do not utilize early American Jewish statistics for comparative or longitudinal studies simply is because, aside from population and immigration data, these historical statistics have never properly been organized and collected in one convenient place. We do not have—and we desperately need—an American Jewish equivalent to the great compendium of Historical Statistics of the United States. This is an eminently feasible project, and I think that it would make an exceedingly valuable addition to the National Jewish Data Base. Facing the 350th anniversary of American Jewish life, I call upon my colleagues to undertake this ambitious project and to begin to gather in one place all available historical statistics bearing on Jewish life in America from the 17th century onward.

So much for the “specific proposal” I delineated at the outset. Let me now return to my main theme: the ebb and flow of Jewish religious life in America over the past two centuries. When I left off, in the interwar years, American Jewish life was at its nadir: most Jews neither belonged to synagogues nor received any Jewish education, and Jewish observance as a whole stood at historically low levels. What happened? The answer is that beginning in the mid-1930s Jews worked to reinvigorate their own faith, as if in response to those who labored to undermine it. A spiritual and cultural revival washed over American

Jewry as Hitlerism rose, paralleling in part developments within the German-Jewish community at the same time. Rabbi Mordecai Kaplan's sensitive antennae quickly picked up the new phenomenon: "Jews . . . who had abandoned their people" were "returning like prodigal sons," he wrote in 1934. "Because of the threat of annihilation," he hypothesized, the Jew was "impelled to rise to new heights of spiritual achievement."¹⁶

Jewish educators spearheaded this revival. In 1937 alone, three significant Orthodox Jewish all-day schools were founded: HILI (Hebrew Institute of Long Island), Ramaz School in Manhattan, and Maimonides School in Boston. In the 10 years between 1940 and 1950, 97 different Jewish all-day schools were founded across the United States and Canada (compared to 28 that had been founded in the previous 22 years). Jewish educators also initiated intensive Jewish educational camps at this time, the most important of which were established between 1941 and 1952: Camp Massad, Brandeis Camp Institute (later Brandeis Bardin), Camp Ramah (1947) and what became known as Olin-Sang-Ruby Union Institute (1952). The goal of training future Jewish leaders also underlay the Reform Movement's National Federation of Temple Youth, established in 1939, and the Conservative Movement's Leadership Training Fellowship in 1945. Meanwhile, the National Academy for Adult Jewish Studies, founded in 1940, promoted programs of Jewish learning in synagogues, spawning a small-scale Jewish education revival among adults. The Jewish Publication Society, which promoted Jewish education and culture through books rather than classroom instruction, also roared back to life at this time. Its total income increased five-fold between 1935 and 1945, and the number of books that it distributed tripled. Finally, Jewish organizational life as a whole surged during the war years. In 1945, the American Jewish Year Book reported that "a larger number of new organizations . . . formed during the past five years than in any previous five-year period, forty seven new organizations having been established since 1940." "Interest in Jewish affairs," it explained, "has undoubtedly been heightened as a result of the catastrophe which befell the Jews of Europe under the Nazi onslaught."¹⁷

As before, women played a distinctively important role in this revival. The most successful project by far was a pageant entitled *The Jewish Home Beautiful*, subsequently published as a book (1941), designed to stimulate Jewish religious home life by inspiring modern Jewish women with the possibilities inherent in Jewish material culture. "Beautify the Jewish home and ennoble every Jewish life," the volume proclaimed. As a guide to Jewish Sabbath and holiday home practices, complete with background information, photographs, songs, recipes and decorating suggestions, the *Jewish Home Beautiful* proved wildly

popular among women of every Jewish religious movement, going through 11 printings in 20 years. The goal was avowedly revivalistic: It aimed to turn Jews away from the “non-Jewish festive days [that] have won the hearts of many of our women” and help them “explore the possibilities of our own traditions,” to “make Judaism a thing of joy and beauty” for themselves and their children. Many women, apparently, heeded the message and moved to mend their ways. Delegates to a 1940 convention of the Conservative National Women’s League, for example, after viewing the narrative version of the pageant upon which the first part of the volume was based, vowed “to carefully observe our Jewish holidays, our Jewish ceremonies, and our Jewish tradition in the home, thereby adding beauty and meaning to our religious and cultural life.”¹⁸

Even secular Jews, a leading exponent later recalled, underwent something of a religious revival in response to burgeoning anti-Semitism and the growing Nazi threat:

On the eve of the Second World War... it seemed that the pillars of Jewish secular culture were about to collapse... Many Jews became disillusioned with their faith in progress and humanity, and sought comfort in the ancestral creed.¹⁹

