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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the curriculum that immigrant children encountered when they entered the New York City public schools at the beginning of the twentieth century. Focusing on the interaction between the curriculum and one group, East European Jews, the paper examines: (1) what the schools were attempting to teach Jewish and other immigrant students; and (2) if and how the Jewish community in New York sought to influence the nature and content of the public education that the children were receiving. It is suggested that New York City's German Jewish leadership and the leaders of public education shared the common concern of promoting the full assimilation and integration of East European Jews into American society. The paper describes how, toward this end, both elite groups collaborated on instructional programs designed to meet their transformational goals, and implemented the programs without ascertaining the wishes or seeking the consent of the East European Jewish community. (MJL)

Teaching America: East European Jewish Immigrants and the Public School Curriculum in Turn-of-the-Century New York City

by

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Title: Teaching America: East European Jewish Immigrants and the Public School Curriculum in Turn-of-the-century New York City

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The paper describes the curriculum that immigrant children encountered when they entered the New York City public schools at the beginning of the 20th century. It explores the interaction of the curriculum and one group, East European Jews, and seeks to determine 1) what the schools were attempting to teach to their Jewish (and other immigrant) students, and 2) if and how the Jewish community sought to influence the shape and substance of the public education their children were receiving.

It is concluded that New York's German-Jewish leadership and the leaders of public education shared a common agenda. They sought to use public education and its curriculum to transform East European Jewish immigrants socially, culturally and linguistically. Both élites collaborated on instructional programs designed to meet their transformational goals and implemented these programs without necessarily ascertaining the wishes or seeking the consent of the East European Jewish community.

Teaching America: East European Jewish Immigrants and the Public School Curriculum in Turn-of-the-Century New York City[1]

I. Introduction

The turn of the twentieth century was a time of heightened awareness that America was threatened with becoming a multi-cultural and multi-lingual society. This was viewed with alarm by the majority of native-born Americans, including many school professionals.[1] Instead of promoting cultural and linguistic diversity, many school leaders saw as their great task the transformation of the raw material presented to them, the non-English speaking "aliens," into proper English speaking Americans. As City Superintendent Maxwell stated:

> the majority of the people who now come to us have little akin to our language; they have little akin to our mode of thought; they have little akin to our customs; and they have little akin to our traditions. They come here and are planted in an environment totally different from that to which they have been accustomed. It is a great business of the department of education in this city... to train the immigrant child... to become a good American citizen.[2]

The content of instruction--courses of study to be pursued, and syllabi detailing the content of such studies--became an important instrument in the efforts to Americanize the schools' immigrant charges. What was to be taught in the rapidly growing and evolving public school system of turn-of-the-century N.Y.C. was strongly influenced by the presence of hundreds of thousands of immigrants thought to be in dire need of civilizing and Americanizing influences.

> we must teach /the immigrant child/ to take care of his health, so that he may become physically strong and vigorous. In the second place we must give him the power of using the English language. In the third place we should give him as good an intellectual education as his limited time will permit. Then we must teach him how to play, and we ought to teach him the rights and duties of an American citizen. All of these matters are included in the proper education of the immigrant child.[3]

In order to reach immigrant children, they had to be within the orbit of the public schools. Through voluntary participation and legal compulsion, an overwhelming proportion of immigrant parents sent their children to the public schools of N.Y.C. at the turn of the century. This was especially true among East European Jews who sent nearly all of their children to the public schools.[4] By 1914 approximately 275,000 Jewish children were attending the city's schools out of a total public school enrollment of 900,000.[5] The census of 1920 indicates that nearly 70% of N.Y.C.'s 5.6 million inhabitants were foreign born or children of foreign born parents, a proportion assumed to be reflected in the public school population.[6]

This paper will describe the curriculum that immigrant children encountered when they entered the New York City public schools at the beginning of the 20th C. We shall then explore the interaction of the school curriculum and one immigrant group, East European Jews, who arrived and settled in New York City in substantial numbers during this period. We will try to determine not only what the schools were attempting to teach to their Jewish and other immigrant students, but also if and how the Jewish community sought to influence the shape and substance of the public education their children were receiving.

Attendance of immigrant children at public school was the first of several conditions which had to be satisfied before the immigrant raw material could be transformed into proper Americans. The school system had to establish clear goals for itself (what they wanted to do to these children) and devise and implement a plan of action which would enable those goals to be realized. The curriculum developed by the professionals at the Board of Education became the instructional plan of action, the means to achieve social, cultural and linguistic transformation of immigrant children and children of immigrants.

If the schools were to be effective in achieving their transformational goals, they needed the support of the immigrant community. That support might be passive--no digging in of heels as the children were pulled into the dominant American culture. But active collaboration with immigrants and their institutional representatives was eagerly sought.

As I will seek to demonstrate in this paper, the success of the New York City Board of Education in devising and implementing an effective "curriculum of transformation" is due in large part to the active collaboration of key elements in the City's Jewish community.

II. The New York City Public School Curriculum of 1903

The City of Greater New York came into being in 1898, but it wasn't until the Charter revision of 1901 that the separate educational systems of the towns, cities and counties which predated the merged city were fully integrated. One of the first items of business of the newly constituted 46 person Board of Education, its City Superintendent, William H. Maxwell, and the eight Deputy Superintendents was the development of a

uniform curriculum for the City's elementary schools. The duration of the course was standardized at eight years[7] and a draft "Course of Study" circulated among teachers and principals was finally approved by the Board in 1903.

The principles underlying the 1903 curriculum and informing revisions were encapsulated by Maxwell in a 1912 article reviewing the achievements of New York's schools:

> These /principles/ are... the predominance of the study of English--a most necessary provision in a city whose population is so largely foreign; the inculcation of a love of good literature; the elimination of unnecessary details from the teaching of arithmatic, geography, and technical grammar; the requirement of hand work (in addition to drawing) in all grades--constructive work of many kinds for the younger children, and sewing and cooking for girls and carpenter work for boys; nature study, not merely as a training in observation but as an introduction to the materials and commodities which man has made subservient to his own needs and uses; history, not as a mere chronicle of events, but as an introduction to our "heritage" of institutions and as a reservoir of moral worth; the singing of high class music, as an elevating and inspiring influence; and physical training and athletics not only to correct defects of posture and to obviate the injurious results of close confinement at school work, but to inculcate the virtues of self-reliance and unselfish cooperation.[8]

The draft curriculum was circulated among school staff and a joint report was prepared by the Teachers' Association of Manhattan and the Bronx and the Male Principals' Association of Manhattan and the Bronx. In evaluating the curriculum, they took as a basic premise that elementary education had to "have its own ideal." The overwhelming majority of children would not go on to high school. "A subject has no right to claim admission to the elementary

curriculum simply because its admission would be a convenience to the high school."[9]

