THE COLUMBIAN COUNCIL OF PITTSBURGH, 1894-1909: A CASE STUDY OF ADULT IMMIGRANT EDUCATION

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Morris Gabriel Cohen, Z"L, to whom I promised it thirty years ago as "passkey to the cookie-jar."

I. FOUNDATIONS

A. Focus of Dissertation

In the last two decades before 1900, with the waves of "new immigration,"[1] there was little governmental involvement in the acculturation and adjustment problems of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. But, because the immigrants created a social problem, philanthropic organizations, religious groups, and idealistic individuals sought to help them.

Using as a model the settlement house, which originated in England and was aimed at the amelioration of conditions for poor and working class urban dwellers, the religious and philanthropic groups opened settlement houses in a number of large cities. In Chicago, Jane Addams founded Hull House in 1889, after a visit to Toynbee Hall in London;[2] in Baltimore, that same year, Henrietta Szold and the Hebrew Literary Society started the first night

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[1] The "old immigration" is usually characterized as those immigrants who came to the United States before 1880, from the British Isles and western and central Europe. The "new" immigration refers to immigrants after 1880, from eastern and southern Europe.

[2] Arthur C. Holden, The Settlement Idea: A Vision of Social Justice (New York, 1922), traces the origins of settlement houses; Allen F. Davis, American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams (New York, 1973).

school for immigrants in the United States.[3]

In New York, wealthy Jews founded the Educational Alliance, which provided a whole gamut of educational and social services for immigrants.[4] The settlement houses and immigrant services founded by Jews were similar to non-Jewish ones except for one difference: the non-Jewish settlement house was Christian, usually Protestant, and often missionary in character. Jane Addams originally

> . . . thought of Hull House as a religious institution, and she prided herself on being more distinctly Christian than the College Settlement in New York. She approved some of the early articles which defined the purpose of the settlement in explicitly religious terms and she wrote, herself, that 'a simple acceptance of Christ's message and methods is what a settlement should stand for.'[5]

From 1870 on, the Pittsburgh district absorbed large numbers of immigrants from eastern Europe. After 1881, as a result of pogroms and persecution in Russia, masses of Jewish immigrants came to the United States, and some thousands of them eventually reached Pittsburgh. These new

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[3]Henrietta Szold was one of two Jewish women chosen to give papers at the Parliament of Religions of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. A charter member of the National Council of Jewish Women, she left some years later because of ideological differences. In 1912 she founded Hadassah, now the largest Jewish women's organization in the world. For Miss Szold's work in immigrant education, see Jean Scarpaci, "Immigration History and Baltimore's Ethnic Community," Immigration History Newsletter (May, 1973).

[4]Morris I. Berger, "The Settlement, the Immigrant, and the Public School: A Study of the Influence of the Settlement Movement upon Public Education, 1890-1924," unpublished doctoral dissertation (Columbia University, 1956).

[5]Davis, American Heroine . . ., p. 51.

immigrants presented problems to the small, already established Jewish community. The newcomers encountered some ambivalent attitudes and even antagonism.[6]

On the whole, however, the older community accepted the responsibility for integrating the new immigrants into the American way of life. They established various agencies to provide for the physical needs of the immigrants, with a major stress on education as the key to Americanization. Thus,

> . . . they somehow helped to lesson the 'cultural shock' by 'explaining' the outside to the newcomers and serving as 'interpreters' between the immigrants and the new social setting.[7]

This dissertation deals with an organization of Jewish women--Columbian Council of the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW)--for the education and Americanization of immigrants in Pittsburgh during the years 1894-1909. This fifteen year period was chosen for intensive study for the following reasons:

1. Columbian Council was founded in 1894;

2. In 1909, Columbian Council, now the Pittsburgh Section of the NCJW, became an incorporated body;

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[6]Zosa Szajkowski, "The Attitudes of American Jews to East European Immigration (1881-1893)," Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, 40:3 (March, 1951).

[7]Bernard D. Weinryb, "Jewish Immigration and Accommodation to America," The Writing of American Jewish History, M. Davis and I. S. Meyer, eds. (New York, 1957), p. 381.

3. In 1909, Columbian School and Settlement became the Irene Kaufmann Settlement and all formal ties to the founding organization were cut;

4. In 1909, Mrs. A. Leo Weil, President of Columbian School and Settlement since its incorporation in 1900, and often called "the mother of the settlement," resigned from office and leadership passed into the hands of a series of male executives.

During these fifteen years the membership of Columbian Council grew from about fifty to 559 members, and its work became widely ramified. From non-formal courses in English language given by volunteers in rented rooms, Columbian Council expanded its services into a complete settlement house program for all ages with courses in civics, secretarial skills, American history, music, dramatics, gymnastics, sports, swimming, health education, and more.

Columbian Council's free evening classes for immigrants were the first such classes available year-round in the twin cities of Allegheny and Pittsburgh. They laid the groundwork for the establishment of evening elementary schools for immigrants in 1906, and evening high schools in 1907 under public auspices.[8] Columbian Council was also involved in many other services to the community: free kindergartens, public baths, penny lunches in the public

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[8] Ida Cohen Selavan, "The Education of Jewish Immigrants in Pittsburgh, 1862-1932," YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Studies, 15, 1974.

schools, establishment of the first visiting nurse service, aid to the blind, support of the first Jewish juvenile probation officer, etc. Members of Columbian Council were closely identified with various reform movements: the reform of Judaism; the reform movement in politics; and the women's suffrage movement.

This dissertation will focus on the specific programs developed by Columbian Council for the education of adult immigrants in Pittsburgh. It will also touch upon such relevant issues in the Jewish community as attitudes toward Americanization, and relationships with the larger community. The following subjects will be dealt with on the basis of historical research into available resources:

1. The antecedents to the founding of the NCJW. The dissertation describes the setting--the Jewish Women's Congress at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893--at which the NCJW was established, in Chapter I, Part B. In the course of the study references are made to movements such as the women's suffrage movement and the Reform movement in Judaism, which influenced the founding of the NCJW.

2. The antecedents to the founding of Columbian Council. Chapter I, Parts C and D describe the historical background to Jewish settlement in the Pittsburgh area and social and economic conditions in Pittsburgh in the 1890's. The actual founding of Columbian Council and a theory for its name are discussed in Chapter I, Part B.

3. Personality and social background of the founder of NCJW. The idea for establishing this organization seems to have originated with one person, Hannah Greenebaum Solomon. Her social background as a daughter of one of Chicago's first German Jewish families, her educational attainments, her acceptance into non-Jewish circles, her friendship with Jane Addams and Ellen M. Henrotin are all considered significant information for an understanding of the organization she founded. Various details of Hannah G. Solomon's life and work are related throughout the dissertation.

4. Personalities and social backgrounds of founders of Columbian Council. While Pauline Hanauer Rosenberg is considered the primary founder of Columbian Council, since she was the delegate from the Pittsburgh area present at the founding of the NCJW, she is viewed within a constellation of close friends and relatives who became the charter members of Columbian Council. Various genealogical details are given throughout the dissertation to show relationships among these women as well as their ties to Chicago-based Mrs. Solomon. The social and religious backgrounds of the founders of Columbian Council are also significant when they differ from that of Mrs. Solomon and the other national leaders. The early participation by women of Eastern European background in the work of Columbian Council is thus important as a modifying influence of the strong German Reform image of

the national organization. The description of the beginnings of Jewish welfare organizations in Pittsburgh and the role of the maternal ancestors of Columbian Council's founders in these organizations sheds light on their assumption of responsibility for the well-being of their fellow Jews.

5. The goals of NCJW and the programs to carry them out. Chapter I, Part B lists these goals, as expressed in the NCJW constitution and describes the efforts made by national leaders to provide guidelines to local sections for programs to carry out these goals. In the final chapter, V, Part B, these goals are again listed and the programs to carry them out are evaluated.

