

COURSE II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN  
JEWISH COMMUNITY

Syllabus for Session 1 - The Sociological Approach

2 - Migration, Population and Vital Statistics

3) - Adjustment, Accomodation, Acculturation and Assimilation

4)

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Outline of lectures by Dr. Ephraim Fischhoff

Introduction to the Sociology of the American Jewish Community  
by Prof. Leo Srole

Bibliography - by Dr. Ephraim Fischhoff

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## SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

### Session 1 The Sociological Approach

Basic categories of the sociologist's approach. Society, culture and personality. Functionalism. Community and its criteria. Some conclusions of the comparative study of communities. The concepts of marginality and secularization. Major characteristics of the American habitat relevant to the formation of the Jewish community in the U.S.A.

### The Emergence, Growth and Structure of the American Jewish Community

### Session 2. Migration, Population and Vital Statistics

Migration - the various waves of immigration, their causes, composition, etc. Distribution. Occupational adjustment, economic and social position. Population data. The problem of adequate statistics about Jews in the U.S.A. Vital statistics.

### Session 3 & 4. Adjustment, Accommodation, Acculturation and Assimilation.

The emergence of Jewish communal activities and their major types. The problem of the generations. Operation of secularization and the reflection of distinctively American conditions. Status and function of various institutions and communal activities: religious, educational, social service, social and fraternal. Ethnic, social and ideological differences. Indices of assimilation. Centripetal tendencies. Impact of decisive national and international factors of the 20th century on the Jewries of the U.S.A. Crystallization of local, regional and national communalistic organizations, and the emergence of an American Jewish community. Minority status and its implications.

## I. INTRODUCTION

- A. Object of this program - vision, perspective.
- B. Problems re u re of leadership
  - 1. not only organizational or administrative skills
  - 2. but intellectual and moral stature.
- C. To achieve this objective, three courses arranged.
- D. This course views the Jewish community
  - 1. in the American context
  - 2. in terms of sociological processes
- E. First four sessions - to cover
  - 1. foundations of sociological approach
  - 2. general design of American society
  - 3. dynamics of Jewish community
  - 4. Jewish personality
  - 5. relevance of material for Jewish leadership

## II. WHAT IS THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH?

- A. Line between sociologist and social service worker
- B. Mutual criticisms
- C. Recent changes on both sides - illustrations
  - 1. intensive community studies
  - 2. action - research - problems
- D. Social science - technique and point of view
  - 1. concerned with individuals interacting in groups
  - 2. how does its view differ from that of the normal individual as social actor?
  - 3. the actor stands at the center of a great network
    - a. the network is a tapestry with complex patterns
    - b. the actor moves along a number of strands
    - c. these strands are grooves of experience and habit which he accepts as his personal universe, e.g. one's family
    - d. to those tied by these strands, one reacts not mechanically
  - 4. therefore, the actor's view of his society
    - a. is myopic
    - b. is colored
      - (1) rosy - mother, gang, college, home town
      - (2) black - prejudices

C. both constrict and distort social vision

5. Correctives - objectivity

- a. sociologist himself a product
- b. awareness and control
- c. biases
- d. role of spectator - e.g. anthropologist
- e. avoid involvement - neutrality
- f. attitudes as facts
- g. difficulties

6. perspective - forest and trees

- a. each strand as component of design
- b. social behavior in context
- c. physiological analogy
- d. all the relevant fact - nothing taken for granted
- e. difficulties

7. analysis - dissection into components - requires conceptual tools

- a. behavior patterns - codified and customary
- b. social roles - set of patterns
- c. institution - organization of roles with functions
- d. social structure - system of institutions which embrace the social life of a community
- e. culture - whole body of values
- f. discriminate constants and variations

8. prediction -

- a. science as end and means
- b. capacity to calculate consequences
- c. sociological prediction - difficulties
- d. reduce unknowns and increase knowledge of variables
- e. minimum - conditions for failure - UJA campaigns
- f. community worker - must evaluate alternative lines of action
- g. native social intelligence fortified

III. AMERICAN CULTURE - THE SETTING

A. Prestige as a universal social factor

- 1. all cultures in the world - express their major cultural values by differential distribution of prestige among their members

2. generally according to the social roles they perform -
  - a. Polynesia - chieftainship by inheritance
  - b. Eskima - the great hunters - food providers -  
Ind. skill
  - c. Plains Indians - the warrior - ind. prowess
  - d. SW Indians - the priest - magical powers <sup>-inherited</sup>  
<sub>-acquired</sub>
3. with this prestige, goes superior status rank  
identified with a number of special prerogatives
4. i.e. certain rewards are attached to the performance  
of highly valued roles in the social div. of labor
5. thereby, differentiating superior and inferior  
categories or classes of individuals

#### B. American equality

1. original conception of social democracy did not hold  
all inds to be of equal social value
2. referred to equality of opportunity for all under the  
special social conditions of freedom
3. not that "all men are created equal" but in the  
actual words of Dec. of Ind. "all created equally free"
4. freedom being the condition allowing each man  
unrestricted choice of the roles he is to perform  
up to the limit of his natural capacities
5. under such equality of opportunity the roles one  
acquires are accepted as a more or less true  
measure of one's natural capacities and individual worth  
"better man"
  - a. hence, although it is an accepted American  
cultural value or ideal that any man can say to  
any other "I'm as good as you are"
  - b. in actual practice, the social structure operates  
to differentiate not only superior and  
inferior roles, but sup - inf individuals
  - c. conflict is resolved by verbal avoidance -
6. classless society impossible - Russia

#### C. American social class system -

1. unlike simple socs, where a single dominant role  
determines one's prestige or status -
2. in U.S. it is a combination of roles which differentiate  
on a sup - inf scale the social value and status  
of all individuals in the community

3. we shall discuss these roles in greater detail in a moment, but let us first name them
  - a. occupational role
  - b. property role
  - c. associational roles
  - d. cultural role
4. there are variations in each of these types of roles on a value scale peculiar to each type
5. and inds tend to be ranked by the sum total of the values they exhibit in a scale - highest - lowest
6. among those inds who fall in the same range of the rank scale, there are certain common cultural attributes which differentiate them as a group, with fair clarity, from groups in other ranges of the scale
7. these differentiated rank or status groups are called social classes or class strata -
8. each class is identifiable as a social group
  - a. by differences in behavior patterns, roles and culture such that within the overall American culture it represents a sub-culture
  - b. by social interrelationships forming a loose, informal but more or less exclusive kind of organization
  - c. by definite differences in personality
9. in Yankee City, possible to distinguish three major rank levels, L - M - U, each divided into two parts - i.e. six social class strata
  - a. LL - lower - lower - "poor class"
  - b. UL - upper - lower - "working class"
  - c. LM - lower - middle - "white collar"
  - d. UM - upper - middle - "well-to-do"
  - e. LU - lower - upper - "new rich"
  - f. UU - upper - upper - "old families - aristocracy"

D. Occupational roles -

1. in the American economy, each type of work role, with a defined set of behavior patterns is known as an occupation
2. occupational roles are differentiated in economic and social value according to the technical and social skills involved

3. economic value expressed in different money returns
4. social value expressed in differential prestige and economic status with occupations graded in a continuous hierarchical order

5. six occupational strata -

- a. unskilled labor - LL
- b. skilled - factory operations - LL. UL. LM
- c. skilled - crafts " - LL. UL. LM
- d. management - aid " - UL. LM. UM
- e. management " - UL. LM. UM. LU. UU
- f. professions " - UL. LM. UM. LU. UU

6. within each stratum there are important variations.

E. Property roles -

1. status value is involved not in mere money accumulations

- a. a miser with a million could be LL
- b. but rather observable, useful, productive wealth

- (1) real property
- (2) capital investments, especially in the community
- (3) home - area, size, style, furnishings, etc.
- (4) standard of living, e.g. clothes, automobile

2. this does not lend itself to ready classification, because the quantity of one's overall wealth is surrounded with heavy personal taboos -

- a. precisely because one aspires to higher social class status than one's property possessions would allow
- b. i.e. wealth alone must not be allowed to fix one's prestige and rank

f. Associational roles -

1. family - social class status of parents - inherited rank
2. church
3. organizations - clubs, lodges, fraternities. Class range
4. clique - informal, recreational relations especially in home
  - a. among inds of same social class, there can be symmetrical relations - equality of prestige, mutuality of behavior patterns, informality and social intimacy

- b. hence, individual tends to select his closest friends only those with whom he can be in symmetrical relations - those of the same social class
- c. between individuals of different classes, only assymetric relations

- (1) different prestige and authority
- (2) lack of mutuality
- (3) behavior patterns progressively more formal and constrained with increasing social distance between the classes -

- d. hence, one excludes from relationships centering on home and play those of other social strata
- e. social classes are functionally exclusive -
- f. cliques interlock thru continuously overlapping memberships
- g. is result of continuous shading of social prestige
- h. clique, like family, is a fundamental social unit, interlocking families and classes

G. Cultural roles - relative conformity to the ideal patterns of behavior suggested by the term "gentleman", "lady"

- 1. lower than oneself - "coarse, crude"
- 2. same strata - eligible for clique - "nice persons"
- 3. higher than oneself
  - a. approving - "refined", "cultured"
  - b. disapproving - "high hat"

- 4. these behavior patterns - contribute to the similarity of personality attributes among members of the same class - hence "you mix socially only with your own kind"

H. The social class system embraces the whole population of a community and determines in very subtle and definite ways who interacts with whom and how. Analogy of differential rank behavior

- 1. Pvt and Pvt in room
- 2. Pvt and M/Sgt
- 3. Pvt and Lt.
- 4. Pvt and Major
- 5. Pvt and General

I. YC Class pyramid -

	Yankees	Ethnics
LL - 25.4%	20.2%	31.6
UL - 32.9%	23.1%	44.3
LM - 28.4%	35.3%	20.4
UM - 10.3%	15.9%	3.5
LU - 1.6%	2.8%	.2
UU - 1.4%	2.7%	-

K. Closed and open social class systems -

1. mobility - success - dominant culture value

- a. competition - economic related to social
- b. techniques
- c. resistance - exclusion - anti-Semitic stereotypes
- d. nouveaux riches violate certain cultural canons

L. Community leadership - UM and LU

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LECTURE II

I. HISTORY OF JEWISH MIGRATION

A. Cultural antecedents - to be treated piece-meal under various sub-headings to follow -

B. Sephardic Jews -

1. Spanish-Portuguese to Holland to Brazil to NY in 1654
2. First arrived poor, thru expropriation of property, but with cultured middle class backgrounds. Later with wealth
3. Thru European contacts went into export - import trade with Europe and W. Indies and prospered
4. Confined to East coast
5. By 1840 - 15,000 Jews in U.S., probably 10,000 Sephardic
6. Although originally great social class gap between them and German - Jews - in last 50 years largely absorbed by them

C. German Jews -

1. First arrived ca. 1800 -
2. 1800 - 1848 group - poor and from smaller towns - Orthodox
3. 1848 - 1900 - " - middle class, from cities, Reform
  - a. both groups settled East, West and South-towns
  - b. peddlers
4. 1933 - 1939 group - middle class, from cities, mixed Orthodox and Reform
5. total probably 300,000

D. East-European Jews - two groups

1. 1840 - 1900 - LM traders from towns - Orthodox
2. 1900 - 1920 - UL factory workers from cities - secular and socialist
3. ca. 2.5 million in all - 1881 - 1939
4. spread everywhere - heaviest concentration in East

E. Hostility to later wave -

1. not religious differences - but social class exclusion - new immigrants are sub-IL
2. identification as Jews with new immigrants a threat to their newly won class status - just as are "poor relatives"

F. Forces underlying immigration - to get people to pull up stakes from centuries long homelands, two sets of combined forces are necessary -

1. forces of propulsion

- a. economic - Irish, Italians, Greeks, Poles, Russians, French-Canadians - generally is originally a temporary settlement of young males with intent of returning
- b. political - is secondary to economic - straw that breaks back of camel already in economic crisis

- (1) Germans and German Jews - 1848 revolt
- (2) East European Jews - 1881 and 1905 revolts
- (3) Armenians - Turkish persecutions
- (4) family units for permanent settlement

2. Forces of attraction

- a. American economic expansion - actual recruitment
  - (1) 1840 - opening of West
  - (2) 1880 - industrialization
- b. U.S. political freedom - secondary

3. without 30 million immigrants (10% Jews)

- a. U.S. economic structure would hardly be 50% of its present size, because immigrants manned the industrial expansion -
- b. politically would have been far more conservative and retarded -
- c. would not have had the decisive strength to win World Wars I and II

II. WHERE IMMIGRANT SETTLED - Ecological Adjustment

A. Area - heaviest industrialization on North East coast

1. hence densest settlement
2. density decreases progressively Westward and Southward

B. Urban - rural

1. because industrialization in cities, overwhelming concentration despite fact that most immigrants were rural in background
2. heaviest urban concentration by Jews, who alone had urban background
3. now for every 100 American Jews
  - 43 in New York
  - 35 in 23 larger cities
  - 21 in 943 smaller "
  - 1 in towns
4. constitute 11% of population of cities of 100,000 or over

C. Ecological adjustment in cities

1. all immigrants on arrival congregate in LL areas
  - a. huddle together because culturally they are helpless and denuded - in crisis - gather strength from each other and particularly from those here longer
  - b. into LL areas because
    - (1) they were impoverished
    - (2) are barred from other areas
2. with economic mobility
  - a. move into ecologically higher areas - in sequence - Chicago
    - (1) in cities, recongregate
    - (2) in towns, scatter e.g. Y.C. development
  - b. is an essential step in social class mobility - marriageable daughters
3. this ecological mobility, provides serious problems for community institutions - leaves them behind - Temple Israel
4. home owning - a rough measure of residential status fixity -

Stamford Jews 30%  
" Total 30%

Y.C. Jews 63%  
Y.C. Natives 47%  
Y.C. Irish 42%

III. ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT -

A.Y.C. Poles - arrived 1910 - 1920

1. Fathers		2 Y.C. 1923		3. Y.C. 1933
Agriculture	86%	Unskilled	32%	14%
Crafts	10%	Factory	53%	73%
Merchants	2%	Crafts	6%	8%
Professions	2%	Management		
		Aids	1%	2%
		Merchants	8%	2%
		Professions -		1%

4. i.e. overwhelming industrial workers from start - and expanding

B. U.S. German Jews -

1. no statistics on occupations in Germany - but known they were overwhelmingly petty traders
2. no U.S. statistics, but known
  - a. overwhelmingly merchants, with advancement in size of enterprises - department stores
  - b. heavy secondary advance into professions -

C. East-European Jews

1. 1825 - unskilled 14%  
crafts 18%  
trade 65%  
professions 3%
2. 1897 - Russian census - with differentiation between towns and cities -
 

unskilled	25%
crafts	36%
trade	31%
professions	5%
3. 144,000 "Russians", 1900, in U.S. 7 largest cities
 

unskilled	10%
manufacturing	60%
management aid	7%
merchants	20%
professions	3%

4. 1934, 46,000 employed Jews in 36 middle and small U.S. cities

		All U.S. 1930
manufacturing	12%	44%
management aid	17%	8%
merchants	43%	19%
professions	14%	6%

5. concentration within these categories

a. mfg. - consumers goods, light industry - small units, requiring relatively little capital

b. merchants - retail and apparel (from needle industry)

c. professions - law, medicine, dentistry and teaching

6. generation dynamics in shift - Y.C. Jews 1933

	1 P	2 P	1 E
Unskilled	5%	-	-
Factory	-	25%	15%
Crafts	37%	-	12%
Management-aids	-	29%	45%
Merchants	58%	44%	16%
Professions	-	2%	12%

7. Summary of development - factors

a. 1880 - 1900 - East-European immigrants primarily tradesmen from towns - peddlers and small merchants

b. 1880 - 1920 - East-European immigrants primarily craftsmen from cities into manufacturing - production of U.S. industrialization

c. 1900 - 1930 - immigrants move into trade (1870 - 1940 x 1200%

F - generation moves into management aid (x 1700% and professions (x 1000%)

d. other ethnics - into expanding industry and remained there

e. Jews - followed into each successive newly expanding level of the economic structure

f. unusual combination of favorable conditions and suitable background

D. Charges of nativists

1. immigrants displacing natives and depressing their wage scales -
  - a. would not have come if there were no economic place for them
  - b. U.S. industrial and commercial expansion impossible without them
  - c. natives moved up during this expansion and were not displaced - Y.C. Irish 1850 - 1903  
56% - 38% unskilled  
22% - 29% factory
  - d. ethnics came in at the bottom levels of the occupational hierarchy and could not compete with natives to depress wages
  - e. industrialization raised living standards of all

E. Effects of economic mobility

1. made possible social class mobility
2. economy dominated life of Jewish family

IV. SOCIAL CLASS -

A. Antecedents -

1. most ethnic groups were lower-lower class peasants in rigidly closed, almost feudal class system - work for subsistence motive
2. Jews by occupational criteria were UL, LM, LL but with such low money returns, and were so socially suppressed that except for a few in the largest cities, they were as a mass no higher than UL

B. Upon arrival in U.S., the immigrant was lower than LL - the "foreigner" except in job does not conform in the other three roles defining class status -

C. Steps in mobility - immigrant

1. rises in occupation - works now to "get ahead"
2. saves money, better home, but otherwise standard of living kept down
3. associations - few with Americans
4. behavior - conforms outwardly and superficially
5. in 20 - 30 years, with economic success, and pressure from children can often reach LM

D. Steps in mobility -F generation

1. further advance in occupation
2. still better home, but saves less and spends more on proper standard of living - cars, clothes, etc.
3. associations - many with Americans
4. behavior - conforms almost completely
5. with economic success - often reach UM

E. Yankee City distributions

					Jewish Generations (males over 18)	
					1	
	Natives	Irish	Jews	Italians	P	F
UU	2.7	-	-	-	-	-
LU	2.8	.3	-	-	-	-
UM	15.9	5.9	3.	.4	3.5	5.1
IM	35.3	27.5	41.8	13.7	33.2	55.4
UL	23.1	53.8	47.6	41.9	52.3	39.5
LL	20.2	12.5	7.6	44.0	10.7	0

F. General Jewish distribution

1. by origins

- a. Sephardic and German - UM, LU and hear UU (Morgenthau Rosenwald Warburg Baruch Lehman)

2. by size of community - social class range varies in direct proportion

V. The Family

A. International changes - see Yankee City, Ill, Ch. 6

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NOTE: The classificatory scale of ethnic generations takes the following form:

- P<sup>1</sup> The immigrant generation which entered the U.S. at an age over 18
- P<sup>2</sup> The immigrant generation which entered the U.S. at an age of 18 or under
- F<sup>1</sup> The native born offspring of p<sup>1</sup> and p<sup>2</sup>
- F<sup>2</sup> The native-born offspring of F<sup>1</sup>
- F<sup>3</sup> The native-born offspring of F<sup>2</sup>
- F<sup>4</sup> The native-born offspring of F<sup>3</sup>

Course II - The American Jewish Community - Syllabus - Dr. Leo Srole  
Lectures 1 - 4 Cont'd.

VI. DEMOGRAPHY - Population structure - Antecedents

- A. During Roman Empire - 4.5 million Jews in world
- B. Shrank to less than 1/2 by 1700 A.D.
- C. beginning with 1800 grew

1800	2.5 million
1850	4.8 "
1900	10.6 "
1940	16.5 "

- 1. high birth rate continued
- 2. death rate dropped enormously
- 3. part of a world-wide population growth.

D. American Jewry

- 1. death rate now at stable low
- 2. drastic drop in birth rate - e.g. Medurbia Jewish children in completed families (mother over 45)

1890 P generation	- 4.6 children
1938 P	" - 3.7 "
F	" - 2.2 "
New Orleans F	" - 1.7 "
Stamford	- 3.4 medium size of Jewish Family (1.4 children)

- 3. Canadian Jews 1.5% of population, 1941 births only 1% of total
- 4. New Orleans children in completed Jewish Families
  - None 21.6%
  - 1 31.4%
  - 2 22.7%
  - 3 13.6%
  - 4 5.9%
- 5. in cities Jewish Birth Rate lower than other religious groups
  - a. Indianapolis Jewish Birth Rate 75% of Protestants 65% of Catholics
  - b. New York - Jewish Birth Rate 72% of Protestants 60% of Catholics
  - c. far lower Birth Rate than general population, approaching point where



VII. JEWISH COMMUNITY IN EASTERN EUROPE - in classical form

- A. was self contained and autonomous - a distinct religious and secular structure sharply differentiated from surrounding population -
  - B. was organized around the synagogue - which was the hub and spokes of communal life within which clustered all other institutions -
    - 1. with the dispersion from Palestine, the religious law and ritual took the place of the national homeland in binding Jews together, scattered though they were.
    - 2. the nation was reconstituted as one unified moral community decentralized spatially
    - 3. as substitute for the Temple in Jerusalem, there grew up the local synagogue
  - C. the synagogue was a house of prayer - prayer not a ritual but a communal activity
  - D. was a house of study - hence word shul
    - 1. for adults
    - 2. for students - Yeshiva
    - 3. for children - cheder
  - E. was a house of assembly -
    - 1. administrative center
    - 2. community center
    - 3. place of public announcements - e.g. local regulations
    - 4. had judicial functions.
  - F. in it centered religious, educational, philanthropic, recreational and political life of community.
  - G. community council elected by congregation
  - H. subsidiary institutions
    - 1. cemetery - with burial society
    - 2. houses for sick, poor and itinerants (guest house)
    - 3. ritual bath house
    - 4. often communal bakery and slaughter house
    - 5. board of guardians for poor and other charities
  - I. community was highly cohesive, organized, integrated, inclusive - faced inward rather than outward - centripetal -
- VIII. TYPICAL EARLY CRYSTALLIZATION OF AN ETHNIC COMMUNITY

Lecture 3.

IX. EARLY CRYSTALLIZATION OF SMALL JEWISH (East European) COMMUNITY -

- A. If insufficient numbers - no social cohesion and individuals are assimilated, e.g. 2 Y.C. German Jews - EU and UU children
- B. First phase - informal, non-organized - 10-20 families
  - 1. meet for prayers in home
  - 2. spatially drawn together in close proximity
  - 3. Jewish owned store -
    - a. maintains kosher and Jewish dietary style
    - b. is informal club house for men
- C. Second phase - 20-50 families - first organized institutions
  - 1. Congregation organized - synagogue established in a store later in a building in center of area of settlement
  - 2. Soon after - school set-up - cheder meeting in shul
- D. Third phase - as families are on move out of original area of settlement to better areas - P<sup>1</sup> men's informal club is organized, often affiliating with a national benefit order like IOBA -
- E. Fourth phase - P<sup>1</sup> Women's organization appears, followed by one for P<sup>2</sup> men, then P<sup>2</sup> women, then F<sup>1</sup> boys and girls organizations.
  - 1. This phase completed 25 - 30 years after arrival
  - 2. Where older German Jews are present, each has separate congregations, schools and set of associations.
- F. Fifth phase - assuming further immigration into community has stopped
  - 1. if no German Jewish groups is present
    - a. when P<sup>1</sup> generation gets too old, P<sup>2</sup> and F<sup>1</sup> generations take over control of congregation, generally, with liberalization
    - b. P<sup>2</sup> and F<sup>1</sup> generation organizations take dominance
  - 2. if German Jews group is present
    - a. wealthier F<sup>1</sup> generally move into Reform congregation
    - b. F<sup>1</sup> " " " " G - J organization
    - c. P<sup>2</sup> liberalize Orthodox congregation to hold F<sup>1</sup> generation

X. THE CONGREGATION

A. Symptomatic of changes - role shrinkage of rabbis

1. Like the congregation - have lost prestige, authority and leadership in secular to lay business leaders and community specialists -
2. subordination through lay salary and tenure control
3. Nominally, retain teaching function through weekly sermon - but carry little influence -
4. perform weekly services and rituals in life crises - are approaching role of priest -
5. those in Orthodox and Conservative congregations, having broken with religious traditions in personal lives, maintain the tie symbolically through rabbi - he alone conforms - he is their ambassador to the Talmud -
6. Reform rabbi's principal function is "ambassador to the Christians" - public relations front man -
7. Tenure, authority, status should be strengthened

B. numbers and types - 1936

3000 Orthodox - average membership small  
350 Conservative  
300 Reform - average membership large

C. With Orthodox becoming progressively more liberal, and many Reform more Orthodox, differences are no longer sharp

D. Declining functions of congregation -

1. Loss of central unifying position - because of splits on sectarian and national-origins lines
2. Loss to local civil government of judicial, tax and other mediating functions
3. Loss to secular and national organizations - control of cemetery, community school, and charity functions
4. Plays peripheral role in community life

E. Americanization of services and secularization of adult study programs, "culture" - generation movements toward Church forms - with counter movement.

I. Medurbia - Beth Aleph - Orthodox started 1844 by East European

- a. 1885 - English sermon
- b. ca 1895 " responsive readings
- c. 1910 - moved to better area - now a Conservative "Temple"
- d. ca 1920 - more English replaces Hebrew portions - organ installed
- e. 1936 - Bar Mitzvah for girls
- f. almost Reform now

2. Medurbia - Beth Bet - Reform (German Jews) counter-movement -

- a. trend toward traditional Judaism in Sunday school
- b. when present children take over will probably make services somewhat more traditional
- c. present changes forced by F generation East Europeans who have come in

F. Home rituals - almost complete deterioration - even Passover

G. Important synagogue ritual elaborations

- 1. Oneg Shabbat
- 2. Junior services
- 3. Bar Mitzvah

- a. secular celebration, magnitude of a wedding, far outweighs religious phase
- b. eligibility standards should be raised

H. Membership problem

1. Stamford Shul(148) Cons. Temple(152) None (660)  
 (40% average attendance on Shabbat)

P families	17%	9%	74%
F "	7%	19%	74%

- a. almost all "Nones" observe a "crisis Judaism" high holidays, births, weddings, funerals and Kaddish
- b. can Judaism's credo be given a force and relevance that will compete successfully with American tempo and hedonistic counter-values?

2. Medurbia families - 45% belong to Reform, 12% Orthodox, 43% None

## XI. THE SCHOOL

A. See Yankee City III - ch.8

B. Differs in content - types

1. Talmud Torah (50% of all pupils) - Hebrew language and religious traditions - daily afternoon
2. Sunday School (33%) - folk history
3. Folkshule (7%) - secular Yiddish literature
4. Yeshiva (5%) - religious parochial school
5. Cheder (5%) - religious - afternoon

C. Differs in affiliations

1. Congregations
2. Community Centers
3. National orders (WC)
4. Independent community committees
5. Private

D. Attendance -

1. claim 75% of all Jewish children get 1 - 2 years, but only 5% get the minimally adequate
2. Stamford children (5 - 13 ) who get some Jewish education
  - a. F<sup>1</sup> boys 60.8%      F<sup>2</sup> boys 58.2%  
    girls 44.6%      girls 52.6%
  - b. F<sup>1</sup> Principally Hebrew School  
    F<sup>2</sup>         "         Sunday         "

E. Recent strengthening in teaching methods and content - as against previous primitive techniques -

F. But schools are still orphans of community budgets.

G. Must increase attendance and lengthen intensity training

## XII. ASSOCIATIONS - VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

A. Is an institutional type unknown in Eastern Europe, but highly developed in the United States

B. Appears in a great variety of functions, social-class identifications, ideological contents in a welter of combinations

C. Function types -

1. Mutual Benefit

- a. loans, sick and death benefits and burial, often in association cemetery
- b. generally organized by East European P<sup>1</sup> generation, when lower class
- c. serves to strengthen immigrant family through crises - by spreading risks over a whole group
- d. examples - Landsmanshaften, IOBA(YC), WC

2. "Cultural" - self-education and/or sponsorship of youth education

- a. Temple Brotherhood and Sisterhood
- b. B'nai Brith and Workmen's Circle
- c. appears in associations of German and East European Jews of all classes and generations

3. Recreational

- a. adult-Jewish War Veterans - F generation all classes - Jewish country clubs - UM, principally German Jews
- b. youth - both German and East European Jews - all classes

4. Philanthropic -

a. varying range -

- (i) local Ladies Aid (YC) charity service of East European synagogue, needy, itinerants - P<sup>1</sup> generation UL and UM
- (ii) Europe - landsmanshaften, family circles - East European P generation UL and UM
- (iii) Palestine - Hadassah - F generation (LM and UM) Pioneer Women P generations (UL, LM)

5. Political - defense - B'nai Brith - principally German Jews  
UM

6. an association often combines several functions, but one is predominant

D. Ideology types -

1. Hometown or kin solidarity - landsmanshaften and family circles

- 2. Class solidarity - WC and country club
- 3. Ancestral - national - restoration of national homelands (Irish, Armenians) - all Zionist organizations - East European lower and middle classes, all generations
- 4. Bi-national (Irish, Greeks, Armenians) - no Jewish associations
- 5. American national - JWV, American Council for Judaism - German Jews (UM and LU) - Knights of Pythias
- 6. Religious - (highest form in Catholic church associations)
  - a. Anshes type landsmanshaften
  - b. Congregation organizations
  - c. Mizrahi - religious Zionists, Agudath Israel
- 7. Associations - generally fall into one ideology type
  - a. can combine a number of functions
  - b. e.g. Hadassah chapter - has ancestral-national ideology, but combines recreational, philanthropic and cultural functions

E. Associations are sex differentiated and age graded - and often joined in local association complexes

B'nai Brith	BB Women's Auxiliary	Sr. Hadassah	ZOA
BBYM	Hillel	BBYW	B & P
AZA	BBYO	BBG	Jr. "

Hadassah Buds

F. Shifts in associations - due to generation and class movements

- 1. J.youth associations - are expanding - because even those with Zionist or religious ideologies have recreational function primary and cultural secondary - in activity are basically American
- 2. J. women's associations are expanding - but with pronounced shifts
  - a. e.g. Pl UL mother belongs to Pioneer Women  
FI UM daughter " " Sr. Hadassah
  - b. e.g. P generation lower class associations are declining because generation is dying off.

3. Men's associations - P generation declining

- a. Workmen's Circle - membership down - 1945 - 75,000 - despite attempted adaptation
  - (i) has shifted away from socialist ideology
  - (ii) originally assimilationist - going traditionalist
  - (iii) shifting from anti-Zionist
  - (iv) shift to English in some branches
- b. IOBA - mutual benefit and burial - 1945 - 58,000
- c. Landsmanshaften, except in New York City (3000 with 500,000 members) - 25% of New York population - are shrinking - new forms concentration camp and DP camp landsmanshaften -

4. F generation men are moving into

- a. B'nai Brith - German Jewish origin - 812 lodges, 200,000. Aux. 466 - 95,000 - now UM and F generation
- b. "Captive" non-sectarian American lodges - Jewish chapters of K. of P., Masons
- c. NY landsmanshaften - making them American - becoming recreational and philanthropic -
  - (i) increasing F percentage
  - (ii) average of 30% of membership are non-landsmen
- d. F generation associations are by and large recreational in function, although masked by different ideologies
  - (i) serve to keep members out of "mixed" American associations, for that is the avenue of assimilation
  - (ii) and integrated within the Jewish community structure -
  - (iii) class mobility is a force drawing Jews into American associations

G. Claim of overorganization -

- 1. In Buna one association for every 50 adult Jews
  - a. but much overlapping in memberships
  - b. 47% completely unaffiliated -
  - c. who are the unaffiliated

2. lower income and class groups - memberships vary directly with income -
  - a. UM class - overorganized
  - b. UL " - underorganized
3. The larger the community, the larger the percentage of unaffiliated (true also of Jewish congregations and schools)
4. Hence, for the community worker, the problem is posed of bringing to activity a huge untapped mass of the Jewish population

### XIII. COMMUNITY PROCESS

- A. Stratification - on class, generations and origins - seen most sharply in the larger cities

	Cong.	School	Aid Type emphasis	Range	Political emphasis	Association function
UM-LU : German F1 and F2 :	Reform	SS	charity local national	National coordina- tion	defense	recrea- tional cultural
LM-UM : E.European F1 :	Cons	both	both	national		recrea- tional cultural
UL-LM : E.European P1 :	Orth	TT	Mutual aid overseas	local autonomy	Zionist	

- B. Fusion - with dying out of German F<sup>1</sup> and East European P<sup>1</sup>, gap between two groups is narrowing - and approaching fusion seen in attempts at unification-

1. Community centers - most successful of these attempts
  - a. 1921 - 47 (100,000 members) - now 300 (450,000 members)
  - b. 160 with schools, 140 camps, 140 youth councils
  - c. primary functions - recreational and cultural for youth
  - d. strongest in middle-sized communities - where it is often the most important institution - replacing the congregation
  - e. common meeting ground for competing congregations
  - f. draws the unsynagogued and unaffiliated

g. weakness - too highly secularized - except in schools practically no Jewish content

(i) is a center of American activities for Jews  
(ii) and not a center of Jewish activities

h. but mere fact that it is a center is of great structural importance

i. for it is bridging the sectarian splits which have racked the Jewish community.

2. Welfare Funds - coordinated locally and nationally

a. if community center unifies community on common denominator of recreation, these unify it on common denominator of philanthropy to meet overseas Jewish crisis

b. there are internal conflicts, but urgency of crisis has preserved unity

c. striking fact - East European F<sup>1</sup> generation overwhelmingly has given leadership to the fund raising, but German Jews keep their hold on policy.

(i) UJA - Morgenthau and Montor

(ii) JDC - Warburg and Schwartz

(iii) but now undercover struggle for policy leadership with East European F's sure to win out before long -

3. Community Councils - emerging in a number of middle-sized cities -

a. can be sociological capstone to otherwise segmented community structure

b. can be counterpart of the community council at heart of East European synagogue

4. National coordination of communities - CJFWF, JWB, UJA, United Synagogue --- Jewish Education, Council of Jewish Women, etc.

5. International coordination - World Jewish Congress, B'nai Brith, Zionist groups

C. Acculturation - changes in behavior patterns, culture and personalities of an immigrant group from types traditional to it, to types characteristic of the host society -

1. expressed in individuals, and seen most clearly in generation differences

- a. P<sup>1</sup> - inwardly strongly oriented Jewish culture traditions
  - (i) but often with a sense of frustration that the social milieu restricts their full expression
  - (ii) with considerable outward and inward adaptation to American culture
  - (iii) he definitely is not, as one writer claimed monocultural - within 10 years of arrival he is transformed from an East European Jew to an American Jew
  - (iv) It is in the non-religious behavior patterns associated with home and the family that he tries most valiantly to conform to Jewish tradition.
  