The above conception of elementary education as terminal for the majority clearly sets public primary education apart from private primary schooling of the day. The public curriculum had to prepare its students for direct entry into adult roles, and not serve as preamble to higher schooling. The teachers and principals also argued for a turning away from compulsory foreign language instruction at the upper elementary school (grammar school) level. In part this stance relates to the perception that elementary school ought to be complete within itself and at least minimally prepare its students to take up their life tasks at an early age (as it was certainly true that a majority of children would never complete the final year of primary school and that most would go to work as soon as the law and economic opportunity allowed). But it was also in recognition of the language backgrounds of public school children. They reported:

> a very strong sentiment, among the teaching body, against the compulsory teaching of foreign languages in the elementary schools. One principal writes that eighty-seven per cent of his register is made up of foreigners, comprising twenty-five nationalities. Under such conditions all the usual theoretic arguments in favor of foreign languages--the validity of which we admit--lose their force. To these children English is itself a foreign language; and to require them to master German or French along with English leads to a confusion of tongues and consumes time that had better be devoted to English. In neighborhoods where the study of foreign language is an aid to the study of English, or where the parents of children desire such study, it should be pursued.[10]

Maxwell responded most favorably to the above recommendation.[11] Thus prior to the 1903 Course of Study, the study of German or French had been a regular part of the upper elementary (grammar) school curriculum, as it was and continued to be in private schools. But by 1903 the presence of large numbers of non-English speakers served to knock modern foreign languages out of the required curriculum and into the category of an eighth year elective, along with stenography.

If we look at the Course of Study for the Elementary Schools (see Chart 1) which was approved in 1903 (and slightly revised in 1905), do we find the principles Maxwell said were there? The overriding concern for English language is apparent in the time allocation allotted to this subject--between 450-510 minutes per week in the first three years. While shorn, perhaps, of much "technical grammar," the English Course of Study and Syllabus still remains an omnibus subject including composition, penmanship, memorizing, spelling (from the second grade on) and reading. It was very much like its late 19th c. predecessor right down to the infusion of ethical lessons into the reading syllabus.

Running through subjects as disparate as reading, geography, history, civics, physical training/hygiene and drawing/constructive work, is a concern for inculcating students with the proper moral and ethical values and shaping their outward behaviors to conform to this inner vision. The injunction to be clean, orderly, responsible and polite would appear to be the implied creed of the New York City public schools. A few examples drawn from several of the 1903 Courses of Study can serve to suggest the "tone" of moral and ethical exhortation eminating from the public schoolhouse.

Chart 1: Curricula Adopted by the N.Y.C. Board of Education, 1903

Subject	Date Adopted Course of Study*	Date Adopted Syllabus**	Date(s) Revised
1. Course of Study for the Elem. Sch.(Summary document): Eng., Nature Study, Physical Train.& Hygiene, Math. Drawing & Constructive Work, Sewing, Music, Geog. (4A-7B), History (5A-5B) His.& Civics (6A-8B), Shop (7A-8B), Cooking (7A-8B), electives--French, German, Latin or Stenography	5/27/03	Oct. 1905	6/21/05 Latin & Steno. eliminated, '05
2. Ethics & English	5/27/03	Oct. 1905	6/21/05
3. Mathematics	5/27/03	6/18/03	
4. Kindergarten, Music, Physical Training & Hygiene	5/27/03	Oct. 1905	6/21/05
5. Nature Study, Elem. Science & Geography	5/27/03	6/18/03	6/21/05 (c. of s.) Oct.'05 (syll.) 6/11/07 (c of s, geog.) July'07 (syll-geog.)
6. Drawing, Constructive Work, Sewing & Cooking	5/27/03	6/18/03	
7. Moral Education (appended to Ethics & Eng.)	5/27/03		

* Courses of Study approved by the Board of Education.
** Syllabi approved by the Board of Superintendents.

Note: Curricula produced by the N.Y.C. Board of Education prior to W.W.I were not systematically archived or indexed. The curricula in this chart approximates a complete collection of elementary level documents. They were located at the following sites: The Division of Curriculum & Instruction and the Professional Library at the N.Y.C. Board of Education, the Manuscript Division of Teachers College Library and the Brooklyn College Library Special Collections. Efforts are now underway to gather all curriculum documents and insure that they are preserved and catalogued.

"A mind filled with worthy interests, high ideals, and helpful activities, has no room for evil," suggests the Course of Study in Ethics and English; Moral Education.[12] It was feared that children of the ghetto lacked such worthy interests, high ideals and helpful activities and thus it was the task of the school to supply them. Civic virtue was one such high ideal and the duties of citizens represented helpful activities. We find that the 1905 revision of the Geography Course of Study added "Duties of citizens and public officials" to the geographical topics of 4B. The children of the slovenly streets of the slums learned that it was a duty of citizens "to keep garbage and paper separate from ashes; to keep receptacles covered; to refrain from throwing papers, fruit-skins and other discarded matter into the street, or on the sidewalk; to refrain from throwing anything from windows, from obstructing sidewalks or thoroughfares, from defacing walks, fences or buildings."[13] The children also learned of the citizen's duty "in regard to cleanliness of body, of clothing, of dwelling, of streets; immediate report of cases of contagion; respect for Health Board notices; anti-spitting laws; child labor laws."[14] A review of the geography course of study in private schools reveals an absence of the above substantive concerns.[15]

A further revision of the geography curriculum in 1907 plumbed the depths of the subject to extract the following lesson:

> The ethical purpose of the teaching of geography are to lead to the moral lesson that all men must work and that each man should so work that his labor will benefit not only himself, but the whole community, and that what is true of individuals is equally true of nations.[16]

The concern for order and cleanliness pervades the curriculum as it did the administration of the schools. It shapes the "aesthetic" education offered in the schools. We learn, for example, from the introduction to the "Course of Study and Syllabus in Drawing and Constructive Work" that one of the prime purposes of manual instruction is "the fostering of a love of order, neatness, and system in work, of a love of beauty, and of appreciation of what contributes to that desirable attribute--taste."[17] Just as an American sense of moral and ethical values had to be explicitly taught to the overwhelmingly immigrant public school population, so too did conceptions of American beauty and "taste." The child of the ghetto had to learn what objects or actions the dominant American culture subjected to aesthetic judgments, and the criteria to be applied in determining if it were beautiful or ugly, valued or disdained. And the child often learned that home derived "taste" was not an accurate guide to American tastes. The clothes one wore, the pictures one drew, the stories one wrote, the books one chose, all represented potential tests of good taste. And the classroom teacher became the ultimate arbitor of taste--in clothes, food and "art."

The development of good taste extended from the graphic arts to the culinary and household arts. Girls received instruction in cooking and "in the methods of the proper performance of household labor."[18] Cooking, offered in grades 7 and 8, was to combine economy with proper manners and taste. Quoting from Ruskin in the introductory note to the Cooking Syllabus, "good cooking means... the economy of your great grandmothers, and the science of modern chemists; it means much tasting and no wasting; it means English

thoroughness and French art and Arabian hospitality; it means, in fine, that you are to be perfectly and always ladies..."[19] These "ladies" of the kitchen, however, also received practical training in housekeeping (making and care of kitchen fire, managing a gas range, care of the sink, waste pipe and trap, garbage pail,...; dishwashing) and in "Laundry Work." Yet the finer arts were not neglected. In grade 8A they were instructed in proper table-setting, decorations, serving, manners and personal appearance. Finally, home nursing was included in the course in the eighth year, including fittings and care of the sickroom, and the proper diet for invalids.