6. The goals of Columbian School and Settlement and programs to carry them out. Columbian School and Settlement, the institution founded by Columbian Council, became its most important venture during its early years. A separate set of goals was drawn up for the specific needs of the neighborhood in which the CSS worked, as perceived by the providers of the services. The detailed description of the programs to carry out these goals forms the bulk of the dissertation. These goals and programs are evaluated in Chapter V, Part B.

7. Columbian Council's involvement in adult immigrant education. Chapter I, Part C discusses the genesis of Columbian Council's involvement in the Americanization of

the children of new immigrants from eastern Europe. This resulted in a number of non-formal adult education efforts, through relationships with parents of children attending Columbian Council School, described in Chapter II, Part E. Other avenues of involvement were the one-to-one tutoring of immigrants in their homes, by Personal Service workers, described in Chapter II, Part D, and finally, the organization of evening classes for adults in response to a request by Rabbi Lippman Mayer, described in Chapter II, Part E. Most of the dissertation describes, chronologically, how these early efforts developed into a full settlement house program. One five year period, 1900-1905, has been chosen for detailed analysis, year by year, in terms of curriculum, staff, and budget.

8. Characteristics of the immigrants who participated in Columbian Council's programs. Quantitative data giving numbers, countries of origin, gender, age, and occupation of Jewish immigrants to Pittsburgh, 1894-1909, are not available. There are a few quantitative data available for immigrants who participated in Columbian Council's programs, and some qualitative data derived from reports and memoirs of Columbian Council personnel. These have been cited whenever possible. Since most of the people constituting the present Jewish community of Pittsburgh are descended from the eastern European immigrants who came after 1870, such information would have been both valuable and interesting.

9. Innovations in education and public health introduced by Columbian Council in the city of Pittsburgh. This subject is treated in detail in Chapter III, Part D, Chapter IV, Part C and D, and evaluated in Chapter V, Parts C and D.

10. Involvement by members of Columbian Council and Columbian School and Settlement in civic reform movements. The period 1894-1909 is within the time span often designated the "Progressive Era." Members of Columbian Council and of Columbian School and Settlement were involved in local and national reform movements of various kinds, but particularly the movement for civic reform in the city of Pittsburgh. Where this involvement is related to Columbian Council's activities in adult education of immigrants, it is dealt with in the dissertation, especially in Chapter IV, Parts C and D.

It should be noted here that the ten subjects listed above are not discussed in the order in which they appear. Some of these subjects receive short, concise treatment in one chapter and are rarely referred to thereafter. Others, especially number 7, Columbian Council's involvement in adult immigrant education, are discussed in chronological fashion, with different developments pointed out with the passage of years. The final chapter reviews all of these subjects from different perspectives. Subjects 1-6 are viewed in the light of changes in the composition of the

American Jewish community during the fifteen year period under study. Subjects 7, 9, and 10 are dealt with in terms of their impact on the general community. Subject 8, the characteristics of the immigrant community, is not reviewed because of the lack of quantitative data, explained above, and touched upon in Chapter V, Part A.

To research these subjects the writer has consulted the papers and correspondence of the Pittsburgh Section, NCJW, in the Archives of an Industrial Society, Hillman Library, University of Pittsburgh. There are no minutes extant for the period under study. Thus, the most important source of data has been the Pittsburgh Jewish Criterion, a weekly founded in 1893 by Rabbi Samuel Greenfield of Congregation Rodef Shalom. The most complete collection of this newspaper, starting with 1895, is in the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library. The Jewish Criterion described, in detail, the activities of Columbian Council, and reprinted its annual reports. The American Jewess, a monthly (1895-1898) and Der Volksfreund, a Yiddish weekly published in Pittsburgh (1889-1923), were also consulted, on microfilm. In addition, proceedings, yearbooks, biographies, obituaries, scrapbooks, privately published memoirs, published and unpublished theses and dissertations, were ferreted out and read.

From July, 1969 to April, 1970, the writer served as Research Assistant to Professor Ailon Shiloh, Director of the

Oral History Project of the Pittsburgh Section, NCJW. In the course of her work she heard the tape-recorded reminiscences of over 200 Jewish immigrants to Pittsburgh, read the written protocols of interviews, and personally interviewed many people involved in immigrant life. For the purpose of the dissertation she re-interviewed a number of people whose stories she already knew, to focus on their relationship with Columbina Council. She also interviewed people hitherto unseen, to gather additional information. Thus, oral history was an important source of background information, and most important, the inspiration for this dissertation.

B. The Founding of Columbian Council-Goals and Constitution

At the 1893 Columbian Exposition[9] in Chicago, a Jewish Women's Congress, organized by Hannah Greenebaum Solomon, was part of the Parliament of Religions. It took her a year of planning and letter writing to invite the ninety-three representatives from twenty-nine cities. As she worked she pondered:

> . . . would it have permanence, or would it be a brief bright tale . . . ? In a flash my thoughts crystallized to decision: we will have a congress out of which must grow a permanent organization![10]

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[9]It is interesting to note that settlement workers from Boston and New York met with Jane Addams in Chicago at the Exposition in recignition of her leadership in the settlement movement. Davis, p. 193. Hannah G. Solomon was a friend and follower of Miss Addams.

[10]Hannah G. Solomon, Fabric of My Life (New York, 1946), p. 82.

At the concluding session of the Jewish Women's Congress it was resolved to reconstitute the organization on a permanent basis. Various names were suggested. Mrs. Pauline Hanauer Rosenberg of Allegheny suggested the name "Columbian Union," to commemorate its beginning at the Columbian Exposition. She was voted down and the name "National Council of Jewish Women" was accepted.[11]

When Mrs. Rosenberg returned home, she organized a local section of the NCJW. Unlike the three sections which preceded it, (Chichago, Quincy, Baltimore), the Allegheny-Pittsburgh Section was named "Columbian Council." It was the only section of the NCJW not named for its home city.

The constitution of the NCJW was based on four resolutions passed at the Jewish Women's Congress in 1893:

> Resolved, That the National Council of Jewish Women shall 1. Seek to unite in closer relations women interested in the work of religion, philanthropy and education and shall consider practical means of solving problems in these fields. 2. Shall encourage the study of the underlying principles of Judaism, the history, literature, and customs of the Jews, and their bearing upon their own and the world's history. 3. Shall apply knowledge gained in this study to the improvement of the Sabbath schools and in the work of social reform. 4. Shall secure the interest and aid of all influential persons in arousing the general sentiment against religious persecutions wherever, whenever, and against whomsoever shown, and in finding means to prevent such persecution.[12]

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[11] Papers of the Jewish Women's Congress (Philadelphia, 1894), pp. 264-265.

[12] Hannah G. Solomon, "Report of the NCJW," American Jewess (April 1895), p. 28.

On January 2, 1894, the national constitution and the constitution for local sections were adopted. The national constitution provided for an executive committee consisting of its officers, one vice-president for each state, and ten directors, provided for two standing committees, one on religion and one on philanthropy. Each local section patterned its board after the national board,[13] and was given considerable leeway in implementing the NCJW goals of dedication to "faith and humanity."

> To each section was reserved the right to take that line of work which should seem the most useful to the conditions and environments of that section, providing, however, that the study of religion and philanthropy be not omitted and parliamentary forms adhered to.[14]

Thus, the women who met on May 2, 1894,--either fifty or seventy-eight in number,[15]--to organize themselves officially

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Fannie H. Hamburger, "Columbian Council of Jewish Women," Jewish Criterion (February 5, 1897).