- b. F<sup>1</sup> generation
  - (i) is predominantly American in orientation - derived
    - (a) from American schooling
    - (b) " " cliques
    - (c) with primary motivation American values of social class mobility
  - (ii) is highly ambivalent about his minor Jewish orientation - derived
    - (a) from Jewish character of home in his childhood years
    - (b) from superficial Jewish schooling
    - (c) often accompanied by conflict, self-hate and Jewish escapism - in early adulthood
    - (d) later, this is generally resolved by renewed allegiance, not to the fundamentals of the Jewish heritage, but to the American Jewish community
  
- c. F<sup>2</sup> generation - almost totally American in orientation
  - (i) childhood home atmosphere was not Jewish but completely American
  - (ii) Jewish schooling, although better and more penetrating than that of his P<sup>1</sup> parents, received little reinforcement in his home life (home and school must mutually reinforce each other)

- (iii) hence his Jewishness becomes little more than an unavoidable consciousness of descent (like bonds of Mayflower descendants sans prestige)
- (iv) devoid of F<sup>1</sup>'s intense conflict, he accepts his descent generally as fact without much cultural content or even sentiment
- (v) Sentiment of American Irish F<sup>2</sup> and F<sup>3</sup> centering around their descent and expressed in their annual celebration of St. Patrick's Day, has no counterpart in F<sup>2</sup> American Jews
- (vi) their consciousness of descent expressed in activities of self defense (JDA) and big brother defense of their weaker kin (UJA)

d. Hence, Americanization of successive Jewish generations has proceeded with great rapidity and at a cost of almost complete de-Judaization

## 2. Acculturation reflected in Jewish community institutions

- a. as each new generation takes over, it transforms the institutions in the image of its own greater Americanization e.g. changes in Medurbia synagogue reflect not adoption of Reform philosophy, but adaptation to members' American personality and cultural outlook.
- b. or it may create new community institutions on the model of American Christian institutions -
  - (i) Sunday School in place of Hebrew school
  - (ii) Confirmation instead of Bar Mitzvah
  - (iii) associations - without any Jewish cultural content - country club, JWW, Knights of Pythias, etc.
- c. hence, the Jewish community structure is becoming progressively less Jewish and progressively more American in internal character - as have the Irish
- d. once, it was a Jewish cultural community
- e. now it is becoming an American cultural community for those of Jewish descent -
- f. the great Jewish cultural heritage has been replaced by the slender supports of consciousness of origin as foundation of the community

D. Social absorption - the pull of ethnics out of their own community institutions into American institutions

1. American economic institutions monopolize the working hours and have highly important acculturating effects
2. The ethnic institutions, except for paid specialists, depend upon the leisure time activities of its members
3. but the American recreational attractions threaten to draw ethnics from participation in their own institutions, e.g. synagogue attendance
4. particularly true of American recreational associations
5. Hence, the ethnic group creates its own recreational associations, to keep their members from straying altogether from the fold - which would endanger its existence
6. Success of this effort to shore up crumbling edges of the ethnic community structure, can be measured by the ratio of a groups' memberships in American and ethnic associations - (1933)

	A	E
Jews	7	: 3
Irish	6	: 4
Armenians	5	: 5
F - C	4.5	: 5.5
Greeks	4	: 6
Poles	3.5	: 6.5

7. Relation of this ratio to social class - total ethnics

LL	3	: 7
UL	5	: 5
LM	6	: 4
UM	8	: 2

8. Relation of this ratio to generation - total ethnics

p1	3	: 7
p2	5	: 5
F1	6	: 4
F2	7	: 3
F3	9	: 1

9. Hence the American society is being progressively more successful in absorbing ethnics and drawing them out of their anchorages in the ethnic community institutions

10. This was especially true of the Jews, but there are indications that this trend may have halted ..

E. Assimilation - the last phase of absorption

1. i.e. when an ethnic group becomes so completely acculturated and absorbed that its institutions dis-integrate, and the group loses its identity, it dissolves as group
2. distinction between acculturation and assimilation -
  - a. assimilation cannot occur without acculturation - e.g. assimilation of early Dutch (Roosevelts), French Huguenots (Benets, Marquands, La Farges), 1848 Germans (Persings, Eisenhowers)
  - b. acculturation can occur without assimilation - e.g. Negroes
3. Intermarriage as a rough measure of assimilational forces
  - a. intermarriage may be a result of assimilation of an individual completed
  - b. or intermarriage may be a result of semi-assimilation which the marriage often completes, at the latest with the children

4. Trend of intermarriage rates - per 100 Jewish marriages

a. Lithuania 1931 (with great Jewish culture)	.39
b. Germany 1900	14.
1910	21.
1928	35.
1933	44.
c. New York 1910	2.2
d. Cincinnati 1920	3.6
e. New Haven 1900	1.2
1930	3.
1940	5.7
f. Stamford 1938	7.2
g. Jacksonville 1945	10.
h. American trend is clear cut	

(i) high correlation with generation

- (ii) low correlation with social class
- (iii) high " " social isolation - non-affiliated element

5. Nazi attack on the most assimilated Jewish community in the world, knocked the props out from the escapist, assimilation-minded elements of American Jewry.

a. Produced profound shock in the whole American Jewish community which will never be forgotten

b. reassessment and some degree of return to Jewish traditions from Reform Jewry to secularized labor movement Jewry

c. in the community, a perceptible closing of ranks, with greater cohesion

d. impression of stoppage of absorption into American associations and return to greater participation in the Jewish community structure

6. Overall effect is that long range forces pointing toward assimilation have been halted - probably for a long time to come.

F. Prediction: the American Jewish community will preserve its structure, i.e. will not succumb to assimilation, but

1. will continue its progressive acculturation

2. although at a significantly slower pace

3. yet becoming ever more American in character and content - and ever less Jewish, unless American Jewry shows the will and energy to recapture, revitalize and reclothe its fading cultural traditions.

XIV. SUMMARY - in the sessions the attempt has been made

A. To suggest the basic elements of the sociological point of view as a means of acquiring greater depth and breadth of social understanding

B. To bring into sharper relief the dominant pattern which shapes American social organization and culture

C. To analyze the Jewish community in terms of its component institutions and dynamic processes

1. What it was, what it is, what it is becoming

- D. Implicit throughout these discussions were a number of convictions, shared by many Jews ..
1. Probably not since the Dispersion, has Jewry faced such a struggle for its life on so many different fronts.
  2. We must rededicate ourselves to Jewish survival as our ultimate value and goal.
  3. Although on the American front the struggle is cultural rather than political, the dangers here are no less serious than elsewhere
  4. The success of the American Jewish struggle rests in the hands of its professional and lay leaders, present and emerging.
  5. The sine qua non must be not only survival as a community, but survival as a Jewish culture group. This means rededication to our heritage from the long Jewish past

\* \* \* \* \*

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First Semester - Class of 1948-49

COURSE II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN  
JEWISH COMMUNITY.

Syllabus for Bloc B - RELIGIOUS AND IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSITIES.

PART I - A Socio-Psychological Interpretation; The Social and  
Psychological Adjustment of the Individual Jew.

CONTENTS:

Outline - Readings - Bibliography

by: Abraham G. Duker

Lecturer: Rabbi Maurice B. Pekarsky

EXPERIMENTAL EDITION - AWAITING PUBLICATION

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT PERMISSION

(COMMENTS WELCOMED)

PART I - THE SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL JEW.

Before emancipation and westernization, the individual Jew could find sufficient morale building values within Jewish life to compensate for the low esteem, inconveniences, petty and major persecutions suffered in consequence of his Jewishness. In fact, the average Jew considered himself as superior to the average non-Jew in religion ( a more rational monotheism), education, morality and ethics. The Divine promise of eventual redemption made it possible for the Jew to withstand the inferiority feeling engendered from his minority status and the inconsiderate attitude of the outside world. Election and the promise of reward in the world to come were good substitutes for the inconveniences suffered in this world.

Emancipation has drastically affected this adjustment. The emancipated Jew often became at best a-religious. A child of 18th century rationalism, he was little concerned with theology. A believer in the superiority of the Gentile way of living, he was even less interested in the minutiae of daily religious practices which tend to establish a regimen of life. Moreover, as time continued, his knowledge of the Jewish faith became increasingly thin, as his adaptation of the mores and thinking of the outside society became increasingly all consuming. The emancipated Jew absorbed a great many anti-Semitic notions, which form part of the pattern of daily living. (e.g. terms like Pharisees, to Jew; dislike of "Jewish" names like Moses, Abraham, Isidore; Jewish jokes). A sense of inferiority is thus displayed even by many who feel that Jewish life is worth while. Those who do not think so, naturally go further in their dislike of Jewish identification. Conscious efforts to live among non-Jews, to intermarry and to raise children as Christians or without a religious faith (let them choose their creed after they grow up!) are deeper expressions of this maladjustment.

It is obvious that membership in a persecuted group is not a sought after thing, particularly in a society which has often branded the persecuted as responsible for their own persecution, while not permitting the victims to escape from their own group. The reaction is, therefore, not only to escape the Jewish group as individuals, but also to attempt to liquidate it. The intellectual phase of this process is seen in the attempt to minimize Jewish differences and to continually delimit the area of Jewish group concepts.

Rejection is a very painful process. The modern assimilated Jew who is rejected by Gentile society cannot, like his ancestor, find compensation in the belief that he remains chosen by God. Nor can he compensate for it like the nationalist Jew. Attention to positive Jewish achievements which normally tend to raise the status of the Jewish group, (war participation, Palestine upbuilding, charitable generosity) add to the discomfort of the assimilationist individuals, as such distinctions tend to accentuate Jewish group identification. Considering himself inferior to the Jewish group, the assimilationist cannot drift back into it. A stranger, he often finds it difficult to readjust within it, as his outlook and pattern of habits have become alien to it. Intellectual problems, such as bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism, baffle him, as he is not ready to admit that he ought to add to his pattern of living certain mores which his Christian neighbor does not possess. The final result is either an adjustment of resignation (let us make the most of it), which leads to affiliation with the Jewish group; casual escapism through hedonistic living and deliberate avoidance of Jewish connections, and Jewish self hatred which often reaches the extremity of a complete psychological breakdown, identification with the anti-semitic, or various degrees of neuroses.

### Readings

#### 1. Jewish Self-Hate; Intellectual Style

In the Nation of June 17, 1936, appeared an article by Benjamin Stolberg to the effect that the "Jews were a state of mind". His cure for this was Marxism. Following are a few quotations from his article and a letter of comment by a Gentile psychologist.

"On the crazy affinity between Jewry and world whole philosophies and institutions of pride and of fear and of abysmal ignorance have been built. Professional Jews have made careers of the 'culture' of Judaism. Professional Jew-baiters have made careers of anti-Semitism. And what is just as bad, a 'liberal' attitude of mutual tolerance for this neurotic condition has laid claim to the world's admiration.

"To the professional Jew all civilization is a Jewish monopoly. And he is forever digging through history and combing

the globe to check up on the boys who made good, in the hope that a Jewish destiny may have shaped their ends. The professional Jew has nothing to learn about Rassenkulture from the Gobineaus and Houston Stewart Chamberlains or even the psychiatric ideals of Herr Hitler. He is the original aristocrat of race prejudice, who is outraged by these parvenus in racial obsession.

"The professional Jew, more often than not an unconscious anti-Semite, is always faced by the professional Jew-hater, the morbid sadist who can't let Jewry alone. To the professional anti-Semite civilization is not merely a Jewish monopoly; it is a Jewish conspiracy. Nazi professors have conclusively shown that the Pope is a Jew whose 'real name' is Finkelstein, that President Roosevelt's 'real name' is Rosenfeld, and that J. P. Morgan and Company, that most notoriously Jewish of all notorious firms, subsidized Lenin and Trotsky, whose 'real names' were Zederblum and Bronstein, in order to wreck Jewish capitalism with Jewish Marxism. They have also shown that Jesus and eleven of the Apostles were really 'Aryans'. For the professional Jew-hater differs from the professional Jew, whose mania it is to claim all public figures possible, in that he picks and chooses to suit his own insane convenience.

"Such is history according to the Jewish-fascist lamentations of the professional Jew and the Aryan-fascist shrieks of the professional Nazi. Ordinary public opinion, that is, common middle-class ignorance, by and large accepts both of these contradictory lunacies. The average American agrees with the cracked notion of the professional Jew that the Jews as a whole are a lot brighter, abler, shrewder, and altogether superior fellows. Then he agrees with the equally cracked notion of the Jew-baiter that they are invariably greedier, greasier, louder, and more crooked than their fellow-citizens, and of course a much poorer fire risk. And just to show that he accepts both fantasies quite impartially, he smugly remarks that some of his best friends are Jews."

Source: Stolberg, Benjamin:

"The Jew and the World"

The Nation, June 17, 1936, pages 766-770.

## 2. Another Psychiatric Analysis

"Dear Sirs: I write to tell you how much I liked Mr. Stolberg's dissertation on the Jews. I completely agree with his psychological interpretation, though I'm less hopeful than he that Marxism will change the psychology. However, it was very much worth saying that anti-Semitism represents a reciprocal psychosis, in which elements of unwholesome attraction as well as revulsion appear. That the economic situation has exacerbated this psychosis is of course obvious. Even in small places in the country one can now hear ominous rumblings. Failing Mr. Solberg's solution, can anything be done? I believe it can, but

I hesitate to mention it, because the subject is painful and difficult.

"There is no reason to expect the great mass of Gentiles to do anything to resolve the situation. The fact that psychoanalysis was first developed by Jewish men of science suggests that there is at least a tendency toward mental therapy among the Jews. Mr. Stolberg's witty and often brilliant analysis sets the problem. If the Jew and the world are like a married couple held in pathological bonds, can the Jew introduce an aspect of sanity into this union? We know how a relatively sane person living closely with a psychotic mate may lose touch temporarily with reality and come to accept false premises. As Janet says, abnormality is 'catching'. The Jew, with his memories of pogroms and persecutions, is like a woman who was raped in her youth and who, continuing to expect a similar traumatic experience, is not able to accept the good marriage which life is now offering to her. It is understandable that she should have difficulty in throwing off this traumatic experience, but she must throw it off if she is to go on to a happier adjustment. For if she goes around expecting to be outraged, she probably will be again. There are persécutées as well as persecutors.

"Mental hygiene seems to be particularly needed for the Jews - a mental hygiene which will help them to ignore the memory of ancient grievances and check the tradition of anticipating future outrage. This is difficult, isn't it - practically heroic? I didn't mean to write so much - only to say I am glad The Nation could publish Mr. Stolberg's article."

New York, June 22: Lorine Pruette.

Source: The Nation, New York, July 4, 1936,  
pages 25-28.

### 3. An Extreme Case of Jewish Self-Hate

..... "It is always within me, the awareness of my ancestry. Just as a person who is afflicted with leprosy or cancer carries his nauseating illness hidden beneath his clothes, and yet, at every moment is fully aware of it - I carry with me the opprobrium and the ignominy, the metaphysical guilt of my being a Jew.

"What are all sufferings, disillusionings and inhibitions which stem from without as compared with this hell from within? To be forced to be what one detests? To have to be, to have to be!. For all the sophistry which glosses over self-delusions is of no avail in this particular case. I am fully and mercilessly aware of the fact that Jewishness is in the fact of being. It does not permit itself to be discarded. Just as a dog or a pig cannot rid himself of his existence as a dog or a pig, I can tear myself

loose from my eternal bonds of being which holds me tied to that link between man and animal: The Jew.

"Were I a murderer or a thief, had I committed the most dastardly crime, yet I would before the eternal within me feel that I am without guilt. But newer, as long as I live, can I rid myself of the curse of my being, can I deny the sin of my Jewishness, the eternal metaphysical primeval guilt which weighs down upon me with the weight of a mountain. I know that I am cursed and doomed. The ignominy of my descent clings to me like leprosy. I am one of those who, according to the Candogyo-Upanishad, landed in a 'stinking womb,' a 'dog-womb,' a 'pig-womb' or a 'Tchandala womb.'

"There are moments when I feel like cutting my own veins in order to spill my putrid blood which defiles both my body and soul. Indeed, I would rather be an animal, I would rather have rat or snake blood coursing in my veins than the blood of that wandering pest, which, in form and character, is the symbol of the antithesis of the divine.

"Sometimes, I am obsessed by the insane idea of atoning my life by a murder. To murder at least one of those Jewish rascals who are guilty of Germany's collapse. To do away with one of those shameless Jewish dogs who have the insolence to rule the German people of Austria. To atone with my life and to purify myself by Jewish blood.

"I play with this thought, I ponder over it voluptuously. Without will and unconsciously, I surrender to it. This thought plays with me so cruelly that my brain stops and my heart bursts and my teeth gnash. Murder, murder, murder! seethes within my veins - and I am almost swept off my feet. I am beyond myself, I am senseless and I burn with hatred. If I could only kill all, all of them! If I could only sweep them off the face of the earth and thus redeem the world! If I could erase them, if I could only by my own life obliterate this plague, this pest! I see red, so much does my blood seethe - and I think, - it thinks, something within me thinks- of the loaded pistol in my desk drawer, and that the road to Vienna is not so far away and that - and that - -

"Very well, very well, I know that I will not do it, not because I am incapable of the deed, but because I only will it, but this desire is not real. Because I am actually nothing in the true sense of existence, because I am really non-existent, and because I am part of that non-existing something which calls itself Jew - part of that ungodly Ahasverism which has no existence. . . .

"What do they know, these everyday superficial Jew baiters who feel only their naturally healthy racial antipathy, without

being able to grasp its true meaning. What do they know of the horrible tragedy of this inferno, which walks incarnate on earth? I have never done anything that was really wicked or base. And yet, at times, during gloomy hours, I feel that I have committed the guilt of the world and that it weighs down on my shoulders." . . . . .

Source: From the diary of a well born, beautiful, healthy, and gifted German Jewess published in Lessing, Theodore: Der Judische Selbsthass (Jewish Self-Hate), Berlin, Judischer Verlag, 1930, pages 238-247.  
English Translation from Jewish Survival in the World Today, by: Abraham G. Duker, Source Book IIB.

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COURSE II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN  
JEWISH COMMUNITY

Syllabus for Bloc B - RELIGIOUS AND IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSITIES.

Part II - The Definitions of the Jewish Group

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By: Abraham G. Duker

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## The Definitions of the Jewish Group.

### Summary:

Another outgrowth of the emancipation and assimilation processes is the lack of clarity concerning the status of the Jewish group and its definition. Pre-emancipation Jewry knew of no such difficulties. Jewish nationhood was intimately tied up with the Jewish religion in the mind of both Gentile and Jew, and by the theology of both Church and Synagogue.

Emancipation introduced the problem of the dichotomy between Jewish nationhood and the Jewish religion. The Marxist interpretation, which disregarded religion as a factor and followed the common pattern of not acknowledging the possibility of Jewish nationhood, classified the Jews as a caste. Some American sociologists classified Jewry in terms of a culture group. Racist Antisemitism even before Hitler preached that the Jews constitute a mongrel race which pollutes other races. The rise of secular groups in the Jewish community brought with it the assertion that the Jews are merely a nation and that religion forms no factor in the present determination of the Jewish group. There is a marked return to the historical position of a national religious synthesis. The problem is further complicated by the varying semantic interpretations of terms such as: "nation", "nationality" and "state".

To arrive at a realistic definition, we must understand that historical, political and sociological conditions have to be taken into consideration; that the definition of the outside community is sometimes even more valid, pragmatically speaking, than that of the Jew, since the non-Jewish world has great influence in determining the status of a Jew; and that in a democratic status it is the wish of the Jewish group which should constitute the major factor in the determination of its own status.

### Readings

#### "Starvation Held Lot of Europe's Christian Jews"

"Hebrew Christian Alliance Official Asserts Neither Sect Will Give Them Aid"

"Christian Hebrews, of whom there are 'tens of thousands in Continental Europe', are undergoing a hard lot in a 'no-man's land' between Christians and Orthodox Jews who are equally hostile toward them, the Rev. Herman R. Centz, general secretary of the Hebrew . . . . ."

Christian Alliance of America, said yesterday.

"Christians, regarding them as oddities, will not accept them, said Mr. Centz. The Jews, on the other hand, openly shun them as traitors. He called this 'a mental torture' which has been made almost unbearable because of the food scarcity. He said neither Christians nor Jews will assist the Christian Hebrews in their efforts to combat starvation. He said 'thousands are dying as a penalty for their religious convictions'.

"The Hebrew Christian Alliance of America opened a six-day conference yesterday at the First Baptist Church, Broadway at Seventy-ninth Street. Mr. Centz addressed an afternoon session on 'What I Recently Saw and Heard in Devastated Europe'. Reporting on a recent tour of Europe, he said he attended a conference at Ramsgate, England, under the auspices of the International Hebrew Christian Alliance, and one at Basel, Switzerland, held by the International Missionary Council.

"In an interview preceding the meeting, he said the Hebrew Christian Alliance is 'not in conflict with the Jewish faith'. He said 'we accept the Christian viewpoint in history, and we believe that the hopes and promises of the Jewish fathers have been fulfilled in Christ'. Otherwise, he added, 'we consider ourselves to be Jews in every respect, and we are deeply concerned about the faith of Jewish people both in Europe and in Palestine'.

"In his address he said that the International Christian Alliance was formerly made up of twenty-one national alliances, including one in Palestine. He said most of these national alliances were forced underground during World War II and are only now being reconstituted."

From: N.Y.Herald Tribune, July 7, 1947.

#### About Christian Jews

... "The irrepressible Sir Abur Rahman, the Indian delegate, interrogated Rabbi Yehuda Leib Fishman, chief of the Orthodox Zionists, on matters which Chairman Sandstroem obviously thought were not within the competency of the committee to examine, for after a while he told the rabbi he did not have to answer.

"Some typical Rahman questions and Rabbi Fishman's answers:

Q. 'What was the promised land?' A. 'It reached from El Arish (near the present Palestine-Egyptian frontier) to the Euphrates River.'

Q. 'Was Egypt included?' A. 'No.'

"Awarded by God, Confirmed by Moses"

Q. 'But I take it Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan and the Palestine of today are included. When was this promise made by God?' A. 'About 4000 years ago.'

Q. 'When was it confirmed by God?' A. 'It was confirmed by Moses.'

Q. 'Has not God also made a promise to the sons of Ishmael?'

A. 'No, this promise was given only to Isaac. To the sons of Ishmael another part of this world was promised.'

Q. 'Has it not been left to the Messiah to bring the Jews back to the promised land?' A. 'No. The Jews shall return before the Messiah comes and the Messiah will come only after their return.'  
"Questioned on Christians, Jews."

Q. 'How long after their return will the Messiah come?' A. 'Nobody knows this.'

Q. 'How many Christians and Jews in Palestine?' A. 'I don't know. I am not in contact with converts, but a Jew, even if he commits a sin and becomes converted, remains a Jew.'

Q. 'Then according to you, all the Christians in Palestine are Jews?'  
"At this point Chairman Sandstroem decided there was no further need for examining the Almighty's attitude toward the mandate."

From: Report on UNSCOP investigation in  
PM, July 10, 1947.

### "A Protestant View"

..."Are we then to accept the contention of many of the Jews that they must be considered primarily as a religious group? Rabbi Philipson, in his book on Reformed Judaism insists that 'the national existence of the Jews ceased when the Romans set the Temple aflame and destroyed Jerusalem... The Jews are a religious community, not a nation.' The Canadian census secures from each resident both his religious affiliation and his racial origin (by father). In its classification of religious affiliations, it includes 'Jews', while in its classification of racial origins it indicates 'Hebrews'. Interestingly enough, while the Dominion census for 1931 gave a total of 155,614 Jews, it reported 156,726 Hebrews. Hence, it would seem apparent that the overwhelming majority of those who admit their Hebrew racial origin, wish to be included as Jews in religion. Nor does it diminish our difficulty when we frankly recognize a large number of 'unsynagogued' Jews. We all know that there are many radical Jews who disown all religion and a small number who call themselves 'Hebrew Christians'; there are, in addition, a considerable number who for economic or other reasons do not identify themselves with a synagogue, just as there are many Protestants whose loyalty to any particular church is, to say the least, most spasmodic, although, on occasion, they may easily develop a very boisterous type of Protestantism. On the great Jewish festivals, however, the synagogues will be crowded, even as on Easter luke-warm Christians throng the churches, and on Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashana these semi-Jews testify to their solidarity with the Jewish community. But if the community be essentially religious, then one may aver that it is far from a unity. Judaism reveals almost all the colors of the theological spectrum, from unadulterated humanism to unadulterated fundamentalism and orthodoxy. So-called Liberal Christians, for instance, reveal little difficulty in cooperating with Liberal Jewish leaders, but within Judaism there is hardly any whole-hearted cooperation between Reform Jews and Orthodox Jews, except perhaps in social work and education. Moreover, while Liberal Jews work heartily with Liberal Christians, Christian missionaries to the Jews seem more antagonistic to Liberal Jews than to Orthodox Jews, partly

because they respect the greater definiteness of Orthodox Judaism in faith and practice, and partly because they seem to sense in Liberal Judaism the greatest barrier to their missionary activities. Where such diversities of religious outlook exist as within Judaism, it seems somewhat difficult to consider it as essentially a religious unit.

"The answer of the Zionists is that the essential unity of Jewry is neither racial nor religious; it is national. The Jews are a people - to be sure, a people without a home, a wandering people but with the possibility of a national home in Palestine before them. They are a nation, an international nation, an imperium in imperio, or better still, an imperium in imperiis. To this, the Jewish group responds with its inner division between Zionists and non-Zionists, while the Gentile world reminds the Jewish nation, if you insist on identifying religion and nationhood, why should you blame us if we do likewise? Are you not wishing to claim for yourselves a favored position? While you insist that other nations grant religious toleration to you, how can you insist that all those who constitute 'your nation' identify themselves with Judaism? You cannot have your cake and eat it too.

"Moreover, while the Gentile world might be very glad if the Jews had a national home, it is subject to constant irritation by its uncertainty whether to treat the Jews as a race, or religious group, or nation, and the net result of it all is that in the Gentile mind, the Jew emerges essentially as an international irritant, resisting assimilation and finding ever-shifting grounds on which to found his right to a separate existence. Meanwhile, his effort to re-settle in Palestine creates fresh international complications with the Arab-Mohammedan world, while many Gentiles believe that the majority of the Eastern Jews who are now knocking at the gates of Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv are descended, for the most part, from tribes as far removed from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as were the pagan ancestors of the so-called Aryan. In short, the whole situation is a frightful mess, and by his strange dexterity in playing the triple role of a racial, religious and national group, the modern Jew brings down upon his head a triple type of antipathy."

Source: Silcox, Claris Edwin, and Fisher, Galen M.: Catholics, Jews and Protestants. A Study of Relationships in the United States and Canada, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1934, pages 20-22.

#### "The Classical Reform Position"

"Rabbinical Judaism, teaching as it does, the eternal validity of all the laws and ceremonies, whether prescribed in the Pentateuch or developed by tradition, takes a peculiar stand in reference to such laws whose fulfillment is dependent upon residence in the land of Palestine. These laws, it claims, are suspended for a time owing to the dispersion; they are not abrogated, but only suspended, and will be again binding when the Jews will be restored

to their ancient land. This brings us to a second point of difference. The burden of the thought of rabbinical Judaism is national. The hope expressed in the traditional prayers is that the Jews will return to Palestine, again become a nation under the rule of a scion of the house of David, reinstitute the sacrifices under the ministrations of the descendants of Aaron, and worship in the temple rebuilt on the ruins of the temple of old. The Jews, in their dispersion among the nations, are in a state of exile; their century-long sufferings are a punishment for the sins committed by the fathers while living in Palestine; when the measure of the expiation will be full, the restoration will take place. This doctrine Reform Judaism rejects. It contends that the national existence of the Jews ceased when the Romans set the temple aflame and destroyed Jerusalem. The career in Palestine was but a preparation for Israel's work in all portions of the world. As the early home of the faith, as the land where the prophets uttered their world-subduing thoughts and the psalmists sang their world-enchanting hymns, Palestine is a precious memory of the past, but it is not a hope of the future. With the dispersion of the Jews all over the world, the universal mission of Judaism began. The Jews are citizens and faithful sons of the lands of their birth or adoption. They are a religious community, not a nation."

Source: Philipson, David: The Reform Movement in Judaism, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1931, page 5.

#### "Marxist Views"

"Karl Marx never repudiated his youthful views on the Jewish religion which he expressed so vehemently in his dispute with the Hegelian Bruno Bauer. To him 'the basis for the Jewish religion was practical need'; 'the worldly ground of the Jews' was 'practical need, avarice'. 'What is their worldly God? Money'. 'Money is the jealous God of Israel above whom there cannot be any other God.' Judaism and the Jewish caste which confesses it would disappear with the disappearance of the capitalistic order. The definition by Marx of the Jews as a caste was based on complete ignorance of both the history and economic circumstances of the Jewish people in his own times, even in the then relatively industrialized Germany. His opinions of Judaism are too strikingly parallel to those expressed by Feuerbach to admit their originality. Besides, these opinions were the common stock of the 'enlightened' world of his day. To Marx goes the credit of approaching the Jewish problem from an economic point of view rather than from the theological-moralistic one which was so prevalent in his day. One cannot say that Marx was an anti-Semite. Yet there is no doubt that in spite of the fact that 'it has often been said that Marx both embodied and intensified the dialectical powers of the Jewish spirit', the founder of socialism was emotionally blocked on the Jewish problem. His later utterances about it are too few and far-between to indicate definitely his process of reasoning, but most of them are unkind and hostile. His silence in the face of the beginnings of the socialist movement among the Jews in the 1870's, the series of

Russian pogroms in 1881, and the subsequent mass migrations cannot be explained in any other way.

"This attitude of Marx gave the socialist thinkers the easiest way out - to ignore or to minimize the Jewish problem. It gave Jewish born socialists a good excuse for assimilating and for neglecting the interests of their brethren in the Ghetto. Moses Hess, the 'communist Rabbi', was an object of contempt in socialist circles when he published his 'Rome and Jerusalem' in 1862. This is not the place to trace in detail the influence of Marx on the attitudes of the leading pre-war socialists to the Jewish problem. A few illustrations will suffice. Franz Mehring referred to Marx's study about the Jews with: 'These few pages are of greater value than the huge pile of literature on the Jewish problem which appeared since that time.' Kautsky maintained even later that the Jews were a caste and not a nation in the Middle Ages and that they still constituted one in Eastern Europe. Lenin, who relied largely upon Kautsky and Bauer as experts on the Jewish problem, still maintained in 1913 that the 'Jews in the civilized world are not a nation; they have become most assimilated... The Jews in Galicia and Russia are not a nation; they unfortunately... are still a caste.' He said continually that the solution of the Jewish problem in Russia should take the same course which it followed in Western Europe, namely: 'a doubtless progress of their assimilation with the surrounding population.' 'The Jewish question,' he stated in 1903, 'stands now as follows: assimilation or isolation? And the idea of a Jewish 'nationality' has a definitely reactionary character, not only among its consequential followers (the Zionists), but also among those who attempt to combine it with the ideas of Social-Democracy (the Bundists).... The idea of a Jewish nationality is a denial of the interests of the Jewish proletariat, introducing within it directly or indirectly a feeling which is hostile to assimilation, a Ghetto feeling.' He quoted with enthusiastic approval Kautsky's idea that the complete assimilation of minorities 'is the only possible solution to the Jewish problem, and we have to support everything which will aid to remove Jewish isolation'. For this reason Lenin was opposed even to Yiddish schools for Jewish children in Russia. Stalin too followed the policies of Marx and Lenin in his pre-war treatment of the Jewish problem. Brachman, an outstanding Soviet scholar in the field, agreed as late as 1936 with Marx that 'the special caste situation of the Jews' was 'taken from life'. The presentation of the Jews as the 'nationality of the merchant and money man was not an invention of the Jew haters."

Source: Duker, Abraham G.: "The Theories of Ber Borochoy and Their Place in the History of the Jewish Labor Movement'. Introduction to Nationalism and the Class Struggle. A Marxian Approach to the Jewish Problem. Selected Writings by Ber Borochoy, New York, Poale Zion-Zeire Zion, New York, 1937, pages 18-20.

"The True Nature of the Jewish Group - A Synthesis:"

"It is evident from the presentation of the varying views as to the nature of the Jewish group that we cannot measure the Jews by the same yardstick that we measure other peoples. These differences are due to a number of factors which have already been explained. The outstanding among these are their past history and their present dispersion without either the possibility or the will to assimilate. The Jews were a normal nation in the ancient world. It is true that they were a small nation, yet they were a normal nation insofar as the criteria of political state, territorial concentration and language were concerned. In the period of the Second Temple, although a majority of the Jews lived outside of Palestine, religiously and nationally they continued their ties with the Holy Land. Even after the destruction of their state by the Romans, the Jews did not give up the idea of regaining their political independence. As late as the sixth century uprisings were taking place. During the Middle Ages the further dispersion of the Jews and their decreasing number in Palestine were instrumental in changing the hope for an immediate temporal restoration into a hope of a religious, Messianic character.

"Thus the Jews were transformed from a nation with a peculiar religion to a special group which had a religion and a national tradition of its own, but no territory or political independence, the realization of which it awaited at some future time. Their emancipation in Western countries, followed by differing adjustments through adaptation, changed, for a century, the character of the Jews in that region. Here the majority of the Jews looked upon themselves as members of the dominant nation. Non-Jewish society slowly and grudgingly acknowledged this position. The only distinction between them and the others was the profession of the Jewish religion. In a society where religion was not the concern of the state, this difference in no way affected their right to be considered part of the dominant nation. In democratic countries this right is still acknowledged by society.

"In Eastern Europe the wave of assimilation was halted at its very beginning because of the delay in effecting legal emancipation. Assimilation became the ideology of a very small group of the wealthy, a somewhat larger group among the intellectuals and professionals and a smaller group of cosmopolitan Socialists or Communists. The Jewish masses adhered either to a secular or religious concept of Jewish nationalism or to varying syntheses of both. There were differences among the national religionists as to the part which religion was to play in this synthesis. There were also differences of opinion among the secularists concerning the language of the Jews and the need of a territory or territories to perpetuate certain aspects of Jewish cultural life. However, there was agreement on continuing the tradition of a separate people.

"Because of the various divergences among Jews, resulting from cultural and class differences and from the influence of external

forces and because of their dispersion, few proponents of Jewish nationalism have considered it as identical with the nationalism of other peoples. The consensus of opinion has been that at no time are the Jews likely to become a nation like other nations in the sense that an overwhelming majority of the Jewish people would live in one land of their own, and speak the same language. The Yiddish secularists, most of whom are Socialists, visualize the Jewish people largely as a Yiddish-speaking group, although they also suppose some political recognition for it. Even some of the adherents of territorialism among them looked upon the territory primarily as a factor for cultural unity and did not insist upon complete political independence.

"Among the secular Zionists, too, there is not a general demand for an independent political state in Palestine. Even Zionists, who consider political independence as a requisite for the fulfillment of the Zionist program, would be satisfied with political autonomy within the British Empire or with an Arab federation of states. Should a politically independent Jewish state be set up, the majority or at least a proportion of Jews will continue to reside outside of this area. This fact is bound to determine the type of Jewish nationalism. Small nations cannot be imperialistic. Jewish nationalism cannot be imperialistic as is German or Italian nationalism. It cannot be purely secular, because the major connection between the Jews in Palestine and those elsewhere is bound to be religious-cultural rather than political.

"To summarize, the Jews today constitute a group which cannot be termed purely a race, a religious group, a cultural group, a linguistic group or a nation in the most common sense. They constitute a nation in the sense that all the Jews in Palestine and the majority of the Jews in East-Central Europe continue to regard themselves a separate nationality. Their national character is circumscribed by the presence of a large number of individual Jews who do not care to maintain their connection with the group, regardless of its nature. Furthermore, many Jews in western countries consider their group affiliation to be predominantly religious, traditional or cultural. Since the term 'nation' in Anglo-Saxon countries is usually associated with a political state, it will be much clearer to use the term 'people' rather than 'nation' for the Jewish group. The Jews are a people bound together by a common historical past, common culture and unity of basic interest. The territorial concentration in Palestine, a degree of political autonomy there, as well as the revival of Hebrew as a living tongue are developments which are tending toward making the Jews a more completely 'normal' people."

Source: Jewish Survival in the World  
Today  
By: Abraham G. Duker  
Part II B, pp. 27-29.

#### Additional Readings

Readings based on "The Classification of Jewish Immigrants and Its Implications," by Nathan Goldberg, Jacob Lestshinsky and Max Weinreich, New York, Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1945.

Note: This book will also be used in connection with Bloc C -  
The Jew in American Society

Following the decision of the U.S. Department of Immigration in 1943, that the Jewish immigrants no longer be listed under the category "Hebrew", (a decision brought about through the pressures of "defense"-minded sources), the Yiddish Scientific

Institute addressed a questionnaire on the subject to social scientists and communal leaders. It is published on p. 11 of the book.

Read some of the typical reactions selected from the first 50 answers, beginning with p. 14: 1, 2,4,6,12,17,18,23,24,25,32,34,37,38,45,47.

Read also Summary and Conclusion by Max Weinreich, p. 106 ff.

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TRAINING BUREAU FOR JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE  
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First Semester - Class of 1948-49

COURSE II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN  
JEWISH COMMUNITY

Syllabus for Bloc B - RELIGIOUS AND IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSITIES.

Part IV - Orientation about Jewish Religious Life in the U.S.:

Orthodox Judaism  
Reform Judaism  
Conservative Judaism  
The Reconstructionist Movement

by: Abraham G. Duker

Lecturer: Rabbi Maurice B. Pekarsky

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## ORIENTATION ABOUT JEWISH RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

By Abraham G. Duker

### Orthodox Judaism

Most Jews in the United States belong nominally to the Orthodox group. Out of the 3,728 congregations enumerated by the 1936 census of Religious Bodies, over three thousand belonged to the Orthodox group, although only less than three hundred were then members of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, its central body. Before the rise of Reform, all American congregations were Orthodox. However, relatively few of those established before the 1880's, remained such. The accretion of newcomers from Eastern Europe was sufficient to offset Orthodoxy's constant losses to Reform, Conservative Judaism and the unaffiliated.

Population shifts and Americanization explain why old-fashioned Eastern European style synagogues were retained mainly in the thickly populated Jewish districts, the temporary stay for the recent immigrants. With the limitation of immigration in 1925, Orthodoxy, like the other groups, has been facing the problem of survival in the large urban centers environment that is unfriendly to religion in general, and even more so toward Judaism, as for instance in regard to the observances of the Sabbath and Kashruth. In addition, it faces serious competition for membership and influences from the other groups.

Innovations are constantly being introduced in the Orthodox synagogues imitating the more "Americanized" services of the Conservative group, rites which often bear the visible influence of Reform. It is difficult to distinguish in many cases between an Orthodox and a Conservative synagogue. Sometimes, a congregation of this type is classified according to the rabbinical seminary from which its spiritual leader was graduated. It is natural that innovations such as mixed seating should cause many disagreements as many of the older and more pious object to what they consider transgressions of tradition.