The music curriculum of 1903, a major element in the course of study, not only served to uplift the spirits of children and reinforce patriotic sentiments, but it too helped to shape the American tastes of the pupils. The importance of order and discipline to the school's aesthetic is evident in the introductory note to the Course of Study in Music: "The singing lesson should aid in discipline and in forming habits of order, attention, and concentration; it should train the memory, give power of instant decision and educate in the perception of minute differences."[20]

The most overt statement of the school's efforts to shape the outward behaviors of their pupils is found in the "Course of Study in Physical Training and Hygiene."

> The teacher should aim to lead pupils to cultivate habits of cleanliness; to care for health, eyes, ears, mouth, teeth, and nose; to give attention to food and clothing, ventilation, rest, sleep, and play; to maintain good position while standing, sitting, writing, sleeping, and walking.

> From interest in hygienic matters personal to themselves, pupils should be led to take an interest in matters affecting the health of the community, such as the cleaning of streets, the collecting and disposal of garbage, the sufficiency and purity of the water supply, and the like.[21]

The Course of Study clearly reflects a concern for the unsanitary and aesthetically displeasing slums of the city, from which many of the public school's students were recruited. These concerns are largely absent from the Courses of Study in private schools. While it is reasonable to assume that cleanliness was no less valued among the upper classes, presumably it was not considered necessary to include discussion of it in the school curriculum.

The curriculum adopted in 1903, as we have seen, went far beyond narrowly academic concerns. It was, in a real sense, a radical curriculum in that it viewed schools not as conservers and transmitters of an established culture to the children of that culture, but as a central agent in the transformation and assimilation of immigrant aliens into the logic and lifeways of the dominant culture. As stated by John H. Haaren, Associate Superintendent of Schools in New York City at the beginning of this century:

> The school, as one of the instruments of civilization, must take its part in solving the problem that has been precipitated by the great immigration of people who differ from the great mass of our population, not only in language, but in customs, political ideals, and to a considerable extent in religion.
>
> The school must of necessity assume the duty of instructing the immigrant in the language, customs, and political ideals of our country.[22]

The public school, however, was not the only social institution seeking to shape and direct immigrant youth. As Cary Goodman has argued with regard to the organized play movement in early 20th c. America, progressives and social reforms sought to contain and constrain youth, limiting their psychological and physical free space and imposing upon them the cultural and ethical standards, behaviors and values of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant dominant class. They hoped to transform immigrant youths into productive and willing members of the existing socio-economic system who possessed values and exhibited behaviors consonant with evolving monopoly capitalism.[23]

Goodman's argument may be correct, but it doesn't adequately take into account the immigrant's real need for structure and direction in an alien, threatening, perplexing and dehumanizing environment. Proponents of the many ideological schools which flourished on the Lower East Side sought to woo the young and lead them along proper paths. It would be impossible to perceive of the dominant economic-cultural groups not entering the contest for the hearts and minds and bodies of the immigrant young.

Progressive reformers, in schools, settlement houses and government, sought to nurture and positively develop the youth of the slums, to help them "out" of the privation of the ghetto, and to save them from a potentially real chaos, the chaos of a generation raised outside the logic and affective attachment of any human culture.

The children of the slums, especially the foreign ghetto slums, were seen as growing up outside of social constraints, parental control and

institutional affiliation--straddling two cultures, two civilizations, but imbedded in neither. A human civilization, of necessity must imprint itself on its young if it is to survive. An active, dynamic society, especially expansionist America of the turn-of-the-century, confident in its own work and reinvigorated by colonial expansion in its sense of "mission," could not passively accept either the imported culture of the immigrant or the perceived rudderless lifestyle of the immigrants' children. They were morally and practically compelled to respond, and vigorously, to the threat to their values, lifeways and physical well-being. There was a real concern that "imported" socialism, anarchism and "foreign ways" would destroy America. From their vantage point, the native American élite had to change "them" before "they" changed "us."

Children, of course, rebel in all cultures, but generally within socially determined parameters. The society itself suggests the direction of the revolt and has within itself the means to confine and absorb it. But what is the direction and fate of the rebellion of a child who stands outside of any one culture? Only the rare genius could create a culture, a human society, on his own to replace the one he sought to escape. We may wish to identify with the rebel--his exercise of freedom, especially when the means used to suppress him is autocratic and insensitive. But if he succeeds in breaking free, where will he derive shape and value to his human existence?

Alternative value/belief systems could provide the shaping force. The prolifiration of ideological movements early in the century, especially

in the ghetto community, is testament to the need and desire for alternatives to the world view and lifeways the dominant culture was seeking to impose upon the slum dwellers. There was, literally, a battle for the hearts and minds of the young of the ghetto.

Not surprisingly, the public schools fought in the service of the dominant culture. Rebellious thinkers were excluded. In the late 1880's a young Abraham Cahan, later novelist and lifelong editor of the Socialist Yiddish daily, the Forwards, was fired from his job teaching in evening school because he was seen giving a socialist speech, which was reported to a school official.[24] This official, Gustav Strubenmuller, was later to become a highly influential Deputy Superintendent of Schools, with years of "progressive" work on the Lower East Side. And, at the time of the "Great War," an avowed pacifist was denied a secondary school history license, although she passed the exam, because her "political" views were considered incompatible with her teaching responsibilities.[25]

Not unexpectedly the dominant culture, including the public schools which served it, ultimately could claim a major portion of the victory in the battle fought over ghetto youth. Dominant American culture, however, did not win all the encounters, and was itself indelibly altered in the process. The dominant culture had the resources and controlled most of the means of reward and punishment. It had to engage in the battle, not just to defend their status and their lifeways, but also out of a desire on the part of many to "share" the American vision with the child of the ghetto. The progressive element of the majority culture was willing to share their world with the newcomers, but only on its own terms.

The attempt to reshape the new immigrants so they could fit into American culture occurred across a broad front, encompassing values, beliefs and modes of behavior. It helps us to understand why aesthetic education occupied such an important place in the curriculum. Study of literature, the graphic arts, music, manual training, and penmanship, while condemned as "frills" by later critics, was seen realistically as important to the shaping or, in the case of adult immigrants, reshaping of the immigrants' views. One's aesthetic sensibility, "taste," is the outward manifestation in everyday life of internally held values and beliefs. We can even use the popular expression of aesthetic sensibility in dress, manners and language as an indicator of the degree to which a group has been assimilated into the logic and affective sensibilities of the dominant culture. "They" were to be made to look like us, talk like us, and think the way we do. To accomplish this we all needed to share a common sense of the good and the beautiful.