[15] There are varying accounts of the number of charter members of Columbian Council. The Jewish Criterion of February 5, 1897, gives the number as fifty. However, in Box #1 of Correspondence, 1894, of the NCJW Pittsburgh Section Holdings in the Archives of an Industrial Society, Hillman Library (Archives) a letter from Mrs. Rosenberg protests the sending of only fifty programs from the national office since that is not enough for the seventy-six or seventy-eight members. I visited NCJW National Headquarters in New York and was told that a list of charter members should be available in Pittsburgh. At the local office, however, no such list could be found. A very thorough search of the Holdings (64:40) did not reveal such a list. There are no minutes or yearbooks for the first seven years of Columbian Council's existence. The regular reports of its activities in the Jewish Criterion did not list the names of charter members.

as Columbian Council, could choose whatever projects suited the Jewish community of Allegheny and Pittsburgh.

C. The Jewish Community of Pittsburgh

In 1889 there were approximately 5000 Jews in Allegheny County, of whom 80% lived in Pittsburgh. In 1897, that number reached about 10,000.[16] Thus, in 1894, somewhere in between, there may have been about 7,000 Jews in Allegheny County, most of them in Pittsburgh. By then, the Jews who had settled in the area before the eighties were outnumbered by newer immigrants, most of whom came from eastern Europe.

There had been Jews in the Pittsburgh area even before the city existed, but they had been transients--fur traders, suppliers of provisions to Fort Pitt, and merchants who used the Fort as a base for their ventures further west. Bernard Gratz of Philadelphia stayed in Pittsburgh from April 1776 through the Jewish High Holy Days in the fall, negotiating with the Shawnee and Delaware tribes for the renewal of the fur trade. He requested a prayer book from his brother and worshiped by himself, in his room in Pittsburgh. "Bernard Gratz can almost be considered as the first local Jewish resident."[17]

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[16] Jacob S. Feldman, The Early Migration and Settlement of Jews in Pittsburgh, 1754-1894 (Pittsburgh, 1959), p. 64.

[17] Ibid., p. 4.

From the first quarter of the nineteenth century, immigration from Germany brought with it many Jews. As many as 50% of them became peddlers who traveled westward to Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Cleveland, and as far west as San Francisco.[18] They bypassed Pittsburgh, possibly because of the ease of traveling via the Erie Canal and then across Lake Erie to Cleveland. When the peddlers found a good place to settle down, they often became storekeepers and invited their relatives to join them.

> Early reports from the Middle West prove that the Jewish peddler and his activity were known there, long before anybody tried to open a general store, and when stores first came into existence there were certainly many Jewish peddlers among the founders of them.[19]

These Central European Jews became part of the flourishing Germanic culture which made German at one time a rival to English as the most widespread language of the country. It was a German, rather than an English life style which became the model for Jewish immigrants to America.[20]

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[18] Rudolf Glanz, "The Immigration of German Jews up to 1880," YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, Vols. 2-3, 1947/1948.

[19] Rodolf Glanz, "Notes on Early Jewish Peddling in America," Studies in Judaica Americana (New York, 1970), 107.

[20] Lloyd P. Gartner in "Immigration and the Formation of American Jewry, 1840-1925," Journal of World History 11, Nos. 1-2 (Switzerland, 1968), pp. 297-312, describes this Jewish German culture in America in great detail.

> In the nineteenth century, more so than in the twentieth century, a Jew from Central Europe was generally a German or Germanized Jew. . . . Bohemian Jews, once they had left the old way of life did not become Czechs, they became Germans, much as the Hungarians did also. Even as far east as Galicia down to the 1870's or even the 1880's, those Jews who left the old way of life, whether the Hasidic or non-Hasidic, usually became Germanized. Moreover, if you were a Jew from Lithuania who came to America about 1865 and wanted to be an American Jew and attain 'status,' the thing to do was to be Germanized. To be a respectable, accepted Jew in America was to be a Germanic American Jew.[21]

The first recorded Jewish community in Pittsburgh was founded by some former peddlers from Bavaria, who had plied their trade in New York, Philadelphia, Lancaster and Kilgore and Franklin in eastern Ohio, before settling in Pittsburgh. By then they were no longer peddlers but established merchants. William Frank and his partner David Strassburger, Frank's brother-in-law, Ephraim Wormser, and Nathan Gallinger, may be considered the founding fathers of the Pittsburgh Jewish Community. The first record of this community is in the purchase of a burial ground for a Jewish cemetery on Troy Hill by the Bes Almon Society in 1847.[22] By 1853,

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[21]Lloyd P. Gartner, "The Jewish Community in America: Transplanted and Transformed," Conference on Acculturation (New York, 1965), pp. 8-9.

[22]Jacob Radar Marcus, "William Frank, Pilgrim Father of Pittsburgh Jewry," in Memoirs of American Jews (Philadelphia, 1955). The minute books of the Bes Almon Society were acquired by the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, Mass., in 1975. They are written in German.

> Pittsburgh had a total of thirty Jewish families of whom fourteen belonged to the German, i.e., Bavarian, Congregation Shaarey Shamayim. At the same time the 'Polish' Congregation Beth Israel had twelve members. We are expressly informed that it possessed a synagogue with all the necessary paraphernalia, and that its salaried congregational official was the hazzan [cantor], shohet [ritual slaughterer], and mohel [circumciser].[23]

By 1863 there were 150 Jewish families in the Pittsburgh area, of whom 103 belonged to Congregation Rodef Shalom, founded in 1854. When Rodef Shalom voted to leave Orthodoxy and become Reform, the majority voted in the affirmative. The minority, members who were mainly from Posen, and Lithuania, reorganized as Tree of Life Synagogue.[24]

The details of synagogue splits are significant for they were along regional lines. It was the German Jews, mainly from Bavaria, who set the tone. They spoke German and English and had usually lived in the United States for some time before settling in Pittsburgh. By the time of the Civil War, they were solidly middle class. Many Jews were also involved in local German cultural activities.[25]

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[23] Rudolph Glanz, "The 'Bayer' and the 'Pollack'," in Studies . . ., p. 194.

[24] Feldman, p. 18. The article "Pittsburgh" in the Jewish Encyclopedia, claims that Rodef Shalom was the first congregation in Pittsburgh. The similar article in the Universal Jewish Encyclopedia claims that Tree of Life was the first congregation in the city. Charles I. Cooper, in "The Story of the Jews of Pittsburgh," Jewish Criterion (May 31, 1918), backs the latter claim.

[25] Louis Hirsch was the secretary of the Volksblatt Publishing Company (German language newspaper, 1858-1942) at 525 Smithfield Street in 1896. Pittsburgh City Directory (1896).

The Jews who had left to form Tree of Life Synagogue tended to have a Yiddish-speaking past, were more recent arrivals, and also tended to be more Orthodox in ritual. The fact that they spoke German as well as other languages made it easy for them to adapt to the desirable German life-style. Indeed, German was taught at the Tree of Life school.

Following a cholera epidemic and famine in Lithuania in 1868, a nucleus of Lithuanian Jews came to Pittsburgh, to join the individual landsleit (compatriots) who had been there since the fifties. By 1880, of the approximately 2,000 Jews in Pittsburgh, the majority was from eastern Europe.[26] The problems of Jewish refugees arriving in great masses began after the 1881 pogroms in Russia. The Cremieux Society, a chapter of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, took the responsibility for relief work.[27]

Local relief work had been carried on traditionally by a Hebrew Benevolent Society from 1854, with a Ladies' Auxiliary from 1856. The Ladies' Auxiliary, named the Hebrew Ladies' Aid Society in 1861[28] when it became part of

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[26] American Jewish Yearbook, 1914-1915, p. 374.

[27] Feldman, p. 33. See also Kenneth D. Roseman, "American Jewish Community Institutions in their Historical Context," Jewish Journal of Sociology (June, 1974).