There is a wide range of types of Orthodox synagogues. On the one extreme of wealth and social stability, is the wealthy type where the sermon is delivered in impeccable English. Such synagogues are usually housed in a synagogue center, with a "ritualarium" (mikvehi) forming the part of the equipment. In the larger cities, the Young Israel movement has worked out a pattern of worship. On the other extreme, there are the Hassidic small synagogues (klois, shtiblach), usually privately owned by the Tsadikin (miracle working Hassidic rabbis), located in the larger cities where they gather about their landsleite of the rabbis. The recent hassidic immigration constitutes a catalytic factor in Jewish life. New institutions have been established. Much progress has been made in educational work. The Liubavitcher dynasty, in particular, has galvanized Orthodoxy into action. The present growth of the Orthodox Day-school movement is a proof thereof.

The Hassidic wing constitutes but a small part of Yiddish-speaking Orthodoxy. The economic situation of the average Yiddish-speaking Orthodox rabbi is not to be compared to the English-speaking one. Rabbinical salaries are rather low and conditions of tenure rather uncertain. Relatively few have access to the remunerative field of the supervision of kashruth in larger commercial concerns. The influence and prestige of the Yiddish-speaking rabbis are diminishing as the Jewish community is becoming increasingly English-speaking and prosperous.

The Yiddish-speaking rabbinate, considering itself better versed in Talmudic lore, refuse to acknowledge as their equals the new generation of English-speaking rabbis, trained either abroad or in the American rabbinical seminaries. At present, the younger group is winning in this silent struggle.

In smaller communities, Orthodoxy is the main feeder of the Conservative and to some extent also the Reform group. Orthodoxy, furthermore, has been a major provider of rabbinical and lay leadership for the other wings of Judaism as well as for itself, because of more intensive Jewish education and home background. An overwhelming majority of the Conservative rabbinate and many of the members in the Reform rabbinate were brought up in Orthodox homes. Former Yeshiva University students and graduates are found increasingly on the rosters of the students of the Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Institute of Religion.

The organizational factions within the Orthodox group explain in part the reason for its failure to occupy a more prominent position in the communal set-up. To-day there are at least five national organizations of Orthodox rabbis. The Agudath Haadmorim (Union of Grand-Rabbis) is composed of Hassidic rabbis. The Agudath Harabonim (500 members in 1945), the Knesset Harabonim (Federation of Orthodox Rabbis) and Degel Harabonim (The Rabbis Standard) represent the Yiddish-speaking rabbinate. The Histadruth Harabonim (Rabbinical Council of America, 300 members in 1945) is composed of graduates of the Isaac Elchanan Yeshiva and the Chicago Hebrew Theological College, and is to some extent considered the central body of the English-speaking rabbis. The recent refugee arrivals are organized in the Histadruth Rabonim mi-Europa (the Association of Refugee Rabbis from Europe). There is no central representation of these organizations. Moreover, the lack of cohesiveness is shown by the fact that the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations represents probably less than 10% of the number of Orthodox congregations in the country. Orthodoxy is organizationally weak in comparison to the strength and influence displayed by the Conservative and particularly by the Reform wings.

While Orthodox synagogues form the overwhelming majority of the congregations, the Orthodox laity and the rabbinate have the least control over Jewish community affairs. Local Orthodox institutions as a rule do not receive the support of the Federations in the larger cities. Overseas Orthodox institutions depend more often on general funds.

Unlike the Reform and Conservative, the observant Orthodox Jew attends the synagogue every day in the year, where he can be approached for a financial contribution or social participation. The Orthodox Jew also has to support a number of local yeshiboth, social institutions, such as orphan asylum and old people's homes. While Jews in the better districts of the city are rarely "bothered" by the itinerant preacher or cantor, by the wanderer or meshullach, the latter receive support from the Orthodox. Many of the Orthodox community carry additional great responsibilities of providing for their relatives abroad as well as for recent arrivals both individually and through their landsrandhaften. The observance of kashruth, the Sabbath and the task of providing a full time or more extensive Jewish education for the children are additional indications of the capacity of sacrifice of the poorer observant Jew for their religion.

Unlike European extremist Orthodoxy, American Orthodox Judaism has been generally pro-Zionist. The extremist anti-Zionist (at present increasingly milder) Agudath Israel has made headway in this country only since the latest refugee wave. Although there is an active Mizrachi group, many Orthodox Jews are members of the Zionist Organization of America. There is also a very active laborite religious Zionist youth movement, the Hapoel Hamizrachi, its very promising scout subsidiary Hashomer Hadati, which runs a special religious Hachsharah training farm, and the new League for Religious Labor in Palestine. The extremist wing is represented by the Agudath Israel, the Agudath Israel Youth and the Pirhei Agudath Israel (Children's organization), to be found only in the very largest cities. The Hechalutz Hachareidi is the Agudah's Palestine Pioneer Group. There is a Union of Orthodox Jewish Women, a subsidiary of the Union of Orthodox Congregations, and a girls' movement, small in size, called Habanoth. Of late efforts have been made to introduce to the United States of Beth Jacob school system for girls. There is also a Beis Rivkah and Bet Sara (systems of schools for girls) run by the Liubavitcher Group. Most of these schools run camps. In addition, there are a number of Orthodox educational service organizations. Orthodox Jews also maintain many relief organizations for rabbis and scholars abroad, as well as many representatives of auxiliary organizations, Yeshivot and other institutions, particularly philanthropic, from Palestine and European countries, all very active.

Orthodoxy is presented in the Yiddish press by a daily, the privately owned Morning Journal of New York City. There are a number of Orthodox magazines in English, such as the Jewish Forum, the bi-monthly Jewish Life, the monthlies Horizon, Jewish Spectator and Iddishe Shtimme. The field of book publications in the English language is limited with some notable exceptions, mainly to sermons and a few books on ritual practice.

There are at least ten Orthodox rabbinical training schools in the United States, the Yeshivath Isaac Elchanan, Mesivta Torah Vadaath, Reb Hayin Berlin, Javne, Tonche Tninin, Tifereth Jerusalem, Chasam Sopher (Klausenberg) in New York City, the Hebrew Theological College in Chicago, the Ner Israel in Baltimore, the Telser Yeshiva in Cleveland, in addition to some new refugee institutions. Many American young men used to train before the war for the rabbinate in European countries and, of late, increasingly in Palestine.

Nominal Kashruth observance or preferences motivated either by religious custom or dietary habits, is part of the pattern of the American Jewish life and extends to the non-affiliated if not antagonistic as well. The butcher shop, the grocery store, the delicatessen shop are retail outlets for the products of large industrial enterprises, originally founded by immigrant Jews, but of late increasingly taken over by the large food producing concerns, (~~e.g. the ownership of Manischewitz Matzos by the General Food Corporation~~). In addition, there are also the lucrative banquet catering fields, the kosher hotels - all aspects of kashruth observance. Tied up with these merchandising fields are also advertising agencies, agents, theatrical and radio talents.

There are other organizations in the ritual field. The shohatin (slaughters) are organized in a trade union in the large meat production plants and are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The mohelim (circumcisers) who often clash with the hospital administration, have their own union. There is also an Agudath Hamashgichin (Inspectors' Organizations), a trade union of supervisors of kashruth in restaurants and plants. The Jewish Butchers' Union is a powerful unit in the American Federation of Labor. Less known is the Chicken Pluckers' Union, whose members' salaries are probably higher than those of social workers. The kosher trades are also organized in trade associations.

Better known to the professional in communal work are the various Orthodox social work and relief institutions. Meshulachin as well as more modern representatives of yeshivoth both here and abroad pay their visits to all communities, large and small. The various institutions of the Old Yishuv in Palestine are represented either individually, through the American Fund for Palestine institutions, or the Federated Council of Palestine Institutions. There is an Ezras Torah Fund, the Vaed Hahatzalah and a plethora of other philanthropic organizations. Their work touches all aspects of organized community life.

REFORM JUDAISM

The first attempt to introduce Jewish religious Reform into the United States goes back to 1824, when some Charleston, S.C. Jews influenced by this movement in Germany, petitioned their Orthodox congregation for the reform of ritual, the introduction of English prayers in addition to Hebrew readings, the shortening of the services, and sermon in English. The petitioners expressed their desire to place before their children the more "rational" means of worshipping the true God.

The petition's rejection without any discussion is understandable in the light of the then current trends in Judaism, as innovations were feared as possible harbinjers of apostasy. The petitioners therefore organized in the same year their own congregation, "The Reformed Society of Israelites." The Maimohidean principles were revised and the sections dealing with the belief in a personal Messiah and bodily resurrection were omitted. Because of the lack of rabbinical leadership, this congregation lasted only a few years.

In the meantime, the Reform movement became the most important issue in Jewish life in Germany. It had developed its own practices, principles and missionary leadership. The influences of the current trends in Germany are seen in the statement of an early Reform minister in his sermon (preached in Charleston on March 15, 1841) asserting that "This country is our Palestine, this city is our Jerusalem, this house of God our Temple."

When Reform-influenced German immigrants began to arrive in this country en masse, in the 1840's, they organized themselves into Reform societies which grew into congregations. New "temples", (as they were called in Germany) were established in Baltimore, in 1842 and New York in 1843. These temples adopted outright the German practices and prayer books.

The next decade was devoted mainly to the effort to change or capture the existing orthodox congregations, with the aid of young and vigorous German rabbis. In 1854, Rabbi Isaac Meyer Wise, the chief ideologue and organizer of the movement, viewed by him as the forerunner of the universal religion of all mankind, was elected to a Cincinnati post. Similarly, in the following year, Dr. Max Lillienthal became the spiritual leader of another formerly orthodox congregation in the same city. In Philadelphia and Chicago, too, Reform societies appeared which developed into congregations in 1856 and 1860. These leaders and congregations went beyond the German ideas and forms of service. They adopted their own ritual, published their own prayerbooks, and embarked upon radical and far-reaching reforms, such as the recognition of Sunday as the day of the Sabbath rest. An attempt was even made to change the date of Hanukkah to that of Christmas. The establishment of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, (U.A.H.C.) and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (C.C.A.R.) introduced a more orderly process of change.

In the tradition of the 19th century attempts to centralize the various Jewish organizations, a conference at Cleveland in 1855 unsuccessfully attempted to unite all rabbis. The first conference of the Reform Rabbinate took place in 1869 in Philadelphia. It authoritatively summarized the Reform creed, declaring itself against the restoration of a Jewish State in Palestine. It abolished the distinction between the Kohanim, Levites, and "Israelites;" proclaimed the election of Israel as the people of religion; abandoned the belief in bodily resurrection and urged the substitution of other languages for Hebrew in worship.

By 1885, Reform had developed both numerically and ideologically. The Pittsburgh Platform adopted in that year by the rabbinical conference held in that city, became the binding guide of its adherents. It followed the lines of the former Philadelphia creed, with the addition of abolishing the dietary and other ceremonial laws, and placing the exclusive emphasis on the Bible as merely a "record of the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as the priest of one God" and the "most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction". The Jews were defined as being no longer a nation but a religious community.

Reform Judaism continued to be primarily the faith of the German Jews in the U.S. until our own generation. The language of worship continued to be German for a long time. There was a lull in the upsurge of Reform in the 1860's because of the Civil War, after which Reform continued vigorous and militant for another decade or so.

In the meantime, its followers prospered, so that by the time the mass Russian Jewish immigration began, the Reform congregations developed a tradition of social selectivity. With the arrival of the Russian immigrants, a new line of division developed, based on the superiority attitude of the German Jew to his Russian co-religionist. It was only in the 20th century, particularly following the First World War, and more so in consequence of the Depression of the 1930's, that Jews of East European descent began to feel at home in the Reform temples. But this period marked a new stage in the history of Reform in the United States, a period of self-questioning and re-evaluation of its early program.

The Reform rabbinate was forced to face new trends in Jewish life, particularly since the East European immigrants and their children began to supply most of its members. Furthermore, Zionist Mos, at first vigorously excluded from the Hebrew Union College the Reform rabbinical seminary, found their way among both the faculty and the student body. This, in addition to the general return to tradition, has brought about a cleavage between rabbinate and laity, particularly those with several generations of Reform behind them. This cleavage is still felt in some areas.

The attitude of the Reform rabbinate to organized Zionism was clarified as early as 1897 (First Zionist Congress), in a resolution adopted by the C.C.A.R., disapproving any attempt for the establishment of a Jewish state." Similar resolutions were adopted in 1908 and 1914.

When Zionism entered its stage of realization in 1917, it was again condemned by the C.C.A.R. as "a new doctrine of political nationalism." Similarly, in 1918, the Conference, while favoring Jewish immigration to Palestine, objected to the phrase "a national home for the Jewish people." In 1924, the Conference decided to cooperate in the Non-Partisan Conference for Palestine, which was the forerunner of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. In 1928, the C.C.A.R. endorsed the work of the Jewish Agency. Following the coming of Hitler to power in Germany, the Conference expressed in 1934 in a resolution its "profound joy and satisfaction at the economic, cultural, social and spiritual progress of the New Palestine." In 1935, the Conference rejected the Pittsburgh Platform, adopting a resolution which left the rejection or acceptance of the Zionist program to its individual members and promised cooperation in the upbuilding of Palestine, particularly in its spiritual tasks. In 1947, the President-emeritus of the Hebrew Union College advocated political Jewish statehood in Palestine.

The return of the Reform rabbinate to Jewish tradition was not limited only to the re-evaluation of the concept of Jewish nationhood.

There were also religious reforms in the direction of tradition. The celebration of Purim hitherto neglected by many congregations, was re-introduced and beautified with an abridged Megillah in the English language. The austere rabbinical gown, a copy of the Protestant minister's garb, was adorned with a decoration of the atarah (crown) employing the symbol of the talith. In many Reform congregations, the blast of a shofar, modernized with a mouthpiece, again resounds on the High Holidays. That this return represents a steady trend and not merely the efforts of a few traditionalists is obvious from the course of its progress. The extent to which it goes, is testified by the increasing obliteration of lines of difference between some Conservative and Reform congregations.

The role of the Reform rabbinate in the Zionist movement in America is well known. Less known is the increasing contribution of this movement to Jewish education and scholarship. Mention should be made here of the work of the Department of Synagogue and School Extension of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in the field of publication of textbooks and reading materials as well as in experiments in educational procedure. Similarly, other branches of the Reform movement have made their contribution in the field of adult education and periodical publications. The A.H.C. and organizations affiliated with it, publish Liberal Judaism (a monthly); the Jewish Teacher; the Youth Leader (a professional bi-monthly); the Jewish Layman (a popular monthly) and Topics and Trends (a bi-monthly bulletin). The Hebrew Union College published The Hebrew Union College Annual, a scholarly series, and has published a large number of significant works in Jewish history and theology. The Central Conference of American Rabbis published its Yearbook, a good source for study of trends in Jewish life, while the other Reform bodies publish their regular proceedings and reports.

The Reform movement is better organized on a national scale than the other Jewish religious wings. The fact that its membership is composed of the wealthier elements of the community contributes no little to the comparative financial well being of its institutions. However, the noble obligation of lay participation and financial support should not be forgotten.

The authoritative body of Reform rabbis is the C.C.A.R. which meets every year. It numbered 475 members in 1945.

The Union Prayer Book, prepared by a committee of the Central Conference in 1894, served to eliminate diversity in worship. The U.A.H.C. originally established in 1873 as a central body for all Jewish congregations, both Reform and Orthodox, became soon after an exclusively Reform body. It represented 326 congregations in 1945. At the behest of Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, and under his direction, the Union established in 1875 the Hebrew Union College, a training school for Reform rabbis and a center of Jewish scholarship. In 1923, the Jewish Institute of Religion, another rabbinical training institution, was founded by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, as a reaction to the then anti-Zionist stand of the Reform rabbinate. There is serious talk of an impending merger of this institution with the Hebrew Union College. The National Federation of Temple Youth, numbered 5,000 members and 85 branches in 1945.

Numerically, Reform Judaism is a minority. There were only 326 Reform congregations in 1945. It is no longer a vigorously expanding movement. It does show steady growth through the steady infiltration of East European Jews. The composition of its membership has changed radically, and it can be said with certainty that those of German origin no longer form a majority.

Reform's Zionist and traditionalist course has met with the vigorous objection on the part of small groups within it.

Their opposition has been crystallized in congregations such as those in Pontiac, Mich., and in Houston, Texas, which were organized in 1945, on the principles of the denial of Jewish nationhood and the return to Reform's original 19th century position in matters of worship, theology, and ritual.

## III

CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

Even before the rise of the Reform movement, attempts were made to "Americanize" the synagogue, involving more decorum in the service. It was the extremes reached by Reform Judaism in the 19th century which crystallized the counter reaction of traditionally minded Jews in the form of Conservative Judaism. The major struggle against Reform was waged within the individual congregations. At first it was thought that the more traditionally minded reformists would check the extremist course. In fact, traditionalists were willing to cooperate with the moderate Reform leaders, as for instance in the establishment of the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati. But the adoption of the Pittsburgh Platform in 1885 caused moderate Reformers to join the Conservative fold.

An important result of this reaction was the establishment in 1886 of the Association of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. In the following year, a new rabbinical training institution by the same name was opened in New York. Some of the important Reform laymen like Jacob H. Schiff and Louis Marshall, dissatisfied with extreme Reformism and believing that the traditional approach would act as a better Americanizing factor among the East European immigrants, made it possible to place the Seminary on a sound financial basis and to bring to its presidency Dr. Solomon Schechter. It was he who made the Seminary a center of the Conservative movement and gave content as well as direction to the ideology of Conservative Judaism.

With the decrease of immigration from Germany, and with the increasing Americanization of the immigrants, the Conservative wing became predominantly a movement of East European Jews and their descendants. The overwhelming majority of its rabbinate is of East European ancestry and is well grounded in Jewish lore. Because of its adherence to the concept of historical continuity, the Conservative movement retained the national-religious tradition in Jewish life. It held on to the concept of Klal Yisrael - as Schechter termed it Catholic Israel - a position now also adhered to by some Reform spokesmen. It insisted on devotion to Jewish national history and to the Hebrew language in worship and in learning. Ideologically, Conservatism's very existence served as a conserving influence upon Reform Jewry. Just as Reform influenced the other wings in the external forms of worship and organization, Conservative Jewry in turn influences Reform in the direction of return to tradition. However, many Orthodox leaders felt that Reform could gain but few adherents from Orthodoxy, but Conservative Judaism was in a position to appeal successfully to many Orthodox Jews. Therefore they viewed it as a real threat.

Like its Orthodox and Reform counterparts, the Conservative movement represents a great many gradations both in its theological approach and forms of worship. Services in many Conservative synagogues show few differences from the Orthodox English-speaking place of worship. On the other extreme are Reconstructionist congregations which have travelled further than Reform so far as theology is concerned, and others, where the services and the physical arrangement (organ, mixed seating) are not much different from those in some Reform temples. (In New York City the worshippers at most Reform temples use head covering during the services). Until recently, the only criterion of adherence to Conservative Judaism was the fact that congregations's rabbi was a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. In fact, the official rabbinical body of the Conservative group was until recently called the Rabbinical Assembly of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Indicative of the change in trends in the change of its name

to the Rabbinical Assembly of America, and the admission of non-Seminary graduates to that body. Similarly, the United Synagogue of America, the central body of the Conservative Synagogues, now admits congregations whose rabbis are not graduates of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

If we are to accept as true the theory that religious life in American Jewry is now veering towards a middle of the position, it cannot be said that the Conservative movement has as yet become numerically the chief beneficiary of this trend, as there are probably less than 400 Conservative congregations in this country. (The number of the members of the Rabbinical Assembly of America was 354 in 1945).

Membership in Conservative congregations is not restricted to the wealthiest elements, but it is still prohibitive for persons with moderate incomes. The Conservative movement faces the competition within a limited field of prospective members on both sides, the "West Side" Orthodoxy and the Reform movement, whereas these other groups face direct competition only from the Conservative movement. Another factor has been the inability of the United Synagogue to function as effectively as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Still another important reason was Conservative Judaism's identification with the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Conservative Jewry has not been as strong organizationally as Reform Jewry. The United Synagogue of America, its central congregational body, has not been as well organized as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Reform body. It therefore cannot boast of the variety of activities and publications displayed by the latter. The last decade or so has shown much progress in organizational efforts of this wing of Judaism.

Its rabbinical body is the Rabbinical Assembly of America. Its congregational body is the United Synagogue of America. The National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs is the central organization of the Conservative Movement's Men's Clubs, while the Women's League of the United Synagogue of America is its youth group. All these groups have their house organs, in addition to Conservative Judaism, a serious quarterly published by the Rabbinical Assembly of America.

The Jewish Theological Seminary is the mainstay of the Conservative movement and its central and foremost institution, around which the revitalization of Conservatism and its drive to take advantage of its ideological center position is concentrated.

THE RECONSTRUCTIONIST MOVEMENT

Reconstructionism has been termed the most challenging philosophy in American Jewish life as well as the first "American" developed Jewish ideology. The movement was founded and is still led by Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan, for years Professor of Homiletics at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, dean of the Teachers' Institute, and one of the founders of the Synagogue Center movement. Professor Kaplan's point of view was authoritatively summarized in his Judaism as a Civilization (N.Y. 1934). It has been popularized in a number of volumes and pamphlets by Rabbis Ira Eisenstein, Eugene Kohn and Milton Steinberg. The movement also publishes The Reconstructionist, a bi-weekly, with a board of editors representing many points of view in Jewish life, and dealing frequently with the problems of the organized Jewish community. Since 1940, the movement has been officially organized into the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation with a membership of 500 in 1945.

The Reconstructionist movement draws for membership and periphery affiliation, chiefly from the rabbinate and intellectual laity. Because of the movement's Middle Ground position on Jewish adjustment and formal ritual practices and method of worship, as well as because of Prof. Kaplan's affiliation with the Central Conservative Institute of Learning, Reconstructionism has often been classified as the radical wing of that group. However, the Reconstructionist movement also includes Reform rabbis, as well as a small number of nominally Orthodox ones. In fact, its adherents display a wide variety of differences, particularly with regard to the movement's theological aspects.

Of late, the Reconstructionist movement has tended to pay more attention to its theological problems at the cost of the communal ones. Evidence thereof is the publication of a new hymn book, Haggadah and of the much disputed new prayer book. This emphasis on theological problems has tended to decrease the participation of lay people and the interest of the communal worker in the movement.

Reconstructionist ideology can be divided into three aspects; the theological, dealing with the redefinition of the God idea and with the modernization of ritual, services and practices; the sociological, dealing with the redefinition of the nature of the Jewish group and with its adjustment to the various conditions of the societies in which the Jewish communities happen to live; and the organizational, pertaining to the democratic organization of the Jewish community in the United States.

Reconstructionism defines Judaism as a religious civilization. It bases the adjustment of the Jews in different countries on the social, political and economic conditions of the given locality. Thus it gives full approval to political Zionism, including the statehood idea in Palestine. It also advocates national minority rights for Jews living in the multi-national states of Eastern Europe. According to Reconstructionism, the connecting link between the various Jewish communities consists of their common religious civilization and the new Hebrew culture which will emanate from Palestine, the future cultural center of world Jewry. For America, the Reconstructionist solution calls for a pluralistic civilization, in which in addition to full participation and fostering of the majority American culture, the Jews are to cultivate their own religious civilization and interest in world Jewish affairs. The Reconstructionists advocate the establishment of democratically elected Jewish Kehillahs to take care of the specific Jewish needs and place much hope in the Community Council as the basis of the local Kehillahs and their national overall bodies. The Jewish community, Reconstructionism assumes, would function within the framework of a continuously expanding economic democracy.

Reconstructionism has been facing both ideological and organizational opposition. In particular, Prof. Kaplan's new definition of the Deity and of religion (incidentally not accepted by all the leaders of the movement) has brought forth objections from all the traditionalists of all religious camps. Vested organizational interests have fought its insistence on a united community.

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First Semester - Class of 1948-49

COURSE II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN  
JEWISH COMMUNITY

Syllabus for Bloc B - RELIGIOUS AND IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSITIES.

Part V - Religious Trends in American Jewish Life

by: Abraham G. Duker

(A paper read before the Annual  
Conference of the Yiddish Scientific  
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Lecturer: Rabbi Maurice B. Pekarsky

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## RELIGIOUS TRENDS IN AMERICAN JEWISH LIFE

By

Abraham G. Duker

The main concern of this paper is the tracing of the most recent trends in American Jewish religious life. It is limited mainly to the English-speaking sectors of American Jewry, by this time constituting the overwhelming majority of the community, if we consider the fact that the proportion of native-born Jews of the communities studied in the 1930's averaged from 60% to 75%. This attempt at a study is concerned with practices, sociological implications and developments rather than with the theological aspects. While most of the material is based on published sources, much of it has been gathered from interviews, private contacts and personal observation. Addenda to the text since the Annual Conference are marked "Postscripts."

Basic to the understanding of not only the religious life of the Jews in this country, but also of their social and psychological status is the fact that much that passes for the "American milieu is in reality the Christian religious milieu. I am not aware of any comparative studies of the development of the Jewish community in the United States and that of other emancipated countries such as Latin America, Australia and South Africa, not to speak of England and continental Europe, considered from the viewpoint of proper historical time and space. Without attempting to enter into details or even a general characterization of this aspect of Jewish group adjustment, I should like to state my opinion that what is commonly accepted as a development peculiar to the Jewish community in the United States, is not essentially different from the developments in other communities in the period of emancipation. We see the same changes in economic structure, urban concentration, residential preferences, linguistic status, psychological adjustment, and, of course, religious adherence and observances. Change the adjective "American" to "Argentinian," "South African," or "Australian," and many of the generalizations which we assume are peculiar to this country, appear perfectly applicable to Jewish life and status in the other localities. The differences are due mainly to the time and rate of the Jewish immigration waves. The various degrees of cohesion and assimilation can in many cases be traced to purely numerical, rather than qualitative aspects encountered not only here.

Equally basic to the understanding of Jewish religious life is the fact that the Christian religious milieu is omnipresent and permeates all walks of daily life. The question whether the United States is or is not officially a Christian country is unimportant in this discussion. But this milieu of Christian civilization, so often misinterpreted by well-meaning religious leaders and even scholars as the "American" civilization, shapes the thoughts and habits of a majority of Jews, particularly those without a Jewish religious education, and not rarely even of Jewish religious leaders. For instance, the concept of "Old Testament" morality as vindictive and primitive in contrast to the mildness and advancement of the New Testament concepts has been more than once repeated by American Jewish writers. (1)

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(1) An example of this is the reference to the Jewish "wrathful, fitful God" in a short story by Irwin Shaw, originally published in the New Yorker and reprinted in Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine, December 1945. The choice of this example was dictated by its ready availability. Other similar examples occur daily.

The most obvious example of this permeation of Christian concepts in the daily life of the American Jew is the celebration of the Christmas holidays. I am not referring here to the commercial aspects of this occasion or its gift exchange custom. These are serious enough. Interviews with merchants in the West Side District of Manhattan showed that 70% of the purchasers of Christmas trees in 1945 were Jews. Similarly, Jews in that neighborhood have purchased food products in greater volume during the Christmas week than in the period preceding the Jewish High Holidays. The last manifestation was traced to Christmas week family celebrations on the occasion of the return of servicemen. Charity which used to be a year around Jewish custom with some higher degree of concentration during the month of Ellul and the pre-Passover season has become a Christmas habit among many a Jew. The New York Times: One Hundred Neediest Cases lists Jewish donors in a proportion higher than that of the Jewish population of New York. The listings include contributions on the occasion of Yahrzeit commemorations, one by a Sunday school of a West Side Congregation headed by a Zionist rabbi, and even a donation "In memory of the murdered Jews of Europe." Christmas thus has become an occasion for charity even by Jews who still observe Yahrzeit and feel the need of commemorating the memory of our martyred European brethren. (2)

Material in a selection of letters by soldiers may be indicative of editorial judgment rather than of the actual situation. Still it is worth noting that while some letter writers speak of Christmas as a "Gentile Holiday," others write of Christmas as their own. (3) Interestingly, the author of the war Christmas story in the Christmas issue of the New York Times of 1945 was a Jewish soldier. (4)

Postscript: Characteristically, the action of Isaac Bildersee, Asst. Superintendent of Schools of New York City, in banning in 1947 the "use of Christmas carols, dramatizations, or decorations with religious significance to any faith" in schools where the majority of the students are Jewish, was denounced by a number of Jews, some of whom defended the non-sectarian and universalist character of the holiday in contrast to the majority of the Christian reactions which vigorously upheld the holiday's religious nature. (5) Another aspect of the influence of Christmas on Jewish religious observances is the heightened emphasis on the Hanukah festivities among Jews, in consequence of the joint celebrations of the Christmas-Hanukah festivals in the public schools in many cities. Conversations with Jewish teachers in the public schools have revealed that many Jewish children learned to observe Hanukah, and in fact, many have found out about its existence as a result of the school celebrations. (6)

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- (2) The New York Times, lists of December 17, 21, 22, 1945. Cf. Abe Gordon: "Noel, Noel," English Page, The Day, December 23, 1945.
- (3) Israel E. Rontch (Ed.) Jewish Youth at War. Letters from American Soldiers, New York, 1945, pp. 21, 29, 35-37.
- (4) The New York Times, Christmas Issue, Magazine Section, December 21, 1945.
- (5) PM, December 5, 1945; December 15, 1945; Herald Tribune, December 14, 1947.
- (6) Note the characteristic non-religious rationale for the celebration of both holidays addressed to presumably liberal and Jewish majority of the readers of New York's PM newspaper by its authority on raising children: "For many people, "writes Irma Simonton Block, "Christmas is a serious religious day and they observe it in that way. For others who have no religious feeling about Christmas, it is still a community feast day symbolic of good cheer and good will, like Thanksgiving. As a matter of fact, many of the folk customs centered around Christmas predate its religious significance. Many Jewish families today let their children celebrate Christmas rather than run the risk of feeling left out of something their friends enjoy. Others prefer to center their winter festival instead in the traditional Hanukah, the Festival of Lights, which also comes in December. Parties and gifts and the lighting of the Menorah give to Hanukah the same psychological value that many other children get from Christmas."

Less common is the more recent practice of joint celebrations of Passover and Easter in the schools. Featured as the observance of the festivals of Freedom, the origin of the custom seems to date back to the present decade. (7)

Postscript: An interesting carryover of a Passover element to the Hanukah celebration easily traceable to inter-religious influences is the presentation in a Jewish children's book of Elijah bringing gifts on Hanukah. (8) Of course, the all too common use among Jews of the term "Jewish Easter" for Passover is another example of Christian influence in the religious area. The extent of the adoption of Christian religious concepts is also illustrated in the change of attitude towards Jesus. Without entering at this stage into the literary manifestations of this change (Sholem Asch, Manuel Komroff) or the fashion of uniting Judaism and Christianity into one "Judeo-Christian religion," we should like to cite the example of a Jewish boy, a victim of infantile paralysis who was the winner in a contest of high school students on the subject: "The Modern Miracle I Would Like to See." The Brooklyn boy disregarded his own need for a miracle to make him walk and run and instead expressed his "wish for a modern miracle that will fulfill the aims of a 1900 year old miracle-maker named Jesus of Nazareth." (9) That modern miracle was "true brotherhood." Its symbol was not Isaiah or Elijah but Jesus, the "miracle-maker." Indeed, the time is ripe for a more thorough investigation of the extent of such influences.

We do not know whether this adaptation of Christian customs goes hand in hand with the decline of traditional Jewish observance. A very enlightening study by Jacob S. Golub and Noah Nardi gives a pretty good cross-section of the low state of religious observance of parents who send their children to a Day School, Hebrew Schools and Sunday schools of the Conservative group. The study revealed that parents sending their children to the Hebrew School were more observant than those who sent them to the all-day school. The vast majority of the parents understand Yiddish but only 8.5% read a Yiddish paper regularly. Only 74% of the male parents attend synagogue on Yom Kippur, 15% attend on other holidays and only 9% on the Sabbaths. The proportion among women is even smaller. It is revealing that 15% of the fathers work on Rosh Hashanah and that 10% work even on Yom Kippur. Only 11.8% do not work on the Sabbath. Only 22.8% make Kiddush regularly Friday nights, although 62.7% have separate dishes, 70.3% make meat kosher, 87.8% eat only matzos on Passover. It is enlightening that 84.6% display mezuzas on their doors. An average of 19.1% have Hebrew books in their homes; 10.6% have Yiddish books; 35.1% have books of Jewish interest and only 5.8% have Yiddish or Hebrew phonograph records. (10)

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- (6) Contd.) It doesn't matter what the specific occasion is, so long as a child has the experience of sharing a special, joyous season with his family and friends. "PM Christmas issue, 1947, pg. 9".
- (7) Cf. Two Festivals of Freedom - Passover and Easter. Release by the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, March 23, 1945; B'nai B'rith News Service Release on Joint Easter-Passover, Christmas-Chanukah Fetes in the Schools of Albany, N.Y., Feb. 2, 1945; Bernard Postal: "Festivals Together," "Common Ground", Summer, 1945, pp. 34-7; Hazel R. Brownson: A Dramatic Presentation of Passover and Communion, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1947, (Mimeographed).
- (8) Edith S. Covich, The Jewish Child Every Day, Cincinnati, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1947, pp. 24-25.
- (9) The New York Post, March 19, 1948, p. 10.
- (10) "A Study in Jewish Observance", The Reconstructionist, vol. xi, no. 9, June 15, 1945.

The situation does not seem to be much different among the English-speaking Orthodox groups. To quote a typical conversation with a member of an Orthodox synagogue: "There is no difference in the ritual observance of the members of the Temple and the Synagogue, except that they don't care that their rabbi, too, isn't observant, whereas we want at least the rabbi to eat kosher and keep Shabbos." (11)

Testimony to the weakening of religious tradition among Jews can also be cited from Judaism's religious adversaries. It is not a question of anti-Semitic accusations of Jewish materialism. A missionary observes that: "In my experience, as a Gentile worker dealing with Jews, I have found out that we need no special approach to the Jew today. To have a knowledge of the Law and the Prophets so that one can lead a Jew to the fulfillment, in the New Testament, of Old Testament Scriptures is often helpful when talking with an Orthodox Jew. But I have found out that even Orthodox Jews today do not have a knowledge of the Law and the Prophets; often they do not read their Hebrew Bible." (12)

It is therefore difficult to speak of an increase in the intensification of Jewish religious practices, although undoubtedly in view of the vicissitudes of the Jewish people during the last war, at least judging from items frequently appearing in the Yiddish press, such "conversions" have taken place.

Certainly, war and extermination have brought about greater awareness of Jewish problems among American Jews. This is shown in the rise in Jewish organizational affiliation, particularly in the Zionist movement, as well as an increase in the identification with the Jewish community, and even formal adherence to congregations. But these developments do not always stem from purely religious motives, although frequently awareness of Jewish belonging leads to its translation in religious terms.

In a survey on the effect of war on the Jewish community, made in twenty-three communities, there was "no definite, or even generally descriptive reply" to the question concerning interest in religion. To quote: "Such manifestations as membership increase in synagogues or larger attendance at religious services, which some of the studies recorded, were not regarded by the laymen or the rabbis as definite signs of a return to religion. As one rabbi in San Francisco remarked, "just as there are people who come to worship in order to hear about the war, there are definitely those who come to synagogue to escape the war atmosphere." (13)

Such motivation of identification rather than strictly religious adherence is also attested by army chaplains. A chaplain states that "scions of Jewish labor families such as Arbeiter Ring and National Arbeiter Verband members ...attend (chapel) because of Klal Yisrael." (14) A soldier writes that he attended Jewish services because "as a minority it becomes necessary for us to declare ourselves to those who unfortunately are imbued with anti-Semitic sentiments." (15)

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(11) This is one of many examples of the same type in that particular source. Trude Weiss-Rosmarin: "From a Lecturer's Notebook", The Jewish Spectator, April 1945, p.28.

(12) Eugene L. Alger: "The Jews' Position before God Today," The Prophetic World, Organ of the American Bible Institute, Jan. 1945, p. 40.

(13) Alexander S. Kohanski, "Effects of War on the Jewish Community," The Jewish Social Service Quarterly, vol. xx, no. 2, Dec. 1943, p. 73.

(14) Edward T. Sandrow, "Jews in the Army - A Short Social Study," The Reconstructionist, March 17, 1944, pp. 10-17.

Of course, the concentration of hundreds of thousands of Jewish young men in army camps and naval installations have given the Jewish chaplain ample opportunity to observe the status of Jewish religious observances, as well as national and cultural identification among Jewish youth.

Rabbi Isaac Klein discussed his observations before this conference. (16) It is regrettable that the proper Jewish organizations have not utilized their wartime opportunity for scholarly studies of religious practices and Jewish identification among the half a million Jewish young men and women, a majority of whom maintained some contacts with chaplains or a Jewish U.S.O. However, the field of Jewish public relations has not as yet reached the stage of concern with Judaism's essential problems.