In seeking to refashion immigrant youth in their own image, school authorities ran the real risk of exacerbating the growing rift between immigrant parent and child. In speaking of "what the American public school is doing for the Jewish immigrant," City Superintendent Maxwell argued that:

> a serious phase of the educational problem is to teach the aspiring young American the good old doctrine "Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord, thy God, giveth thee." While these schools do not teach religion in the denominational sense, every effort is made to teach the Jewish and other children the meaning of reverence and to show them that America does not expect them to cast away their ancient heritage. ... The fathers and mothers deny

> themselves food and clothing that their offspring might have that mysterious thing called education, which will make their children Americans.[26]

In practice, however, what could the schools do to bridge the gap between parent and child. The school itself, through its institutional culture and values and its instructional program continued to widen the gap. Overtly and covertly the schools sought to transform the children into Americans and prevent the parents and ghetto society from replicating itself through their children. As the son of a Presbyterian minister, Maxwell might genuinely lament the violation of the commandment to honor thy father and mother. But his words may have betrayed a sense of guilt that his department exacerbated the problem. How could the immigrant child simultaneously honor the American fatherland and the immigrant father?

Social reformers and school people alike agreed that immigrant parents were incapable of giving direction to their American children. The parents' values, emotional attachments, loyalties and "tastes" were formed in an alien environment. Schools and social agencies would thus have to serve "in loco parentis," with parental consent or not, to usher the immigrant young into the American world. A frank statement of this position was offered in 1913 by District Superintendent Henry E. Jenkins whose district included portions of the Jewish Lower East Side:

> The children of all the schools are taught patriotism, love of country, love of State, and love of City. You know, that the City of New York takes the children away from their parents for purposes of education. It says to the parents; "you must not send your child to work..." The law is inflexible and strikes the rich as well as the poor. What does the city return to the parent? It gives the child a complete education and teaches him reverence for the law and the flag.

Parents are expected to serve as the willing agents of the state. Their hopes and fears, expectations and objections are not solicited. As expressed by a principal of the period whose school was largely composed of Jewish immigrants:

> the mothers and fathers who come to these weekly /parent/ gatherings are told what their children do, and by means of exhibits, informal talks with the teachers and lectures on appropriate subjects, are made familiar with that great American institution, the public school.

III. Jewish Leadership and the Public Schools of New York City

How did the Jewish community respond to the curriculum we find in place in New York's public schools in 1903? It is important to distinguish between the mass of New York's Jews at the turn-of-the-century, largely from Eastern Europe, poor and recently settled in the city, and much of the leadership of the community which was German-Jewish. When the wave of east European Jewish migration began in earnest in the early 1880's, New York City already possessed a settled community of Jews who had emigrated from Germany earlier in the century. These German Jews, and a smaller number of settled East European Jews who had identified themselves with their German co-religionists, were already well integrated into American society. They counted among their number several wealthy and influential individuals, among whom were Jacob Schiff (who, among many public activities, served on the New York City Board of Education in the 1880's), the Seligman family, the Strauses and, after the turn-of-the-century, Louis Marshall and the Warburgs. As a group they tended to be "liberal" in their religious practice, very much products of the German-Jewish enlightenment and subsequent religious reforms.

As a community they, German Jews, looked upon the arrival of an ever increasing number of their co-religionists from the east, a people with whom they had little sense of kinship and little or no direct contact or knowledge, with a mixture of pity, horror and dismay, but ultimately with compassion. Whether or not they recognized an underlying bond, these two quite distinct communities were thrown together in the popular imagination. And the German-Jewish community suffered both real and imagined discrimination as a result. As Judge William F. Carr, a justice of the State Supreme Court was reported to have so badly pointed out at a talk he gave at the Hebrew Education Society in Brownsville, Brooklyn:

> in his boyhood he had grown up with many Jewish boys and girls who lived at that time in Brooklyn, and because they were so few in number there was little prejudice against the race at that time. In fact, he said they had all grown up to be respected citizens, merchants and professional men. The moral he drew from it was this. Prejudice only begins when large numbers of a race appear in any locality. If the later arrivals who come in such large numbers prove themselves ignorant and unprogressive, it throws a blight upon the earlier arrivals who had already done much for the honor of the race. The new arrivals of any race... therefore owe it to their predecessors in the country to educate themselves... and make of themselves decent and respected citizens.[29]

It became the overriding task of the established Jewish community to do precisely as Judge Carr advised--to educate and rapidly Americanize the Jews of the Pale so that they could be absorbed into the lifestream of America, and not stand out as a people apart, marked by differences in language, clothing, "culture" and residence.

> Their foreign language and customs are their most flagrant offenses here, and as long as they are permitted to transplant their section of Poland, Russia, or Roumania to a certain area on this soil, it is still the old country, though ostensibly America.[30]

The German-Jews identified the public schools as the most promising institutions in the community to assist them in bringing about the wholesale transformation in behaviors and beliefs that they saw as necessary. To the fullest extent possible they sought to assist the public education authorities in enrolling, retaining and educating the Jewish immigrant, child and adult.

Before turning to public agencies for help in ministering to the needs of the Jewish immigrants, the established Jewish community did seek to "help its own." A hallmark of New York City's Jewish community going back to the arrival of the first Jews in 1654, was the community's assumption of responsibility for the welfare of all its members. To the credit of the German Jews, they sought to cope on their own with the first wave of European immigration in the early 1880's.

An Orthodox Jewish observer, Rabbi Moses Weinberger, though theologically hostile to the Reform German Jews, was sincerely impressed by the charity of the established German-Jewish community toward the impoverished East European Jewish immigrants.[31] But as the numbers of immigrants began to swell and outnumber the established Jewish residents, it simply was not feasible, through communal charity, to meet the growing needs of the immigrants for jobs, shelter, clothing and medical care, along with the equally important needs for education and training so that the new arrivals could adapt to the radically different American

environment. The leaders of the community came to realize that they would have to seek assistance from public agencies in their work with the Jewish poor, especially in the field of education. Gradually they saw the role of specifically Jewish agencies as initiators/innovators of social welfare and educational programs which could then be turned over to government agencies which had the resources to extend the service to all in need, Jewish and Gentile, immigrant and native poor.

The experience of Jewish communal organizations was reflected in the many agencies serving a wide range of underprivileged groups. Private philanthropy was simply inadequate to the task, and pressure from the large number of reformers and social service agencies forced government to concern itself more directly with the work of "social welfare." The public schools of New York was perhaps the leading public agency that reformers turned to in their work of transforming and assimilating the urban immigrant. For leaders of the German-Jewish community, what better agency than the American public school to instruct the children of Jewish immigrants in the language, values, behaviors and allegiances of their new homeland.