The proudly secular Sholem Aleichem Folk Institute decided, in 1938, “to introduce the study of the Pentateuch into the elementary schools, to emphasize the celebration of Jewish holidays and, in general, to establish a positive attitude towards all manner of Jewish ways of life.” The Workmen’s Circle schools likewise began a process described as “inner Judaization” at that time, and the Yiddish secularist educator Leibush Lehrer reports that at the famous Yiddish secularist summer camp named Boiberik, “a minimal degree of ritual along the lines of tradition was introduced,” protests notwithstanding. All of this represented, in the words of Yiddishist Yudel Mark, a “singular revolution” in the lives of secular American Jews, strengthening “their feeling for rootedness,” for “accepting and perpetuating much more of our ancient legacy.”²⁰

Taken together, this Holocaust-era revival of American Jewish life represented both a defensive response to adversity and a form of cultural resistance, a resolve to maintain Judaism in the face of opposition and danger. The revival gained a second wind in the postwar era, when America as a whole experienced a celebrated religious revival, and, for a wide variety of reasons (including the Cold War, McCarthyism, suburbanization and the baby boom), the Jewish community too became much more religious in orientation,

characterized by the dramatic 1950s synagogue building boom, rising levels of Hebrew-school attendance, and the highest rate of synagogue membership in the 20th century.

If space permitted, I could carry this story through to our own day, where once again we see dramatic evidence of revitalization, albeit along with evidence of assimilation taking place at the same time —as was true also in so many previous eras.

My aim here has been an extended effort to reply to the rabbinical-school scholar who reproached me 30 years ago and to the many, now and in the past, who have seconded his view that the history of American Judaism is, by and large, a history of linear descent. I am advocating instead a much more complex paradigm for American Jewish life, one that will trek ebbs and flows, ups and downs, revitalizationist movements and assimilationist ones. New research tools will be needed to accomplish this properly, most notably a volume or website of historical statistics.

But perhaps we also need a new and more complex message to offer the American Jewish community. Here Marshall Sklare certainly helped us through his wonderful essay, published for the American bicentennial, entitled “American Jewry: The Ever-Dying People.” “While American Jewry may be an ever-dying people,” Sklare wrote, paying lip service to the linear descent model of American Jewish life, “American Jewry still lives.” As a proponent of Jewish survival, he found himself concurring with the great Jewish philosopher Shimon Rawidowicz, who wrote, “A nation dying for thousands of years means a living nation.” “Our incessant dying,” Rawidowicz insisted, “means uninterrupted living, rising, standing up, beginning anew... If we are the last,” he concluded, “let us be the last as our fathers and forefathers were. Let us prepare the ground for the last Jews who will come after us, and for the last Jews who will rise after them, and so on until the end of days.”²¹

NOTES

¹ *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).

² Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford, 1964), 263; Marshall Sklare, *Observing America's Jews* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 1993), 166, 186.

³ Arthur Hertzberg, *Being Jewish in America* (New York: Schocken, 1979), 82, 85. For his later view, see his article in *Encyclopaedia Judaica Yearbook, 1900-1991* reprinted in my *American Jewish Experience* (2nd edition, NY: Holmes & Meier, 1997), 350-355.

⁴ W. Gunther Plaut, *The Rise of Reform Judaism: A Sourcebook of its European Origins* (New York: World Union for Progressive Judaism, 1963), 31; Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York: Oxford, 1988), 53-61; Isaac S. Emmanuel and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1970), I, 306-327, esp. 319.

⁵ [New York] *National Advocate*, December 5, 1825, p.2.

⁶ Joseph I. Blau and Salo W. Baron, *The Jews of the United States: A Documentary History 1790-1840* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 542-545; *Christian Inquirer*, September 17, 1825, p.151.

⁷ Pool, *Old Faith*, 437.

⁸ Israel Goldstein, *A Century of Judaism in New York: B'nai Jeshurun, 1825-1925* (New York: Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, 1930), 54-55; the original spelling of the congregation's name was "B'nai Yeshiorun."

⁹ L.C.Moise, *Biography of Isaac Harby* (Charleston: n.p., 1931); Lou H. Silberman, *American Impact: Judaism in the United States in the Early Nineteenth Century* The B.G. Rudolph Lectures in Judaic Studies (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1964); James W. Hagy, *This Happy Land: The Jews of Colonial and Antebellum Charleston* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993), 128-160; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 228-233; Gary Phillip Zola, *Isaac Harby of Charleston, 1788-1828* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1994) 112-149.