The ignorance of things Jewish among the soldiers has been noted by a number of observers. Rabbi Morris Adler wrote about "the total religious and cultural illiteracy of the American Jew." Still, on the basis of his army experience, he did not consider Jewish youths as "lost souls". (17)

The most extensive description of the situation in the army previous to Chaplain Klein's paper is that by Chaplain Edward T. Sandrow. The latter arrived at the conclusion that the observant type was in the minority; that there were but few observers of Kashruth; that the most regular in synagogue attendance were those from Reform homes, that the quasi-observant supplied the largest number. He also was of the opinion that even those from Yiddish-speaking homes did not know the prayers. "Although the atmosphere in which they live is thoroughly American, the remnants of the immigration days remain. Many an 'orthodox' soldier belongs to this group," he states. (18) Another chaplain similarly testified that the majority of those attending services or active in them were either born abroad or were educated in New York Hebrew schools. (19) Sandrow also observed that the number of those denying their Jewishness by failing to indicate the initial H (for Hebrew) or J (for Jews) on their Dog Tags (Identification Tags) was very small and was generally found among officers. I can testify from my own experience in a large camp near Baltimore, that the number of Jewish officers attending Yom Kippur Services could be counted on one hand, while most of the time not a single officer would attend Friday evening services. From conversations with these men, I discovered that this was not due to anti-religious attitudes, but that some higher Jewish brass set the tone by making non-attendance fashionable. That brass also hailed mainly from New York. To conclude Sandrow's observations, "while there are Jews who are traditionally minded and are most careful about their observances, the majority are neither Orthodox nor Reform in the interpretation of the Jewish religious practice. Most Jewish men are warmly loyal to their people and the synagogue and are troubled by anti-Semitism and the refugee problem. Few are escapists." The majority were also pro-Palestine.

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(15) Rontch, op. cit., p. 43.

(16) Article in Yivo Bleter.

(17) "The Chaplain and the Rabbi", The Reconstructionist, April 6, 1945, pp. 9-13.

(18) Sandrow, op. cit.

(19) David Eichorn, Letter to the Editor, The Reconstructionist, Oct. 5, 1945, vol. XI, No. 10, p. 24.

Of course, Jewish inferiority is revealed in army life as it is in civilian life. From my own experience, I have found out that such occurrences among enlisted men in camps are not as frequent as one is apt to assume, judging from publicized instances of such cases. (20)

To the student of Jewish contemporary affairs, these conclusions, dark though they may seem, appear to be much more optimistic than warranted by studies of attitudes of Jewish youth. Most of these studies, which were so ably summarized by Nathan Goldberg, (21) date back to the 1930's. However, the adolescents and the students of the 1930's were the army and navy men of World War II. These studies show almost uniformly that Jewish students had a less favorable attitude toward religion than their parents and that they were more indifferent toward religion, if not more antagonistic, than Catholic and Protestant students. Post-war studies seem to indicate the same antagonistic trend, (22) To my knowledge, no recent studies have been published on the attitudes of Jewish youth to the non-religious aspects of Jewish life. (23) Because college graduates furnished a large proportion of officers, it is possible that this may have accounted for the larger frequency of escapism among members of this class. The enlisted men, presumably less educated than the officers, showed a greater appreciation of Jewish loyalty.

It is difficult to escape generalizations in a field where systematically gathered information is hardly available. But generalize we must. It is clear that daily religious observances in the traditional sense are continuing to decline, while it is quite possible that nominal and minimal manifestation of Jewish allegiance through the adoption or resumption of certain customs has been on the increase. The return to tradition in the Reform group will be discussed in a different connection.

Religious life has, however, been strengthened through the inner institutional solidification of the different groups which has taken place most intensively during the past half decade and which bids fair to continue for some years. Certainly Orthodoxy has shown great progress in some fields of education and youth organization. The increase of students in the parochial schools, their establishment in many cities, the centralization of Orthodox educational institutions into a number of systems, the development of Yeshiva College into a Jewish university - all these are evidences of solidity. True, most of these developments can be traced to refugee newcomers, particularly since the outbreak of the War. (24) The new arrivals have shown great capacity for not only adjusting themselves rapidly to the new American environment, but also for leadership in organizations and institutions. However, these advances have not checked the trend to Anglicization of the Orthodox Synagogue and the social life of the Orthodox elements. Letters and articles in the Yiddish press frequently complain about the exclusive use of English in speeches and addresses at fund-raising affairs in Orthodox institutions in New York City.

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- (20) For an interesting angle on inferiority, see Bertram Rosenberg, "Please, Sir!" The Reconstructionist, Dec. 28, 1945, vol. xi, no. 16, pp. 12-16.
- (21) Nathan Goldberg, "Religious and Social Attitudes of Jewish Youth in the USA", The Jewish Review, (NY), vol. i, no. 2, Dec. 1943.
- (22) For example a study of Harvard and Radcliffe undergraduates revealed that the "defection from the religion from which they were trained is greatest among Jewish students", and that the Jewish students are the least religious. Gordon W. Allport, James M. Gillespie and Jacqueline Young, "The Religion of the Post-War College Student", Journal of Psychology, January 1948, p.3-33.

Anglicization spells also modernization in other respects. This is shown in such usages as late Friday Night Services and mixed seating. It is therefore frequently difficult to distinguish between an Orthodox and a "Right Wing" Conservative synagogue, services and functionaries. This trend towards the Middle Road in Judaism has been on the increase, particularly of late. It is shown also in the increase in membership applications by Orthodox rabbis for joining the Rabbinical Assembly of America, the organization of Conservative rabbis, and the rise in affiliation of erstwhile Orthodox synagogues with the United Synagogue of America, the central organization of Conservative Congregations. (25)

Conservative Judaism, the middle ground wing in Judaism, has also consolidated its strength internally, through the reorganization of its affiliated groups, opening of field offices, increasing the periphery of its financial support, and through attempts to centralize its educational efforts. It has furthermore branched out into areas of public relations, through its Interdenominational Institute, the radio hour, "The Eternal Light," and the projected Jewish University. (26) Evidently, the leadership of Conservative Judaism is preparing to take advantage of the present drift towards the middle, the manifestations of which among the Orthodox have been touched upon and whose repercussions on Reform we shall soon discuss briefly.

There has been a marked return to the concept of Klal Yisrael, translated unhappily into English by the phrase Catholic Israel, which was introduced by Solomon Schechter.

A generalization is also in order about the Reconstructionist movement. Elements in the Reconstructionist platform which deal with community life, based on this concept of Klal Yisrael, no doubt account to a large extent for the growth of this vigorous movement. The adherence of many Reform and even some Orthodox rabbis to this group is again an indication of the trend to the Middle in Jewish religious life. The theological implications of Reconstructionism are out of the scope of this paper.

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- (23) Several have appeared since the preparation of this paper; e.g. Meyer Greenberg: "The Jewish Student at Yale", YIVO Annual of Social Science, vol. i, 1946, pp. 217-240; Leon A. Feldman, "The Jewish Students at McGill University. An inquiry into Their Religious Attitudes", Guide-Posts (Published by the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations) vol. ii, no. 3, May, 1947, pp. 21-36, Henry Loebowitz Lennard, "Attitudes of Jewish College Students Towards Jewishness", YIVO Bleter, vol. xxix, no. 2, Summer, 1947, pp. 180-200.
- (24) On the new immigrant organizations and institutions see Jacob Beller, "The Refugee in the American Jewish Community," Jewish Social Service Quarterly, vol. xix, no. 4, June 1943, pp. 315-321, and Maurice R. Davie and others, Regugees in America Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe, New York, 1947, pp. 171-188.
- (25) Information furnished by Rabbi Stanley Rabinowitz, Executive Director of the United Synagogue of America.
- (26) Cf. Mordecai M. Kaplan, From Strength to Strength A Proposal for a University of Judaism, and Louis Finkelstein: A Jewish University in America: Its Aims and Functions. New York, 1945.

This trend towards the Middle is even more clearly seen in the Reform group, whose tendencies are much more easily traced because of the availability of source materials. Because of the importance of Zionism today, the tendency within the Reform group towards Jewish nationalism has been given more notice than the changes in rites and customs. Reform has gone a long way in its march towards the acceptance or toleration of Jewish nationhood since the days of the German Synods and Isaac Mayer Wise. No less an authority in Reform Judaism than Dr. Julian Morgenstern, President of the Hebrew Union College, stated: "We of the Reform Wing conceive of Israel as a people, a chosen people, a religious people.... True, Israel was a political nation once, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility, particularly in the light of developments during the last few months, that a section of our people may once again become a political nation of some kind in the land of Israel's first sojourning. But political national existence whether of the past or of the future, is merely an incident of Israel's historical existence, and not at all its essence, we maintain." (27)

Postscript: At the 1947 session of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Dr. Julian Morgenstern declared that it is an "unchallengeable fact that the vast majority of the Jewish people throughout the world today are Zionistic in thought, belief and program." He called political Zionism "a natural reaction of the soul of the Jewish people" and stated that all Jews are more or less agreed that "nationhood of some type is absolutely essential in Palestine". He also emphasized that the term Jewish nation would apply only to the Jews in Palestine. (28)

The changes in the definition of the Jewish group within Reform Judaism have been discussed openly and fought over vigorously. Hence there is no dearth of data on the subject.

A similar revolution, not so widely heralded, has been going on within Reform Judaism in the daily practices, worship and rites. Its most obvious manifestations are the increase of the proportion of the Hebrew prayers, changes in the Union Prayer Book, the re-adoption of the Kiddush, the Shofar and the Megillah. Much deeper underlying motives are shown in the preoccupation by Reform rabbis with finding their way back to tradition.

The spirit of self-criticism and dissatisfaction with the extreme departure of Reformism is characteristic of the Reform rabbinate. Thus Sylvan D. Schwartzman complains that Reform Judaism is a "carte blanche to ignore Jewish tradition." (29) Preoccupation with traditional sources is seen in the papers read at rabbinical conferences. (30) It is observed in the discussions on the place of Halacha in Reform Judaism by students at the Hebrew Union College. (31) It is also reflected in the request for a resolution by students at that institution that rabbinical members of its faculty be addressed by the title "rabbi" rather than "doctor". (32)

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(27) Address in The Jewish Post, Indianapolis, Sept. 28, 1945.

(28) Publicity Release by Henry W. Levy.

(29) Sylvan D. Schwartzman, "If Reason Be Our Judge," Hebrew Union College Monthly, March 1944, pp. 5-7, 22.

(30) Cf. Bernard J. Bamberger, "Individual Rights and the Demand of the State" and Samuel Atlas: "Rights of Private Property," Central Conference of American Rabbis, Yearbook, liv, 1945, pp. 197-241.

(31) Ernst Conrad and Eugene B. Horowitz, Hebrew Union College Monthly, April 1945, pp. 12-13.

(32) William B. Silverman, "An Article About a Title," Hebrew Union College Monthly, Feb. 1945, p. 9.

Similarly illustrative is the scholarly volume by Rabbi Solomon B. Freehoff, Reform Jewish Practice and Its Rabbinic Background (Cincinnati 1944), in which the rabbinic origin of and justifications for current Reform practices in ritual, worship and customs are traced. Thus we can see Reform retracing its steps to the Middle Ground in Judaism, so much so that it is difficult to distinguish between some Conservative synagogues and Reform Temples.

The major reason for these trends in the Reform movement is the change in the composition and background of its membership, rather than the shift in the ideology of the descendants of the movement's early followers. It remains a moot question and a desideratum for a fascinating piece of research just how many of these are still actively Jewish or affiliated with Judaism. For instance, a rabbi reports that in a Southern congregation formed in 1869 by forty-one members, only two of the descendants of the founders are "active in Judaism." (33)

This should not be interpreted as a conclusion that Reform adherence per se leads to the abandonment of interest in Jewish life. It should be noted that thus far there is no valid basis for the contention that intermarriage or de-Judaization and assimilation occur more frequently among people brought up in Reform background than among others. Furthermore, the resistance against the return to the concept of Klal Yisrael and tradition among the die-hard adherents of 19th century Reform, while due in a large sense to fear of anti-Semitism, can also be traced to a genuine concern with a continuation of a set pattern of Jewish adherence and worship. This in itself is a testimony to the maintenance of interest in Judaism, misguided though it may be.

This counter-reaction to the return to tradition and nationalism in Reform is demonstrated in a number of ways. Writes a Reform rabbi: "I have found a majority of membership welcoming the Kiddush. Some who have never had it in their homes, show no disposition to like it and feel quite honestly that the Conference and the Union have 'gone Orthodox.'" (34)

While the political facet of the extreme opposition to Reform's Judaization is manifested in the American Council for Judaism, which by no stretch of imagination can be termed a religious organization, (35) it has found expression also in the demand for "pure Reform Judaism." Congregations of this type are present in Houston, Texas (Beth Israel Congregation), Pontiac, Michigan, Lincoln, Nebraska, and Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

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(33) Sylvan D. Schwartzman, Hebrew Union College Monthly, March 1944, pp. 5-6; 20.

(34) Samuel S. Mayerberg, Chronicle of an American Crusader, NY, 1944, p. 95. The Christian usage of the word "crusader" in the title of this book written by a rabbi is by itself a demonstration of inter-religious influence.

(35) This is most obviously seen from the complete ignoring of religious problems in the publications of the Council. Cf. its Bulletin and Elmer Berger, The Jewish Dilemma, New York, 1945. Cf. also Louis I. Newman, A Chief Rabbi of Rome Becomes a Catholic. A Study of Fright and Spite, New York, 1945, p. 43. This volume, incidentally, calls attention to some very interesting parallels between the situation of the Jews in Fascist Italy and parallel reactionary trends in American Jewry.

The congregation of Houston, following the Southern pattern of reactionary racial segregation, proclaimed "Our race is Caucasian." (36) That of Pontiac, Michigan, criticized the Central Conference for abandoning "in large part" the "steadfast adherence to the fundamental principles of our faith." It proclaimed that "The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has neutralized them; and that the Hebrew Union College has failed to teach them adequately." (37) A proposal was even made for a new League of American Reform Jewish Congregations, which "should be loyal to the ideals of Isaac M. Wise and the Pittsburgh Platform." (38)

This internal strife does not seem to have weakened the trend in the organizational consolidation of Reform Judaism, always the best organized and centralized. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has kept the pace in opening up branch offices and organizations. The publication of the popular monthly Liberal Judaism since 1943, is an indication of intellectual stimulation for the retention of unity within the movement. Its leaders are cognizant of the trends within the community. No longer do they believe that the traditional Reform Judaism will be the eventually prevalent trend within American Jewry. Writes Dr. Morgenstern: "This American progressive Judaism of tomorrow will grow out of the present welter of Jewish beliefs, dogmas, rituals, codes, platforms, programs and philosophies. America is indeed a Jewish melting pot of Jews of countless origins and patterns and of Jewish beliefs and folkways of world-wide range. Out of this melting pot, fired by the hot flame of the American environment, will emerge in due time the complete American Jew, and with him his positive American Judaism and a unified American Jewish community." (39) Postscript: Rabbi Eisendrath, the president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, stated the case for the retention of the Klal Yisroel (Catholic Jewry) concept by the Reform Group, claiming that it was not the monopoly of the other wings in Judaism.] (40)

Something in the nature of a foretaste of the pattern of the Middle Ground has taken place in a number of variations through the army chaplaincy. With few exceptions of extreme Orthodoxy and extreme Reformism, some pattern of worship emerged, indicative of the coming Middle Ground. The mixed pew has become the rule, as well as the introduction of a large proportion of prayers in English and the head covering for the males. I have seen Conservative rabbis introduce in their services translations of prayers from the Union Prayer Book. I have participated in a "Conservative" service conducted by a Reform rabbi, at which the Union Prayer Book was used, heads were covered and a hazan chanted the traditional melodies. The reading of the Torah on Friday evenings was a common practice approved by the Council on Army and Navy Religious Activities of the Jewish Welfare Board, a body in which the three religious groups are represented. (41) Of course, such innovations were not welcomed by the relatively few stalwart Orthodox; they were nevertheless accepted. Nor were these developments uniform or planned. They were rather spontaneous. The "men like to sing hymns in Hebrew and to read prayers in English." (42) Furthermore, chapel attendance in many cases served as the first Jewish contact for many a serviceman. That it has helped Jewish identification and that the Chaplain has done much to deepen it, is seen in many letters from servicemen published particularly in The Reconstructionist and in Furrows. I am sure that the current YIVO contest

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(36) Maurice N. Eisendrath, "Answering Houston", Liberal Judaism, April 1944, PP, 20-21.

(37) Jewish Telegraphic Agency, News, February 21, 1945.

(38) Editorial, Hebrew Union College Monthly, May 1945, p. 3.

(39) The Task of the Hebrew Union College, an Address Delivered on October 7, 1944, Cincinnati, 1944, p. 20.

(40) "Refuting the Would-Be Saboteurs", Liberal Judaism, May 1947, p. 15-17.

for veterans will prove the truth of these observations. No doubt, these contacts have also hastened the process of the tendency towards the Middle Ground in Judaism. They certainly have helped the spread of Reconstructionism.

With the unmistakable trend towards the Middle Ground, it is likely that much of the rivalry between the various wings in Judaism will eventually become mainly an aspect of institutional rivalry of the different institutions for the training of rabbis. But this is more along the lines of the far-off Tsukunftmusik.

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(41) Freehof, op. cit., p. 34.

(42) Samuel Sandmel, "Religion Goes to the Battle Front," Hebrew Union College Monthly, January 1943, pp. 7, 22.

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First Semester - Class of 1948-49

COURSE II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN  
JEWISH COMMUNITY

Syllabus for Bloc B - RELIGIOUS AND IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSITIES

Part VI - Non-Zionist and Anti-Zionist Groups

By: Abraham G. Duker

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NON-ZIONIST AND ANTI-ZIONIST GROUPS

Syllabus

By Abraham G. Duker

The Background in Emancipation

In the Roman Empire the prime characteristics of Jewishness were religion and ethnic descent. The national state in the modern sense was non-existent in the ancient world. Conflicts between Roman customs and the Jewish faith were usually settled for the benefit of the Jews. Jews outside of Palestine, though assimilated linguistically, viewed themselves as members of the same religious-ethnic nationality, and continued to consider Palestine as their national-religious center, following closely the religious admonitions on this score.

The medieval world, built as it was on the principle of the identity of Church and State, left no choice to the Jews but to consider themselves as a group apart. Jewish autonomy was a vehicle convenient both to the Jews and to the state, which utilized it for control and taxation purposes. The Jewish community was indeed a state within a state. Moreover, the Jews viewed life in the diaspora as an atonement for their past sins and continually hoped for the messianic return to Palestine. The longing for escape from the terrible burden of life in the hostile diaspora led to numerous Messianic movements, some of which were connected with power politics situations.

Emancipation made its mark felt in the 18th century with the admission of Jews to fuller participation in economic life in consequence of the development of capitalism. Along with it came cultural emancipation, or the process of abandonment of Jewish languages and customs for those of the majorities. Political emancipation followed the rise of liberalism and capitalism, and was marked by ups and downs as the struggle between reaction and liberalism continued. It was predominately in the Western countries that the Jews came to accept the view that the only difference between themselves and the followers of the ruling cultures in each state was religion. The difficulties of separating Jewish religious practices and beliefs from national ones were solved through Reform or nominal adherence. The concept of a Jewish community of fate, though measurably weakened, continued to express itself mainly through philanthropic help and political pressure by the emancipated communities in behalf of the unemancipated ones.

The march of emancipation brought a drastic change from the traditional, ancient and medieval concept about the separation between Jews and Christians. With the decreasing emphasis on religious distinction among the more "advanced" elements of society, with the growing prosperity and influence of the middle classes and with the seemingly increasing willingness on the part of some sectors of society to accept the emancipated

Jew as an equal, the notion soon developed among the Jews and some non-Jews that society was headed for a course of steady industrial and scientific development, and with it the expansion of social progress and equality. Assimilated Jews served their national cultures to the extent of acting as the cultural agents of the dominant ruling cultures in their course of oppressing the less developed nationalities, i.e. Polish Jews in Ukrainian Galicia; Magyar Jews in Slovakia.

The steady march of emancipation and the hope for universalism and brotherhood, frequently enhanced among leftist circles by the hope of the forthcoming social revolution, tended to minimize evidence of the non-acceptance of Jews by non-Jewish circles. Anti-Semitism concentrated in the more backward societies on religious issues (blood libel, Talmudic ethics); in the more "advanced" societies it assumed the racist forms (pollution of native cultures, pollution of native stock by intermarriage). It was considered the back-wash of medieval trends.

The fury of the anti-Semitic movement following World War I therefore came as a shock to most emancipated and assimilationist Jews, who, until its very transformation into the extermination stage during World War II, continued to view it as a passing phenomenon. The failure of the democratic countries to take positive steps to save the Jews from mass extermination during that war led to a reevaluation of attitudes concerning the relationships between Jews and non-Jews. The difficulties of readjustment in Europe in view of the prevailing anti-Semitism, the failure to punish the murderers, the maintenance of the policy of closed doors for Jewish displaced persons, in Palestine as well as in all democratic countries, led to a further process of questioning the stand not only of democracy, both also of Christianity and Western civilization in general.

#### Assimilation and Personal Security

Before emancipation and Westernization, the individual Jew could find sufficient morale building values within Jewish life to compensate for the low esteem, inconveniences, petty and major persecutions suffered in consequence of his Jewishness. In fact, the average Jew considered himself superior to the average non-Jew in religion (a more rational monotheism), education, morality and ethics. The Divine promise of eventual redemption made it possible for the Jews to withstand the inferiority feeling engendered from his minority status and the inconsiderate attitude of the outside world. Election and the promise of reward in the world to come were good substitutes for the inconveniences suffered in this world.

Emancipation drastically affected this adjustment. The emancipated Jew often became at best a-religious. A child of 18th century rationalism he was not concerned with theology. A believer in the superiority of the Gentile way of living, he was even less interested in the minutiae of daily religious practices which tend to establish a regimen of life. Moreover, as time continued, his knowledge of the Jewish faith became increasingly thin, as his adaptation to the mores and thinking of the outside society became increasingly all-consuming. The emancipated Jew absorbed many anti-Semitic notions, which form part of the pattern of daily living (e.g. terms like, Pharisees, to "Jew;" dislike of "Jewish" names like Moses, Abraham, Isidore; Jewish jokes). A sense of inferiority is thus displayed by many who feel that Jewish life is worth-while; those who do not, naturally go further in their dislike of Jewish identification.

Conscious efforts to live among non-Jews, to intermarry and to raise children as Christians or without a religious faith (let them choose their creed after they grow up!) are deeper expressions of this maladjustment.

It is obvious that membership in a persecuted group is not sought after particularly in a society which has often branded the persecuted as responsible for their own persecution, while not permitting the victims to escape from their own group. The reaction is, therefore, not only to escape the Jewish group as individuals, but also to attempt to liquidate it. The intellectual phase of this process is seen in the attempt to minimize Jewish differences and continually to delimit the area of Jewish group concepts.

Rejection is a painful process. The modern assimilated Jew who is rejected by Gentile society cannot, like his ancestor, find compensation in the belief that he remains chosen by God. Nor can he compensate for it like the nationalist Jew. Attention to Jewish achievements which normally tend to raise the status of the Jewish group, (war participation, Palestine upbuilding, charitable generosity) add to the discomfort of the assimilationist individual, as such distinctions tend to accentuate Jewish group identification. Considering himself superior, the assimilationist cannot drift back into the Jewish group. A stranger, he finds difficulty in readjusting within it, as his outlook and habits have become alien. Intellectual problems, such as bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism, baffle him, since he is unwilling to add to his pattern of living certain mores which his Christian neighbor does not possess. The result is either an adjustment of resignation (let us make the most of it), which leads to affiliation with the Jewish group; casual escapism through hedonistic living and deliberate avoidance of Jewish connections, or Jewish self-hatred which often reaches the extremity of a complete psychological breakdown, identification with the anti-Semite, or various degrees of neuroses.

#### Emancipation in Eastern Europe

A different approach was that of the Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, where Jews were concentrated in large numbers, capable of providing for all their cultural and social needs. Here, emancipation, like capitalism and industrialization, was slow in coming. Moreover, the process of the assimilation of the thin veneer of Russianized intellectuals was considerably checked by the pogrom wave of 1881 and the constant Tzarist reaction. The Jewish masses in Eastern Europe retained their medieval characteristics of a conscious national-religious group. Culturally higher developed than the surrounding population, often faced with a choice between contending cultures with possible dire consequences of punishment (Polish-Ukrainian rivalry in Galicia), the East European Jews saw no reason why they should abandon their own language and culture (aside from the religious elements) in favor of those of the unfriendly majorities. Here Jewish traditions and outside persecutions combined in popularizing Zionism in its various colonizational, cultural and finally political transformations. Here also arose a labor movement which gave direction to a new form of Jewish nationalism, Yiddishist secularism. There were various syntheses of these approaches.

Regardless of their views on Zionism or religion, agreement was common among East European Jews on the national definition of the Jewish people. Jews in that region fought for national autonomy. Even the Soviet Union, led by the Communist Party, whose leaders Lenin and Stalin

denied that the Jews constituted a nation, had to grant national status to the Jewish people, and to extend it further by setting aside an autonomous Jewish territory in Biro-Bidjan. East European Jews believed in the emancipation of the Jews, both as individuals and as a national group. Moreover, they viewed emancipation as a rightful privilege of every human being, not to be purchased by submergence within the majority group.

This type of emancipation found expression in the national revival of Hebrew and Yiddish literatures and in the intense intellectual and political life the Jews in Eastern Europe; it influenced the development of Zionism and helped to stem assimilation everywhere else.

### Zionism the Major Bone of Contention

The main subject of disagreement within the Jewish community, particularly in emancipated countries, has been that of Zionism. From its very inception, the Zionist movement, with its assertion of Jewish nationhood and political status, has met with the opposition of groups from all sides: the assimilationist Jews, the Non-Zionists, the Leftists and the Diaspora Nationalists as well as the Orthodox.

### Assimilationist Opposition

Assimilationist opposition to Zionism became vigorous in reaction to Herzl's appeal for the establishment of a Jewish state, in 1896, and the summoning of the first Zionist Congress in 1897. Leaders of the Jewish communities in Western Europe and particularly in Germany, then the cultural center of Westernized Jewry, generally opposed Zionism. They viewed themselves as Jews by religion only and resented any attempt to define the Jews as a people, a nation or a nationality. They were particularly opposed to the idea of a Jewish state, as they feared that its establishment would either endanger the status of the Jews in the emancipated countries or introduce elements of culture conflict and furnish the anti-Semites with a new argument and address.

A major function of the Jewish communities since Emancipation has been the attempt to neutralize the effects of anti-Semitism. Though intensely disturbed by it, this ever spreading movement was viewed by the anti-Zionist communal leaders as a carry-over from the bygone age of reaction, which would soon disappear with education and enlightenment. Anti-Semitism's political successes in terms of thriving parties, elections of anti-Semites to European parliaments and offices and anti-Jewish boycott movements failed to affect the optimism of the assimilationists. The status of inequality of Jews in Russia, Rumania and the Near East was another important area of concern for Jewish leadership. The anti-Zionists, however, believed that eventually the rulers of these countries would see the light and join the European family of emancipated states. Zionism moreover was viewed as an impractical and unrealistic solution to the problems of the East European Jews, because Palestine could not serve as a refuge for large numbers, in contrast to the United States and other countries, where tens of thousands found shelter every year.

The clash between the Zionists and the anti-Zionists was further sharpened by the tactics following Herzl's call "to capture the Kehillahs". The Zionist attempt to control the communities was aided by the fact that there was much dissatisfaction on the part of the "masses" with the vested leadership of the wealthy and "well-born". It must be remembered

that the communities in Western and Central Europe did not reproduce themselves numerically. The demographic lag was filled by arrivals from Eastern Europe. Furthermore, by that time, the East European Jews no longer represented an inchoate Orthodox mass. Haskalah had a record of several generations. Universities were open to Jews in Austria-Hungary. Russian Jews, unable to gain admission to the Russian higher institutions of learning because of the numerous *clausus*, studied in Central and Western European universities, particularly the German, Austrian and Swiss, where the similarity between Yiddish and German facilitated their education. These youths exercised much influence among the native Jewish students and youth. Anti-Semitism and Zionism did the rest, with the result that the established communal leaders felt that they were losing their influence to the new "upstart" movement.

Before World War I, this process came most drastically to a head in Austria-Hungary, where the Polish-Austrian ruling coalition was aimed at maintaining Polish hegemony against the Ukrainians. The Jews rebelled against this arrangement, whereby assimilationist Jews elected by Jewish votes voted together with their Polish anti-Semitic colleagues in the Austrian parliament against Jewish interests. Consequently Jewish nationalism became so strong that Jewish national political parties appeared in Czechoslovakia, Germany (Posen region) and Austria at the close of World War I. Still anti-Zionism continued, though steadily decreasing in popularity. Even in Nazi Germany the *Verband Nationaldeutscher Juden*, headed by one Max Neumann, approved of Hitler's accession to power and held the East European Jews and the Zionists responsible for the rise of anti-Semitism. The Nazis permitted it to function for a number of years.

The anti-Zionist position in the United States followed the same line as in Western Europe. In 1897, the Reform Rabbinate spearheaded the anti-Zionist movement nowadays the wealthy laity furnishes the leadership. As in 1897, anti-Zionists today continue to view Zionism as a philosophy of despair based on lack of trust in democracy and Western civilization. Jewish nationhood, they contend, is contrary to the universalism preached by the prophets. The dispersion of the Jews is viewed as a blessing, as only thus the Jews are able to carry out their mission of bringing monotheism to mankind. Moreover, they hold that Jews are no different from the citizens of the countries in which they live, except for their religious faith. To them anti-Semitism is a passing though costly phenomenon, emancipation is based on the principle of non-separation of Jews from general society and any tendency to stress separation is contrary to the progressive march of mankind. They do not believe in the Jewish "homelessness", nor do they think that Jewish victims of the war should be singled out for special attention. They accept the right of individual Jews to settle in Palestine, but resent any effort to establish a Jewish majority in the Holy Land, believing as they do that the country belongs primarily to the Palestinians or Arabs who form a majority of the population. From their standpoint, statehood is a danger to the status of the Jews outside of Palestine; the definition of Jews as a nation anywhere raises the threat of dual citizenship. Anti-Zionists of this type are organized in this country in the American Council for Judaism.

The Non-Zionist Position

Not all the "established" Jewish communal leaders in the "emancipated" Western communities were anti-Zionists. Many of these, themselves assimilated culturally, while not concerned with the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, and sometimes even opposed to it, were very much interested in the economic restratification (productivization) of the Old Yishub (the Orthodox Landsmanshaft settlement) in Palestine, and with the strengthening of the Jewish community in the Holy Land for religious and sentimental reasons. Occasionally such motives went hand in hand with local patriotism and imperialistic policy. For instance, French and German Jews supported schools in Palestine, where the languages of instruction were respectively French and German. (The same can also be said about many Zionists during World War I, who supported their own governments' policies with regard to Palestine, both because of Zionist and local patriotic motives). The French in particular were helpful in establishing many colonies in Palestine. Some of these non-Zionists, prompted by philanthropic and cultural motives, aided in securing the Balfour Declaration. After the granting of the Mandate to Great Britain, they continued to evince much interest in the philanthropic, economic and cultural life in Palestine. Their best known achievements were the establishment in 1929 of the enlarged Jewish Agency, the work of the Palestine Economic Corporation, the American Fund for Palestine Institutions and the support given to the Hebrew University. Politically, non-Zionists cooperated with the Zionists in the 1929 Western Wall incident, and in the present struggle against the White Paper of 1939, and in the battle for the Partition Solution of 1947.

It is difficult to draw the line between some non-Zionists and some anti-Zionists on the one hand, and some non-Zionists and Zionists on the other. Like anti-Zionists, many non-Zionists fear Jewish statehood. Others, however, approve of it, insisting that it would have no repercussion on the status of Jews elsewhere. Non-Zionists are also more willing to acknowledge the varying conditions of Jewish adjustment in different countries, where Jews have gained nationality status (Palestine, U.S.S.R.). Increasingly tending to acknowledge Jewish cultural ties, non-Zionists nevertheless adhere to the classical anti-Zionist and emancipationist position of preferring from the public relations view, to consider Jews a religious group only.

The non-Zionists do not share the view that the future of the Jews in Europe is doubtful. Nor do they, the Zionists, consider Jewish group survival as dependent on Jewish nationalism.

Hence, they generally support any solution which would tend to influence Jews to remain on the spot and to adjust themselves as a religious group rather than to emigrate. They do not ignore Palestine as a place of refuge for Jews, and insist on the abolition of the White Paper. Some non-Zionists would stop short of a Jewish state, generally preferring a bi-national solution. Other would accept Jewish statehood perhaps as a pragmatic solution in preference to Arab predominance. Many non-Zionists are interested in opening immigration outlets outside of Palestine, sometimes as a counter influence against Zionism, more often in consequence of the feeling that Palestine alone cannot solve the problem, both because of the political situation and the limited absorptive capacity.

Other elements in the picture are that of community control and world politics. In community control the Non-Zionist groups continue to interpret the stand of the "established" leadership, opposed to the increasing influence of the newly Westernized elements. This struggle is evidenced

internationally by the demand of the non-Zionists that they receive the same recognition as the Zionist official bodies concerning Palestine. It is particularly sharp in the area of international representation, where most of the struggle is waged between the Non-Zionists and the World Jewish Congress. The latter is predominately Zionist, though it does not enjoy at all times equal support from all the Zionist elements. In fact, a Joint Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations, including Non-Zionist representation in England, France and the United States was established in 1946. Within the Zionist movement there are elements which are willing to arrive at an understanding with the non-Zionists, whereby the latter would trade statehood recognition for the Zionist abandonment of the World Jewish Congress. This is an oft-recurring issue in community control. Naturally, non-Zionists are not as active or far-going in their support of the Jewish position on Palestine, particularly when such support would be likely to or even threaten to clash with governmental policy.

#### Leftist Opposition to Zionism.

Unlike the general sympathy for Jewish national survival and Zionism expressed by sizeable sectors of the Socialist and Communist movements today, 19th century Socialism was generally opposed to any form of Jewish survival. A factor in the situation was the general unfriendliness of liberal opinion toward Judaism, generally viewed as backward exclusionist religion in contrast to the more "enlightened" and "humane" Christianity. Another factor was the prominent position of assimilationists and assimilated Jews and their descendants in the Socialist movement. Moreover, the accepted medieval concept of the Jews as a wealthy group was quite prevalent in the 19th century, when it was also strengthened by the Rothschild myth. Thus, Judaism became identified with capitalism not only in the eyes of Karl Marx, the founder of the Socialist movement, who stated that "money is the jealous God of Israel above whom there cannot be any other God." Jews were viewed as an economic middle class caste bound to disappear with the abolition of the capitalistic system. Any attempt in the direction of Jewish group survival was viewed with suspicion and hostility by the Socialists. Some went further in advocating outright anti-Semitism, as for instance the leaders of the St. Simonians and Fourierists, some French and Belgian Socialist dignitaries. Austrian Socialists objected to the recognition of the Jews as a nationality. In France, the Socialist movement preferred to remain neutral when it came to the Dreyfuss Affair, terming it a dispute between the Jewish and the French bourgeoisie. Following a lengthy debate at its 1891 congress the Socialist International voted a resolution condemning both anti-Semitism and philo-Semitism, whatever the last term might have meant.

Similarly Lenin and Stalin objected to Jewish survival. Religion was of no importance to them as it was bound to disappear in the Socialist state. As for the national distinction, it did not exist in the case of the Jews, according to them.

It is therefore understandable why the earliest Socialist propaganda efforts among the Jews followed the line of assimilation. The earliest Jewish Socialist circle organized in the Governmental Rabbinical Seminary in Wien in 1875, had as its aim "to mingle with the people." Even early Jewish propaganda in Yiddish and Hebrew stressed the use of these languages as an instrument rather than as evidence of interest in the Jewish problem. In fact, many Jewish radicals were indifferent to the policy of the Narodnaya Volya, the populist Russian revolutionary movement, which approved of the

government sponsored program wave of 1881, and called upon the peasants to continue to massacre the Jews. They believed this would hasten the revolution. Except for a few feeble attempts in the 1870's (Aaron Lieberman) and the 1880's (Dragomanov, Rodin), it was only in the 1890's that some Jewish Socialists began to be vitally concerned with the future of the Jewish people. Some arrived at that position, because they disliked Jewish intellectuals neglect to work among their own people, which resulted in continued poverty, exploitation and obscurantism. Others began to doubt the possibility of speedy emancipation and assimilation. Still others viewed the problem from the point of view of the most effective use of Jewish manpower for the revolution. Out of these attempts emerged first the Bund, the various Jewish branches of the general Socialist parties, the various Socialist-Zionist syntheses, the territorialist and Diaspora Nationalist syntheses, and later the Communist Party's changing line.