In fact, the German-Jewish leadership and the leaders of public education in New York City shared a number of common objectives. This common agenda of actions appropriate to the transformation of the Jewish immigrant of the Pale helps to explain the close and extensive cooperation and collaboration between key elements in the Jewish community and the Board of Education, and also helps us to understand how several important programs, which directly affected the immigrant students, found their way into the "Course of Study" of New York's public schools.

We find the degree of overlap in concerns and prescribed courses

of action excellently detailed in the recorded remarks of Mr. Lee Kohns, prominent member of the Jewish establishment and member of the executive committee of the Board of the Educational Alliance, the largest and perhaps the most influential educational/social service agency then serving the Lower East Side. Speaking to the heads of departments of the Alliance,

> Mr. Kohns emphasized the need for a greater regard for American customs, manners, methods, etc., and described some of his experiences and observations in the various departments. He asked that the Heads endeavor to make the immigrant act like his neighbors and that the immigrant be disuaded from maintaining peculiarities of dress, speech and manner which set him apart from his neighbors. English, for instance, should be pronounced clearly and distinctly. A badly accented English, trivial in itself, might prove a very serious handicap to a young man seeking a position. Hats should not be worn at any and all times. The Jew should be aided to make himself a part of the community. Most of these things are mere forms, but forms have far reaching results.
>
> If the Educational Alliance has any function at all, it is to Americanize inwardly and outwardly; inwardly, by encouraging a rational and logical method of reasoning; outwardly with due regard to courtesy, cleanliness, conformity to national custom, etc.[32]

One senses the words of Judge Carr hovering in the background and the Public School Course of Study on Moral Education and Physical Training/ Hygiene in the foreground.

The East European Jewish community on the Lower East Side did not necessarily want to discard their old culture and dress themselves up in the American fashion. Isaac Rubinow, medical doctor and a perceptive member of the Lower East Side Russian-Jewish intelligensia, reports in 1903 that:

> all those years the Directors of the Educational Alliance closed their eyes to the surrounding environment and followed the old custom by directing their main attention towards Americanizing the Jew. They thought that it was sufficient to teach the newcomer a few patriotic songs. Of course, we should not blame the German Jew either. He blindly adopted that American pedagogic method--a method that calls for the intensive instruction of immigrants in poetry of a patriotic nature. The German Jew accepted axiomatically the fact that the Russian Jew was incapable of transporting his cultural treasures with him to his new environment.[33]
>
> The Educational Alliance was the chief center of contact between the uptown and the downtown Jew; hence it became the center of open conflict and disagreement... The Russian-Jewish laborer won the esteem of his fellow-American worker, but this brought about a feeling of distrust on the part of the wealthy German Jews.
>
> That the bankers, men of means, who are at the head of the Educational Alliance, and even the professors dislike any organized labor movement is a self-evident fact. We have, therefore, been faced with a clash of views which was provoked by existing economic conditions... The affluent German Jews are definitely not in sympathy with the theory of class struggle.[34]

It is clear from Rubinow's argument that the intellectual position of many leaders among the inhabitants of the Lower East Side, was radically out of tune with the objectives and direction of the Board of Education. Rather than turn to the indigenous leaders of the Jewish immigrant community, the Board of Education and its high officials were nearly perfectly in tune to the interests and methods of the German-Jewish élites, with whom they shared common political and economic perceptions. And it was to this group that the Board turned for cooperation and support.

Collaboration between the established Jewish communal agencies and the Board of Education occurred on several levels. A number of Jewish

institutions provided physical space to the Board which was always faced with a shortage of classrooms. The Educational Alliance, for example, provided rooms for kindergarten classes, for adult day and evening classes, for vocational training courses for girls and for summer vacation activities. The Clara de Hirsch Home for Girls offered its facilities to the Board so it could offer cooking classes to girls attending schools in the neighborhood of the Home. The Hebrew Orphan Asylum provided space in its building so that the Board could run a primary school for the Asylum's residents. The list could be further extended, but what is particularly interesting to note is that in many instances a program run by a Jewish institution is transferred to the Board of Education only in name. The Board paid for the teachers (often the same instructors previously employed in the program) and held classes at the original site which became the official annex of a nearby public elementary school.35

The first and perhaps most important curricular area where we see the strong influence of Jewish agencies on public school practice is that of English language instruction to non-English speakers. The Baron de Hirsch English Classes were founded at the Educational Alliance in 1890 to provide initial English language instruction to immigrant children so as to prepare them for entry into the city's public schools. Over the years petitions were made to the Board to assume this major instructional task. It is interesting to note that one of the first petitions introduced by Julia Richman after her appointment as a District Superintendent in the fall of 1903 (her district encompassing much of the Lower East Side) was for special English language classes in the day schools for foreign born

children.[36] Finally, in 1906, the Board of Superintendents adopted the "Syllabus for the Teaching of English to Grade 'C' Classes (Elementary Day Schools) and Teaching of English to Foreigners (Elementary Evening Schools)." The "C" or "Steamer" classes were composed of non-English speaking children, newly arrived in the city and was preparatory to entering the regular classroom.

While a formally adopted course of study in English language instruction for foreigners in the city's evening schools can be traced back as early as 1882, the "C" curriculum was the first official acknowledgement of the critical language problem in the regular day schools.[37] The aural-oral methods of instruction found in the "C" curriculum was also quite distinct from the formal grammar-based night school courses.

The Educational Alliance tried to press a number of programs on the Board of Education and was successful in several instances. The Alliance's long-standing concern for citizenship education led to the formation of its Department of Adult Immigrants, headed in the first decade of the century by Paul Abelson. Abelson was, at the same time, a teacher of history at De Witt Clinton High School, the first public high school in Manhattan which had opened in 1897. He was concerned that the newly arrived Jewish immigrant should learn about the laws, institutions and political practices of his new home. He also feared that knowledge of America gained from the streets and from the popular Yiddish press would lead the immigrant astray. As he lectured to his immigrant classes, "Jewish papers give a wrong impression of American ideas. The Editors are not Americans."[38]

Abelson believed, along with others at the Alliance, that in the long run it would be best if the public schools assumed the task of educating the adult immigrant. He shaped his work at the Alliance to complement the activities of the Board. As he wrote to a prominent member of the Alliance Board, "all the work in the Department of Adult Immigrants is planned so as not to duplicate any work done by other public agencies." He cited as examples of this complementarity running evening school for immigrants from April to September when public evening schools were closed (The Alliance was finally able to convince the Board to run adult programs year-round in 1914, but a budget squeeze caused these summer classes to be cancelled the following year and they were again picked up by the Alliance); offering English language lectures for immigrant audiences on English and American history or civics, subject matter not otherwise offered on the Lower East Side; Yiddish lectures on Americanization; an Information Bureau, dealing especially with farming and settling in small cities; and lectures to mothers (in Yiddish). He concludes by reporting that "the Board of Education has followed us in our pioneer work with adult immigrants in two important particulars, 1) It has introduced some civics and geography as part of the work of the evening public schools. 2) It plans to begin its sessions as we have been doing... at 8 o'clock in the evening /not at 7:15 for women and 7:30 for men which made it difficult for those coming from an extended day's work/.[39] He could also have added that the courses of study for adult students and the system of "grading" adults into homogenous classes based on prior academic and linguistic background became models followed by the Board.[40]

The Alliance sought over the years to interest the Board in expanding its vocational training efforts, especially for girls aged 12 - 14, who were about to complete their formal schooling. A program of domestic art and science for young girls was mounted at the Alliance under the direction of Sarah Elkas. Petitions were made to the Board to adopt similar activities in the public schools, and in 1913 Superintendent Maxwell was approached about entering into an experiment to release girls aged 12 - 14 for part of the school day so that they could receive vocational instruction at the Alliance.[41] Not only did elements of the vocational program ultimately find their way into the public school curriculum but Sarah Elkas moved to the Board of Education in 1916 after 11 years at the Alliance to become supervisor of Continuation Classes.