[28] Charles I. Cooper gives 1861 as the date for the founding of the Ladies' Aid Society as does Charlotte Heller Shapiro in "The Jewish Family Welfare Association in Pittsburgh," unpublished master's thesis (University of Pittsburgh, 1933). However, the earlier date was reported in the American Israelite (May 23, 1856).

the Sanitary Commission, organized to aid in caring for the wounded during the Civil War, may be considered, in many ways, the mother organization of Columbian Council. Its founders and leaders were, in fact, the mothers, aunts, and mothers-in-law of the founders of Columbian Council.[29]

As the end of the Civil War, the Hebrew Ladies' Aid Society were reorganized as the Pittsburg [sic!] Israel Damen Unterstutsungs Verein (Damen) and its most important activities until 1880 were visiting the sick and sitting up with the dead. In 1880 it merged with the all male Hebrew Benevolent Society to become the United Hebrew Relief Association of Allegheny County. The Damen continued as an independent auxiliary to aid the poor with food, clothing, and other necessities. Although most of the Damen were of German-Jewish background and belonged to Reform Rodef Shalom, there was a sizable representation from Orthodox Tree of Life.

D. The Pittsburgh Environment

In 1840, Pittsburgh had a population of slightly more than 21,000.[30] By 1910 this population had multiplied

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[29]For example, Henrietta Hannauer, a trustee of the Ladies' Aid Society, was the mother of Pauline Rosenberg and Fannie Hamburger, the first two presidents of Columbian Council. She is described in Adelaide Nevins' Social Mirror (Pittsburgh, 1888), which discusses women in Pittsburgh society. Rosalie Rauh, president of the Damen from 1880-1883; 1887-1906, was the mother of Bertha Cohen, a charter member of Columbian Council, and mother-in-law of Bertha Floersheim Rauh, president of Columbian Council, 1904-1919.

[30]J. Cutler Andrews, "A Century of Urbanization," Pennsylvania History (January, 1943).

thirty-fold and more than half was either foreign-born or had foreign-born parents.[31] In 1894, the year of the founding of Columbian Council, it was the scene of great labor unrest (the Homestead Massacre of 1892 was still fresh in peoples' memories), corrupt politics,[32] a police force which supported rather than suppressed vice,[33] and a reputation for smoke, dirt, and ugliness which gave it the nickname, "hell-with-the-lid-off."[34] In spite of increasing pressures of population, housing, medical care, and education for immigrants were inadequate or lacking entirely. Indeed, Pittsburgh was one of the last industrial cities of the United States to introduce free evening schools for immigrants.[35]

The modern, young, American-born women, often college educated, who founded Columbian Council, were deeply affected by these conditions. Although, as women, they did not have

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[31]Peter Roberts, "The New Pittsburghers," Charities and The Commons (January 2, 1909).

[32]Andrews, p. 23.

[33]Ida Cohen Selavan, "The Social Evil in an Industrial Society: Prostitution in Pittsburgh, 1900-1925," unpublished master's thesis (University of Pittsburgh, 1971).

[34]Usually credited to Lincoln Steffins, The Shame of the Cities (New York, 1904), p. 101. However, Roy Lubove, Twentieth Century Pittsburgh (New York, 1969) cites other writers who compared Pittsburgh to hell.

[35]There were public evening classes for immigrants in New York by 1901, in Chicago by 1903, in Detroit in 1904, and in Rochester, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Cincinnati, and Boston by 1905. Edward George Hartmann, The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant (New York, 1948), p. 24.

the vote, they were very much aware, often because of family involvement,[36] of the local reform movement. They participated in the "reform impulse which flowered in the nineties"[37] and became part of the Progressive Movement of the following decade.

Although the social circles of larger cities considered Pittsburgh a provincial backwater, the leaders of Columbian Council had close ties of kinship and friendship in progressive circles in Chicago and New York.[38] Except for religion, they had a great deal in common with women like Jane Addams and Ida Tarbell. It has been suggested

> . . . that Jane Addams' experiences were not unique, that many of her problems and many of her solutions were similar to those of other women of her generation, especially those who went to college and came from the upper middle class.[39]

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[36] A. Leo Weil and Enoch Rauh, both active in the Civic Voters' League (Weil was one of its founders and its first president in 1902) were married to founders and leaders of Columbian Council.

[37] Otis Pease, The Progressive Years (New York, 1962), p. 3.

[38] Hannah G. Solomon, founder of NCJW, was accepted into non-Jewish society in Chicago. Her younger brother, Ben Greenebaum, married Hattie Weil, of Youngstown, Ohio, cousin of A. Leo Weil. Cassie Ritter Weil (Mrs. A. Leo Weil), also from Youngstown, often visited her relatives in Chicago; she was a close friend of Jane Addams and used Hull House as a model for Columbian Council activities. Solomon, p. 65; interview with Ferdinand T. Weil, son of Mr. and Mrs. A. Leo Weil (November, 1974).

[39] Davis, p. xii. Ida Tarbell was a good friend of the Moses Russlander family. Mrs. Moses Russlander (Phoebe Katz Russlander) became actively involved in Columbian

The women who founded Columbian Council were, like Jane Addams, upper middle-class and college educated. As Jews, they were very much aware of the ancient Jewish concept of "Kol Yisrael Arevim Zeh Lazeh,"[40]--All of Israel are responsible for each other--but as modern women they were somewhat uncomfortable with their mothers' old fashioned approach to charity. The approach these women favored was one called "preventive philanthropy." They believed that poor people should be taught skills which would make them self-sufficient. This is also the highest degree of charity in Jewish tradition--to make a person self-supporting and no longer in need of help.

The influx of poor Jewish immigrants whose appearance and behavior was so unlike their own, but who, as Jews, expected assistance from their co-religionists, placed these women in a position unknown to Jane Addams and her kind, who were clearly of a different social status, class, and usually religion, from that of the people who came to the settlement houses. For established German Jewish women, who were so thoroughly Americanized that they hobnobbed with upper class Protestant society, the new immigration was a threat. The negative stereotypes used by anti-Semites

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Council activities when she moved into the Pittsburgh area. S. Leo Ruslander, The Life and Times of S. Leo Ruslander (Pittsburgh, 1964).

[40] Found in the Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 43 b. (Personal communication from Rabbi David Cohen, Brooklyn, New York.)

could so easily reflect unfavorably upon themselves. This fear is expressed in an editorial in a Cincinnati newspaper (1882):

> The reputation that every Jew has is no higher than that of the lowest who professes his religion. We cannot therefore afford to permit this influx of poor deluded and oppressed Russians to become the standard upon which we shall be judged in the future.[41]

The first step in "preventive philanthropy," was, in many cases, imbuing the immigrant with American habits, i.e., teaching him English, civics, and elements of sanitation. Indeed, the term "Americanization," was used by Jewish organizations long before it became popular on the general scene.[42] Their attempts at "Americanization" were

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[41] From an editorial in the American Israelite, quoted in Ande Manners, Poor Cousins (New York, 1972), p. 153. Manners has many quotations on this subject. The ambivalent attitudes of German Jews toward their fellow Jews from eastern Europe, and their various attempts at assistance, have been the subject of numerous studies, usually critical of the German Jews. A good selection of such articles, with appropriate introductions are found in Abraham Karp, editor, The Jewish Experience in America 4, The Era of Immigration (Massachusetts, 1969). In very recent years there have been attempts to put the role of the German Jew vis-a-vis the new immigrant into clearer perspective. See especially Zosa Szajkowski, "The Yahudi and the Immigrant: A Reappraisal," American Jewish Historical Quarterly (September, 1973).