### The Bund

The Bund (General Jewish Workers' Alliance) was organized in 1897 in Wilno, primarily as an economic trade union movement. Originally it considered itself a Russian-Polish-Lithuanian Socialist party for the Jewish worker and was completely neutral towards the question of assimilation. Only because it conducted its activities among Jewish workers, it employed the Yiddish language. By 1903, however, the Bund arrived at a position of approval for Jewish national autonomy, primarily in terms of Yiddish language institutions in a democratic Russia. Still, until 1947, the Bundists officially defined the Jewish group as a composite of different groups (sometimes sub-nationalities) without any strong link of unity, the Jews, according to their theory, having lost irretrievably the characteristics of a nationality. The Bund considered itself merely a local group in Eastern Europe. Until recently it never tried for mass following or direct party life outside of that region. It viewed any links between the Jewish proletariat and wealthier classes as undesirable class collaboration. It opposed emigration of Jews from their countries of residence, advocating that they fight on the spot for democracy and socialism. It was therefore most violently opposed to Zionism of all schools. In general Socialist politics the Bund first went through a split between its Socialist and Communist elements, with the latter joining the Communist parties. The majority residue continued to be divided between the Right Wing Reformist Social Democrats and the Left Wing Revolutionary Socialists, with the consequence that the Bund did not always remain within the Second International. In Jewish politics the Bund remained Yiddishist, anti-Zionist and anti-religious. Following World War I, the Bund was strongest in Poland, where it led an aggressive policy of secularism, anti-Zionism and anti-Fascism. It has much to its credit in the field of Yiddish culture.

With the extermination of Polish Jewry, the Bund is now represented all over the world, including some DP camps, by small groups of intellectuals with a greater degree of influence in some Socialist fraternal organizations. A conference of all the Bundist groups, in May 1947, in Brussels, re-asserted its anti-Zionist stand. No full details are as yet available.

The Bund is represented in this country by the Delegation of Bund. It has to its credit a series of volumes on the life of the Jews in pre-war Poland. The Jewish Socialist Verband, the Yiddish-speaking counterpart and affiliate of the Social Democratic Federation, is strongly influenced by Bundist ideology, particularly in its opposition to Zionism. At one time,

the Socialist Party (Norman Thomas group) ran a Yiddish-speaking periphery group and office, which were under the influence of the Left-Wing Bundists. Bundist influences are also noticeable in the Forward Association, the Workmen's Circle and in the Jewish Labor Committee, where they are strong enough to prevent endorsement of Jewish statehood and a vigorous and active opposition to Britain's Palestine policy, yet too weak to prevent endorsement of opposition to the White Paper policy and financial assistance to the Labor movement in Palestine.

#### The Territorialist Groups

Related to the Bundist opposition to Zionism was the Socialist wing of the Territorialist movement. When Herzl's negotiations with the Turkish Government for a Palestine charter reached the end of their road in 1903, the British government offered the Zionist movement the opportunity to create a Jewish national home in Uganda, Africa. This offer was rejected at the Zionist Congress and led to the split of the movement into pro-Palestinians and anti-Palestinians. Some of the latter, led by Israel Zangwill, left the Zionist movement to establish "the Jewish Territorialist Organization (ITO)."

The ITO enjoyed the support of Jacob Schiff and other American philanthropists. Unsuccessful in obtaining a territory, it turned its attention to the resettlement of the immigrant in the United States, with the Galveston project constituting its major activity. Following the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, the ITO disbanded voluntarily.

Another offshoot of the Territorialist movement was the S. S. (Russian initials for the Zionist Socialist) Party (ca 1904-1907). Its theoreticians maintained that the Jewish masses could not become proletarians in the Diaspora and were doomed to continued dislocation and impoverishment as well as non-participation in the Socialist revolution. Emigration repeated the same process in the new countries of settlement. Hence, it had to be turned into a movement of national colonization in a free territory where the class struggle would be given a normal expression. Another group called Seimists were also territorialists, but they believed in complete national autonomy including a Jewish parliament (Sejm) in the Diaspora lands.

The S. S., called Socialist Territorialists, were very active in the United States, as were smaller groups, Anarchist Territorialists and Seimist Social Revolutionary Territorialists. The intensity of the intellectual political process among the immigrant Jews at the beginning of the century is best illustrated in the multiplicity of these parties. These territorialist groups later became absorbed in the Poale Zion, now known as the Labor Zionist Organization of America---Poale Zion. However, territorialist Socialist groups functioned in Poland until the very catastrophe. A name characteristic of preoccupation with ideologies is that of the Jewish Socialist Territorialist Boy Scouts Movement.

In consequence of the territorialist trend, there have been any number of plans for settling Jews outside of Palestine, motivated by philanthropy, nationalism, as well as by anti-Zionist bias. The Freeland movement, now active in this country, is an offshoot of the Socialist Territorialist movement, although it no longer proclaims territorial national concentration. Originally concentrating on efforts in Australia, the Freeland movement is now promoting a colonization experiment in Surinam, Dutch Guiana. Its financial support stems largely from the earlier adherents of Socialist Territorialism as well

as from some anti-Zionist elements in the Workmen's Circle.

### The Communist Positions

The Communist position can be divided into three major phases, namely 1) until the November 1917 Revolution; 2) between the November Revolution and the Gromyko speech on Palestine before the United Nations in Flushing Meadows in May 1947; 3) after the Gromyko speech.

Before the November Revolution (which ushered in the Communist regime in the U.S. S. R.) the Bolshevik Party of Russia was opposed to Zionism, to the separatist organization of the Bund as well as the various Zionist-Socialist syntheses viewing them as merely petty bourgeois attempts at Socialist policy. Lenin and Stalin adhered to Marx's view that the Jews were not a nation, but rather constituted a caste and that their problems would be solved by assimilation and the revolution. Naturally, they attached no importance whatsoever to the religious element in Jewish Life.

After the Bolshevik Revolution, the Communist leaders realized that the Jews in Russia identified themselves as a nationality, that they had a culture and a national collectivity of their own, and that in order to gain their support and to compete against the more popular Zionist and secular Yiddishist nationalist movements, it was essential to recognize the national status of the Jewish people, particularly after even the bourgeois Ukrainian government had granted national autonomy to the Jews. Accordingly, Jews were given the official status of a nationality. A chain of Yiddish schools, theaters, publications and courts were established. Yiddish was made one of the four official languages of the White Russian Republic. Several Jewish national regions were set up in the Ukraine with Yiddish as the official language. Later, competition against Zionism and the desire to solve the problem of the mass declassment of the Jews led to the projected and unrealized Jewish Republic in Crimea. Finally, in 1928, a Jewish autonomous region was set up in Biro-Bidjan near the Manchurian border, with the ultimate aim of transforming it into a "Jewish national territorial administrative unit." In 1934, Biro-Bidjan was proclaimed as a Jewish autonomous region.

While setting up this Soviet form of Jewish nationalism, the Communists took good care to destroy the traditional and non-Soviet forms. The Jewish Communists waged a bitter battle against the synagogue, the traditional heder as well as the modern Tarbut Hebrew School. The teaching of Hebrew was forbidden to persons under 18 and then permitted only on a private basis, while the teaching of Arabic, a sacred language for the Moslems, was tolerated and continued to be so. The traditional Jewish communities (kehillot) were liquidated and instead a Jewish Commissariat was organized which ruled the community together with the Jewish section of the Communist Party (Yevsektzia). Both were abolished within ten years. Like all other political parties, the Jewish parties were liquidated, with the exception of the Left Poale Zion, a Communist Zionist Group, which was permitted to exist until 1928. (So was one pro-Communist branch of the Hechalutz movement) Zionist leaders were frequently exiled to Siberia. Hebrew publications were suspended.

The world Communist movement similarly declared war against all other Jewish points of view and particularly against Zionism, which was viewed by the Communists as merely a tool of British imperialism in the Near East. Like the Bund, the Communists objected to proposed solutions of the Jewish problem by emigration, advocating that they remain on the spot and fight

there for the revolution. The communist party consistently sided with the Arabs in Palestine, accusing the Zionists of pogromizing them in 1929. Jewish sections of the Communist party set up separate educational and communal institutions of their own, at the same time "boring from within" the other organizations. During the United Front period following the rise of Hitler to power, in Germany and ending with the Ribbentrop-Molotoff Pact in August 1939, Communists advocated rapprochement with other movements in a common fight against fascism. Between August 1939 and June 22, 1941, the day which the Soviet Union was invaded, the Communists fought Jewish aid to the Allies terming it as a support of the imperialist war. Following the German invasion, the Communists changed their tactics. A Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee was established in Moscow. It appealed to the Jews throughout the world for support of the valiant Russian people and army in their war against the Nazis. The response was enthusiastic in all countries. Delegations of organizations within the Communist periphery were admitted into the American Jewish Conference. It was generally thought that finally the connection between Soviet Jewries and the communities in other countries was resumed.

This turned out to be a false hope, as the post-war period witnessed the renewal of the estrangement between the U.S.S.R. and the outside world, which is also having its effects upon the Jewish communities. The communist parties resumed their attacks against Zionism, demanding an independent state in Palestine with an Arab majority and national equality for Jews.

The Gromyko Declaration before the United Nations which did not exclude possibilities of Partition and Jewish Statehood marks a volte face from the traditional Communist point of view. Its effects on the lines of the different Communist parties still remain to be seen. The last official change in the United States party line on the Jewish problem (before the Gromyko speech) predicted the eventual assimilation of the Jews within the American body politic, accentuating in the meantime Jewish cultural efforts and condemning Zionism. Within the American Jewish community the Communist movement functions through "front organizations as well as through individual penetration,

The Morning Freiheit, a Yiddish daily, and the Jewish Life, an English language monthly (not to be confused with a bi-monthly by the same name published by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations) both published by the Morning Freiheit Association, are the movement's major publications. Within the Communist periphery are also the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the International Worker's Order, the Committee of Jewish Artists, Writers and Scientists (publishing the monthly Einiigkeit, the Yiddish Kultur Farband (YICUF) Publishing the monthly Yiddishe Kultur) and the American Jewish Labor Council, a defense organization.

#### National Autonomists

Yiddishist secular nationalism also had its non-proletarian movements. Most prominent of these were the Autonomist movement and Folkists. The first led by the historian Simon Dubnow, strove to solve the Jewish problem in Tzarist Russia through the recognition of a cultural autonomy status for the Jewish national minority, through Yiddish schools and the recognition of that language as one of the official languages of the country. In independent Poland that movement was represented by the Folkist Party, which at one time exercised a great deal of influence among the lower middle classes and artisans in Warsaw.

### General Characteristics of Yiddish Secular Nationalism

The common denominator of all these Yiddish secular movements, among which are also included certain wings of Labor Zionism, was their attachment to the national definition of the Jewish people as well as to the Yiddish language, in contrast to the revival of Hebrew by the Zionists, and consequently their objection to Zionism as a solution of the Jewish problem (except for the Labor Zionist Yiddishist group). In this respect, the anti-Zionist proletarian and middle class groups frequently worked hand in hand with the anti-Zionists, as in the case of dispute about the American Jewish Congress during World War I.

The catastrophe in Europe, the course of Soviet Jewry, and the changing trends within the Jewish communities in the United States and other immigrant receiving countries seemed to have ushered in the final phase of Yiddishist secularism, a movement which had given so much vitality to Jewish cultural life and diversity to its ideological aspects.

In the United States in particular, Yiddishist secularism was expressed through a thriving press, literature, Yiddish secular school systems, fraternal orders and ideological movements. Today, it would seem that some of these aspects were characteristic of the immigrant generation, and that with some minor exceptions they are incapable of transmission to the American born or raised generation. Moreover, the influence of American life, the changes in social status and occupations of the Jews, Zionism and general world events have brought about a return to some traditional elements in the Jewish way of living, such as the observance of holidays and Bar Mitzvahs. The Yom Kippur Ball of the 1890's and 1900's has gone the way of other militant atheistic manifestations. First to start on the road back to Jewish tradition were the Labor Zionist groups. Others are not far behind in this respect.

### Orthodox Objections to Zionism

The Zionist movement also faced the opposition from the extreme Right. Its secular tendencies were resented by the Orthodox Jews. Opposition to cultural Zionism's secular approach led to the organization of the Mizrahi religious movement within the World Zionist Organization. Outside the organization, the spearhead of Orthodox opposition was first led by some Russian rabbis who published the anti-Zionist periodical Hapeles before World War I. Leadership was soon taken over by the German extremist Orthodox of the Frankfurt school, who during the German occupation of Russian, Polish and Lithuanian territories in World War I spread the Agudath Israel movement in Eastern Europe. The Agudath objected to Zionism for a number of reasons. Originally the chief objection was the belief that redemption was to arrive with the coming of the Messiah and not through earthly temporal political means. Eventually, more emphasis was placed on the need of a non-compromising Orthodox group to fight secularism on all fronts. The learned and pious rabbinical bodies were acknowledged as the only group competent to lay down a policy for the conduct of Jewish life. The Agudath Israel was particularly strong among the Hassidic masses in Poland. There, in general politics it accommodated itself to the various governments in power, including the Colonels' regime. At one time the Agudath discouraged its followers from settlement and colonization in Palestine. Later under the pressure of Jewish needs and Mizrahi competition, it embarked on unsuccessful colonization experiments of its own. In Palestinian politics, the Agudath conducts a separationist policy, refusing to join the Vaad Leumi (The National Jewish Council), as well as the Adath Israel, the religious united community. In world Jewish politics, the Agudath Israel usually follows the Non-Zionist line.

Of late, there have been disagreements within the movement concerning its Palestine policy, to the extent of a split, recently healed in the United States. The Agudah objects to Jewish statehood, maintaining that unless the state is ruled according to Jewish religious Law, as interpreted by the Agudah's rabbinical authorities, it is better that the Jews continue to be ruled by England. It also opposes Partition on Biblical grounds. Recently, considerable hesitation has been evinced on the part of the Agudah leadership, particularly since the British Labor Government's anti-Jewish policy.

The Agudah Israel has gained much strength in the United States through the arrival of vigorous refugee elements during World War II. It is they who have introduced new school systems for girls and have expanded their activities in the thickly populated Jewish neighborhoods in the larger cities. The Agudah Israel has a number of periphery organizations, including the Agudath Israel Women's Organization, the Agudath Israel Youth (much engaged in overseas relief), the Pirche Agudath Israel, a children's movement, the Hechalutz Hachareidi (the Orthodox Hechalutz), a newly organized Palestine Pioneer youth group.

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

The establishment of the State of Israel by the decision of the United Nations, November 29, 1947, commenced a process of rapid readjustment to the possibility of the existence of a Jewish State. This process was crystallized into definite decisions by the self-declaration of the Statehood of Israel on May 14, 1948.

This act met with the enthusiastic approval on the part of Jewish communities everywhere. Together with it came the process of neutralization of Anti-Zionist sentiments. Among the former anti-Zionist groupings, the Agudath Israel, while continuing to agitate for the inclusion of theocratic features in Israel's constitution, is however participating fully in the government of the new State. The Bund, at an international conference held in Brussels in May, 1948, declared its support of the State of Israel, while at the same time reasserting its stand that the Jewish people is a world people and that the solution of its problems would come only with Socialism. The Soviet Union's full support of the United Nation's Partition decision has naturally eliminated all Communist opposition to Jewish statehood; some elements in Leftist Trotskyite groups still oppose Zionism.

Generally speaking, Non-Zionists have abandoned whatever hesitancy they had concerning Israel. At present, the American Council for Judaism remains the only Jewish group in this country which continues to oppose Zionism, concentrating on that movement's activities in the Diaspora. It is noteworthy that most of the rabbis who have helped to organize the Council have abandoned it.

Discussions concerning the relationship of the Jewish community in America to the State of Israel and vice versa are now the subject of a good deal of attention on the part of communal leadership.

(The reference, in paragraph 3 of this page, that the Bund declared its support of the Jewish State is based on a misleading newspaper report.)

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II-B-Part VII-'49

First Semester - Class of 1948-49

COURSE II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN  
JEWISH COMMUNITY

Syllabus for Bloc B - RELIGIOUS AND IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSITIES

Part VII - Labor Organizations, Landsmanshaften and Fraternal Orders

By: Abraham G. Duker

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(COMMENTS WELCOMED)

Lecturer: Rabbi Maurice B. Pekarsky

## LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, LANDSMANSHAFTEN AND FRATERNAL ORDERS

### Introduction

Jewish immigrants who left the traditional Jewish European milieu brought with them to their new places of settlement memories and living experiences of established patterns of community organization. Not only did every Jew belong to the city's or town's central Jewish community (Kehillah, kahal, Gemeinde) in his European or Near Eastern home town, but he was also in addition a member of a hevra - a prayer, study and/or mutual aid group (e.g. Mishnah Study Society; Burial Society, etc.). These usually centered about little houses of worship with membership on the basis of occupation (e.g. The Chimney Sweepers' Synagogue in Vilna). Coming to the United States, the immigrant was soon confronted with a plethora of multifarious organizations, some dating back to colonial times. The fraternal order, in particular, held a great deal of attraction for the immigrant because of its elements of mystery (the pass-word and secrecy), Americanization (parliamentary procedure, recognition as an acceptable person among the more Americanized), prestige (the uniform, the ideal of acceptability), sociability and mutual aid. The immigrant also had religious needs. He also needed economic protection and social expression. It was out of these tendencies that the labor groups, fraternal orders and landsmanshaften in their various forms and syntheses arose.

### I. THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Because the mass immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe found its way to the factories and shops of the teeming Jewish districts of the large cities, trade unionism soon became a necessity and socialism a very potent ideology. Guided to some extent by experiences in the stop-over country of England, Jewish trade unions also emulated the American experiences of other foreign groups, particularly those of the Germans and were first strengthened and later weakened by the revolutionary trends and upheavals in the home countries (the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917). The first Jewish trade unions in this country were formed by intellectual workers in the 1880's in a sporadic way. By 1888, they organized their own federation, the United Hebrew Trades, following the pattern of the United German Trades. Still in existence today, the United Hebrew Trades is no longer predominantly Jewish in membership. Significantly, it has set the pattern for the establishment of the United Italian Trades and later for a similar organization of Negro workers. The needle trades were and still are to some extent the locale for the largest Jewish trade unions. The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, formed the largest Jewish trade unions in the beginning of the century. Today, they no longer are predominantly Jewish in membership. The shift in Jewish trade union membership is nowadays in the direction of white collar unions.

Influenced as it was by events both here and abroad, the Jewish labor movement became widely split in consequence of the struggle between the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party at the turn of the century.

A struggle was continually waged between the Socialists and the Anarchists. The split between the Socialists and Communists following the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 was another cause for a constant and still continuing strife. Other ideological differences related to Jewish issues were brought over from Europe. The Jewish worker was very much interested in ideologies. The earliest Jewish Socialist and Anarchist agitators in this country were of the cosmopolitan type. They were but little concerned with Jewish life and culture, considering themselves as primarily Russian intellectuals in exile. The inability of the working masses to comprehend their language or ideology led to the use of the Yiddish language for propoganda purposes. Significant success was registered in the recruitment of Jewish workers to the Socialist and Anarchist ranks and in building up a powerful laborite press in Yiddish.

A chief supporter of these trends was the Workmen's Circle, a fraternal order founded in 1900, for mutual aid and Socialist propoganda purposes. Originally cosmopolitan in character, it was enforced at the turn of the century, by the accretion of early Bundist (Cf. Readings on non-Zionist and anti-Zionist groups) elements. They failed to change the picture materially, since events in Russia occupied the center of their attention. However, following the Russian Revolution of 1905, the new influx of Yiddish culturist immigrants brought in a new tone. The new Bundist immigrants were concerned with the development of Yiddish culture. Moreover, Territorialists and Labor Zionists of all types began to make their mark felt. That period until the middle of the 1920's marked the zenith of the Yiddish secularism. Its influences are still felt today, although the organizations which had emerged at that period are either on their way out or are being transformed into English speaking groups.

Today the major ideological Jewish groups in labor are as follows:

a) The Non-Zionist Right Wing Socialists

1. The Forward Association, which owns the powerful Yiddish Daily Right-Wing Socialist Forward, (always anti-Communist, formerly anti-Zionist, since the 1920's increasingly pro-Zionist - now pro-Israel, but not anti-British Labor Party) and the Radio Station WEVD is the mainstay of the following groups:

2. The Workmen's Circle, a fraternal order originally cosmopolitan, later Bundist oriented, now no longer exclusively (possibly predominantly) working class in its composition. Originally anti-Zionist, it occupies now a pro-Zionist position, having favored the Partition solution for Palestine and expressing its' support of Israel. It still contains influential Bundist elements. The Workmen's Circle supports a chain of Yiddish schools.

3. The Jewish Labor Committee, a defense and relief organization composed predominantly of right wing groups, both non-Zionist and Zionist. It includes one Zionist group, the Ahduth Haavodah (United Labor Zionist Organization, not the Labor Zionist Organization, formerly Left Poale Zion). Although it contains Bundist elements, it co-operated with the Jewish Agency in favor of the Partitcna solution. It now favors Israel.

4. The Jewish Socialist Verband is a small right socialist, still anti-Zionist group connected with the Social Democratic Federation.

5. Bundist Clubs. Some recent arrivals from Europe are still organized into Bundist Clubs with a central office representing the World Bundist Organization in New York City. Although they are split so far as their socialist doctrine is concerned, including both reformist and revolutionary socialists, and disagreeing in their attitudes to the present Polish government, they have been until very recently more united in opposition to Zionism. In June 1948, a Bundist convention in Brussels voted in favor of support of the State of Israel, at the same time reasserting its' view that the Jewish problem in different countries can be solved by Socialism alone.

b) The Communist Periphery Groups

1. Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the International Workers' Order. This fraternal order arose out of a split between the Right and the Left in the Workmen's Circle in 1930.

2. American Jewish Labor Council. A central leftist defense and public relations organization.

3. Yiddish Kultur Verband (Yikuf). A cultural organization and publishing concern.

4. Committee of Jewish Artists, Writers and Scientists. A cultural organization.

5. ICCR Originally concentrating on the upbuilding of Birobidjan, now also a cultural organization.

c) The Labor Zionist Groups

1. The Labor Zionist Organization of America, Poale Zion, founded in 1905, originally represented a synthesis of Marxist Socialism and Zionism, today is right wing Socialist and follows the line of the Mapai (Palestine Labor Party) in Palestine.

2. Jewish National Workers Alliance. The Labor Zionist Fraternal Order. It supports a chain of Verband schools and the Jewish Teachers' Seminary and People's University.

3. Pioneer Women's Organization of America. Labor Zionist Women's Organization.

4. The League for Labor Palestine. Now united with the Labor Zionist Organization.

5. Hashomer Hatzair. Originally devoted exclusively to youth movement, this Marxist-Zionist group is now branching out among adults.

6. Ahduth Haavodah. (United Labor Zionist Party) Originally extreme revolutionary Socialist (under the name left Poale Zion) returned to the Zionist Congress. Under their new name this group united with a Palestine group thus forming the left wing of the Labor Zionists. Belongs to the Jewish Labor Committee.

7. Habonim. Labor Zionist youth organization.

The Sholem Aleichem Schools. On the periphery of the Right Wing Socialists is the Sholem Aleichem School system, Yiddishist-nationalist, now increasingly pro-tradition (reinterpretation and pro-Palestine).

The chief campaign instrument of the Labor Zionists is the National Labor Committee for Palestine, known also as the Histadruth campaign or Gewerkshafte campaign. There is also a Labor Zionist Relief Committee, which usually supplements JDC relief. A cultural organization uniting all non-Zionist groups is the CYCO (Central Yiddish Cultural Organization).

d) Anarchists

The once powerful Anarchist movement is now represented by a few Workmen's Circle branches and loose libertarian leagues. They publish the weekly Freie Arbeiter Stimme.

## II. THE LANDSMANSHAFTEN

Landsmanshaften are mutual benefit societies established among individuals hailing from the same town or community in Europe. The earliest landsmanshaft, that of Dutch Jews, was organized in 1859 in New York. The earliest Polish society was established in 1870. However, the real growth of this type of organization began with the mass immigration of the Russian Jews.

The landsmanshaften fulfill various functions, such as providing relief and aid to individual members, aiding the home towns abroad, aiding D.P.'s from the home towns, maintaining the memories of the native home, and providing a medium for the continuance of the social and family contacts brought from abroad. The importance of the landsmanshaften can be seen by the fact that many fraternal orders have used this form of organization in their lodges. The landsmanshaften are probably the most popular form of Jewish organization in the large urban centers, particularly in New York City.

The history of the rise and decline of the landsmanshaften coincides with the history of Jewish immigration and its Americanization. At the time of the mass immigration before the First World War, the landsmanshaft was the first unit of community organization in the immigrant's life. It supplied his social needs and helped him in times of want more frequently than the social agency. In its insistence on parliamentary form of procedure and through its democratic organization, the landsmanshaft performed a function in Americanization, which has not been sufficiently appreciated by the student or general public. During the First World War, the landsmanshaften performed important roles in the relief campaigns. In the period of reconstruction immediately following the War, many landsmanshaften distinguished themselves in intensive relief work in their home towns. They are very much active on the relief scene today.

As the immigrant prospered and became more Americanized, social and economic motives for belonging to the landsmanshaft become less important and the attachment to it remains a matter of sentiment. The landsmanshaft has nevertheless retained a great deal of vitality. The central organizations of the landsmanshaften engaged in diplomatic intervention work on behalf of Jews in their countries of origin. However, the lack of new immigrants considerably weakened the individual landsmanshaften, while death took its usual toll of the older generation, coincidentally with the decline of the Yiddish newspaper reader. The Orthodox landsmanshaften synagogue too suffered as a consequence of Americanization and the usual changes in neighborhood concentration of the Jews in the large urban centers. Still, many of the landsmanshaften managed to retain the active membership of the children of their members, and continue vital activities. In some cases, these new additions are changing the landsmanshaft into a lodge or social club with but remote reference to its original aims and composition.

Most of the landsmanshaften have auxiliary women's organizations. Many have junior social groups. The Americanization of the landsmanshaften is also shown in the increasing usage of the English language in their proceedings and publications.

A strong link in the adherence to the landsmanshaft in the larger cities is the cemetery, which frequently represents a sizeable investment. It is often a prospering business venture as well as pressure instrument on the part of the individual society.

The landsmanshaften, by their very nature, represented the common people. Therefore, most of them gravitate in the direction of mass activity organizations. Most of the independent and affiliated individual societies participate in the activities of the American Jewish Congress and are strongly Zionist. The exceptions are the landsmanshaften branches of the Workmen's Circle which belong to the Jewish Labor Committee, though many of them participate in the Gewerkshafen Campaign, and the branches of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order which forms the mainstay of the Communist activities in the Jewish field.

The recent wartime and present post-war needs of the Jewish communities have in many cases given a temporary lease on life to the landsmanshaften. Considerable relief work on behalf of Displaced Persons from the particular town of origin has been done by the individual societies. There is also a tendency to commemorate the destroyed home towns, erecting monuments in the groups' cemeteries, publishing books about them and establishing colonies in Palestine in their names. Now the emphasis is on Haganah work. The tendency of liquidating relief work for individual towns abroad is beginning.

Landsmanshaften can be classified in several categories. The first and most numerous is the independent society, which is not affiliated with any lodge system. Such a society may or may not belong to the central landsmanshaft (e.g. Federation of Rumanian Jews). Frequently, it has a nominal affiliation with a national campaign, such as the United Palestine Appeal or the J.D.C. In such a case, affiliation usually implies an annual contribution, and the honoring of the president with some office in the campaign. Another type of a landsmanshaft is that connection with national fraternal orders. The Workmen's Circle, Brith Sholom, for example, and others have many unit lodges which are composed of landsmanshaften, either organized along such lines from the very beginning of the existence of the unit or affiliated later with the particular fraternal order.

Frequently, in the case of larger European cities, all or most of the landsmanshaften are united in coordinated relief committees. There are also in existence Federations of landsmanshaften of various European countries and provinces. The American Federation for Polish Jews (formerly called the Federation of Polish Jews in America) was established in 1900 with a claimed membership of 65,000 in 1945. Affiliated with the Federation is its Women's Division, named Ezra, a small organization. The Federation attempted at times to force its recognition and influences upon the J.D.C. embarking at least on one occasion upon a separate fund raising campaign for Polish relief. It is affiliated with the World Federation of Polish Jews, a strong body in Latin America. There is also the National

Organization of Polish Jews (formerly Refugees and Immigrants) established in 1940. Polish Jews are also organized in the United Galician Jews of America, organized in 1937, with 210 landsmanshaften in 1945.

Rumanian landsmanshaften are organized in two central organizations, namely the United Rumanian Jews of America (organized in 1909) and the Council of Rumanian Jews of America, organized in 1938, "for the adjustment and rehabilitation of Rumanian Jews in Palestine". The Federation of Lithuanian Jews was organized in 1937, while the Association of Hungarian Jews of America, organized in 1939, reflects in its strength the magyarization of Hungarian Jewry as it is composed only of 12 branches. There are two Ukrainian federations, Left Wing and non-partisan. There is also a Federation of Palestine Jews, organized in 1929, in which the "old Yishub" is represented.

There are also a number of landsmanshaften, mostly of the synagogue type, of Sephardic Jews, hailing from Greece and Turkey, and Arabic-speaking Jews who came here from Syria. Five of the Sephardic organizations are united in the Sephardic Brotherhood of America, organized in 1915, while some of their synagogues are members of the Union of Sephardic Congregations. There is also the overall Central Sephardic Community of America.

The German refugees settled in this country since the rise of Hitlerism to power also display the tendency to organize along home town origin. There are in New York alone a number of newly organized German landsmanshaften. They are organized together with the new German congregations in the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe. There are also a number of Zionist societies composed of recently arrived Italian, German, Belgian and Dutch Jews. A new type of community organization akin to landsmanshaften are the associations of former concentration camp members.

### III. FRATERNAL ORDERS

The original aim of the fraternal order was to furnish some needs which could not be supplied by the synagogue or which the individuals concerned did not care to have the synagogue supply. The first Jewish fraternal order in the United States as well as in the world was the B'nai B'rith, established by German Jews in New York in 1843. The Independent Order True Sisters, established in 1848, still claims to be non-sectarian, although over 95% of its membership is Jewish. In 1849, the Free Sons of Israel was founded by German Jews. Ten years later, the B'rith Abraham was founded by German and Hungarian Jews. It soon began to attract the Russian, Polish and Rumanian Jews. The Independent Order B'rith Abraham, composed of members who broke away from Brith Abraham in 1887, became the largest order during the height of the mass popularity of fraternal organizations at the turn of the century. Several orders established in the same period ceased to exist. The average immigrant was impressed by their Order's ceremonial and social life, to him an indication of Americanism. In addition, the fraternal order offered insurance and protection. The fraternal order therefore, had its greatest growth during the period of the East European mass migration. At least six orders were organized in the decade of the 1890's, only two of which are in existence today. Of the ten orders established between 1900 and 1910, only three remain in existence. Only

four orders were established but eleven were disbanded between 1911 and 1920, a decade which witnessed the temporary closing of immigration during the First World War. Only two new orders were established between 1920 and 1947.

The declining influences of the fraternal orders are most evident in the decrease of their membership from about 520,000 in 1913, probably the peak of their popularity, to the estimated 345,000 in 1940. Many Jews prefer to join general fraternal orders, such as the Masons, the Elks and the Knights of Pythias. In the large urban centers many such lodges are composed almost entirely of Jews. The decline in membership is not taking place, however, in all the fraternal orders. The B'nai B'rith, for instance, has managed more than to hold its own primarily because of its anti-defamation appeal.

At the height of popularity of the fraternal order, the largest was Brith Abraham with 182,000 members in 1913. In 1940, the number of Jewish fraternal orders in the United States was thirteen with a membership of about 345,000. Unsuccessful attempts to coordinate the fraternal orders were made on several occasions. In 1934, a central body with five constituent members was organized under the name of the American Council of Jewish Fraternal Organizations, but it has not been a functioning body. All the orders, except the B'nai B'rith, have retained their benefit features. At least three of the orders officially endorse the Basel Program and can therefore be called as officially Zionist. They are the B'nai Zion (Sons of Zion, an official Zionist order), The Jewish National Workers' Alliance (an official Labor Zionist order) and the B'rith Shalom. Most of the other orders are friendly to Zionism and usually participate in the work of the American Jewish Congress. The exceptions are the Workmen's Circle, which is Yiddishist and to some extent Bundist orientated, a constituent body of the Jewish Labor Committee, although many of its branches are active in Labor Zionist campaigns; the Jewish Peoples' Fraternal Order, which is Communist orientated. The B'nai B'rith can be considered as pro-Zionist and survivalist. In American Jewish communal life, the B'nai B'rith plays, unlike the other orders, an independent role of its own.

Numerically, the B'nai B'rith is the largest order, with over 200,000 members organized in 812 lodges in 1945. Its Women's Auxiliary totalled over 95,000 members. The B'nai B'rith Youth Organization had over 26,000 members. It is followed by the Workmen's Circle with 75,000 members in 1945 (no change from 1940). Next in importance is the Independent Order Brith Abraham with 58,000 members in 1945 (no change from 1940). The Jewish People's Fraternal Order, formerly the Jewish Section of the International Workers' Order (Communist orientated) established in 1930, number 36,000 members in 1940 and 47,000 in 1945. The Jewish National Workers' Alliance, the official Labor Zionist order, established in 1912, numbered about 19,000 members in 1940 and managed to increase its membership to 23,000 in 1945. Next in numerical importance is the Independent Order Brith Shalom, established in 1905, with 14,623 members in 1940, in comparison to 40,618 in 1913, testifying to the typical decline of the middle class orders. The remaining orders are numerically much smaller. The Independent Order Free Sons of Israel, a stable and prosperous middle class order, (founded 1840) had only 9,306 members in 1940 and 10,056 in 1945.

The other orders are the United Hebrew Brothers, established in 1915, with 5,500 members in 1940 and 2,500 in 1945. The Order Sons of Zion founded in 1906, numbered 4,000 members in 1940 and 5,000 in 1945, as compared to 2,222 in 1913. It was a potent force in the early history of American Zionism. Its membership has evidently not risen in proportion to the influence of Zionism in America. The pro-Zionist Progressive Order of the West, established in 1896, counted 4,011 members in 1940, and approximately 5,000 in 1945. There is no information on hand about the Vladimir Jabotinsky Fraternal Order, established in 1941.

It may be said that these orders have been the true melting pot of the various groups of Jewish immigrants together with the native Jewish Americans. Like German in the earlier orders of the past century, Yiddish was the language used by most of the lodges of the fraternal orders of the later period. However, even in the exclusively Yiddish-speaking orders, such as the Workmen's Circle and the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, there is now a tendency to pass over to English. Special English-speaking branches or lodges are being formed to attract the native American elements.

The fraternal order branches as well as individual landsmanshaften are active participants in the local community organizations in the small and medium communities. In the large cities, they are organized in special divisions as adjuncts of various fund raising organizations.

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COURSE II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN  
JEWISH COMMUNITY

Bloc B - RELIGIOUS AND IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSITIES

Part VIII - Bibliography on Ideological Diversity

By: Abraham G. Duker

Lecturer: Rabbi Maurice B. Pekarsky

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

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COURSE II

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN  
JEWISH COMMUNITY

Bloc C - The Jew in American Society

Session 9 - American Society Today  
Sessions 10 and 11 - The Jews and Other Minorities

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## THE JEWS IN RELATION TO OTHER GROUPS IN THE U.S.

### A "Nation of Nations"

It has been stated that America is a "nation of nations" or a "nation of minorities". A statement of this kind presents several difficulties in semantics. It may appear right to call the large number of the population, distinguished as it is by certain attributes and characteristics from the smaller number which does not possess the same attributes or characteristics or which can be distinguished by other additional ones, by the respective terms of "majority" and "minority". However, such concepts are not static. For instance, the Negroes in the U.S. can be termed a minority with regards to the color of their skin; yet, they are also part and parcel of the Christian majority. The Jews, on the other hand, are part of the white majority, yet, they form the most sizeable non-Christian religious group in this country and, in this sense, are a minority. (We are not discussing, in this connection, the most debatable concept of one "Judeo-Christian religion.")

There are additional elements which make this definition open to criticism. The Catholics are considered a minority in the U.S., yet they form the majority of the populations of several of the New England states as well as of some large cities. The Beacon Hill district of Boston is inhabited largely by Yankees and Northern Irish and their descendents, while the rest of that city is composed predominantly of Irish Catholics. Yet the first are acknowledged as the "majority" group, and the Irish Catholics are spoken of as the "minority", not only because the Protestants form the majority or plurality of the U.S. population.

A decisive element in this situation is the hold which the Protestant group has of prestige making activities and positions of wealth, birth and culture. This, despite the fact that the Catholics may run the State of Massachusetts. While being aware of the strictures of majority and minority, the usage of the concept of a "white majority" as pertaining to the Jews in contrast to the Negroes and that of a "Christian majority" in relation can not be condemned altogether.