The "sharing" of personnel by the Board and Jewish agencies, on an informal and unofficial basis, was not at all uncommon. Julia Richman not only served the Board of Education as teacher, principal and district superintendent for over 40 years, but served on the Board of the Educational Alliance for more than 20 years, many as Chairperson on its Education Committee. Leon Goldrich was principal of P.S. 62 (located close to the Alliance and the largest upper elementary school of its day) and one of the Educational Directors of the Alliance. Edwin Goldwasser was Chief, Board of Experts of the Young Men's Hebrew and Kindered Associations, Chairman of the Surprise Lake Camp Committee (a joint Y and Alliance program) school principal and district superintendent. These and many other individuals moved back and forth across institutional lines, constantly cross-polinating each organization, but always focused on the

common objective of social transformation and assimilation of the immigrant Jewish population.

At times the participants lost track of which hat they were wearing. Edwin Goldwasser, for example, had asked his friend and sometime patron, Felix Warburg, for a donation toward the expense of a Shakespearean pageant to be given by children of the 6th and 7th school districts. Warburg complied, and Goldwasser sent him a note of thanks. This was all perfectly proper, except for the fact that, while the request was appropriately typed on Board of Education stationary, the thank-you note was on the official paper of the Young Men's Hebrew and Kindered Association.[42]

Felix Warburg, prominant investment banker, philanthropist, son-in-law of Jacob Schiff, and late 19th century immigrant himself (from Germany), stands at the center of the collaborative effort between the established Jewish community and the Board of Education. Twice a member of the Board of Education (in the 1900's and again from 1912 - 1914), he was a close acquaintance of City Superintendent Maxwell, and often contributed to Maxwell's pet educational projects, which were funded by private subscription outside of the regular public tax levied budget.[43] Warburg well understood that the Jewish community was unable to finance and provide all the services required by the city's Jewish immigrants. He also saw the question of Jewish immigration as part of the larger issue of immigration of all groups to the United States. As an active Board member of the North American Civic League for Immigrants, he worked with Frances Kellor and others on these issues.

Warburg shared the view that private agencies could best serve as initiators and experimenters of new programs and that ultimately those efforts which proved to be successful ought to be assumed by public authorities. He was viewed by many in the Jewish community as the conduit to Maxwell and the Board of Education. The following letter from Richard Gottheil, Professor of Semitics at Columbia University and successor to Warburg as Chairman of the Educational Alliance's Committee of Education (who had inherited the Chair from Julia Richman upon her untimely death in 1912), serves as apt summation of this position and of Warburg's pivotal role:

> You were appointed a committee of one /by the Alliance's Education Committee/ to endeavor to induce the Board of Education to conduct day classes in English for adult immigrants in the public schools. As you know, it has been our plan to act as pioneers and to drop any work just as soon as other institutions take it up. The day classes for adult immigrants are of especial importance, and the funds of the Educational Alliance do not permit us to extend these classes as we ought to. If we had the necessary money, we would form two new classes at once. If we can induce the Board of Education to take up this work, we would, in the course of time, abandon it entirely, and thus free some of our income for other and equally necessary work.[44]

Given Warburg's interests and connections, it is most instructive to review an article he wrote in 1911 entitled "Jewish Influence on Municipal Education."[45] The programmatic and curricular influences he ascribes to New York's Jews included 1)instruction of English to foreigners, 2) the spread of playgrounds, including school use of public playgrounds and the construction of school playgrounds, 3) school buildings kept open year round for day school,

lectures to adults and recreation for young and old, 4) elimination of part-time classes, 5) use of school buildings for the pleasure and re-creation of the neighborhood, 6) utilization of school roofs as breathing spaces during the summer, 7) free lectures to adults, 8) the Board of Health nurses working with the public educational authorities, 9) school-home visitors (visiting teachers), 10) district visitors of the Nurses' Settlement and 11) evening courses at the City College.

Individuals involved in the encounters between the Board of Education and established Jewish agencies moved rapidly back and forth between and among institutions and roles. A common agenda, however, served to fix the action and give unity to their efforts. They were united in efforts to Americanize the Jewish immigrants, especially to wean them away from Yiddish and into the English-speaking world. They understood that one's language created the world of the listener. As Hayim Zhitlowsky, Jewish socialist and Yiddishist, clearly perceived with regard to Russian-Jewish assimilation efforts of the 19th century, "both the Russian language and Russian literature made us Russians. From untold sources, Russian life, Russian ideas, Russian hopes and aspirations streamed into our inner consciousness."[46]

The established Jewish leadership and the leaders of the Board of Education shared a similar perception with regard to English. And linked to knowledge of English was "citizenship education," the proper orientation to American values/beliefs, institutions and political practices. It might be necessary to reach him at first in Yiddish to counteract the radical ideas being broadcast in that idiom, but get him into English as quickly

as possible to shield him from such anarchist/socialist thought.

English was clearly seen as a weapon to combat radicalism. As argued in the 21st Annual Report of the Alliance:

> These young people who speak Yiddish only are frequently of unorthodox tendencies and embittered because of the injustices from which they have fled. In consequence they may be more than radical-iconoclastic with all that that implies. Older people are inclined to bow their heads in resignation, but younger people, far from manifesting the subdued and meek disposition of the aged are ready to grasp any weapon, political or social, that seems to offer relief or redress. Demagogues and agitators are only too well aware of these conditions and continue to spread their doctrines unchecked and unopposed. The street corners, the public parks, the cafes, are the recruiting groups for all causes extant to which much industrial, social, economic and political indigestion is directly traceable.[47]

The remedy proposed was a clubhouse within the confines of the Alliance and classes in English. The language, especially, had to be changed:

> Swayed by doctrines which /the Yiddish-speaking immigrant/ believes to be sound and true but generally promulgated by adherents of the cause rather than interest in the welfare of the immigrant, he attaches undue weight and importance to that which is presented to him in his native tongue.[48]

The establishment Jews could no more trust Abe Cahan as editor of the Forwards to interpret America to Yiddish-speaking immigrants than the Board of Education had been willing to trust the education of immigrants in evening school to Abe Cahan, the teacher.