[42] "One of the earliest large scale efforts in the field of Adult Education resulted from the rather sudden upsurge of interest in what was called 'Americanization' which may roughly be dated about 1915." James Truslow Adams, Frontiers of American Culture: A Study of Adult Education in a Democracy (New York, 1944), p. 275. The man most closely identified with this movement at this time was Peter Roberts. Paul W. McBride, "Peter Roberts and the YMCA Americanization Program," paper delivered at the Duquesne University History Forum (October 31, 1973).

often viewed with a jaundiced eye by the recipients of these efforts as "a rather rapid substitution of the characteristics of 'Americanism' in dress, language and habits for the cultural heritage of the immigrant."[43]

Jewish groups were more highly motivated to work for immigrant education and they became more personnally involved. Columbian Council's entrance into this area is presaged by remarks made by Pauline Hanauer Rosenberg, its founder and first president, in 1893, at the Columbian Exposition.

> No matter how ignorant through oppression, these people are, their immediate progeny show marked signs of improvement and Americanism, and removed from the yoke of the oppressor, the third generation of this remarkable people on American soil, with their inherited powers of adaptibility, will retain only their religion as an indication of Judaism.

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[43] Harold Silver, "The Russian Jew Looks at Charity," Jewish Social Service Quarterly (December, 1927), p. 130.

[44] Pauline Hanauer Rosenberg, "Influence of the Discovery of America on the Jews," Papers of the Jewish Women's Congress (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 71.

II. FIRST STEPS OF COLUMBIAN COUNCIL-1894-1899

A. Columbian Kindergarten

Columbian Council was organized in May of 1894, but since the families of its members were accustomed to long summer vacations at resorts, it did not begin active functioning until the fall. After an exchange of letters, Miss Sadie American, the national secretary, agreed to visit Pittsburgh during the first week of December, to help direct activities along national guidelines.[1] Even in its earliest moments there are hints of less than perfect harmony between Columbian Council and national priorities. Although the constitution offered each section a great deal of freedom in how to proceed with its work, Mrs. Solomon, founder and national president of NCJW, had very definite ideas about what priorities should be followed and how,[2] while Miss American seems to have had a rather authoritarian personality.[3]

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[1]Correspondence, 1894, Box 1, 64:40, NCJW Holdings, Archives.

[2]As revealed in her autobiography, Hannah G. Solomon, Fabric of My Life: The Autobiography of Hannah G. Solomon (New York: Block Publishing Co., 1946), and in her collected papers, A Sheaf of Leaves (Chicago, 1911).

[3]As reflected in the Proceedings of the triennial national conventions of the NCJW.

According to these two national leaders, the first order of business should have been the setting up of study circles, with a syllabus suggested by Miss American. Mrs. Solomon placed a great deal of importance on the study of Judaism.[4] However, Columbian Council's first official act as an organization was in an area favored by its founder and first president Pauline H. Rosenberg.

Mrs. Rosenberg, childless, had a great interest in early childhood education. Before founding Columbian Council she had been active in the Pittsburg[5] and Allegheny Free Kindergarten Association (founded 1892). At a meeting on December 4, 1894, three days before Sadie American came to town, Columbian Council undertook as its first official project the raising of $1,200 to be presented to the Kindergarten Association for the establishment of a new school.

Only sixteen days later, Mrs. A. Leo Weil, Chairman of the Kindergarten Committee, informed her president that

> . . . the sum of $1,601 is now ready to be turned over to the Pittsburg and Allegheny Free Kindergarten Association, as a gift from the Jewish residents of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, collected through the agency of Columbian Council of Jewish Women.[6]

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[4]Correspondence, . . . (November 21, 1894).

[5]In 1890, the U.S. Geographic Board of Names decreed that all cities with "burgh" endings drop the final "h." After much dissension, Pittsburgh was allowed to return the "h" in July 1911. During this 21 year period, the name of the city was spelled both with and without the "h." Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

[6]Correspondence, ...

The kindergarten was named "Columbian" in honor of its supporters.

Since the raising of such a large sum of money would have required considerably more than sixteen days, one may assume that the project must have been discussed and decided upon informally some months before by the officers and charter members of Columbian Council, who were, after all, close friends, neighbors, and relatives.

A week after inaugurating the kindergarten project, Mrs. Rosenberg called a meeting for the purpose of setting up the study circles which Miss American thought should be "put . . . into operation at once."[7]

B. Study Circles

Continuing education for adults has been part of Jewish tradition for many centuries, going back to Talmudic times.

> This study originally centered around the synagogue, and in later generations around the Yeshivot, Talmudic academies. Although intended for scholars, the Yeshivot were also available to, and attracted, lay adults.[8]

Traditionally, only males studied in Yeshivot and synagogues, but Jewish women were expected to be literate, their study directed to prayer and Bible translations. In most countries

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Samuel I. Cohen, "History of Adult Jewish Education in Four National Jewish Organizations," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yeshiva University, 1967, p. 56.

in Europe, Jewish women had higher rates of literacy than the males of the non-Jewish populations among whom they lived. From the eighteenth century, with the Enlightenment, Jewish men and women in Central Europe joined eagerly in the search for secular education. In Eastern Europe it was more common for women to be involved in secular education while men kept to the traditional study of Bible and Talmud. Positive attitudes toward adult education were carried over to America.

The members of Columbian Council were also part of the whole adult education movement in nineteenth century America, which James Truslow Adams credits to women. Women, Adams says,

> . . . had the belief that an adult could and should be educated, and that education need not stop with youth . . . women of thirty to (let's not say what) who left their household duties and routines to go out and learn something more than they already knew about literature, music, art or even cooking and gardening were practising Adult Education.[9]

The women's club movement was in the forefront of serious educational work among its members. "In these clubs the women cracked the gates of the whole belief that only youth could learn."[10] In the big cities the women's clubs were organized and led by the leaders of local society.

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[9]James Truslow Adams, Frontiers of American Culture: A Study of Adult Education in a Democracy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944).

[10]Ibid.

Thus, Chicago Woman's Club, founded in 1876, was headed by Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, the social arbiters of the city. Hannah Greenebaum and her sister Henrietta were the youngest women and first Jews invited to join.

> To join an organization of "women" not "ladies" . . . and, one which bore the title "club" rather than "society" was in itself a radical step, but my parents approved, for they wholeheartedly endorsed its educational value.[11]

In Pittsburgh the parallel organization was the Women's Club of Pittsburgh, the oldest women's club in the Commonwealth,[12] of which Mrs. Pauline Rosenberg had been secretary.

According to the guidelines of the NCJW, the adult education efforts of its constituent sections should have been structured along Jewish lines, with study circles concentrating on the Bible and Jewish history. Members were encouraged to subscribe to the newly establishee Jewish Publication Society, and Hanna G. Solomon sent frequent inspirational messages to the local sections reminding them that:

> The aim of the National Council of Jewish Women is to encourage in its members a deeper study of the Bible, our religion, history, and literature, and of the best means of helping our fellows.[13]

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[11] Solomon, Fabric . . ., pp. 42-43. One can surmise from this why the organization she founded was called "women" and not "ladies."

[12] Founded in 1875, and thus a year older than the Chicago Woman's Club.

[13] Jewish Criterion (September 2, 1896).

Columbian Council organized small study circles in 1895. They were not too successful. Only seventeen members, on the average, attended study circle meetings, and only thirty-five women, on the average, attended meetings at which papers were read.[14] In an attempt to attract more attendance, Dr. Henry Berkowitz, Director of the Jewish Chautauqua Society, a scheme for adult Jewish education via correspondence courses and bibliographical guides, was invited to introduce his syllabus in the fall of 1896. The small study circles were consolidated into one large group, but all attempts failed. By May of 1899, the study circle had been disbanded because of lack of interest.[15]

However, the lectures which were a feature of the monthly meetings were quite popular and often attended by immigrants who had acquired enough English to understand them. The leaders of Columbian Council considered them "a source of educational and intellectual training for the public spirited and progressive members of our community."[16] These lectures were, more often than not, on non-Jewish topics. The women of Columbian Council were criticized for their lack of concern for Jewish education, while they were praised for their philanthropic efforts.[17]

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[14] Ibid. (May 7, 1897).