### "Nationality" Groups

Even less adequate, is the term "nationality" groups because of the generally loose usage of the term nationality and its connotation in Anglo-Saxon terminology (in contrast to the Central European) which equates it with citizenship. The term "foreign language group" is also inadequate. Some of the languages used by the groups are not "foreign", as for instance the Spanish and Indian languages which preceded the use of the English language in this country. Some of these groups are predominantly English-speaking, as in the case of the Jews, and even more so, the Negroes. The tendency of the American offspring of these "minority" groups is to continue their affiliation, though on a marginal basis, with their parental social grouping. The seemingly permanent self-identification of the Irish, seemingly regard less of the distance in terms of generations from the Emerald Isle, is an accepted phenomenon, as attested at least by the turnout of both participants and spectators on St. Patrick's Day's parades. Prof. Kallen has cited in his Judaism at Bay (p. 196) the example of the late President Theodore Roosevelt, who had campaigned all his life/as a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. President Franklin D. Roosevelt too emphasized the Dutch tradition in his family, by the use of the Dutch Bible, the ownership of a family estate in the Hudson Valley. It is clear, therefore, that certain traditions of ethnicism prevail over centuries, particularly when they are associated with prestige elements.

In view of these semantic limitations, we shall employ in this course the term "ethnic group". Though limited to some extent, when it comes to religious definitions, this term seems to be most adequate in the study of the component populations in the U.S.

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/\* for 100% Americanism

In the consideration of the life of the ethnic group, it must be remembered that the group composition of the U.S. is such, that there are no majorities in this respect; there are only pluralities, in the religious sectarian as well as in the ethnic sense.

#### America's Culture Pattern is Varied

The predominant and dominant culture of the U.S. is the culture of an English speaking group, with a prevailing Protestant religion, with an Anglo-Saxon tradition in literature, the arts and the culture complex which we call "Americanism".

The U.S. remained an English speaking country because Britain won the conflict in the Colonial days. However, in the Gulf States, the "Latin" factor is still visible in religion, diet, architecture. ("Latin" connotes Spanish, not French or Italian). As far North as New Mexico, North Florida and Southern California (up to Fresno) - we find that Mexican names, speech and mores dominate. The Louisiana Territory retains French culture, the most stable and conservative of American cultures. In the region west of Buffalo to North Dakota and down the Mississippi Valley to St. Louis, Germans and Scandinavians predominate. The kitchen and folkways of the Germans and Scandinavians are in evidence. The religion is Lutheran; political attitudes, the diet, the relation of the sexes are patterned after the culture of the mother countries.

There is not a single type of a European community that is not represented in this country and which doesn't repeat to some extent the continuity of its own original culture. Members of such groups tend to live close to one another because of habituation. The Irish tend to settle in English speaking areas and carry over their traditional conflict with Protestant groups. The Poles continue their anti-semitic traditions while at the same time continuing to deal with Jewish merchants and to live next to Jewish neighborhoods. German Jews continue their hostility towards East Europeans and vice versa.

#### Individual and Group

The ethnic group is in a constant state of flux, with individuals moving out of its central core, finding their way towards the periphery, finally to disappear by assimilation or amalgam into another ethnic or sub-ethnic group or into the general "American" Anglo-Saxon group. Behind such movements are the desires to escape the stigma of foreignness, the sense of inferiority that comes with identification with newcomers and people of lower social status, the prestige elements of social recognition in the "outside" world as well as the material advance that goes with it. The inward direction of the mobility is a consequence of the sense of frustration developed by some individuals who have found difficulties in traversing the oft sharply delineated social boundary between the periphery of the ethnic group and the more desirable "larger" society. Others return for reasons of attaining prestige outside in consequence of their leadership in the ethnic group. Multiple affiliation with both ethnic and general society and organizations is quite common. It varies with the length of residence and generations.

The directions of the movement away from the group are many and varied. There is the exodus from the religious groups because of prestige value. Descendants of the Irish-Catholics ethnics may in their transmutation land within the Protestant group. More frequently, Syrians or Greek Orthodox ethnics will join the Episcopalian Church or the new English speaking American Orthodox Church in order to disassociate themselves from the "foreignism" of their original Eastern churches. Light-skinned

Negroes are much sought after in their own community, because they resemble the majority. Cases are told of Negroes passing into the white group or leading the double life of whites in the economic and of Negroes in the social areas. Children brought up in Jewish Orthodox families will identify themselves as Conservatives or Reform in order to create the impression of a greater distance traversed from their immigrant origin. Many descendants of Polish Jews who arrived here in the middle of the last century are now considered members of the "German"-Jewish set and are eligible for board membership of federations and other institutions open only to the "better born". Descendants of the early Sephardic German and Polish immigrants are found in the Christian churches not merely because of theological preferences. The Ethical Culture movement can to a great extent be characterized as an ethnic escapist movement from the Jewish fold. The bohemia or comraderie of the arts or radical movements performs the same escapist purpose for some individuals. Community relations tactics often emphasize the minimizing of ethnic differences. Intermarriage is also a factor in the reality or illusion as the case may be of social advancement through intimate ties with members of a higher prestige group. Children of Italian ethnics marrying Irish persons are likely to join Irish parishes which possess higher prestige values. The term Scotch-Irish was coined in the U.S. in an effort to distinguish between older Irish immigration from the later 19th century Catholic immigration from South Ireland. Prestige value is usually accorded on the basis of length of residence in this country, as in the case of the German versus the East European Jews. Sometimes, it is based on old country standards, as in the case of the reputation of the "civilized" North Italians, and the presumably more "primitive" South Italians and Sicilians. There is on record also an instance of prestige partly based on numbers, as in the case of the Galician Jews in relation to other Jews, a differentiation developed in this country.

Individuals and groups can belong to a number of ethnic groups. Thus a West Indian Negro is a member of the Negro minority, and West Indian ethnic sub-group or group, but he is also a member of the Christian majority. Jews in contrast are members of a religious ethnic group but also belong to the white majority. Pagan Indians are the "perfect" ethnics. German Jews in the 19th century were members of both the German and Jewish ethnic groups, a situation encountered today among the recent German-Jewish arrivals in the liberal and radical periphery, as well as among the Magyar group. Often ethnic "patriotism" will claim adherents of other groups. Thus some Magyars, naturally the liberal ones, claim Rabbi Stephen S. Wise as their ethnic fellow member. The Poles have thus far not claimed any rabbi, but they do claim Polish born Jewish artists of fame as their own.

Ethnic groups also develop sub-ethnic groups on the basis of purely American adjustment. Differences in point of view and leadership develop between those residing in different geographical areas. The interests of the ethnic and sub-ethnic groups are represented by organizations of all kinds, pressure groups, newspapers and magazines, and radio hours. Ethnics present sizeable influences in the country's political life, often exercising their vote for the purpose of advancing the interests of their own groups, leaders, religious faiths and mother countries. In this respect, they are powers to be reckoned with. They are used as instruments in foreign policy, e.g. Italian postal card campaign of 1948.

Ethnic escape gestures and action involve the Americanization of names, dying of hair, plastic operations on noses, mobility of residence, schooling, associations and other aspects, many of which are interpreted in detail in the Yankee City series.

### Number of Ethnic Groups

The extent and variety of ethnic groups in the U.S. is illustrated by the inclusion of the following "nationality" groups in One America,\* a standard volume on the subject. They are as follows:

1) The American Indian; 2) the American Negro. Classified under "Old Immigration are: 3) British Americans; 4) Irish Americans; 5) Norwegian Americans; 6) Swedish Americans; 7) Danish Americans; 8) Dutch Americans; 9) Belgian Americans; 10) French Americans; 11) German Americans; 12) Swiss Americans.

Classified under the "New Immigration" are: 13) Russian Americans; 14) Ukrainian Americans; 15) Polish Americans; 16) Czechoslovak Americans; 17) Yugoslav Americans; 18) Bulgarian Americans; 19) Latvian Americans; 20) Lithuanian Americans; 21) Estonian Americans; 22) Finish Americans; 23) Austrian Americans; 24) Hungarian Americans; 25) Rumanian Americans; 26) Albanian Americans; 27) Greek Americans; 28) Italian Americans; 29) Spanish Americans; 30) Portuguese Americans.

In a category by themselves, doubtlessly because of community relations considerations are the: 31) Jewish Americans. Asiatic immigration includes: 32) Syrian Americans; 33) Turkish Americans; 34) Armenian Americans; 35) Hindu Americans; 36) Chinese Americans; 37) Japanese Americans. The Territorials and the Americas contain: 38) Canadian Americans; 39) Latin Americans; 40) Filipino Americans and 41) Hawaiian Americans.

This listing is incomplete and insufficiently detailed. Absent are the: 42) Icelandic Americans. Certainly the: 43) Slovak and the 44) Carpatho-Russians deserve separate places. Categories like the Yugoslavs and Latin Americans can be broken up in several distinct sub-groups or even groups. The Syrians are not the only Arabs in this country. The Arabs are also divided religiously into Moslems, Catholics and Greek Orthodox. The Belgians are divided between the Flammands and the Waloons. The Negroes are divided into natives and West Indian, both English speaking, as well as various Spanish speaking groups. Certainly the Mexicans cannot be lumped under the general category of Latin Americans. We can therefore calculate that the number of ethnic groups may be nearer to 90 than to 50.

\* One America: The History, Contributions and Present Problems of our Racial and National Minorities. Edited by Francis J. Brown and Joseph Slabey Roucek. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1945.

### The Historical Basis of Group Differences

The discovery of the new world and the efforts to colonize it initiated a clash between two cultures, the Latin and Catholic of Spain, Portugal and France and the Protestant culture of Holland, the Netherlands and later, Great Britain. The first retained their dominance in South and Central America as well as over a portion of Canada. The second dominates the U.S., some of the Caribbean area, and most of Canada.

Following Columbus' discovery, Spain and Portugal were for a time practically the only colonizers of the new world. In the 17th century, however, French Catholics settled in Canada, and English, Scottish, Irish and other Protestants as well as some Jews and Catholics began to settle in the territories of the present United States. The same century also saw the first arrival of Negro slaves, the nucleus of today's large Negro group. Somewhat later, Germans and Irishmen began to arrive in large numbers. Following the Civil War, came the "new" immigration of Poles, Italians, Jews and other groups from Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

The population of the United States, as a result of the varied stream of immigrants of different racial stocks, religious and national origins, is far from a unit, either racially, religiously or nationally, although it unquestionably is a political unit. There are at least three major classifications along which the population of the United States is commonly assumed to be divided; racial, ethnic-national and religious. We shall now examine the historical background of these divisions and their present status, with special attention to their significance for the Jewish people.

### Religious Differences

America's present system of democracy and tolerance for all monotheistic and monogamous religions has developed over a long period of history and is still continuing to develop. Religious questions were paramount during the early stages of America's settlement.

In 1627, France decreed that only Catholics were permitted to emigrate to New France, (Canada and Middle West of U.S.). The first charter of Georgia excluded the Catholics. The conquest of Quebec by England in 1759 precipitated a great deal of opposition on the part of the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies because of the consequent closing of the Western lands to Protestant settlement. It was with difficulty that equality was first evolved among the various Protestant denominations for their fellow Protestants. Later this concept of equality was widened sufficiently to grant complete equality first to Catholics and later to Jews.

As in the rest of the world, the achievement of tolerance came in consequence of the victory of the 18th century liberalism, a development which must be viewed in the light of European background at the time of the American Revolution. At that time, as today, England had her established Church. Unlike today, Catholics and Jews were then disqualified from public office.

The prevalent concept of a State Church had been carried over to the colonies. In New England, especially, there was a definite relation between Church and State, which was continued even after the Revolution. Although freedom of worship was guaranteed in Massachusetts at a rather early period, the religious test for office was abolished only in 1821. The laws excluding Jews from certain public offices were abolished in Maryland and North Carolina even later -- in 1865. A minor cause of the American Revolution was the resentment at the special privileges granted by

by England to the French Catholics in Canada which in effect excluded Protestants from further colonization of the Western territories.

After the achievement of American independence, the overwhelming majority of the population of the new republic was Protestant, while Canada remained for a long period mainly French-Catholic. The Catholic population of the United States increased, however, both by immigration and the annexation of the former Spanish provinces. The first large group of Catholic immigrants was the Irish. Later, the Catholic population was augmented by the mass immigration from Germany, Eastern and Southern Europe. At present, the Catholics form over one-fifth of the population of the country. They claim that their numbers are increasing at a much more rapid rate than those of the Protestant and Jewish population. Unlike the Catholics who form a solid religious block, united around a centralized church system, the Protestants are divided into denominations and sects, such as the Presbyterians, Methodists and Episcopalians.

### "A Christian Country?"

Except for the insistence on separation, the fathers of the Constitution paid little attention to the problem of the relation between Church and State, possibly because the country was predominantly Protestant. Certainly the leading spirits among the Founding Fathers, as for instance, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, were deists who insisted upon separation of Church and State. Nevertheless, implications of the Christian character of the Republic are seen from at least one phrase of the Constitution, namely, "Sundays excepted" (Art. I, sect. 7), which implies the acceptance of the Christian Sunday as a legal holiday. In 1865 and 1874, some Christian clergymen agitated for a constitutional amendment to the effect that this country be declared officially as Christian. There is also a decision of the Supreme Court which in passing defines this country to be a "Christian one". President Truman made a statement in 1948 that America is a "Christian nation". Regardless of the separation of Church and State, it is obvious that the Christian majority determines the country's pattern of living. Sunday is the official day of rest. The term Anno Domini is used on government documents.

Immediately after the Revolutionary War, the arrival of Catholics fleeing from the French Revolution, caused some states to pass discriminatory laws against them. Subsequent Irish Catholic immigration, its concentration in the large cities, and particularly the establishment of parochial schools, led to the Know-Nothing movement in the years 1851-1858, aimed at "the preservation of the political supremacy of the Protestants in the States." For a decade or so, the Know-Nothings developed into a successful political movement, with seventy seats in the Congress of 1855. Their activities involved riots and uprisings in many cities, including one in 1855, which resulted in the death of nearly one hundred poor Irish in Louisville, Kentucky. Another wave of anti-Catholic sentiment began in 1887 with the organization of the American Protestant Association (A.P.A.) aimed at checking Catholic growth. Opposition came to a head in 1908, when the United States was advanced by the Pope from a "mission country" to a "province". By then Catholics had a majority or a plurality of Christian communicants in eighteen states. There was also some resentment during the First World War at President Wilson's choice of a Catholic for his secretary. After the First World War, anti-Catholic sentiment was revived again with the Ku Klux Klan, which until the rise of Hitler emphasized its anti-Catholic aspects, particularly where the Negro or Jewish population was small. The racist immigration laws of 1924 can also be considered motivated in part by anti-Catholic sentiments. Not only did it aim at the exclusion of Jews, but its provisions also favored Protestant immigration as against that of Catholics.

The nomination of the Catholic, Alfred E. Smith, to the Democratic candidacy in the presidential election of 1928, caused the split in the solid South. Anti-Catholic sentiment subsided and the Ku Klux Klan greatly declined for more than a decade after the 1928 presidential election. When, after the rise of Hitlerism, the KKK became one of the many subversive and anti-Semitic movements, it largely abandoned its opposition to Catholicism. In turn, some Catholics became open spokesmen for anti-Semitism and reaction. The activities of Father Coughlin, the association of the Church with Fascism (Franco, Petain), the aggressive assertiveness by Catholics of their increasing strength and influence, their insistence on state support for their parochial schools, all these elements tend to raise the fear among Protestants that they may be displaced by the Catholics as the leading religious group of the country.

#### Church and State Separation

Despite occasional manifestations of intolerance against Catholics and Jews among Protestants, the Protestant tradition is a major influence in shaping the democratic tradition in the country. Many Protestant churches are based on self-government of individual congregations with very centralized authority. Partly because of the multiplicity of their sects, the Protestants insist on strict separation of Church and State. The Catholic Church has never given up her opposition to the separation of Church and State which went into effect following the French Revolution. She has merely concluded a temporary truce with the new ideas of democracy, liberalism and secularism so prevalent throughout the nineteenth century. The Catholic Church views the State as an instrument of religion. In contrast, American Protestantism has been generally satisfied with the traditional predominantly Protestant character of this country's "non-sectarian" institutions and ideas. Except for its favoring religious teachings in the public schools, the Protestant stand is the more secular one.

Protestants still favor the separation of Church and State. In countries where Catholics do not form a majority of the population, the Church acquiesces to the separation. The most important area of differences in the United States between the Catholic and Protestant concepts of State and Church is concerning the approach to state supported education. In the United States, like in most Protestant countries, the accepted form of education is the state supported public school, secular or rather "non-sectarian" in the Protestant sense. This is a result of the splits within Protestantism, as well as development of democratic tendencies which require a citizenry educated in the concepts of "non-sectarianism". Catholic countries were generally slower in introducing popular education. Generally, the Church had charge of these. In some cases, the secular or church separated school system was introduced at a comparatively late date, as for instance in France. In many other countries the state school system was never completely separated from religious influences. In colonial America, the earliest type of school was the denominational. But the opening of the West, with its settlement by people of various denominations brought about the present form of the "non-sectarian" school.

The Catholic Church is not satisfied with this development. Its spokesmen view the secular public school as a Protestant school rather than a non-denominational. Faced with the burden of supporting their own schools, in addition to paying the taxes for the tax supported public schools, Catholics are attempting to obtain state subsidies for their system. As long as the number of parochial schools was small, Catholics were sometimes successful in obtaining such help. Later, this became a bitter issue. Many states have constitutional provisions forbidding the use of public funds for educational institutions which are not non-sectarian. In some states, Catholics have been more successful in varying degrees. State aid to their schools ranges from free bus transportation and supply of free text books to transfer of state funds by special arrangements.

### Release Time Problems

Of late the Christian community has evinced greater unity on the subject of the teaching of religion in the public school system. Protestant and Catholic advocates of this practice have been increasingly successful in having it accepted with the result that the release time method is being introduced throughout the country. The successes of the rival ideologies of Nazism and Communism serve to highlight the alleged "materialism" of today's younger generation, with subsequent modifications of attitudes concerning the place of religion in the public school system.

Differing approaches to certain concepts of family life also present issues of clash between the Protestant majority and the Catholic minority. Birth control education, divorce, "decent" movies and books are some areas of disagreement. Catholics object to the dissemination of birth control information not only among followers of their own faith but also among Protestants and Jews. In states where Catholics are influential, they have been able through legislative pressure to ban birth control information and to make divorce difficult also for followers of other religions. Such actions arouse the resentment of other groups.

It would be erroneous, however, to view the religious scene in the United States as one of continuous conflict. In most communities differences are usually tolerated because they are taken for granted. Where Catholics are a majority or are about to become one, naturally the clashes are most frequent. The conflict can also be charged in part to the usual resentment on the part of a majority group which is aware that it is being forced to lose its position to relative newcomers. Consideration ought also be paid to the feeling prevalent among many Protestants that they have built this country and that it is their culture that is the "real" American culture.

### Racial Differences

Although generally there are no important degrees of differences in culture, religion, speech and manners between members of large sections of the American population which are non-white and the accepted pattern, they are considered "non-assimilable", at least, socially, and to a great extent also economically, because the majority refuses to accept them on equal terms. The largest of this type is the Negro-descended group. There are also over 54,000 Fillipinos, (in 1940; in addition to 63,052 in Hawai) and smaller numbers of Chinese and Japanese. The American Indians can also be considered, in a sense, a racial group, although they are accepted more willingly by the white population. Frequently, outstanding citizens are proud of the Indian element in their blood; this cannot be said about the many descendants of Negroes, who have merged imperceptibly and unrecognizably within the white group.

The major problem of race attitudes involves the Negro group, which numbered 12,865,111 in 1940. There is no essential difference between the majority of the Negroes and the Whites in either language, religion or general cultural concepts. The so-called special Negro cultural traits are regional, Southern rather than inherited racial. Yet the distance between the white and the colored man can rarely be bridged in the United States, where a color line of varying intensity exists everywhere. Some persons of Negro stock but predominantly white ancestry may occasionally succeed in marrying a white partner very much in the style of some Jews whose inter-marriage and assimilation is dictated by motives of "passing", but this does not change the general relations between the races. Separation between the Negro and the White can be observed in all walks of life. The overwhelming majority of the Negroes are Protestant, yet most mostly they belong to separate Negro churches. The situation is somewhat different in the field of education. In the North, Negroes are admitted

freely and on equal basis to the elementary and high schools. In the South, they attend segregated schools which are relatively few in number and inferior in facilities. This accounts in a large measure for much of Negro illiteracy. Although Negro students are admitted to Northern colleges, the majority of colored college graduates are products of the separate extended system of higher education in the South.

Even more pronounced is the enforced separation of the Negro in social life. Social contacts on a basis of equality between whites and Negroes are almost non-existent. They occur practically only among intellectuals and artists and in some religious and labor circles. This social separateness reaches the height of complete ostracism in the South with its barbarous Jim Crow laws. But neither is the North free from the Negro ghettos.

With the First World War there came a great exodus of former Negro farm hands to the industrial regions of the East and Middle West, where economic discrimination against Negroes was temporarily diminished because of the need of labor. All in all, about a million and a half Negroes left the South. During the depression of the thirties, the higher standards of relief in the North were behind the continued exodus from the South, with the result that the Negro population is being transformed from a predominantly rural group into a considerably urban one.

Despite economic discrimination and a low level of income, the Negroes have achieved remarkable progress economically and politically since their Emancipation. Illiteracy among them is decreasing. Their legal and political status is steadily improving even in the South. The number of skilled workers and professionals among them is on the increase. There is a growing group consciousness of the justice of their desire for a place in the sun, which has led to a more aggressive organizational and political action, particularly sharpened as an aftermath of the New Deal and World War II.

The question of Negro-Jewish relations has been the subject of increased discussions. Belonging as they do to the Christian majority, it can be assumed that the Negroes generally share the pattern of attitudes towards Jews developed in Christian civilization. The role of the Negroes as the "scape goat" group in this country rather than the Jews is probably an additional factor in Negro antisemitism. Moreover, the economic position of the Jew as the merchant and professional in the Negro neighborhood introduces an additional complicating element of economic rivalry with the rising Negro middle-class and professional groups. In addition, the Jewish landlord, rent collector and merchant symbolize the white man in the eyes of the Negro with the consequence that in certain instances of social tension (e.g. the Harlem riots) it is difficult to determine the dividing line between anti-White and anti-Semitic sentiments.

The commonly accepted assumption of the mutual defense interests of all minorities has led Jewish community relations bodies to pay attention to the protection of Negro rights as a means of protecting the rights of all. In this respect the divergence is obvious between the assumptions of the national bodies and the actions of the individual communities which cannot so easily deviate from the American racial relations pattern. In the South, of course, the Jews generally follow the local majority pattern of discrimination. The Porto-Rican group now growing fast in the East, particularly in New York City, is likely to present more problems in its relationship to the Jews.

### National Ethnic Classification

The settlement of America by the white man was marked in its earlier stages by constant clashes between different nationalities, religions and culture. The predominance of Great Britain and the American Revolution resulted in giving the United States the character of a predominantly English speaking civilization. However, the national-culture clashes continued. By the very nature of things, large blocks of immigrants arriving in this country were assimilated, first linguistically, and after, culturally, by the majority population. It cannot be said, however, that this type of linguistic and cultural assimilation went on without any resistance on the part of the incoming groups. Benjamin Franklin, for instance, was seriously concerned with the danger presented to the "American" or English speaking character of the country by the concentration of German immigrants in some areas, particularly his native Pennsylvania.

### The "Old" and the "New Immigrations"

The waves of immigration have been generally classified as the "old" and the "new". The "old" immigration refers to the immigrants who came to the United States previous to 1880, and hailed largely from Northern and Western Europe. The "new" immigration began approximately in 1880 and continued until the enforcement of the quota law of 1924. Its members came mainly from Eastern and Southern Europe. These distinctions are viewed by the more liberal scholars as historically myths conveniently concocted for the purposes of retaining the country's "American" Anglo-Saxon and Protestant character. The chief reason for all immigration to America was, naturally the economic one, although religious and political oppression, too, were contributing factors. In this respect there is no difference between either type of immigration. The rapid industrial expansion following the panic of 1873 created a great demand for labor which the over-populated and industrially under-developed regions of Eastern and Southern Europe supplied. At the same time, the rising industrialization of Western and Central Europe absorbed all the labor supply. The immigrants continued to be welcomed until in the twentieth century increasing replacement of human labor by machinery brought a change in the attitude towards the "new" immigrants, no longer deemed essential. Anti-alienism, in reality anti-"new" immigration feeling, based on the "inferiority" of the new entrants and slow process of the melting pot, was increasingly propagated. It found its application in the racist immigration restrictions of 1924, which aimed directly at the "new" immigration, including and possibly concentrating on the Jews. The DP Bill of 1948 went further in providing directly for anti-Jewish restrictions, while intending to benefit the Protestant groups. Prejudice against the "new" immigration on the part of the older established groups are still continuing. Even their second generations often have to fight for economic and social equality.

The process of assimilation of the non-English speaking immigrants to the predominant American way is naturally a gradual one, often extending over several generations. The result is the rise of what is commonly called hyphenated ethnic groups, such as German-Americans, Polish-Americans and Italian-Americans. Feelings of loyalty to the old home and the ties to its language and culture, decrease as time goes on, with the result that after a few generations, usually nothing remains but a faint awareness of one's remote ancestry. But until this stage is reached, the problem is one of a clash of cultures, which is made more difficult by the natural resistance of a national culture group to the ideas of giving up its own identity and mores. Additional complications ensue with the policies of certain mother countries in attempting to retain loyalties of the immigrant groups and their descendants. It has been usually taken for granted by all parties concerned that the descendants of immigrants were bound eventually to merge completely with the older established group

and its predominant culture in the American "melting pot". This was regretted by many of the more nationally conscious and educated immigrants. Efforts are made by mother countries to retain such loyalties as possible for sentimental and commercial reasons. Submerged nationalities in pre-World War I Europe, such as Poles, Lithuanians and Czechs naturally leaned on the support, wealth and status of their immigrant groups in America. The restitution of Czechoslovakia and Ireland following the first World War could not have been achieved without the aid of the Czechs, Slovaks and Irish of America, just as American Jews have played an important role in the achievement of Israel's statehood.

#### Post-Versailles Developments

The growth of post-Versailles nationalism and totalitarianism in Europe has sharpened this relationship. Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany undertook many measures to assure that their immigrants in America retain permanently their national language and mores and, of course, political allegiance to their mother countries, anxious as they had been to utilize the strength and concentration of their own ethnics in furthering the political ends of these totalitarian states. The Germans even planned rule of the U.S. with the German-Americans in the saddle. The Soviet Union, too, has found much support among Russian and other ethnics. Other countries, less ambitious politically, continually strengthen their cultural contacts with their ethnics.

#### Clashes of Generations

The road towards social and economic adjustment of the "new" immigrants and their descendants has in many cases been a difficult one. The newcomer is more usually willing and frequently glad to accept any type of reasonable adjustment because his new standard of living is high in comparison with his former status. His social life within the ethnic immigrant community appears to be satisfactory to him. In contrast, the American born children of the new immigration face a more complicated social set-up. The public school education system and daily life train them to consider themselves as "complete" Americans. They are furthermore encouraged by the fact that their social contacts in the elementary and high schools are not along ethnic lines. However, as they approach adulthood, they increasingly encounter many types of discrimination. People with distinctly foreign names find it difficult to obtain jobs and even more so positions in the professions and business and are frequently thrown back upon the resources of their native group. They also suffer from social discrimination. While anti-Jewish discrimination is a generally acknowledged fact, it is less known that Americans descended from other immigrant groups are not exempted from similar treatment. Descendants of older immigrant groups discriminate against first generation citizens. Discrimination against Negroes, Jews and aliens is deeply rooted in the psychology of the American people.

As the result of these conditions, the children of immigrants find themselves culturally "marginal"; they have no strong sense of belonging to the community as a whole, nor are they too happy about belonging to the ethnic immigrant community which has a lower social status. Frequently group minority complexes and self-hate emerge not unlike the Jewish self-hate, discussed elsewhere. Hence the frequent instances of Anglo-Saxonizing of family names among the descendants of immigrants and the tendency to abandon their own tradition and culture without substituting for it the real Anglo-Saxon or Yankee tradition, which can be acquired only through living in their environment.

On the other hand, the tendency is evident of attempting to fall back for personal security on the resources of the ethnic group. Jewish youth in America is at present going through this process. There are more mundane reasons for this return to the ethnic group. The rising ethnic young retail merchant, professional or politician usually get his start among his own people who are glad to help his social and economic advancement, also because it adds prestige to the group.

The prevalence of ethnics on legislative bodies can generally be traced to the confidence reposed in their American born leaders by the rank and file of the ethnic groups. Irish predominance in municipal and state politics in certain regions can be traced to the workings of this factor in the 19th century. The ethnic vote is an important consideration in domestic and foreign politics, as the Democratic Administration's present gyrations on Palestine would reveal. Cognizance should also be taken of another element, ethnic community leadership by American-born individuals with the malice and forethought of utilizing positions of this kind for political advancement in the general community. Often Jewish leaders active in Jewish affairs belong to this category.

### Some National Ethnic Groups

The following discussion of several important ethnic linguistic groups in the United States is included for the purpose of giving the reader a better understanding of the problem of adjustment.

#### The Irish

In contrast to the earlier Protestant influx, a majority of the Irish-Americans are descendants of the later waves of Catholic immigration. Irish immigration began as a trickle in the 17th century, was increased by persecutions in the middle of that century, continued vigorously in the 18th, reached its peak in the 19th, with nearly a million immigrants in the decade of 1850 to 1860, and slowly subsided to a trickle of 13,167 between 1931-40, and 487 in 1941 and 1945. The number of Irish immigrants between 1820 and 1943 was 4,592,595. The Irish can be considered in the main as the members of the "older" immigration. As in the case of the Jews, religious and national discrimination, frequently translated in economic persecutions, a high birth rate, economic poverty and famines have been the chief reasons for Irish migrations. The Irish immigrants, though predominantly of peasant origin, settled mainly in the cities. About three quarters of them live in eight states and twelve cities located mainly in the East and Middle West.

Their acquaintance with the English language and familiarity with English political tradition brought about Americanization without major cultural linguistic clashes. This cultural baggage has made it easier for the Irish than for the other immigrant groups to attain positions of affluence and control in politics and in the Church hierarchy with concentration on high office and papal nobility.

This predominance may help to explain the recent increase of reaction and anti-Semitism among the Irish Catholic population. As the "newer" ethnic groups become Americanized, grow in wealth and power and begin to vie for positions in the civil service, the clergy and the professions, they meet with the resistance of the established Irish. The extent to which the bitterness of such a clash can go along religious lines, is demonstrated by the departure of a sizeable number of Poles from the Catholic Church in 1904, and the consequent establishment of their own Polish National Church in protest against Irish predominance in the church hierarchy and its Americanization and de-Polonization policy.

Economic and prestige rivalry with other ethnics coupled with group consciousness and general obscurantisms are the motives for the increase of the resentment of the Irish against the Jews in the major cities of the East. Such hostility becomes especially acute where positions in the civil service are assigned on the basis of competitive examination rather than political patronage. In cities harboring large Jewish populations, the Jews are the logical competitors with the old-established Irish. This explains in part the growth of anti-Semitic movements among them.

The Irish have retained a live interest in their mother country. They were the predominant factor in obtaining independence for Ireland during World War I. Their historical enmity to Britain, led many Irish-Americans to join isolationist forces in World War II. Today, they continue their opposition to Ireland's partition. Irish leadership in Catholic fascist fringe movements is a result of their general reactionary tendencies. In the middle of the 19th century, the Irish, a persecuted and economically low group, showed many evidences of acute group minority complexes and were held in low esteem by the older established groups. The present assertive sense of superiority among the Irish, presents an interesting case of elevation in

group status. The Irish in this country are also the center core of other Celtic groups. The annual Irish Feis at Fordham University is attended by Scots, Welshmen, Manx and Britons.

### The Germans

The Germans are generally viewed as an example of an ethnic immigrant population with the tendency of rapid assimilation. It is estimated that 25% of the present white population of the United States is of German descent. The Germans belong to the "old" immigration groups, their first contingent having arrived here in 1683 and their mass movement to these shores having been reduced to a trickle after 1870. The peak of their mass entry was between 1846 and 1854, when 900,000 arrived, with the peak year of 1854, with 215,000. The total number of persons arriving from Germany between 1820 and (June 30) 1943, was 6,028,377, including probably over 300,000 Jews.

The retention of political ties with the mother country was weak in the case of the 19th century German immigrants. The democratic character of the "48'ers" further helped their Anglo-Saxonization. Their Americanization was a gradual process in a predominantly friendly urban German concentration and Protestant religious environment. It therefore met with relatively little resistance. The Germans, like other immigrants usually retain for several generations certain cultural traditions, which tend to weaken by degrees. These are exemplified in such institutions as singing societies and bowling groups. After a few generations, the German ethnic usually disappears within the predominantly white Protestant group. The Catholics, too, show similar tendencies, partly in view of their privileged position in the Church hierarchy, next to the Irish. In consequence, large numbers of German ethnics can hardly be regarded as members of the ethnic community. Their generally loyal attitude during the First World War was viewed as evidence of the disappearance of German sympathies among the descendants of the earlier arrivals, as well as of the adjustment of the more recent arrivals. The immigrants who came after World War I were by far more nationalistic. The Nazi regime had bent all its efforts not only to retain the loyalties of Germans in the United States, but also to transform them into the spearhead of its political drive towards world domination by organizing them into the German American Bund and similar groups and dominating the established Steuben Society and others. Such Nazi Germans were and still are among the chief spreaders of Fascism and Anti-Semitism among all groups and among the main movers behind native and hyphenated Fascist outfits. In consequence, the "German-Americans" have been on the defensive during the last war. Having failed in their effort to check America's entry into the war, they opposed the policy of unconditional surrender and punishment of war criminals. Immediately after the conclusion of the war, the German ethnic group began campaigns for relief and political restoration of their mother country. The Soviet Union having replaced England as their enemy Number I, the nationalistic elements within the German ethnic group are again resuming the Hitler period attitude to European politics, agitating for the restoration of Germany, release and non-punishment of German war criminals and war against the Soviet Union with the idea of restoring Germany's boundaries, prominence and Eastward drive. Because anti-Semitism plays an important role in such propaganda, American Jewry has not as yet heard the last word on the subject of German ethnics' hostility and genocidal propaganda.

### The Italians

The Italians constitute the largest group among the "newer" immigrants, most of them having arrived after 1880, with a peak number of 1,900,000 having landed between 1907 and 1916, out of a total of 4,719,825 who came between 1820 and June 30, 1943. Predominantly (80%) peasants from Southern Italy and Sicily and their

descendants, the Italians are concentrated in the urban centers of the Eastern states (over one million in New York City alone), the Midwest and California. Because of their peasant background, lack of education and low economic status, their adjustment to American culture at the beginning of the settlement has been rather a slow one, with telling effects on the American-born ethnics (estimated as 2,971,200) who evince strong feelings of group inferiority. The Church, a powerful factor in their community life, is somewhat less identified with Italian nationalism as is the case among the Poles and the French Canadians.

The loyalties of the Italian immigrants to their mother country have been relatively strong. Sizeable numbers of Italians would return to their home country. The majority of the Italian immigrants clung to their self-contained communities, concentrating in neighborhoods, often located near Jewish immigrant districts and following the peasant pattern with the Church as the center of their religious, cultural and social life. The village fiesta was brought to the Little Italy's, where it is still celebrated today in its new transmutation of the bloc party or fiesta. Family life with strict control over the womenfolk and assertion of paternal authority is giving way grudgingly and with many difficulties to modifications of the American urban pattern, with many a conflict between generations. The fraternal order made serious inroads on the domination of the "congrega" or the church society and the small independent mutual aid society. Native and foreign born ethnics joined the Sons of Italy by the hundreds of thousands. Unlike the Slavic and French Canadian groups, the Italians failed to develop their own parochial school systems.

Until the rise of Mussolini to power, there was relatively little interest in politics among the Italian immigrants. Of peasant origin, inactive politically in the old country, they first centered their attention on the difficulties of earning a living as well as adjustment to a new and radically different civilization. The number of intellectuals and professionals who usually give leadership to immigrant communities was rather small among the Italians. The educated elements, as in the case of other politically independent ethnics, had ample economic opportunities at home. Leadership therefore remained mainly in the hands of the priests who came here to continue their religious work in the native language. An area of clash was the control of local political machines and church offices by the Irish and Germans. Gradually, the ethnic American or Italian-born politician with his neighborhood machine won status for the group on the political arena. The fact that the Vatican is in many respects an Italian-manned institution was probably one of the causes that prevented such far going disagreements with the Church hierarchy as in the case of the Poles.

A small proportion of the more articulate working class members established Italian trade unions in the very large cities, following the usual Anarchist and Socialist and later Communist-Socialist split. Otherwise, the Italian community generally remained quietest, the majority being deeply religious, respectful of the monarchy in the homeland, and slightly bewildered by, but nevertheless appreciative of the opportunities in the U.S.