¹⁰ David Philipson, *Letters of Rebecca Gratz* (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1929) 75-76.

¹¹ Jonathan D. Sarna, *A Great Awakening: The Transformation That Shaped Twentieth Century American Judaism And Its Implications for Today* (NY: CIJE, 1995) 7.

¹² *American Jewish Year Book (=AJYB)* 21 (1919-20): 331; *Census of Religious Bodies 1926: Jewish Congregations—Statistics, History,*

Doctrine and Organization (Washington DC, 1929), 6 [based on the same data, *AJYB* 30 (1928-29), 199 found "one permanent congregation to serve every 1,386 Jewish men, women and children," while *AJYB* 31 (1929-30), 109 reduced this to "one congregation for 1356 Jews."]; C. Bezalel Sherman, *The Jew Within American Society* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961), 208-9.

¹³ Deborah Dash Moore, *At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 126-27; Nettie P. McGill, "Some Characteristics of Jewish Youth in New York City," *Jewish Social Service Quarterly* 14 (September 1937), 253; Nettie P. McGill and Ellen N. Matthews, *The Youth of New York City* (New York: 1940), 241; Nathan Goldberg, "Religious and Social Attitudes of Jewish Youth in U.S.A.," *The Jewish Review* 1 (December 1943), 135-68, esp. 148; U.Z. Engelman, "The Jewish Synagogue in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 41 (1935/36), 44; Beth Wenger, *New York Jews and the Great Depression* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996), 184.

¹⁴ *Central Conference of American Rabbis Year Book (=CCARYB)* 39 (1920), 255; *Census of Religious Bodies 1926: Jewish Congregations—Statistics, History, Doctrine and Organization* (Washington DC, 1929), 19; David Rudavsky, "Trends in Jewish School Organization and Enrollment in New York City, 1917-1950," *Yivo Annual* 10 (1955), 45-81, esp. 50; Ewa Morawska, *Insecure Prosperity: Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890-1940* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 148 and 326 n.30; *AJYB* 31 (1929-30): 126-30, 149-51; *CCARYB* 34 (1924): 367.

¹⁵ *CCARYB* 33 (1923): 104; *Sefer Ha-Yovel Shel Agudath Ha-Rabbanim Ha-Orthodoksim B'America*, 114 (translation mine); *AJYB* 32 (1930-31): 72; *AJYB* 35 (1933-34): 162-63; for Stern's plan see also Wenger, *New York Jews and the Great Depression*, 254, n.95.

¹⁶ Mordecai M. Kaplan, *Judaism As A Civilization* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994 [1934]): 76; for Germany, see Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

¹⁷ Alvin I. Schiff, *The Jewish Day School in America* (New York: Jewish Education Committee of New York, 1966) 37, 42, 44, 49; Jonathan D. Sarna, "The Crucial Decade in Jewish Camping," (forthcoming); Deborah Dash Moore, "Inventing Jewish Identity in California: Shlomo Bardin, Zionism, and the Brandeis Camp Institute," *National Variations in Jewish Identity: Implications for Jewish Education*, eds. Steven M. Cohen and Gabriel Horenczyk (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1999) 201-221; Jonathan D. Sarna, *JPS: The*

Americanization of Jewish Culture (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989) 183-84; *AJYB* 47 (1945-46) 559.

¹⁸ Betty D. Greenberg and Althea O. Silverman, *The Jewish Home Beautiful* (New York: 1941), esp. 13, 14, 18, 37; Rose B. Goldstein, "Women's Share of Responsibilities for the Future of Judaism," *Women's League Outlook* 8:4 (May 1938) 13 as quoted in Joellyn Wallen Zollman, *Shopping for a Future: A History of the American Synagogue Gift Shop* (Ph.D., Brandeis University, 2002), 45; *Minutes of the 1940 Convention of the Women's League* (Atlantic City, NJ: May 10-14 1940) as quoted in *ibid*, 54; Jenna W. Joselit, *The Wonders of America: Reinventing Jewish Culture 1880-1930* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1994) 161-163.

¹⁹ Saul Goodman, *The Faith of Secular Jews* (New York: Ktav, 1976) 19.

²⁰ Saul Goodman (ed.), *Our First Fifty Years: The Sholem Aleichem Folk Institute* (New York: 1972) 18-19, 64-66.

²¹ Marshall Sklare, *Observing America's Jews* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 1993) 273.