[15] Ibid (May 5, 1899).

[16] Ibid (February 5, 1897).

[17] Editorial by Rabbi Samuel Greenfield of Rodef Shalom, founder and editor of Jewish Criterion (September 2, 1896).

C. Mission School

The need for "missionary" work by Jews among Jews was expressed by many delegates to the Jewish Women's Congress in 1893. They felt that the more affluent, established community had the responsibility of enlightening their immigrant correligionists. At the first general meeting of Columbian Council, in October of 1894,[18] Rabbi Lippman Mayer of Rodef Shalom approached the women with the idea of setting up a religious school for the children of immigrants. He had cleared the way for such a venture by first talking to members of the Orthodox Washington Street Synagogue (Beth Hamedrash Hagadol) who had agreed to allow their children to attend.[19]

Religious school classes were organized and held both in the Washington Street Synagogue and in Rodef Shalom. In the fall of 1895 Columbian Council decided to intensify its efforts in its mission school work. Subscriptions to the American Jewess[20] were sold to raise funds. On December 27, 1895, Mrs. A. Leo Weil announced that the Mission School would be opened on January 5, 1896, to be staffed by volunteers.

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[18] This date is controversial. Some of the correspondence on this subject is dated 1895 (Archives).

[19] Beth Hamedrash Hagadol, organized in 1869 by Jews from Lithuania, had by this time, a large American-born group. It was the only Orthodox synagogue whose activities were reported, to any extent, in the Jewish Criterion before 1900.

[20] A weekly founded and edited by Mrs. Rosa Sonneschein which lasted from April 1895 to August 1899.

> Mrs. Hugo Rosenberg, Mrs. A. Leo Weil, Mrs. Dr. Blumberg, and Miss Carrie Blumberg were present to welcome fifteen little ones eager to have Israel's beautiful searchlight turned upon them. The little ones will be instructed by Miss Nora Amberg every Sunday afternoon from three until five.[21]

The name "mission school" led to a great deal of unpleasantness and misunderstanding. The Jewish Criterion considered the name to be an "unfortunate" one:

> Here, as in other cities, good Christians have it in mind to obtain salvation by doing conversion work among the "children of the ghetto." Partly to counteract this zeal and partly because of the neglect from which this class of children suffer in that their parents still retain their restricted notions of what education means, it has been determined to organize and conduct a mission school . . . suggestive of the duty which rests with the wealthier and more cultured of Jews to provide some means by which the progeny of poor immigrants ought to glean the lessons of life and the purposes of existence from a higher and more refined standpoint.[22]

The Jews living in the Downtown and Hill Districts had had some unpleasant experiences with missions and missionaries.[23] Rabbi Moses A. Sivitz, of Congregation Shaare Torah, preached the dangers of mission schools to his flock. He was castigated in an editorial by Rabbi Greenfield, who referred to him as "the so-called Rabbi Zivitz"[24]

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[21] Jewish Criterion (January 10, 1896).

[22] Ibid (January 17, 1896).

[23] Der Volksfreund (1889-1923), a Yiddish weekly, had frequent comments about the activities of these missionaries, usually Jewish converts to Christianity.

[24] Rabbi Sivitz was ordained by Rabbi Isaac Elhanan Spector, after whom the Rabbinical College of Yeshiva University is named.

who had fabricated

> . . . the most vicious lies in order to inflame the minds of parents and children. . . . We would counsel the adviser and admonish the monster to abstain from indulging his spleen, because doubtlessly his cheder[25] is less of an attraction than the school which furnishes instruction in such matters of which he himself stands in much need, viz., the evils of falsehood and a strict adherence to truth.[26]

Rabbi Sivitz was advised to go and see for himself what was being taught at the Mission School:

> . . . to make men and women well disciplined . . . out of the conglomerate mass of the ghetto inhabitants, so that the coming generation may be a credit to the manly Judaism of which we are all exponents, and to the pure law of justice and righteousness, the cause which we all espouse.[27]

Whether or not Rabbi Sivitz, described by those who knew him as pious, modest, scholarly, unworldly, and charitable, ever followed this advice is not known. His apprehensions about the mission school's mission were well founded. Although the mission school was not designed to convert Jewish children to Christianity, it was aimed at his school. One of the explicit goals of the NCJW's Religious School Work was:

> . . . to exterminate the Cheder, or purely Hebrew school, which is unAmerican, unprogressive, and

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[25] Referring to Rabbi Sivitz's Talmud Torah (afternoon Hebrew school) founded before 1892, on Crawford Street.

[26] *Jewish Criterion* (March 13, 1896).

[27] *Ibid.*

unethical, in its influence. In its place, establish the mission school.[28]

On March 20, 1896, a week after Rabbi Greenfield's editorial appeared, the name of the Mission School was changed to "'Columbian School,' owing to a misconception on the part of some coreligionists as to the proper use of the word 'mission.'"[29] In the "Report on Religious School Work" at the first NCJW convention in November, 1896, Columbian Council listed one Council Mission School with 150 pupils, maintained by Council with limited public support.[30]

D. Personal Service

Columbian Council's first contacts, as an organization, with adult immigrants, was through its Sisterhood of Personal Service, established May 17, 1895. This group of thirty-five women took the responsiblity of visiting immigrant families on a weekly basis "to note ways of improvement, suggest one at a time, and see that it has taken root slowly before proposing the next."[31] Mrs. Rosenberg

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[28] Proceedings of the First Convention of the NCJW (Philadelphia, 1897), p. 207.

[29] Jewish Criterion (March 20, 1896). However, many members of the NCJW persisted in calling the school by its former name for a long time.

[30] Proceedings . . . , p. 208. The same report lists a total of three congrgations in Pittsburgh. Thus, only Rodef Shalom, Tree of Life and Beth Hamedrash Hagadol were considered worthy of mention although there were at least ten more congregations in the city.

[31] American Jewess (November 1895), p. 180; Jewish Criterion (November 22, 1895), p. 11.

apportioned a certain number of families to each personal service worker. She urged them to "go slowly but surely, be patient, be sympathetic . . . do not dictate but suggest changes and improvements."[32]

The main goal of the Personal Service workers was to help families become self-supporting. They worked in conjunction with the Hebrew Relief Society and the Hebrew Ladies Sewing Society. The latter groups made "sundry garments for indigent applicants who seem to be ever growing in numbers."[33] The Young Ladies Sewing Society[34] also raised funds through entertainments. A Doll's Bazaar, run by this group in October 1895, earned $1,500 "to ameliorate the condition of the needy and poverty-stricken of this community."[35] Whenever Columbian Council needed money to tide it over during its early years, it raised funds with similar projects. During this period it did not have an annual budget. Funds were raised as needed, by running bazaars, soliciting from the Jewish community, and by donations from the wealthier members. Members also donated materials, clothes, furniture, etc., as needed for various projects.

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[32]Pauline H. Rosenberg, "A Word About Personal Service," Jewish Criterion (November 8, 1895).

[33]Ibid (December 22, 1895).

[34]The two groups are not clearly differentiated, but a study of lists of members indicates that the "Young Ladies" was probably the junior auxiliary of the "Hebrew Ladies." The names of members are the same as those of members of Columbian Council.

[35]Jewish Criterion (October 25, 1895).