The stabilization of Mussolini's regime in 1924, brought about a concentrated effort to "nationalize" the Italians abroad. Propaganda was widespread about the achievements of Fascism in Italy. Soon enough, the majority of the Italian community approved Fascism in the homeland, in consequence of a coordinated campaign in which the Church, the Italian state, the export-import interests and the Italian-American press joined wholeheartedly. Fascism became more virulent and its followers more confident in their victory after Italy had joined the Axis. Italy's promulgation of racist legislation against the Jews in 1938, found its ready defenders among

"respectable" Italian-American circles. At the outbreak of World War II, this pro-Fascist trend became even more marked. Pearl Harbor forced into the open the network of Italian Fascist operations, which had worked hand in hand with the German Nazi efforts. Nearly 600,000 foreign born and unnaturalized Italians became enemy aliens, but only 228 of them were interned. The fall of Fascism in Italy brought concern for the country's future among the ethnics. The struggles between Left and Right there have had their reflection on the life of the Italian ethnic community in this country, with the Rightist and Christian Socialists the most popular groupings here. The Italian press was most active in the postal card barrage from this country in connection with the Italian elections. There are also indications that neo-Fascist trends are again on the upgrade in the ethnic Italian community.

### The Poles

While the Polish political refugees came to this country in small numbers following the Polish revolutions of 1831, 1848 and 1863, the mass immigration of Poles began in the 1880's. The peak of the Polish immigration was reached between 1900 and 1914. This mass movement was motivated by economic rather than political conditions. Most of these Polish immigrants were of peasant origin, who came here originally for a temporary stay, so that only 60% of them remained here. Many returned to their homeland upon the achievement of its independence. After 1925, the situation has changed and the wave of Poles returning to their homeland has been reduced to a trickle. Polish spokesmen claim that there are here 6 million persons of Polish origin. Census figures enumerated for 1940, 2,905,859 persons of Polish stock, of whom 2,416,320 gave Polish as their principal childhood language with 993,479 born in Poland.

The Poles in America are predominantly urban, but unlike the other newly arrived groups, about 400,000 of them are settled on the land. The Poles, like other Eastern and Southern European immigrant groups, are settled predominantly in the middle Atlantic states, in the Middle West, and in New England, with large concentrations in Chicago, Buffalo and New York City.

It is commonly conceded that the Poles are most steadfast in holding on to their linguistic and cultural traditions. As in the case of the Irish, Catholicism became a Polish national attribute. Deprived for over a century of their national freedom, the Poles have a strong tradition of nationalism. Because Poland is today within the Soviet periphery, many Poles in this country view themselves as they did before 1914, as the major free representatives of their country. A testimonial to the strong feelings of nationalism among the Polish immigrants in this country is the abandonment of the Catholic church by a fairly large number of Poles, because of the refusal of Irish church dignitaries to appoint a Polish bishop in a predominantly Polish region. This "Polish National Independent Catholic Church", established in 1904, reported in 1944 a membership of 95,000 families organized in 146 parishes. There are 830 Polish Roman Catholic parishes and six seminaries in this country.

In comparison to other Eastern and Southern European groups, the Poles support a very large number of educational institutions. There are 560 Polish Roman Catholic parochial schools with approximately 300,000 children and over 5,000 teachers. The Poles also support about 40 secondary schools and 27 seminaries, normal schools and colleges. They are extremely well organized. There are about 10,000 cultural, social, religious and benevolent societies in America, with a membership of about 750,000. The Polish National Alliance, a fraternal order has 275,000 members and some 2,300 branches.

Because of their increasing Americanization, education and economic advancement, Poles are beginning to play an increasingly important part in American political life. There were about ten members of the House of Polish descent in the 1944 Congress.

The Poles were viewed as the most politically active ethnic group during World War II, even more so than during the First World War, when Polish organizations had rendered decisive help to Paderewski in the restoration of Poland. Polish government offices had been most active among the Polish ethnics during the War. The majority of the Poles favored and continue to favor the London Government in Exile. Immediately following World War I, the repercussion of pogroms committed against Jews in Poland brought about clashes between Poles and Jews in this country. The present hostility of the Poles towards the Soviet Union and Communism is connected with the strengthening of reactionary tendencies among them, among which anti-Semitism is an important facet.

### The Place of the Jew

What is the place of the Jew in the light of the considerations discussed above? How does the Jewish group fit within the framework of the group composition of America of today and tomorrow? How do cultural trends within the Jewish community adjust to American conditions?

American Jews usually avoid references to themselves as members of an ethnic group, generally expressing their preference for a religious definition of the Jews in the same category as Catholics and Protestants. Even some Zionists avoid references to Jews as a minority in the U.S. However, the extent of actual religious adherence or practices of the American Jews does not, in the opinion of some students, justify their description as a strictly religious group. In fact, Prof. Kallen distinguishes between the term "Jews", which takes in all those belonging to the Jewish group, regardless of their Jewish views and ideologies, and the term "Judaist", applied to persons who confess and practice the Jewish faith. Prof. Kallen also speaks of the "Hebrew" tradition in contrast to the "Jewish" tradition or Judaism, as the cultural inheritance of the Jews. Nevertheless, at least because of their immigrant origin, concentration and evident special interests in certain political problems (Palestine, genocide legislation, <sup>international</sup> bill of rights) the Jews form a certain entity within the American enclave of entities. It is therefore proposed to deal here with the problems of the Jewish groups from the comparative point of view of one among the many ethnic groups. At the same time it must be remembered that the Jewish ethnics are identified with no other religion except the Jewish one.

As the Jewish ethnics advance in their economic position and Americanization, traditional anti-Semitism tends to replace anti-alienism as the chief factor of anti-Jewish prejudice. Because of their urban composition and tradition of learning, members of the Jewish group in this country have generally bridged more rapidly the gap between the unskilled immigrant and the educated middle class Americans.

### The Jews as Predominantly "New" Immigrant Community

While it is true that there were Jews in Columbus' crew and that the first organized Jewish community in the U.S. dates back to the 17th century, the overwhelming majority of the Jews in this country are either "new" immigrants who came here after 1880, or their descendants. As such, many of their problems are similar to those of the problems of other "new" groups of immigrants and ethnics. Some of the prejudices against Jews, for instance, are directed against them also because of their social status as members of a new immigration group and not only because of anti-Semitic notions. The immigration quota laws of 1924 are an example of this.

It is difficult to speak of the migration of the Sephardim as a migration wave. The Sephardic Jews were small in number. Moreover, they were intermingled with many Polish and German Jews; nor was the "German" wave composed of German Jews alone. The distinction between the Polish and German Jews became a valid one only in the nineteenth century. Until then there were practically no distinctions between both these groups. Moreover, the majority of the German Jews hailed from Prussia's newly acquired Polish territories of Posen and Pomerania. The Partitions of Poland together with the cultural and economic emancipation (later also political) of the German Jews created the division between these two communities, members of which came to these shores together, with little clash in the early decades of the 19th century. The pride of the German Jews in their newly acquired German culture has deepened the chasm, the mutual contempt and hostility between the groups. Moreover, the initial process of cultural emancipation leaned to a great extent on the German language so much so that during the end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, "enlightened" Jews, surnamed "Deitchen" (Germans), because of their language and dress, constituted almost one type, whether they lived in Prague, Budapest, Warsaw or Berlin. In this respect there was a "German" immigration wave of people from the German cultural area or periphery. While the German Jews who settled in this country as part of the mass waves of migrations from Central Europe (particularly in the 48's), lived as ethnics of both communities, the German and the Jewish, in addition to the general "American" phases of their organizational and cultural expression, the East European Jews found their expression almost exclusively within the Jewish ethnic group.

The outstanding differences in European background of the Jewish and the other "new" immigrants can be summarized as follows:

1. Old Home Ties - In contrast to members of all other national groups who settled here, the Jewish immigrants of the "new" immigration had little loyalty to their former homelands in Eastern Europe. The cause for this attitude was the maltreatment of the Jews by the Tsarist and Rumanian regimes and the traditional anti-Semitic attitudes of the native populations everywhere. An Italian or Russian peasant, for instance, left his homeland mainly because of economic motives. Very often he emigrated with the hope of returning home after having amassed some money in this country. Members of submerged nationalities without states of their own, such as Poles and Irishmen, while hostile to their respective ruling regimes, retained their loyalty to their own enslaved nationalities and a vital interest in their political restoration. The Jewish experience has been radically different. The Jews of Eastern Europe and Turkey, with very few exceptions, did not employ the languages of the majority populations in their daily lives outside of their economic activities. Hence, except in the case of the German Jews, who were ethnics of both the German and Jewish communities, the Jewish immigrant formed his own ethnic community on a pattern which did not involve the idea of returning to the old country or loyalty to its government and culture. The Russianized intellectuals who retained their ties with Russian culture remained a minority here and eventually became assimilated first in the Yiddish speaking and later in the English speaking ethnic Jewish groups. Palestine began to play the role of a potential political homeland to some Jews only after the First World War. Moreover, much of the spread of Zionism can be attributed to the experiences of the Jews in Europe and the fear of anti-Semitism here. Until the Hitler catastrophe and Palestine's intensive upbuilding which culminated in the establishment of Israel, Zionism continued to be rather weak. In the absence of a political center, memories of the old home, a potent factor for continuing the ethnics' bond of loyalty to the ancestral home, were, in the case of the Jews, directed more to the way of living in the home town or Jewish community rather than towards the history and patriotic traditions of the country or state. This is the reason for the greater strength of landsmanschaften organizations prevalent among the Jews than among the Christian Poles. In the case of the Italians,

the difference in the building up of loyalties is even more discernible. Many Italians discovered for the first time in America that they were Italians first, rather than only Sicilians or Calabrians. Jewish immigrants continued to emphasize their regional (Litvak, Galician, Polish) and town origins rather than their country-wide or governmental loyalties. The weakening of the federations of landsmanshaften can be partly attributed to this factor.

In contrast to the "new" immigrants from subdued countries, the Jews retained relatively very few linguistic loyalties. Because of the low opinion held of Yiddish in intellectual circles till the second decade of this century as well as its association with immigrant life, loyalty to this language generally lasted less than a generation. Moreover, neither Hebrew nor Yiddish were associated until the rise of Zionism and Communism with a state of homeland, hence the rapid transformation of American Jewry from Yiddish and Ladino speaking to a predominantly English speaking linguistic community.

## 2. Urban Composition and Educational background

In contrast to most of the newer immigrants who were of peasant stocks, an overwhelming majority of the Jewish immigrants came from the cities. As such, their adjustment to the urban life in the United States was a relatively easy one. Certain Jewish traditions and traits, such as the ability to adjust quickly in new surroundings, helped them to make their way in America. Their ancient tradition of learning and respect for the educated and professionals, as well as educational opportunities in the new land aided their rapid economic advancement. Other groups had to wait at least one generation before their children began to attend colleges and professional schools en masse. The road to the middle classes and the white collar occupations was thus easier for the Jewish worker and his children, with the result that the Jews in America are represented to a much larger extent than the other new immigrants in these economic strata. While the educated Italians, Poles and other members of the "new" immigration found ample economic opportunities for their talents in the civil and military services as well as in the skilled services required by the steady industrialization of their homelands, and therefore remained at home, educated Jews were discriminated against by the state and by the rising native middle and professional classes, and therefore had to seek immigration outlets together with the uneducated. Unlike most other "newer" immigrants, the Jewish newcomers were accompanied by intellectuals (not merely clerics), who provided them with leadership and were prepared to take up professions and middle class occupations.

## 3. Cultural Background

The average Italian or Polish peasant who came to this country was brought up in rather a simple milieu of the village. The major cultural factor was the Church to which he remained faithful. In the case of most of the members of the submerged nationalities, without independent states of their own, the situation was a little more complicated by the intimate identification of the Church with national resurgence. The Jewish immigrant from Eastern Europe left behind him a milieu increasingly torn by the strife of contending ideologies. At first the struggle was between Orthodoxy and Haskalah (Westernization), later complicated by the rise of Zionism and Socialism. Assimilation was an additional contending factor, at first in the guise of Russification and Polonization, later in the guise of cosmopolitan Socialism and Leftism. The immigrants brought those contending ideologies with them. In contrast, ideological divisions between the non-Jewish ethnics did not affect so many among them nor were they generally so vehement in their allegiance to them. These issues made for wide and lasting differences in the internal life of the Jews in America.

An additional factor prevalent only in the case of the Jews was their seemingly permanent status of an ubiquitous and frequently persecuted minority. While the approaches to the solution of their problems on the part of the adherents of the different ideologies was different, still in case of profound crises the common traditions of international solidarity remained a potent factor among all, except for the period of Communist isolationism (1917-1941). Zionism, too, accentuated the ties of American Jews with the Jewries in the other parts of the world. These experiences are unique only in the case of the Jewish people. But even in their widest application (and American Jewry being a Westernized group shies habitually at extreme application) such sentiments cannot be compared to political loyalties to mother countries. The establishment of Israel may affect his situation.

#### 4. Presence of an Older Established Community

The Jews of the "newer" immigration found upon their arrival in the United States longer established communities of Jews, predominantly of the German cultural periphery and origin. The German Jews have been Westernized before their arrival in the United States. Their attitudes to Judaism have gone through the stage of Germanization, a local form of assimilation, expressed mainly through German patriotism and Reform Judaism. They did generally not welcome their "unenlightened" Russian "correligionists". Yet, as it is unlike other immigrant groups, they could not help but be identified with them because of the insistence of the Christian world on such an identification. Immigrant Jews always raise the fear of anti-Semitism in the minds of the established Westernized groups. This fear was thus a major point of contact of the German Jews and the new immigrants. The first reaction of the older established group was the desire of Americanizing the immigrant according to their own image in order to allay the visible "differences". The clashes which resulted from the contacts still remain with us. The German Jews, whose major form of Jewish community expression was philanthropy, have managed to "assimilate" among them some of the children of the newcomers, particularly in the higher economic brackets. They have also managed to retain the control of a major expression of Jewish communal life, namely the philanthropic institutions. This continuous fear of anti-Semitism as allegedly accentuated by Jewish differences, "separation" and "bad manners", rather than by economic motives, another inheritance from the German Jewish immigration, has been a constant factor in the adjustment of the Jews within the order of American democracy.

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COURSE II.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN  
JEWISH COMMUNITY

Syllabus for Bloc D - INTELLECTUAL ASPECTS

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## INTELLECTUAL ASPECTS

"Today in ye clinic a tale is told of Dr. Levy who hath his name changed to Sullivan. A month after he cometh again to ye court, this time wishing to become Kilpatrick. On request for ye reason, he telleth ye court that ye patients continually ask of him, 'What was your name before?' If granted ye change, he shall then tell them 'Sullivan'."

From Samuel Pepy's Diary quoted by Mencken in  
The American Language, 1922, p. 335.

The intellectual aspects of Jewish life in the U.S. are a product of the European Jewish background as well as the consequences of the adjustment of the Jewish immigrants and their children to the new conditions of living. The intellectual aspects are an organic part of the American-Jewish culture, in the wider anthropological sense, which is evolving out of the predominantly East European Jewish culture patterns of the immigrant and his contact with the predominantly urban American culture. The European background has many ramifications, such as localism (Galician, Lithuanian), adjustment to European enlightenment and emancipation (Zionism, Bundism, Neo-Orthodoxy, secularism, the Russianized intellectuals), the changing role of religion, the changing roles of the Yiddish and Hebrew languages. The East European originated majority, at the same time, carries on the process of assimilating within it the Jewish sub-ethnic, the German Jew, the Ladino and Arabic speaking Jews, Italian and Dutch refugees. As it was pointed out (The Jews and Other Minorities, by A.G. Duker, Syllabus II-C-9,10,11-'49) the Jewish group reacts as the other ethnics, with certain changes that can be traced to the lack of a political homeland, and the differing status of the Yiddish language. In addition, however, the Jewish ethnic is also a member of the Jewish religious group. This would place him in a parallel situation with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox or Syrian immigrant, in whose cases religion and nationalism unite in the Church. In contrast to these, where the employment of the native language in the religious services is a potent link, the Jewish religion is not as completely tied to Hebrew and even less so to Yiddish. Moreover, the Jews form a more intensive community of fate, and constitute the unique religious minority in the world and in the U.S. Hence, while the direction of the adjustment of its members may be parallel closely to that of the other groups, the end result of complete assimilation fails to present as near a threat to its existence as to the other non-racial ethnic groups.

Like other ethnic groups, the American Jews have evolved a special culture of their own, shown in some religious and linguistic adjustment, status attributes, such as names, and group status references, as well as modifications of dietary habits. Like other immigrant groups, the Jews too have created many patterns of institutions and commercial services designed originally to serve the immigrant and then gradually modified to serve the needs of his children and their descendants. Urbanization, metropolitization, the mass immigration of the Jews to the U.S. and lack of planning and authority have conditioned the growths of these institutions into entities operating independently or nearly so of the organized community. This despite the fact that many of these institutions and services perform functions which are of direct interest to the communal worker and which in the old pattern of integral Jewish life as well as in other new places of Jewish settlement are carried out by the organized communities or under their control.

We shall now review these various developments and institutions, particularly from the point of view of their influence on the intellectual life and their relationship to community organization.

### Religious Changes

The split of the Jewish religion into different "denominations" in consequence of emancipation has been described elsewhere. (See syllabi for Course II-'49). The predominantly Christian character of this country and the drive of the Jewish ethnic for status have resulted in major modifications of Jewish religious habits and institutions, which hold true in varying degrees in the cases of all the religious groups. The rabbinical and cantorial gown, copied directly from that of the Protestant ministers, has been adopted even by the Orthodox. The custom of the publicly uttered prayer by the rabbi composed for a special occasion in the vernacular and recited while the members of the congregation stand with bowed heads (not a Jewish custom), too, have penetrated into the Orthodox synagogue. The disposal of headgear or the placing of the skull-cap in a highly inconspicuous position for outside consumption, as for instance in publicity photographs has even been demonstrated by the extreme Orthodox Agudath Israel (Rotogravure Section of The Forward, July 25, 1947). Confirmation is a custom adopted from the Christian practice. Of late, Father's and Mother's Day have been developing into cemetery visiting days, thus presenting a substitute for the customary visits tendered during the month of Ellul. In a different category is the Bath Mitzvah (Bar Mitzvah for girls) a custom developed in this country but recently. It still is in its infancy and was not widely adopted because of its requirements based on greater Jewish training. The change of the Hanukah candelabre to a "Hanukah bush" is mentioned in Henrietta Szold's memoirs, testifying that certain Christian influences are not new. The usage of Christian religious concepts by Jews has been commented on in a different place (See Religious Trends in American Jewish Life, by A.G. Duker - Syllabus II-B-Part V-'49). The very attraction of Christianity for Jews as a prestige bearing value should be considered in greater detail. Conversions, both official and unofficial, also follow certain trends and fashions. As Mencken remarked in The American Language, published in 1922: "Christian Science used to be the main way out of Judaism, now the Episcopalian Church seems to point the way." Among intellectuals, the drift seems to be towards Roman Catholicism. Unitarianism still attracts many. While genuine conversion motives cannot be disregarded, no doubt many of the changes are due to the common ethnics desire for rise in status, nor is conversion a particularly Jewish phenomenon. Similarly, it would be worth investigating the role played in good will work or community relations by the desire to protect the Jewish people and, in contrast, by the desire for rise in status through mingling of speakers and audiences. This desire also has its community organization repercussions, both in the angling of thinking towards the prime consideration of the good will elements so far as Jewish communal policy goes. It has its effects in the statistics of membership of Jewish organizations, contributions to Jewish causes, and even wills for charities. In turn, all these factors impinge directly or indirectly upon Jewish cultural expression.

### Linguistic Changes

The Americanization or Anglicization of the ethnics' language as a stage in the process of the adoption of the majority language by the descendants of the immigrants has been discussed above. It is assumed that the Jews because of their urban composition and greater literacy, have shown greater speed than other ethnics in the change to English. While other ethnics are prompted to adopt the majority language mainly or merely because of their desire for economic and status advancement by marking the distance from their immigrant days, there are additional factors in the Jewish culture pattern, namely the desire for status among the Christian majority as well as the low position in which Yiddish has been traditionally held. Thus the shift away from Yiddish has been a most rapid one.

Only a few examples can be given in a work of our type. Only 1,222,658 out of the total Jewish population of nearly five million in 1930 reported Yiddish as their mother tongue (not language of daily use). This in comparison with 1,750,000 in 1940, including 924,000 immigrants, 773,000 children of immigrants and native born, and characteristically 52,000 native born of native born parents. The circulation of daily Yiddish newspapers in the United States has shown a rapid decline. Circulation statistics of Yiddish books in the various branches of the New York Public Library similarly reveal a decline, while there was a very slight increase in the circulation of Hebrew books during the war. The decline of Yiddish is partly reflected in the customarily precarious economic situation of Yiddish writers, a subject which cannot be discussed in detail.

In community organization this tendency is shown in the Anglicization of the Orthodox synagogue, in the disappearance and decline of certain fraternal orders and organizations which have been catering basically to the Yiddish speaking elements, and had had no foresight or opportunity to make the necessary linguistic adjustment in time. The decline of Yiddish is also shown in the increasing use of English as the language of procedure at meetings of landsmanshaften and lodges of even the radical Yiddishist type. It is seen in the increased preferences for lecturers in the English language. These developments cannot be traced to the increasing knowledge of English alone. Unquestionably, an important role is played by the desire for status recognition through the abandonment of the immigrant-identifying Yiddish language.

A part of the process of linguistic change is the assimilation by Yiddish of English expressions, words and even syntax structure to the extent that persons coming from Europe or other immigrant receiving countries find it difficult to understand the American Yiddish and, in turn, many American Yiddish readers are no longer at home when it comes to reading literary Yiddish. Of course, this linguistic adoption of English words and phrases is common among all ethnic language groups. However, Mencken, the foremost student of American linguistic changes, and a person not over-friendly to Jews, claims that Yiddish "is a lady of easy virtue among the languages." True enough, throughout its history, Yiddish, which began as a German language, has taken over many words and expressions of the local languages of East European countries. It was even more liberal in borrowing in its newer milieus of the countries of immigration, particularly in English speaking countries. Loan words of this sort, including terms denoting objects and concepts not very common in the East European milieu (lounge, ice-box) as well as common terms (chair, but not table - tish; boys, but not girls - meidlach). In a different category is the term loksh for Italian, based on spaghetti, a dish encountered by the Jew in this country. Some popular Yiddish newspapers, particularly the Forward helped in this process. In France and Latin America the Gallicization and Iberization of Yiddish usually is found on the ad pages, because conscious efforts are made to keep them off the other pages. The same situation holds true in the case of the Yiddish radio hour. This process of Anglicization also has its effect on the stage, where in the typical musical comedy the younger characters often lapse into English, while all the characters mix their Yiddish with English words and rhymes. Often, a purer Hebraized Yiddish is employed for "Greenhorn" comedy effects.

The reverse of this process is the borrowing of Yiddish loanwords by the English language. This is facilitated by the economic position of the Jews as retailers and even more so by their prominence in the large urban centers and amusement industries. Some Yiddish expressions, such as ganoff, kosher and toches came via the German language, which has borrowed them centuries ago. They were brought here together with the German immigrants. Other expressions such as

"So what?", "Something else again", "I should worry!", "T. L." and "T.O.T." are direct borrowings from the East European Yiddish. These and similar ones are increasingly introduced to the show-goer's and radio-audience's vocabulary through the comedians among whom, interestingly enough, Fred Allen plays a leading role in this respect. Some of the loan words indicate the inferiority complex of the Jews. Mencken, for instance, mentions "Jewish cavalry", meaning quartermasters corps. The Jewish joke as an indication of the low status of the immigrant, the inferiority of the Jewish groups and the instrument for the admission of Yiddish words into English deserves further consideration. The Colgate "Can You Top This" Program features most prominently Jewish jokes. Nor are other radio programs devoid of them. Television will offer the opportunity for their delivery with appropriate gestures. The civic-protective agencies will doubtlessly be interested in these developments. Meanwhile, the English language, least virtuous in this respect, is the chief beneficiary of this process.

### Names

The practice of changing names stems in the case of Jews, at least, from a number of sources. First, it is a consequence of emancipation. The "enlightened" Jew everywhere in the desire to stress his adaptation, usually sported two sets of given names, the Hebrew name used for calling to Torah reading, prayers, or in case of the utterance of a prayer on behalf of a certain party, naming a child, deaths, etc., and, of course, in the tombstone inscription, which was usually bi-lingual. The other name was either Polish, Russian, German or American as the case may be. (Moshe turned into Moritz in Germany, Mieczyslaw in Poland, Marvin in the U.S.)

While , to judge by the paid announcements in the Sunday Times listings of births, not too much originality or variety is generally shown in the selection of given names by the children of immigrants, occasionally the world is presented with names such as Ming Toy Goldberg or Harvard Yale Ginzberg (who finally landed in Harvard). As Leonard Lyons informs us (N.Y. Post, September 2, 1948), the name of the son of Moss Hart and his wife, Kitty Carlisle, both Jews, is Christopher, an instance of the ultimate in the search for status. The second element, sharpened in particular in the case of Jews, is commonly found in the immigrants' desire for status, as foreignism is associated with a low status in this country. Difficulties in pronunciation present another cause for changes. In times of crisis, persons with names originated in enemy countries are apt to Americanize (really Anglo-Saxonize) them hurriedly, as in the case of the Germans and German Jews, particularly in World War I. Among Jews there is the added element of Antisemitism, and, of late even more so, of Jewish self-deprecation, if not self-hate. In consequence, the Biblical name has been almost abandoned by American Jews. Some biblical names are acceptable. Among these are David, Joseph, Joel, Michael, the latter usually identified as an Irish rather than a Hebrew name. Names like Israel, Abraham or Isaac are generally taboo. In the same category are Anglo-Saxon or general and other "American" names which have been all too well used by the Jews, as for instance, Morris, Isidore, Max and, of late, even Irving and Sidney. A rather rare reversal in the process is found among some of the Zionist minded, who give their children either biblical or new Palestinian. Hebraic names.

In selecting a set of "American" names to match the Jewish ones, care is usually taken to see that the initial letters are the same in both cases. That practice is so common that the names are generally viewed as equivalents, especially in cases such as Hyman for Hayim, Allen for Abraham, Donald for David, Harry or Harold for Hershel (Tzvi) or Mildred (earlier Molly) for Malkah, or even Miriam, or Estelle for Esther.

The avoidance of Hebraic-Biblical names is but one aspect of the process of the loss of prestige status of the Hebrew language in the U.S. It is worth noting that at least until the middle of the 19th century Hebrew was much respected and in fact taught in many universities and colleges, to a greater extent than it is today, thus carrying on the colonial tradition. The paradox of the decline in the status of Hebrew, coincidental with the numerical rise of the Jewish population remains to be investigated.

As for the family name, changes have been so rapid that the Jewish Welfare Board's study of Jews in the armed services in World War II reveals that from 50% to 60% of the names of Jews were generally "American" names, including Smiths, Browns and not excluding Dughertys and Flanagans. Thus Wolfson becomes Wilson, Levy is Lever, Cohen becomes Coyne, or Bohem, Rogowski is Rogers. Sometimes names are translated as, for instance, Carpenter for Stolar and King for Meilach. In most cases, such changes of family names are legalized by court action. Sometimes this is achieved against the protests of the Cabots who are not too anxious to share their names with the Kabotchniks. The lack of self-consciousness about this change of names is indicated in social advertisements. For instance, Rhoda Lucille Mintz's engagement is claudly announced to Jack Otis, son of Mrs. Helen Ottenheimer. (N.Y. Post, Jan. 10, 1942). Sometimes, the information is added that the name had been changed legally. There are also instances of changes of names immediately following the birth of the child, while the parents retain their family names.

#### Group Status References

The same desire for group status is reflected in the very names chosen by Jews to designate the Jewish people. The term "Jew" having been made an opprobrious by the Christian and Moslem churches, the emancipationists in Germany preferred to identify themselves as Israelites, a most common designation in the 19th century, which was also imported to these shores. The second half of the century also saw the increased use of the term "Hebrew", still preferred by some Jews today. Zionism was the chief factor in restoring the name "Jew" to dignity, so much so that even the American Council for Judaism prefers to identify the "followers of the Jewish religion" as "Jews" and not as "Israelites" or "Hebrews". The introduction of the new concept of the Israeli will probably help to stabilize the term "Jew".

The search for group status is also evident in the avoidance of references to Jewish connections or ancestry to the extent of a deliberate build-up of other ethnic groups. For example, the N.Y. Times obituary (January 2, 1942) of Albert Strunsky, "papa Strunsky to a generation of Greenwich Village artists, whose doings he so much admired that he refused at times to charge them rent," described this Jew as having a "soft Russian heart". Presumably a "soft Jewish heart" --- a Yiddish harts would run counter to the general Christian concept of the Jew. The writer of that obituary, most probably Simeon Strunsky, a brother of the deceased and an extreme assimilationist, did not see fit to challenge the accepted concept or could not face it. Similarly, Victor Riesel, a Jew, quoted in his column (N.Y. Post, July 11, 1946) an answer by the late Sidney Hillman (Clear it with Sidney) to the objection that he would be under constant attack in his role as head of the first defense production commission by stating "Why, it would mean that I, a Lithuanian lad, would practically be sitting in the President's cabinet." Hillman did not know a word of Lithuanian. Lithuanian Jews, furthermore, never identified themselves ethnically as Lithuanian, referring to themselves as Litvacks. The columnist evidently avoided putting in the adjective Jew or Litvack in the statement.

The instances of avoidance of Jewish group status point to a condition which affects Jewish intellectual life, the Jewish novel, play, drama, the Jewish periodical, and of course, also the Jewish organization and the Jewish communal institutions

## Dietary Preferences

Another and possibly the most important set of folkways, at the same time a foremost cultural survival element consists of the dietary habits of the Jews of Eastern Europe and their descendants who constitute the majority of the American Jewish community. These dietary preferences stem from both the kashruth requirements and the special type of cooking popular among Jews of Eastern Europe. The practice of Kashruth cannot be carried out without a number of supply and enforcement institutions and functionaries over whom the integral Jewish community exercised strict communal control. Animals and fowl had to be killed in a ritual wya - shehitah - hence the shohet, a functionary of great importance in the traditional community. Animals had to be inspected and examined. These were the functions of the mashgiach - inspector - and his immediate superior, the rabbi, who would be called in to decide more complicated questions connected with the anatomy and pathology of the animals or fowl. Next in the chain of the system was the butcher, supervised by the local rabbi who also served as an intermediary in the communal tax collection system, as a tax was usually imposed on kosher meat. This wrought hardship on the poorer classes, but provided for much of the community's budget.

Usually meat and meat products were the chief objects for kashruth control, in addition to the more stringent Passover provisions affecting flour, cereals and even milk. There was no kashruth control over products such as sugar, salt, milk, flour, bread and standard grocery staples, though it had been customary to purchase bread from Jewish bakers.

Urbanization, metropolitization and the very swift growth of the Jewish communities in the U.S. have brought far reaching modifications in the kashruth control system in this country. Conditions vary, but in the large cities control over kashruth is no longer in the hands of the community. The control begins with shehitah. Meat for Jews is processed and prepared by the large meat companies that supply the general market. While shohetim are employed, they are direct employees enjoying union contracts, (sometimes controlled by racketeers) with the companies. The supervising Orthodox rabbi, too, enjoy individual contractual relationship with the companies. Similarly, kashruth in the butcher shop, delicatessen store or restaurant is inspected in the large cities on the basis of individual arrangements with rabbis or "boards of kashruth" of certain districts or neighborhoods, also controlled by individual rabbis. There is no control exercised directly by the community, nor is there a direct financial benefit derived from the tremendous turnover of the kosher meat industry.

The same holds true of national food-products industries catering to the Jewish, not necessarily kosher, market. Staples, such as milk, sugar, salt, flour, usually bear a kashruth stamp. Then there are the various soaps, detergents, scouring powders and even tooth-pastes and lipsticks, which bear the kashruth stamp. In another category are the canned and prepared foods for the Jewish market, such as soups, pickles, blintzes, delicatessen, fish. These, too, present an additional source of income for the heksher - specialist. The Passover food and supply industry forms another similar and great source. Yahrtzeit candles, prayer books and shawls, memorial tablets, pens, rabbinical gowns and countless other objects are included within the Jewish market. Community control is usually lacking in these profitable industries.

Directly derived from kashruth needs, dietary habits and social segregation is the profitable summer and winter hotel industry, which with the economic rise of the Jewish middle and working classes have of late been attaining gigantic proportions. This industry affects Jewish communal life in a number of ways, not the least significant among them being the engagement of cantors, choirs and rabbis for the Passover,

High Holiday and other festival services, thus often depriving the community of important sources of income, interrupting Jewish school schedules, and reducing the season of communal activities.

Another important branch of the kosher and Jewish market is the catering industry. In smaller communities it is still a significant aspect of the activities of the synagogue or Jewish center. In the larger cities catering is completely in private hands independent of community control and in many cases even competing with established religious and communal institutions. The "reverend" or "twin-cantors" operating catering establishments not only limit the areas of the services of synagogue and center, but in their search and competition for clientele modify the ritual or introduce all types of bizarre innovations, accepted by the ignorant as legitimate parts of Jewish custom. The usher, ring bearer, dancing girls or released doves at a wedding ceremony, the new bar-mitzvah banquet with the huge 13 candle birthday cake rolled in on a conveyance --- all these are products of the uncontrolled and even berserk catering industry in the large cities.

Another source of revenue of the traditional Jewish community was the cemetery. In the larger cities, cemetery ownership is completely in private hands and so is the undertaking industry. The congregation, the lodge and the landsmanshaft are mere agents of the cemetery owner. Still, organizational cemetery properties run into hundreds of millions

Closely connected with these industries are the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press and radio hours. Advertising by these industries is an important source of income for the press, while the Yiddish radio hour in large cities is almost completely dependent on them, thus affecting an important cultural area of programming, song-writing, acting and other functions. Of special interest to the communal worker are the "arbitration" hours, which are not usually present on other foreign language programs.

The Yiddish radio hour and the phonograph and record market serve to modify and change listeners' tastes. The radio hour's language is usually a hybrid Yiddish. It has adjusted the tempo of the Yiddish folk-song to that of the jazz. The popular Baigelman Sisters sing as the Barry Sisters for the general audience. The search for customers among English speaking Jews has created the Jewish radio program in English, distinguished by the jazzifying or swing of the Yiddish or Hebrew folk-song sung in both the original and English translation, as well as featuring the liberal or Left-wing radio commentator. Yiddish speaking organizations and institutions are utilizing the Yiddish radio hour. English speaking organizations are just awakening to their potentialities. The profitable foreign language radio stations are privately owned, with the exception of WEVD, which belongs to the Yiddish daily Forward. One of the most prominent stations is the property of the Italian publisher, Geneoroso Pope. There are no Yiddish television hours but a beginning has been made of the utilization of this new medium by the Philadelphia community in a non-commercial effort to present information about Jews to the general public. All these services are concentrated in the hands of managers, agents and advertising agencies selling the "Jewish" market to the large non-Jewish controlled or own companies. These activities too impinge on the community relations field, as their influence reaches beyond the Jewish community.

### The Press

The daily press is a rather recent institution which arose with industrial society. While some historians of the press are fond of tracing its beginnings to the Acta Diurna, a daily official billboard published in the times of Julius Caesar, there is greater justice in tracing it to the Venetian Casetta (Gazetta) of the 16th century, and the various commercial bulletins made more interesting by the relation

of political and other news which sprang up in the 17th century throughout the commercial centers of Western and Central Europe. The first daily in Europe was the London Courant, published in 1702. The invention of the steam press in 1811 brought about mass circulation. The first newspaper in the colonies was the Boston News, published in 1699, and consisting of reprinted British press items. The 18th century saw a great rise in the American press, the Pensylvania Gazette, the first daily, however, appeared in 1784.

This sketchy history will serve as a parallel for the story of the Jewish press which, like its general counterpart, is a child of the industrial age and, more specifically, of the trend of emancipation. The first Jewish publications were commercial, originating in Amsterdam at the end of the 17th century. (Judeo-Spanish Gazeta de Amsterdam, January - November, 1678; Yiddish semi-weekly Kurant, August, 1686 - December 1687.)

The outbreak of the French Revolution led to the publication of the Maskilic and pro-emancipationist Diskuhrs (Yiddish weekly, 1798-99). Even earlier there began to appear in Germany the Maskilic Measeph (Miscellany - 1784-1811), introducing the Jewish reader to modern scholarship, and preaching the rebirth of the Hebrew language together with the emancipation and enlightenment of the Jew. These were followed in the 19th century by similar Hebrew miscellanies, published in Germany and Galicia.