From concern with replacing the old language with the new, it is but a small step to concern with outward manifestations of the "old," clothing, manners, hygiene, "taste," games and entertainment. Immigrants were to be renovated and outfitted with the trappings of popular American culture.

Concern for implanting a new American morality and ethic was not far behind. It was preached at the "Moral Lectures" held on Friday evenings at the Alliance, and was included in the curriculum of the public schools. The inner and outer lives of immigrants and their children were to be made consistent, whether or not the immigrants wanted change or consistency.

Religion and schooling were to be divorced. This was generally agreed to by Jewish and public school leaders. But traditionally within Judaism, as within earlier American Christian education, instruction was meaningless without a particularistic religious dimension. The reformers on both sides of the encounter were interested in secularizing formal schooling, and placing "religious" education in a segregated and inferior "complementary" role, vis-a-vis public schools. Religion, for the Jewish immigrants, was now to be compartmentalized, set off from daily life, stripped of what was considered folk-superstitions, made more decorous and filled with "moral up-lift."

Schools were no longer to confine themselves to academic preparation, but were to expand horizontally and vertically to fill every corner of the life space of its students. It was to include vocational guidance and preparation (a particular favorite of the Jewish agencies and of social workers in the settlement houses, who saw this as helping children prepare

for the slow climb out of the ghetto), health and hygiene (no other agency reached so many children and, given the morbidity of the slums, the schools were judged proper public health outstations). The schools in this period also began to structure themselves and take on the function of a formally sanctioned path of upward mobility, complete with gates and selective screens, and vertical integration between levels--approximately a complete "system" of schooling.

Finally, schools were to provide structure and direction to immigrant youth beyond mere vocational guidance. It was to induct them into the society of Americans, teach them the national myths and symbols (through literature, history, civics, and the lifeways of the school society), to form their tastes and discriminations (including a distaste for "old world ways" and a glorification of the new). The schools were to channel the drives and ambitions of newly liberated immigrants onto the proper paths and gender roles prescribed by turn-of-the-century progressive thought. Second languages and alternative cultures were not provided for within this American world view.

Glancing at Chart 2, "Curricula Adopted by the New York City Board of Education, 1904-1917," we can see that the entries would meet with the approval of the leaders of the Jewish establishment. Even where they did not directly influence its adoption, they could look with considerable satisfaction upon programs which satisfied their own agenda. The "Syllabus for the Teaching of English to Grade 'C' Classes" was, of course, the old Baron de Hirsch English program. The "Home Economics and Sewing" course shared much in common with earlier Educational Alliance and

Chart 2: Curricula Adopted by the N.Y.C. Board of Education, 1904 - 1917

Subject	Date Adopted Course of Study*	Date Adopted Syllabus**	Date(s) Revised
1. Syllabus for the Teaching of English to "C" Classes (Elem. Day Sch.) & Teaching of English to Foreigners (Evening Elem. Sch.)		10/11/06	
2. Drawing & Constructive Work	6/14/11	12/27/07	
3. Music	6/25/13	5/7/14	
4. History	1/28/14	2/4/14	
5. Civics	5/27/14	6/4/14	
6. Home Economics & Sewing	12/22/15 "	10/7/15 11/11/15	
7. School Gardens***		Apr. '17	
8. Manners & Conduct of Life#		5/4/17	
9. Foreign Accent##		5/28/17	

* Courses of Study approved by the Board of Education.
** Syllabi approved by the Board of Superintendents.
*** An elaboration of the Syllabus on Nature Study.
# An elaboration of the Course of Study on Moral Education.
A supplement to the Syllabus in English.

Clara de Hirsch Home for Girls' programs as well as activities at the Hebrew Trade School for Girls. The course in "History," focusing almost exclusively on American History, would be much to their liking, as would the "Civics" course for which they, themselves, had agitated. The syllabi in "Manners and Conduct of Life," and "Foreign Accent" fitted directly within the traditional activities of the Jewish social welfare/educational agencies for the preceding 30 years, as did the revised and elaborated courses and syllabi for "Drawing" and "Constructive Work." Finally the supplementary curriculum on "School Gardens" reflects summer work undertaken at the Educational Alliance as early as 1912 in land set aside in the recently built Seward Park, and which had been practiced by a number of settlement houses and orphanages as well. The sentiments boldly proclaimed in the preface to this syllabus could be readily subscribed to by school people and establishment Jewish leaders, and all those seeking to "transform" immigrant youth.

> The sordid panorama of our city streets pours its pernicious influence into the very soul of the rising generation during the most impressionable years, until the sense of beauty and naturalness is stunted and the garishness of city scenes is preferred to the gentle charm of nature's offering.[49]

Fortunately for the City of New York, all the work of reformers and educators could not serve to wholly transform the immigrant child nor to turn that child against the very city and its streets that first gave him a taste of freedom. Choosing the city in preference to the "gentle charm of nature's offering" was not and is not an unnatural act.

Footnotes

1. For a complete account of indigenous Americans' responses to the challenge of foreign migrants and "foreign" influences in general, see John Higham. Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925. Second Edition. N.Y.: Atheneum, 1973. For contemporary accounts see, for example, Henry P. Fairchild. Immigration . N.Y.: Macmillan Co., 1913, and Peter Roberts. The New Immigration. M.Y.: Macmillan Co., 1912.

2. William H. Maxwell, "Education of the Immigrant Child," Education of the Immigrant. Abstracts of papers read at a public conference under the auspices of the New York-New Jersey Committee of the North American Civic League for Immigrants, held at New York City, May 16 and 17, 1913. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 51, 1913, pp. 18-19.

3. Ibid., p. 19.

4. Alexander Dushkin calculated that less than .2 of 1% of school aged Jewish children were enrolled in Jewish parochial day schools. Alexander M. Dushkin. Jewish Education in New York City. N.Y.: The Bureau of Jewish Education, 1918, p. 21.

5. For the estimate of Jewish children in the public schools, see The Jewish Communal Register of New York City, 1917-1918. Second ed., New York: Kehillah of New York City, 1918, pp. 349-359. For an overview of the growth of the N.Y.C. public school population, see Selma Cantor Berrol. Immigrants at School, New York City, 1898-1914. N.Y.: Arno Press, 1978, pp. tables following 142.

6. The "foreign stock" as a proportion of the public school population of 1920 has not been calculated.

7. In Manhattan and the Bronx the elementary course was 7 years in duration, 7 and 1/2 yrs. in Brooklyn and 8 years in most other parts of the amalgamated city. Eight years of elementary schooling was also the State of New York norm.

8. William H. Maxwell,"School Achievements in New York," Educational Review, Vol. 44, Oct., 1912, p. 288f.

9. "Report on the Course of Study," an identical report, issued independently by the Teachers' Association, Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, New York City, Dec. 20, 1901, and the Male Principals' Association, Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, New York City, Jan. 9, 1902, p. 4.