The Personal Service workers, during their visits to the homes of immigrants, involved the women there in production for profit. Orders were given for needlework items, for which the women were paid. In the course of these visits, the Council members discovered that "ninety-nine cases out of one hundred neither speak nor understand English."[36] Some members started tutoring immigrant women who were not able to leave their homes because of family responsibilities. One such woman reminisced:

> I came to Pittsburgh in 1897 from Kapulie, near Minsk. In the Old Country I had learned Yiddish, Russian, Polish and German. I was already seventeen when I came, so I had to stay home and keep house for my widowed father and younger sisters. They went to Forbes School and learned English, but I could not go.
>
> Mrs. Hamburger came to my house to teach me English. Miss Block, her niece, tried to help me get rid of my accent. Mrs. Rosenberg showed me how to fix my hair. I did embroidery and crocheting for the members of Council. I also sewed for Rabbi Levy's family.
>
> The members of Council treated me as a friend. Later, I myself joined Council and helped make dolls for the poor.[37]

This woman, and others like her, succeeded in a few years in making the transition from being recipients of help to becoming full-fledged members of Council, participating in all of its activities. Although they were a small minority during the period under study, these immigrants from Eastern Europe helped change the composition of Columbian Council. To co-opt such women was one of the goals of NCJW.

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[36] Jewish Criterion (November 8, 1895)

[37] Interview with Mrs. Ida Blatt (November 1974).

> Here we may call attention to the fact that in our largest cities, among the colonies of Russian Jews there[38] residing, there are always a few [women] who have the leisure, refinement and education which would guarantee them as desirable members of our organization . . . we should ask them to join with us in furthering our common cause. . . . Let us, who often suffer from exclusion, be not exclusive.[39]

The tutoring sessions described above, on a one-to-one basis, done without a syllabus, by inexperienced volunteers, may be considered Columbian Council's first involvement in non-formal adult education of immigrants.

E. Columbian Council School

Columbian School became the most successful project initiated by Columbian Council. From the fifteen children who started in January of 1896, it had grown by the end of that year to a school with over 200 children attending, taught by three teachers and supervised by a principal, all volunteers.[40] The rent and other expenses were paid by voluntary contributions. In February of 1897, at a meeting of the Board of Directors of Rodef Shalom Congregation, "it was decided to give the Sunday School rooms to the Columbian School in which to conduct their work in the future."[41]

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[38] It should be borne in mind that the term "Russian Jew" was often used by German Jews in the eighties and nineties to refer to all East European Jews. The latter made sharper distinctions among themselves as to their places of origin.

[39] *Proceedings of the First Convention . . .*, pp. 102-103.

[40] *Jewish Criterion* (February 5, 1897).

[41] *Ibid* (February 12, 1897).

The move to Rodef Shalom was seen as only temporary, for the new goal of Columbian Council was to "base all plans upon the college settlement system."[42]

The leading spirit in the campaign for a settlement house was Mrs. A. Leo Weil. Inspired by Jane Addams' work at Hull House, she introduced various aspects of settlement house work while Columbian School was still at Rodef Shalom. Not only did the volunteers teach the children who came to them, but they also visited homes, "and were always received with open arms."[43] During these visits they met the parents and siblings of their pupils and attempted to introduce Americanization into the children's homes and to their parents.[44]

A settlement house project begun at Rodef Shalom during the summer of 1897 was a summer school in which crafts and needlework were taught. "About 180 boys and girls are diligently working."[45] In the fall of 1897, two rooms were rented at 32 Townsend Street at $15.00 per month. There were accommodations for 100 people, at most, but 200 showed up on the first Sunday. The teaching staff was enlarged. Miss Nora Amberg continued as Superintendent, with Miss Carrie Blumberg, Miss Sophie Half, and later Miss Mildred Cohen

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[42] Ibid (March 5, 1897).

[43] Ibid (May 7, 1897).

[44] Ibid (April 2, 1897).

[45] Ibid (July 7, 1897).

as teachers. Two men, Mr. Alexander Spiro[46] and Mr. Harry Diamond, also volunteered their services. Sewing classes for boys and girls were organized for Tuesdays and Thursdays.

In April of 1898, the entire house at 32 Townsend Street was taken over for Columbian School at $26.50 a month. Since the budget for the entire fiscal year (May 1897-May 1898) was only $483, mostly from donations, the rooms were "furnished with only the absolute necessities, leaving much to be desired and hoped for."[47] Members and friends of Columbian Council were asked to donate furniture and equipment, and Mrs. Weil reported:

> The rooms have been fitted up, and we now have on the first floor two large rooms and a bathroom; on the second floor two school rooms and a library; and on the third floor, one additional room. With this added space, greater and better facilities will be obtained and a correspondingly greater good will be accomplished. We expect now to be able to accommodate at least 100 additional pupils, perhaps more.[48]

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[46]The women were members or daughters of members of Columbian Council. The men were the first of many to volunteer to work with immigrants under the auspices of Columbian Council. No information is available on Harry Diamond. Alexander Spiro was a twenty-year old who had shown his interest in the education of immigrants earlier that year. As president of the Friends' Charitable Society he had organized the Baron Hirsch Night School at 614 Fifth Avenue, with classes in English reading, speaking, spelling and writing. Charges were twenty-five cents an evening. Associated with him in this venture was Samuel B. Glick, son of Joseph Selig Glick, editor of Der Volksfreund. Der Volksfreund (January 8, 1897); Jewish Criterion (January 15, 1897). Spiro was actively involved as a volunteer worker until his untimely death at age twenty-six. His relatives were members of Columbian Council.

[47]Mrs. A. Leo Weil, "Annual Report of Columbian Council," Jewish Criterion (May 13, 1898).

[48]Ibid.

The increasingly popular sewing classes expanded to include other arts and crafts, in keeping with the real goal of "preventive philanthropy":

> This school is founded upon the principles upon which the Council is built, not to give alms, but to give what is much more beneficial and much harder to supply, namely, the ability to help one's self, and thus avoid the necessity of help from others.[49]

The house on Townsend Street soon became a popular gathering place for adults, too.

> It was open all day, and soon, by request, in the evening. Anybody could stop in--and did: Poles, and Russians, and Slovaks, and old-time residents of the Hill whose ancestors had crossed the Alleghenies in covered wagons. Mothers came to see what their children had found that was so interesting--and stayed to plan a bake sale for a sewing group.[50]

Meanwhile, Rabbi Lippman Mayer of Rodef Shalom had been discussing with Mrs. Weil the possibility of Columbian Council entering into adult education. Rabbi Mayer had organized a "Russian School" in 1890, staffed by three instructors paid by the members of his congregation, and classes were held in ". . . the Back Room in the Basement of Temple every Sunday afternoon . . . for the Hebrew Russian refugees."[51] By November of 1891, enrollment had increased to 110 students and the school had to move to 400 Fifth

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Mildred W. Kreimer, "Southwestern District Religious Schools Celebrate Sixtieth Year," Jewish Criterion (September 11, 1953).

[51] Minutes of Rodef Shalom Congregation (February 2, 1891) AJA.

Avenue.[52] The obvious needs of these adults and of the young working people[53] persuaded Mrs. Weil and the Columbian Council to take over Rabbi Mayer's "Russian School." On April 14, 1899, the School announced its plans to "open evening classes for girls who cannot attend during the day. . . . The cry is teachers, teachers, assistants."[54] The budgetary needs for the fiscal year (May 1898-May 1899) had risen to $600-$700, provided by members of Columbian Council "and a few of its friends who undertook the whole expense of maintaining the institution."[55]

With the fall of 1899 Columbian Council inaugurated a full-fledged program of evening classes, "mainly for boys and girls who are engaged in business during the day and have not had an opportunity of educating themselves in the elementary branches."[56] Classes began on Monday, October 2, 1899, at 8:00 P.M. Courses were offered in elementary school subjects as well as bookkeeping, stenography, and literature. The teachers were all volunteers: Miss Yetta Baumgarten; Mr. Alexander Spiro; Mr. M. Trauerman; Mr. Charles Homer Joseph, new editor of the Jewish Criterion; Mr. Morris Green;

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[52] Feldman, Early Migration . . . , p. 62.