The modern periodical of popular interest began to appear around the middle of the 19th century. Early in the century there was an attempt to publish a German monthly in Prague; a Dutch weekly Sulamith appeared in Holland for two years (1808). The German Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, published for over 100 years, saw the light in 1837. The Jewish Chronicle, still published in London, made its appearance in 1841. The French L'Univers Israelite appeared in 1844. A Ladino (Spanish-Jewish) weekly saw the light in Vienna in 1864. The same period saw the beginning of the Yiddish and Hebrew press. While an early Yiddish paper appeared in Warsaw in 1823, it was not until 1848 that Di Zeitung saw the light in Lemberg. The first important Hebrew newspaper Hatzefirah commenced publication in Warsaw in 1862 (continued with interruptions until 1928). In 1874, the Jewish immigrants provided enough hope for the commencement of a Yiddish newspaper in London. It was, however, in the U.S. that the Jewish daily paper became stabilized.

#### American Publications

The first Jewish periodical to appear in the U.S. was Jackson's The Jew (1825), a running dispute against a missionary magazine. In 1843, Isaac Leeser began to issue in Philadelphia The Occident and the American Jewish Advocate (published with interruptions until 1869). Other prominent Anglo-Jewish periodicals published in this country in the 19th century were The Asmonean (N.Y., 1849-58); The American Israelite, (Isaac M. Wise's personal publication, 1855-to date); the Jewish Messenger, (N.Y., 1857-1903). The years of 1870 to 1880 were a period of great growth for the Anglo-Jewish press, whose history is still to be written. The Reform-Orthodox controversy War supplied both ammunition for the fiery editor and interest for the reader.

Simultaneously with the Anglo-Jewish press, the German-Jewish periodical made its debut in this country. Commencing with the partly German Israel's Herold, published in 1849 by Isidore Busch (founder of the Busch fortune) there commenced a series of successful and ably edited papers, sometimes published in both languages. They disappeared by the turn of the century, as the descendants of the German immigrants discontinued their interest in German, and often also in Jewish culture. The recent wave of immigration from Germany saw a rebirth of the German-Jewish press, with the financially prosperous weekly Aufbau, also rated as the best Jewish weekly newspaper in this country.

## The Yiddish Press

Like its German counterpart, the Yiddish press also began as an immigrant press. The difficulties in its development were many. First, all editors and publishers during its earliest stage began without training, skills or capital in an immigrant environment of poverty and ignorance of modern media. The readers, too, had to be trained, as the average small town Jews from Eastern Europe in the 1870's never had seen a newspaper before in his life. Without a visible precedent, a journalistic style in Yiddish had to be worked out. It presented additional hardships because of the notion that literary Yiddish had to lean very closely on German (Deitchmerish language). Moreover, a class of writers had to be developed. Unlike the situation today, where many younger people write for Jewish periodicals because they find difficulties in selling their literary products elsewhere, the time of the genesis of the Yiddish press in this country was a relatively unrestricted period, with all professions open to the more literary and educated immigrants.

The first Yiddish newspaper Di Yiddishe Zeitung appeared between 1870 and 1871, in lithograph form with strong support of Tammany Hall. In 1872 one Sarapson began to publish the N.Y. Yiddishe Zeitung. He went bankrupt after five months. Again he attempted to publish a weekly in 1874 until he finally succeeded with his Tegleche Gazetten, 1881, begun as a daily, continued as a weekly. By that time, the Russian pogroms aroused the great interest of the immigrant population, and soon enough the mass immigration flooded these shores. Thus the press acquired a real economic basis. Consequently, the Yiddishe Tageblat established in 1885, began to be published five times weekly. It was swallowed up by the Morning Journal with the closing of the immigration in the 1920's.

The coming of the immigrant brought with it proletarianization, the sweat shop, class consciousness, unionization and the organization of a Socialist-Labor movement in which the Yiddish press played a most important part. The first Labor paper, the Poilisher Yidl, appeared in London, the chief stop-over of Jewish immigrants, in 1884. It was followed by the Arbeter Friend a year later. The Haymarket riots in the U.S. and the rise of the Anarchist movement stimulated the Jewish Labor movement, so that after the Socialist movement was split by the Anarchists in 1889, three Yiddish labor papers appeared, of which the Freie Arbeter Shtimme (Anarchist - 1890) still appears today. A number of papers appeared in the early 1890's. Again the split between the Socialist and the Socialist Labor Party resulted in the establishment of The Forward in 1897. It is still published today. The Communist-Socialist parting of the way gave birth in 1922 to The Freiheit.

It was not only the Labor movement that had influenced the Yiddish press. The Hearst era of the yellow press brought its Yiddish imitators, beginning in 1895 with men like Paley, outdoing their Hearst counterparts. Nor did the politicians in the search of the Jewish vote in the larger cities neglect the Yiddish press, particularly when they saw that in 1900 one paper, the Tageblatt, reached the circulation figure of 100,000. The betrayal of the Republican party by the Tageblatt caused the "uptown" Jews, Louis Marshall and Schiff, to launch a short lasting Yiddish daily in 1902. The rise of Zionism also influenced greatly the development of the Yiddish press, as did the protection of Jewish rights and the struggle about nationalism during and following World War I and the interest in Jewish affairs abroad during World War II.

The history of the Yiddish press can be divided into four periods: (1) the beginnings until 1900; (2) the period of growth from 1900 to 1916 with 11 dailies reaching the circulation of 646,000; (3) the period of stabilization, 1917-1927, with 10 dailies and a circulation of 510,597 to 598,000; and (4) the period of decline (1928 to date). The business story of the Yiddish press follows a similar history depending largely on the general economic situation, and even more so on the immigration statistics and events in Europe. The good years during the earlier stages were

1905-06, with the interest in the Russian Revolution. The greatest success was reached in the 1920's when the established papers reaped the benefit of the industrial appeal to the prosperous post-war Jewish market, and when even automobile advertisements began to appear in the Yiddish press. It was then that the Forward attained a circulation of 206,000. Because the owner of the Tageblatt who made his fortune in the sugar industry and refused to cover a \$30,000 deficit in 1927 (circulation of 35,000 --- good advertising figures), that newspaper was sold and merged with the Morning Journal in 1928, thus presaging future mergers and closings. Organization advertising during World War II was a major source of income for the press. By the end of World War II, only four Yiddish newspapers continued, all published in New York. The Forward reported in 1948 the daily circulation of 89,324 and the Sunday circulation of 104,628; The Freiheit had an estimated circulation of 20,911; The Day reported daily sales and subscriptions of 56,099, with Sunday figures of 62,109; The Jewish Journal (Morning Journal) reported a daily circulation of 50,792 and a Sunday circulation of 51,343. By the middle of 1948, the newspapers reported a slight rise in the circulation of The Day chiefly at the expense of The Forward. There was also talk of the possible merger of the Morning Journal and The Day, both under the same ownership, connected by family ties with the Joseph Jacobs Organization, the chief advertising agency in the Jewish market area.

The future of the Yiddish daily is most uncertain, chiefly because the privately owned newspapers have no capital reserve and depend on the interest of one person. These may finally end up in their last stage as cooperatives. The Forward is stabilized through capital reserves and protected by its ownership of the radio station WEVD. The Yiddish press faces the increasing competition of English language papers which make it their business to cater to the Jewish reader in the larger cities with the N.Y. Post and N.Y. Star as the chief examples. Experiments have been made with bi-lingual publications aimed at retaining the Yiddish reader and attracting his children. Three such weeklies appear (Milwaukeeer Wochenblat; The St. Louis Jewish Record, and the California Jewish Voice, the last reporting a circulation of 13,637 in 1947). More interesting are similar attempts by the New York dailies. In addition to the German-English combinations of the 19th century, there is on record a four-language publication (Post, 1871). In 1902, the Yiddishe Welt carried an English page edited by Rose Pastor Stokes. In 1914, in the 1920's and in 1945 to date The Day made such experiments. The Tageblatt had a daily English section since the early 1920's. The Forward made an elaborate experiment with a weekly section in the 1930's. The consensus in the field is that the daily English page will become a regular feature in the last stage of the Yiddish newspaper.

Mention should also be made of Yiddish columns and sections in English papers. The Hearst press has made such experiments particularly around election times in several cities. The Christian Science Monitor carries occasional editorials in Yiddish, the same as in other languages.

In conclusion, it may be pertinent to summarize in brief the permanent achievements of the Yiddish press. It Westernized and enlightened the small town Jews. It helped in the Americanization process. It spread information about Jews. It exerted a potent influence in spreading Democratic, progressive, liberal and survivalist ideas about Jews. It acted as a spokesman for the Jewish community before the general American public, particularly on political matters (e.g. Zionism). It generally proved successful when it was independent and spoke up vigorously.

#### The Anglo-Jewish Newspaper

Unlike the Yiddish press, whose center has been New York (the out-of-town editions are either mailed in New York or published from mats), the Anglo-Jewish periodicals are spread out throughout the country. The American Jewish Year Book lists 79 such publications in 1948. The local paper usually began with a printer

hiring an advertising man, who sells advertising on the basis of good will and inter-faith functions. The 19th century counterpart was usually edited by the rabbi and was generally a better publication than the contemporary ones. It is estimated that about 250 to 300 journalists are employed in this field. Bordering so closely on publicity, Anglo-Jewish journalism has graduated many into the profession of public relations. The median salary of the editors and advertising managers was \$4,500 in 1947. There are no educational requirements or standards for employment in this field. The trend is now for starting papers in communities with less than 25,000 Jews. While most of the papers subsist on publicity handouts by national organizations and syndicated material by the agencies, some weeklies form the notable exception. Among them are the Boston Jewish Advocate, the Pittsburgh Jewish Criterion and The National Jewish Post (Indianapolis), which presents an attempt to become a truly national paper after the failure of the great New York weeklies in the 1920's (The Jewish Tribune, The American Hebrew). Another trend today is in favor of communal ownership of the local paper. Such communally owned papers exist in Seattle, Bridgeport, Newark, Schenectady, San Francisco, and Jacksonville.

Circulation figures of the Anglo-Jewish press are difficult to ascertain, as few have taken the trouble of reporting them in the standard circulation directory. The American Hebrew (N.Y.) reported a circulation of 25,854. It is assumed that the Brooklyn Examiner has twice that circulation. The literary, political and organizational publications will be discussed in connection with cultural publications.

Yiddish journalists are organized in the strongly entrenched J.L. Perez Verein, their practically closed trade union. The editors and writers in the Anglo-Jewish field are unorganized. In 1939 an attempt was made to rally them around the American Jewish Press Club, which ceased functioning in 1941. A number of reasons contributed to this decline, the chief being the lack of a clear line of division between publicity men and journalists, and the difficulty of conducting activities along trade union lines in a field, where staffs are relatively small and the change of personnel very rapid, few people desiring to devote their professional future to Anglo-Jewish journalism where financial remuneration is generally low, by contrast with public relations.

In May 1944, the Anglo-Jewish Publishers Association was organized at Indianapolis. No doubt a major reason for its organization was the threat by the national organizations in the field of civic defense to take strong measures against non-ethical and high-pressure solicitation of advertising among non-Jewish firms. The publishers are campaigning for subventions from the United Jewish Appeal.

### Yiddish Cultural Expression

The daily press presents but one of the many facets of the cultural life of the immigrant generation. Possibly, at no point in history, with the exception of the Bolshevik Revolution, had the impact of modernization, expressed in Westernization and secularism, affected such large masses of Jews at so fast a pace, as it did in the case of the East European immigrants to this country. Not only did the immigrant become acquainted with the newspaper which he had dignified into an almost sacred cultural institution, advisor on politics, father confessor, morality and family life, but he also discovered or learned to enjoy the theatre, the phonograph record and the literary production.

### The Theatre

The history of the theatre among Jews dates back to renaissance Italy. That of the Yiddish theatre begins with the minstrel of the 15th century developed into the Purim spieler. The first real plays are a product, like other modern institutions in Jewish life, of the Haskalah, the first Yiddish comedy having been composed by Euchel,

a student of Kant. The Yiddish theatre was established on a professional basis by Abraham Goldfaden in Rumania in 1876. Largely because of the censorship difficulties in Russia, the theatre was brought over here with the first major wave of the Russian immigrants, for whom it constituted, in the absence of motion pictures, radio and the beer garden, the prime means for entertainment as well as emotional release and education. With the improvement of taste and arrival of a more intellectual type of immigrants, the early sensational melodramas by Lateiner, Hurwitz and Zolotarewsky gave way to the modern dramas of Gordin, Pinski and Sholem Ash. American Jewish life was reflected in plays by Libin and Kobrin. On the highly intellectual level were the plays by Leivik, Leyeless' Messianic themes and Sackler's historical dramas. As for the less serious fare, the musical comedy has always been with the theatre and is still with it today. Attuned to the immigrant's life, it satirized the greenhorn, the wedding, the allrightnick and, of late, also the American born imp and soldier boy, the latter a seasonal reflection of the war-time situation. The post-war world has served to introduce the theme of the DP and to emphasize the struggle about Israel.

The closing of immigration as well as the development of the motion pictures and radio, have brought about a deep crisis to the Yiddish theatre. In contrast to the several scores of theatres which functioned in most large cities with sizeable Jewish populations, the Yiddish theatre is now concentrated in N.Y. (usually five to seven theatres, playing short seasons) with few road companies making the occasional rounds of the very largest cities. The Yiddish Art Theatre remains the only institution of its kind devoted to the serious drama. Other theatres feature the musical comedy. Of late, even that branch of entertainment is increasingly shared with the motion picture and vaudeville. There are also several amateur and semi-professional groups devoted to the serious plays. The amateur theatre no longer plays the significant role of the immigrant days, except for some Yiddish school performances by children.

"Second Avenue" has made many contributions to the American theatre and motion picture world, both in terms of personnel (Paul Muni, Joseph Buloff, the Adlers and some directors) as well as musical motifs. In contrast to the very sizeable if not dominant contributions made by East European Jews and their descendants to the American theatre, particularly in play writing, the decline of the Yiddish theatre and the failure to build up an English language Jewish theatre are most striking. There are no comparative studies on this subject, but the generalization may be in order that this gap can be traced in some measure at least to the inferiority feeling of the ethnic as well as the general assimilationist tendencies in American Jewish life.

The Hebrew theatre in this country has been expressed almost exclusively in amateur performances. An attempt is now being made to maintain Pargod, a semi-professional theatre in Hebrew. The influence of Israel in the revival of the Hebrew theatre in this country is still to be seen. A new Anglo-Jewish theatre will open this Fall.

Though a number of plays of Jewish interest have been shown on the American stage, an abortive attempt to create an Anglo-Jewish theatre failed in the 1920's. Noteworthy among the plays on Jewish themes were An-Sky's The Dybbuk performed by the Grand St. Playhouse. The proletarian play of the 1930's featured a Jewish theme in Clifford Odets' Awake and Sing. The American born Bronxite's foibles were exploited in Having a Wonderful Time, a Kober comedy. The lack of interest in this field can be contrasted with the preponderance of Jewish playwrights.

#### The Yiddish Motion Picture

Most Yiddish motion pictures were produced in Poland and in the U.S.S.R. It is doubtful whether there are altogether twenty Yiddish films. Those made in the U.S.

specialized in musical rendition, the cantor-actor Moyshe Oisher having been starred in three films, with Second Avenue musical stars (Molly Picon, Miriam Kressyn) appearing in some Polish films made with due consideration to the American market. Of the purely artistic films made in the U.S., worthy of mention are Maurice Schwartz' Tevye (a Sholem Aleichem theme) and Perez Hirschbein's Green Fields, with Helen Beverly. The Yiddish motion picture, it can be seen, has failed to play the role that the films have played in the general world of entertainment.

### Yiddish Literature

#### Poetry

Poetry was and continues to be the chief expression of Yiddish literary talent in the U.S., with over 100 names of prominence, including Reisen, Lyessin, I.J. Schwartz (great American epics) Mani Leib, Zishe Landau, Reuben Eisland, Leyeless, Boreisho, Leivick, Bialostotsky, Wiener, Lutzky, Fineberg and others. Poetry still flourishes, with many volumes usually published by the authors themselves and several small magazines, devoted to it to a large extent (most prominent Getzeltn). Poetry is featured regularly in the daily paper and in most periodicals.

#### The Novel

The Yiddish novel in this country catered to both the immigrant masses as well as to the more intellectual reader. In the 1880's began the custom of publishing weekly installment novels in brochure form peddled by newspaper boys, at one time a serious competitor to the newspaper. The brochure was carried over into the daily press in the form of thrillers, dealing with historical events, adjustment of Jews to America, intermarriage, etc. These are still a daily feature of the "novel" page in every Yiddish newspaper.

America is represented in the more serious fiction by some of the greatest names in Yiddish literature. The Yiddish novelist like the poet deals both with the old world as well as with the American background. Among the important names are Joseph Opatoshu (In Polish Woods), I.J. Singer (Yoshe Kalb, Brothers Ashkenazi) I. Bashevis, as well as many of the names mentioned in the parts dealing with poetry. Quite a number of novels have been translated into English. The difficulties of the Yiddish author spring not only from the decline in the number of readers, present and potential. The decline is a consequence of the closing of immigration and the changing mores of the immigrant, which result in the general American he-man attitude towards book-reading, usually left to the society woman. Some of the difficulties to the unorganized and unscientifically managed publishing field.

The Yiddish book market has been facing a grave crisis, so much so that private publishing firms of Yiddish books are almost completely out of existence. Yiddish books are published either by the authors, some of whom are forced to sell them themselves, or, what is more frequent, with the aid of a landsmanshaft, a lodge or by one of the several Yiddish culturist groups.

Following are the foremost cultural organizations which publish Yiddish books. The Central Yiddish Culture Organization (CYCO) controlled by all non-communist periphery groups, including the Labor Zionists and the Bundists, has published many volumes of all types of contents, including important works of martyr literature (Kiddush Hashem). Its chief organ is the monthly Tsukunft. Its Left-wing counterpart, the YKUF (Yiddish Kulture Farband) has specialized in the republication of classics and of Soviet histories of literature. It publishes the periodical Yiddishe Kultur. The Yiddish Scientific Institute concentrates on scholarly publications. The recent immigrants of the Bundist movement have published a number of very

important volumes on the history of the Jews and the Labor movement in Poland, as well as of the recent Jewish catastrophe. Similarly, Der Vecker (Anti-Zionist Socialist), the Workmen's Circle, the Jewish National Workers Alliance, Undzer Weg (Ahdut Haavodah), have all produced some very notable volumes, some backed by individual chapters or branches of the fraternal orders, a practice still to be emulated in the Anglo-Jewish field by the English-speaking counterparts. The Louis La Med Fund issues annual prizes for works in Yiddish and Hebrew, while the David Ignatieff Fund backs the publication of literary works in Yiddish.

### Jewish Literature in English

The casual but not inconsiderable literature by Jews on Jewish themes of the 19th century still awaits its historian. The novel about the Jew in this country in the 20th century was first concerned with the immigrant and his adjustment, emphasizing the opportunity in this country (May Antin, The Promised Land, or the deterioration of the individual as a consequence of his materialistic Americanization (Abraham Cahan's Dreiserian Rise of David Levinsky). The rather large Yiddish literature (many novels) and sizeable Hebrew literature (many short stories) dealing with the themes of de-Judaization and human deterioration have not as yet found their English translator or even historian. The immigrant and the East Side ghetto have also been the themes of the writings of Anzia Yezierska (the sentimental novel) Edna Ferber's Fanny Herself and Fanny Hurst's Humoresque. Montague Glass' humorous Potash and Perlmutter portray the adjustment of the immigrant. Immigrant novels continue to be published even today. They tend to include concentration on the American born generation, emphasizing as they do the clash of tradition (Joe Sinclair's Wasteland). The gangster theme is also part of the East Side Novel (The Ragged Edge, by Jack Karney; Burial of the Fruit, by David Dortort). The current emphasis is on the child delinquent and youthful gangster. Haunch, Paunch and Jowl, by Harry Kurnitz, belongs to the same East Side school, but it may also be considered a forerunner of the proletarian novel or the socially conscious school of writers. Michael Gold's Jews Without Money is one of the best known of these. Another important writer in this area is Albert Halper (The Chute, Sons and Fathers, Little People). Most promising is Henry Roth (Call It Sleep). Meyer Levin's The Old Bunch and Citizens are obviously in the tradition of James Farrell's Studs Lonigan, except that Levin's characters do turn out to be solid citizens and that the Jewish ghetto was never as sordid as the Irish one, possibly because of the lack of the alcoholic factor. Of special interest is Dahlberg's Those Who Perish, a social protest novel dealing with a Jewish community center. In the same class is Isidore Schneider's From the Kingdom of Necessity. The proletarian novel entered a different road during the war and after, namely the direct emphasis on Antisemitism and the fight against it. Most novels of this sort follow the pattern of Sinclair Lewis' It Can't Happen Here. Preaching prevention lest it does happen, the plot usually stops with the expose of the subversive groups in most operating with industrialists. Following are some of the typical novels of this type: Lawrence Lipton, Brother the Laugh is Bitter and In Secret Battle; Arthur Miller, The Focus; Charles Dvoskin, Shadow Over the Land; Lewis Browne, See What I Mean, and John Raeburt, Seneca, N.Y.

The expose tradition degenerated in the case of several writers into straight Antisemitic presentation. Ben Hecht's A Jew In Love is one of the earliest examples. Jerome Weidman's I Can Get It For You Wholesale and What's In It For Me continues the tradition of merciless expose without redeeming features as applied to the clothing industry. Bud Schulberg's What Makes Sammy Run (serialized in the Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung during World War II) and James Pollak's The Golden Egg are applications of this approach to Hollywood.

The intermarriage novel bids fair to become the most numerous branch of fiction on Jewish themes. The style was set for it by Gwenthlyne Graham's Earth and High

Heaven, which like Sholem Asch's East River was on the best seller list. Laura Hobson's Gentleman's Agreement also borders on the intermarriage novel at least in approach. About 12 volumes of this sort have appeared within the past two years.

The characteristics of this type of literature reflect the cultural milieu of Jews who seek acceptance in Gentile society as well as that of the outside society which is willing to accept them only in part. The male is, in most cases, the Jewish partner of the intermarriage solution. Novels in which a Gentile falls in love with a Jewish woman are rare. The Jewish partner is usually an idealistic person, fairly acceptable except for occasional racial or cultural quirks which hold fascination at least in the eyes of the general reader. It is usually his Jewish relatives who are portrayed as impossible or unacceptable. The themes are usually autobiographical.

The themes of the newer realism based on psychological interpretation and veering away from the proletarian approach bid to be fairly well indicative of more increasing interest, that is motivated by class consciousness, in Jewish themes, with emphasis on the alienation of the American Jew. The more serious novelists of this type are Saul Bellow (Dangling Man, The Victim), Delmore Schwartz (Genesis, The World is a Wedding) and Isaac Rosenfield (Passage from Home).

Ludwig Lewisohn is the dean of the positivist school of the novel which approaches Jewish life from a survivalist angle. The Island Within will probably remain his best known work. Others in the group include Irving Fineman (Dr. Adams, Hear Ye Sons); Robert Nathan (Road of Ages), Charles Reznikoff (historical novels as well as some very fine poetry), Meyer Levin (Yehuda, His Father's House).

A number of American Jewish poets have written occasionally on Jewish themes. Outstanding among them are Louis Untermeyer, Maxwell Bodenheim, Babette Deutsch, Kenneth Fearing and Paul Eldridge. Of the current realistic school the best known is Delmore Schwartz. Almost exclusively interested in Jewish themes is Abraham M. Klein, whom Lewisohn aptly described as the "first contributor of authentic Jewish poetry in the English language." Of lighter scope was Jessie Sampter.

#### Anglo-Jewish Literature

The difficulties inherent in English fiction on Jewish themes spring from the status of the Jew. Jewishness is identified in the public mind as primarily, if not exclusively, a religious attribute. Thus Jewish literature in English has been hitherto doomed to share in the mind of the general American public the fate of the specifically Catholic or Protestant denominational literature, which is purchased only by members of these particular religious groups to whom it is addressed. However, the average Jewish reader follows the general public's taste in sticking to the best sellers. The more intellectual are usually less concerned with the "parochial" Jewish literature. Hence, the market for Jewish works in English is rather a small one. A book like Marie Syrkin's Blessed is the Match sold less than 20,000 copies, a small number indeed in comparison to the number of Jews in America. Publishers of general books have their quota of the novel of Jewish content. The past half decade, however, has shown a noticeable trend of improvement in the distribution of the novel or even serious works of Jewish interest. These strictures do not pertain to the didactic public relations novel written for the purpose of fighting Antisemitism or minimizing Jewish differences through intermarriage. The intermarriage novel of which at least twenty volumes have appeared within the past three years is popularized, first because the Jewish buyer and community relations organization place it well in the road of the best or better seller, (Gentleman's Agreement, Earth and High Heaven). Once the first 20,000 copies or so have been sold and the proper publicity steps undertaken, the novel begins to sell on its own momentum.

The position of the Jew in the world today and the establishment of the statehood of Israel are likely to have a significant effect on the sale of the Jewish books in English. It is more difficult to generalize about the choice of themes or positive approach, though on the whole the most recent novel seems to indicate a tendency of accepting the Jew as such without taking for granted the assimilationist solution. (Abraham Bernstein, Home is the Hunted; Merle Miller, That Winter).

The extent and variety of non-fiction publications can be gauged from the various bibliographies issued by the Training Bureau.

### Publishers

Almost every general publishing house in this country is now attempting to tap the "Jewish" or the Jewish interest market, and it would seem that the more popular books, particularly in fiction, are issued by general publishers. As among other ethnic groups with specific religious characteristics, there exist among Jews, too, publishing houses dealing exclusively with Jewish books. The oldest firm of this kind is the Bloch Publishing Company, which has concentrated on Anglo-Judaica and does much of the commercial publishing. The Hebrew Publishing Company which concentrates on standard liturgical books, Hebrew and Yiddish text-books, has of late been paying more attention to the Judaica in English. The Jewish Publication Society is the oldest communal publishing house, specializing chiefly in classics and standard books, with less interest in fiction. Schocken Books, a new firm, has been specializing in books for the more discriminating public with strong tendency for modern realism and "spiritual" values (Kafka, Scholem, Buber). Behrman House is another Jewish publisher which has made significant contributions in design and appearance of books. Sharon Books is the publishing house of the Labor Zionist movement and has specialized in books chiefly within that interest. Publications by rabbinical training institutions will be discussed below. It should be added here that the pioneer job among the religious groups in the text book publication has been done by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Of late, other organizations (United Synagogue, Mizrahi) have also begun to tap this lucrative market. The Jewish Book Council of America sponsored by the National Jewish Welfare Board, attempts to stimulate interest in the Jewish Book. It publishes in Jewish Bookland and the Jewish Book Annual.

### Phonograph Records

Great expansion has also been shown in the production and sale of the Jewish phonograph, this following the general trend in the field. The record has been a most popular institution among all immigrant groups, and the addition of the East European Jew to cantorial music has added another element of attachment to the usual immigrant's folk interest. Many Jewish organizations have been experimenting with the publication of records, with concentration on Palestinian songs. Cantorial music and the Yiddish folk-song in its Second Avenue renditions and transformations remain the major sellers in this predominantly commercialized market. More prominent than among other ethnic groups is the role of the vulgar, often off color, records, with their mixed Yiddish-English play on words. They constitute some of the best sellers in the market.

### Periodical Literature

Significant growth has been shown in the field of periodical publications as distinguished from the weekly newspaper. It is interesting to note, however, that there are few independently published periodicals, and that most among these, particularly those enjoying greater circulation, are published by organizations.

The Menorah Journal, again a quarterly, continues to be the most ably edited periodical in English. Another independent publication is the monthly Opinion which circulates in over 25,000 copies. The Jewish Forum and the popular Jewish Spectator are independent Orthodox monthly publications. The Chicago Jewish Forum, a quarterly, is in the same class of independent periodicals, and incidentally, constitutes the only serious publication of this kind published outside of New York, the center in the field.

Organizational periodicals which contain enough reading matter of general interest furnish the fare of the average readers. The National Jewish Monthly, published by the B'nai B'rith, reported a circulation of 176,769. The Hadassah Newsletter probably enjoys a large one, as does the more parochial New Palestine (published by the Zionist Organization of America).

Following are outstanding among the more "intellectual" magazines: the monthly Commentary (formerly Contemporary Jewish Record) is a non-Zionist periodical advocating a cultural revival independent of Israel and published by the American Jewish Committee; the monthly Jewish Frontier is the class publication of the Labor Zionist Organization, while Furrows, a monthly, is the more vigorously edited spokesman for its youth movement. Youth and Nation represents the secular, left-wing Hebraist expression of the Hashomer Hatzair movement. The Reconstructionist is a vigorously edited bi-weekly with much interest in the communal scene. Congress Weekly is another militant publication issued by the American Jewish Congress (circulation 63,000), while Jewish Life is an ably edited Communist periphery monthly. Other ideological groups are represented by lesser known publications. The Answer is the weekly organ of the extreme Revisionists. Orthodox Jewish Life is a bi-monthly published by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform-Liberal) publishes the popular monthly Liberal Judaism (circulation ca. 75,000). The Conservative group issues the quarterly Conservative Judaism catering predominantly to rabbis.

There are a number of important Yiddish periodicals. The popular Der Amerikaner, a weekly, enjoys a large circulation. The best political cultural weekly is the Yiddisher Kemfer published by the Labor Zionist Organization. The Tzukunft, published by CYCO, excels among the monthlies. Der Wecker is a monthly published by the anti-Zionist Socialist Verband. The Getseltn is a literary monthly. Ainkeit is a pro-Soviet monthly publication, as is Yiddishe Kultur, published by YKUF. The Bundists publish Undzer Tsait, while the Achduth Avodah publish Undzer Veg. There are a number of other periodicals in the field. Mention should also be made of publications in Ladino, Polish, Hungarian. A number of periodicals appear in Hebrew. The more popular are the weekly Hadoar and the monthly Bitzaron. Also published are the annuals Hatekufah and Sepher Hashana Leyehudei America. The role of Hebrew in the cultural life of American Jewry is of course more prominent in the educational field.

### Research

With the destruction of the Jewish cultural centers in Europe, it is commonly acknowledged that the United States and Israel remain the mainstays of Jewish scholarship. It is generally little known that the greatest scholarly output is in the field of rabbinics. Talmudical commentaries and responsa in Hebrew are published and photo-reprinted in very large numbers. These publications follow the traditional pattern in format and contents. Modern scholarly work is centered about the rabbinical training institutions. The faculties of the major three institutions, the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Yeshiva University have made most significant contributions

to Jewish learning. The emphasis on research by faculty members as well as students (graduation theses, class essays) is predominantly on theology and ancient and medieval Jewish history. Generally speaking, there is less emphasis in the teaching on modern and contemporary aspects of Jewish life. In fact, one of the seminaries does not provide for the teaching of Jewish history beyond the 18th century. Research by the faculty members, therefore, usually specializes in the same areas as the general teaching. Hence relatively little scholarly investigation is undertaken by faculty members on modern Jewish problems or American Jewish affairs, not to speak of community organization.

Since teaching is a part time occupation in the seminaries, faculty members are expected to concentrate on research. In turn, it is presumed that connections with the institutions make it possible for the teaching staff to publish the results of their investigations. The Hebrew Union College, in addition to other series mostly dealing with Genizah studies and theology, publishes the Hebrew Union College Annual, in which increasing attention is being given to the history of Jewish arts and music as well as philanthropy. The Jewish Theological Seminary has concentrated on publications based on Genizah studies and the edited text of the Jerusalem Talmud as well as a number of historical series. Yeshiva University publishes the periodicals Horeb and Talpioth.

The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary and the Library of the Hebrew Union College constitute, in addition to that of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, the greatest collections of books of Jewish interest in the U.S.

Two endowed chairs in Jewish studies are also maintained at Harvard and Columbia universities. The number of graduate students in the Jewish field is rather limited while the number of Ph.D. degrees granted by both these institutions usually does not exceed one per year, with Columbia University occupying the first place. New York University maintains a chair in Jewish culture as part of its Department of Education. In addition, Ph.D. dissertations of Jewish interest are occasionally produced at other universities; occasional sociology theses at Chicago University, education theses at Teachers College with a stray degree at Yale and Johns Hopkins. More Ph.D. degrees are granted at the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning in Philadelphia. Dropsie College is a graduate institution with a decided shift to two subjects of contemporary interest, education and the Near East. Dropsie College publishes the Jewish Quarterly Review, as well as books reprinted from the periodicals, and its doctoral dissertations. In addition to scholars with academic connections, there are a number of others carrying on scholarly work, some without any communal support. To a lesser extent scholarly production also emanates from the colleges of Jewish studies and teachers institutes. Most important in the field of research of modern aspects of Jewish life are the Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO) and the Conference on Jewish Relations. The YIVO which has produced most important studies in East European Jewish history and life, the Labor movement, the Jewish catastrophe and Yiddish linguistics, has been slowly adopting English as its second language of publications. Its chief publications are the Yivo Bleter in Yiddish and the Yivo Jewish Social Science Annual in English. The Conference has conducted some occupational and population surveys in connection with other organizations. It has published a volume of essays on Antisemitism as well as a volume of population studies. Its major publication is the quarterly Jewish Social Studies. In their population and community surveys, both the Yivo and the Conference on Jewish Relations have touched upon a field usually covered by the professional social workers through the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds and the Jewish Welfare Board. Most of the surveys in this field, with the exception of a doctoral dissertation or two, have been conducted under the auspices of the last mentioned organizations, often as communal self-studies. The B'nai B'rith concentrates on the study of Jewish students in the U.S. as well as on economic adjustments. Prominent in this area is the Jewish Occupational Council. The Yankee City project as well as other works serve to indicate that some social research of Jewish interest

is also achieved, to a small extent, in the process of studying the total community. Generally, studies in modern aspects of Jewish life are few and an in-between, with the most glaring deficiencies observed in the field of social anthropology.

Another publication of interest in the field is The Jewish Review, published by the Jewish Teachers' Institute and People's University, a Labor Zionist educational institution, which has also commenced a series of publications in Jewish education and communal trends. The Jewish Social Service Quarterly, published by the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, and The Jewish Community, a monthly published by the Council of Federations, frequently feature results of social surveys or reports thereof.

The study of American Jewish history has been concentrated in the American Jewish Historical Society, sponsored since 1948 by the Jewish Welfare Board. The Society has been issuing its cumulative Publications which are scheduled to appear as a quarterly in the Fall of 1948. The Hebrew Union College has also commenced in the same year the publication of the American Jewish Archives, a quarterly devoted to historical studies. Historia Judaica, a periodical edited and privately published by a leading Jewish historian is another important scholarly publication. The American Academy for Jewish Research, an association of scholars, chiefly with academic connections, also publishes an annual volume of Proceedings, devoted mainly to research in ancient and medieval history and literature. The Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences is a Jewish adaptation of similar lay-scholarly institutions in the general fields. It publishes occasional papers. Other institutions in the field of research are the Jewish Statistical Bureau, which supplies the Jewish religious statistics to the U.S. Census authorities and is now connected with the Synagogue Council of America. The Jewish Information Bureau is a small organization devoted to purposes described by its very name. In this connection it is on the periphery of the civic-protective field, most of whose constituent national organizations maintain research departments or subsidize research on Antisemitism. Foremost among these are the American Jewish Committee which has been concentrating of late on psychiatric research, and the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress which has been interested more in action research. The Committee maintains a well organized and stocked Library of Information, and publishes the American Jewish Year Book, a standard reference volume. The American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress maintain a good library and the Institute on Jewish Affairs, which has published a most important series of volumes in connection with research on post-war Jewish problems. Similar publications, though less in number, were also issued by a no longer existing research institute of the American Jewish Committee. An institute of the Jewish Labor Committee now constitutes its Research Department and publishes an informative monthly bulletin, Faktn and Meinungen. The Agudath Israel maintained a small research institute, which, subsidized by the American Jewish Committee, published a volume on Shehitah legislation. The American Zionist Emergency Council maintains a research department, which publishes a monthly bulletin Palestine Affairs. The Zionist Archives and Library publishes Palestine and Zionism, a most useful bi-monthly cumulative bibliography in the style of the Readers Guide, as well as the Palestine Year Book.

Other organizational resources concerned directly or indirectly with research will be found in the bibliography dealing with this subject.

### Cultural Trends

Though interpretative, the material in this syllabus was presented with the idea of calling attention to social facts. We have refrained from entering in the discussion of the future of Jewish culture in America, which should form the natural basis for the consideration of the future trends of the intellectual life of the

Jewish community. The ideological approaches to this question vary and are still in a state of flux. On the one extreme is the Diaspora Negatory position which maintains that Jewish life in this country should be a mere preparatory stage for the ultimate survival in Eretz Israel. On the other extreme are the schools which advocate a complete independence of American Jewish cultural life from Palestine. Some maintain that the genuine cultural expression of American Jewish life can be found only in a return to Hebrew or to religious life (often both). Others hold on to their secular Yiddishism. On the other extreme are those who advocate a culturist approach, non-religious (except for ethical nuances), non-national (except for some historical tradition), non-Zionist, and without consideration of Yiddish and Hebrew. Perhaps the social milieu of the community as described in the syllabus will help to discern the road between the ideal and the practical.

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