10. Ibid., p. 7.

11. Annual Report of the City Superintendent of Schools, 1901. N.Y.: Board of Education, 1901, p. 89.

12. "Course of Study in Ethics and English with a Syllabus in English," [the Course of Study in English includes a section entitled "Moral Education] N.Y.: Board of Education, May 27, 1903, p. 7.

13. "Course of Study in Geography with a Syllabus," adopted 1903, revised Oct. 1905. N.Y.: Board of Education, Oct., 1905, p.6.

14. Ibid., p.7.

15. The courses of study in geography were reviewed at the Collegiate School, N.Y.C., and the Horace Mann School, N.Y.C., for the years 1907 and 1913, respectively. I wish to record my appreciation and thanks to the Collegiate School for permission to review their archival materials.

16. "Course of Study in Geography with a Syllabus," adopted 1903, revised in 1905 and further revised in 1907. N.Y.: Board of Education, July, 1907, p. 52.

17. "Course of Study and Syllabuses in Drawing, Constructive Work, Sewing and Cooking for the Elementary Schools of the City of New York," N.Y.: Board of Education, May 27, 1903, p. 3.

18. Ibid., p. 27.

19. Idem.

20. "Course of Study in Kindergarten, Music, Physical Training with a Syllabus in each of these subjects," N.Y.: Board of Education, 1903 and Board of Superintendents, 1905, "Music"Syllabus, p.7.

21. Ibid., "Physical Training & Hygiene" syllabus, p. 21f.

22. "Education of the Immigrant Child," in Education of the Immigrant, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

23. Cary Goodman. Choosing Sides: Playground and Street Life on the Lower East Side. N.Y.: Schocken books, 1979.

24. Moses Rischin, "Abraham Cahan and the New York Commercial Advertiser," in Abraham J. Karp, Ed., The Jewish Experience in America: Selected Studies from the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.

Vol. IV, The Era of Immigration. Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society and, N.Y.: KTAV Pub. House, 1969, p. 201.

26. "What the American Public School is Doing for the Jewish Immigrant," American Citizen, Vol. II, No. 3, March 1913, p. 68.

27. Ibid., p. 70.

28. James A. O'Donnell, as quoted in Ibid., p. 92.

29. "The Hebrew Education Society," The American Hebrew, LXXX, No. 12, Jan. 25, 1907, p. 304.

30. Minnie D. Louis, "Mission-Work Among the Unenlightened Jews," in Jewish Women's Congress. Papers of the Jewish Women's Congress; Held at Chicago, September 4,5,6 and 7, 1893. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1894, p. 179.

31. Jonathan D. Sarna. People Walk on Their Heads: Moses Weinberger's Jews and Judaism in New York. Translated from the Hebrew and edited by Jonathan D. Sarna. New York: Holmes and Meier Pub., 1981, pp. 90f.

32. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Heads of Departments of the Educational Alliance, April 1, 1914," the Felix M. Warburg Papers, American Jewish Archives, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

33. Isaac Max Rubinow, "The Jewish Question in New York City (1902-1903)," translated by Leo Shpall, Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, Vol XLIX, No. 2, Dec. 1959, p. 111.

34. Ibid., 111f.

35. Examples of space sharing and the Board's assumption of privately initiated programs are numerous and recorded in the Minutes of the Board of Superintendents. See, for example, Minutes, 1902, p. 639, p. 711, p. 428 dealing with space at the Educational Alliance. See Minutes, 1903, p. 1433 concerning use of facilities at the Clara de Hirsch Home. For the assumption of an on-going primary program, see Minutes, 1902, pp. 680-681, and 1007 for the approval of a public school (grades K-3) at the Hebrew Benevolent & Orphan Asylum, W. 138th. St., Manhattan. See also the Minutes of the Board of Directors of the Educational Alliance.

36. Minutes of the Board of Superintendents, Dec. 28, 1903, p. 1910f.

37. Approved by the Board of Superintendents on Oct. 11, 1906 as the "Syllabus for the Teaching of English to Grade "C" Classes (Elementary Day Schools) & Teaching of English to Foreigners (Elementary Evening Schools)."

Vol. IV, The Era of Immigration. Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society and, N.Y.: KTAV Pub. House, 1969, p. 201.

25. Taped interview with a former N.Y.C. high school teacher, born in 1896, who finally received a license after W.W.I. Interview conducted by author in the Bronx, N.Y., August 5, 1982.

26. "What the American Public School is Doing for the Jewish Immigrant," American Citizen, Vol. II, No. 3, March 1913, p. 68.

27. Ibid., p. 70.

28. James A. O'Donnell, as quoted in Ibid., p. 92.

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31. Jonathan D. Sarna. People Walk on Their Heads: Moses Weinberger's Jews and Judaism in New York. Translated from the Hebrew and edited by Jonathan D. Sarna. New York: Holmes and Meier Pub., 1981, pp. 90f.

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37. 41st Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of New York for the Year ending Dec. 31, 1882. N.Y.: Hall of the Board of Education, 1883, pp. 269-271.

38. Paul Abelson, "Lecture on Duty of Foreigners to His New Country," June 18, 1902, original typescript of notes. Paul Abelson Papers, American Jewish Archives (AJA). Lecture delivered at the Educational Alliance in New York City. [underlined emphasis in the original]

39. Paul Abelson to William C. Popper, March 24, 1909. Abelson Papers, AJA.

40. "Course of Study," Evening School in English and Civics for Immigrants, Department of Adult Immigrants, the Educational Alliance, April 23, 1908. Abelson Papers, AJA.

41. "Minutes, Committee on Education of the Board of Directors of the Educational Alliance," March 2, 1913, p.2. Warburg Papers, AJA.

42. Goldwasser to Felix Warburg, May 8, 1916. Warburg Papers, AJA.

43. A typical request was for assistance in building and equiping school kitchens to provide low cost nutritious meals to impoverished students, and cooking instruction to upper elementary school girls. Maxwell to Warburg, Dec. 29, 1914; Warburg to Maxwell, Dec. 30, 1914; Maxwell to Warburg, Dec. 31, 1914. Warburg Papers, AJA.

44. Richard Gottheil to Felix Warburg, Dec. 10, 1913. Warburg Papers, AJA.

45. The American Hebrew, Vol. LXXXVIII, No. 24, April 11, 1911, p. 705.

46. "The Jewish Factor in My Socialism," written in 1935, trans. Lucy Dawidowicz, in Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg, Eds., Voices for the Yiddish. N.Y.: Schocken Books, 1975, p. 127.

47. "21st Annual Report of the Educational Alliance, 1912-1913, 1913-1914," 1915, p. 37. Warburg Papers, AJA.

48. Ibid., p. 8.

49. "School Gardens for Public Schools of New York City," (an elaboration of the sullabus on Nature Study). Adopted by the Board of Superintendents, April, 1917. New York: Dept. of Education, 1917, p. 3.