[53] This was usually defined as children over fourteen, since this was the school-leaving age.

[54] Jewish Criterion (April 14, 1899).

[55] Charles H. Joseph, "A Visit to the Columbian Council School," Ibid. (January 10, 1899).

[56] Ibid. (September 15, 1899).

Mr. A. Gross, and Rabbi Michael Fried of Tree of Life Synagogue.[57]

Over one hundred people showed up on the first night of classes:

> There were many men advanced in years who appeared to take up the study of English. Over fifty applied to enter the stenography and typing class. The outpouring fairly took away the breath of those in charge.[58]

A regular schedule was drawn up: Miss Yetta Baumgarten taught shorthand and typing on Mondays; Mr. Abram Gross taught penmanship and arithmetic on Tuesdays; Mr. Morris Green taught history and literature on Wednesdays; Mr. Alexander Spiro and Mr. Aronson taught English and penmanship on Thursdays.[59]

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[57] Ibid. (September 29, 1899). Miss Yetta Baumgarten was a member of Columbian Council who later became a resident at the settlement house; Mr. M. Trauerman was related to one of the founders of the Hebrew Ladies Aid Society; Mr. Charles H. Joseph was the nephew of Henry Jackson, one of the pillars of Tree of Life Synagogue and had a number of female relatives active in Columbian Council. In 1907, he married Miss Caroline Schoenfeld of Johnstown, sister of Miss Julia Schoenfeld, Head Resident of the Settlement; Mr. Morris Green was active as a Columbian Council volunteer for many years. His father, Abraham Green, from Holland, was one of the founders of Tree of Life Synagogue. He married Miss Josephine Baer, of Rodef Shalom, whose family was involved with Columbian Council. No information is available on Abram Gross, except that he continued to be actively involved in Columbian Council work for some years.

[58] Jewish Criterion (October 6, 1899).

[59] Ibid. The sudden appearance of a new volunteer, Mr. Aronson, is indicative of the constant accretion of new workers. Mr. Aronson was probably the American born son of immigrants from Lithuania.

Requests for additional classes led to the introduction of a bookkeeping class to be taught by Mr. M. R. Trauerman and a class in education to be taught by Mr. William Oppenheimer.[60] These volunteer teachers, who kept adding more members to their ranks,

> met at the home of the Misses Cohen, Locust Street, . . . and formed a permanent organization by electing the following officers: Nora Amberg, Chairman; Alex Spiro, Vice-Chairman; L. S. Levin, Secretary; Maud Rosenbaum, Treasurer.[61]

The new responsibilities taken on by Columbian Council doubled its expenses to $1,200 for the fiscal year (May, 1899-May, 1900). Since the school was growing by leaps and bounds, new space and new funds had to be found.

A committee of four--A. Leo Weil, Esquire, Chairman; Messrs. L. I. Aaron, Jacob Kaufmann and Dr. A. Blumberg, was set up "to make a survey of the field and to examine suitable locations for an enlarged school . . . and to formulate a plan whereby a guaranteed income could be secured for the school."[62] Having reached this stage, the women of Columbian Council, few of whom had independent

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[60] Ibid. Mr. Oppenheimer was the son of a Columbian Council member.

[61] Ibid. (October 27, 1899). L. S. Levin became a prominent attorney involved in city politics. He was an active volunteer for many years. Maud Rosenbaum was a member of Columbian Council. A number of Cohen families lived on Locust Street in Allegheny. It is impossible to state definitively who these Misses Cohen were.

[62] Jewish Criterion (November 10, 1899).

incomes, went to their husbands for the assistance of their "strong hands."[63]

The Columbian Council School, considered to be the "brilliant accomplishment"[64] of Columbian Council, was invited to send a report of its work to be part of the NCJW exhibition at the Paris Exposition of 1900.[65]

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Editorial, Jewish Criterion (October 13, 1899). There is no exact date when the Columbian School begins to be called the Columbian Council School. The names are used interchangeably quite often, but the latter prevails after a while.

[65] Ibid. (December 1, 1899).

III. THE CONSOLIDATION PERIOD--1900-1905

A. Developments in Pittsburgh

Between 1900 and 1905, the Pittsburgh region experienced a strong economic upsurge, followed by a depression. The "era of steel" had arrived as far back at 1875, when Andrew Carnegie opened the Edgar Thomson works at Braddock, but it was the formation of the U.S. Steel Corporation in 1901 which put 50% of the nation's steelworkers under a single employer.[1]

Along with this expanded industrialization, there was an increased influx of immigrants to work in the mills and to dig the coal which provided the fuel. Very few Jews were involved directly as miners or millworkers,[2] but many found employment in the milltowns and coal patches as peddlers, storekeepers, and merchants. When the depression of 1903 created an unemployment problem, the most critically affected groups were the newly arrived immigrants, Jews and non-Jews.

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[1]Roy Lubove, Twentieth Century Pittsburgh (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969).

[2]There were many reasons for the absence of Jews in heavy industry in Pittsburgh. See Ida Cohen Selavan, "The Jewish Wage Earner in Pittsburgh, 1890-1930," American Jewish Historical Quarterly (Spring, 1976).

Events in Europe also affected the Jewish community of Pittsburgh. A new regime of oppression in Roumania led to the arrival in America of twice as many Roumanian Jews in 1899 as in 1898: in 1900 eight times as many came, and in the following years the number was even larger. Of all Jewish immigrants from Roumania between 1881 and 1910, 70.5% came in the last nine years.[3] By 1914, nearly 30% of the entire Jewish population of Roumania, 75,043 people, had migrated to America.

Many Jews in Roumania organized themselves into groups of "fussgayers" (walkers, wayfarers) and literally walked to Hamburg, Germany, where they boarded ships to America. "The wayfarers of 1899 were different from the earlier immigrants . . . they were young healthy people, mostly artisans and workers, with a small number of clerks."[4]

The various Jewish philanthropic agencies, most of which had headquarters in New York, responded to the new immigration by attempting to direct the newcomers to other areas of the country. The Industrial Removal Office, founded in January, 1901, by the Jewish Agricultural Society, working in conjunction with local B'nai B'rith lodges, sent

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[3]Samuel Joseph, Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881-1910 (New York, 1914).

[4]Joseph Kissman, "The Immigration of Roumanian Jews up to 1914," YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, 1947/48, p. 160.

some thousands of immigrants westward.[5]

Pittsburgh was one of the places to which Roumanian Jews came in proportionately larger numbers than they did to other cities (excluding New York). This was due to the presence in Pittsburgh of a nucleus of Roumanian Jews, related by blood and marriage and landsmanshaft[6] (compatriotism) from the 1880's, who kept bringing over members of their extended families.

By 1903, Pittsburgh had a branch of the Industrial Removal Office, headed by Berish Chaimovitz (a Roumanian Jew) which arranged for jobs for the newcomers. A fairly substantial percentage of Jewish immigrants to Pittsburgh after 1900 were able-bodied young people, with some skills, interested in learning English and ambitious to succeed.

The Roumanian Jews were soon joined by Russian Jews, fleeing from the pogroms which had taken on the dimensions of massacres after 1903. Some of them were socialists (of various shadings) who had been forced to leave because of the repressive measures taken by the Czar's police. Many of the socialists planned to return to Russia "after the success of the revolution," but meanwhile they looked for

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[5]Samuel Joseph, History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund: The Americanization of the Jewish Immigrant (Philadelphia, 1935).

[6]The ties of place of common origin were often as strong, among immigrants, as ties of marriage or blood.

jobs and studied English.[7]

In 1905, the situation of the new immigrants from Russia grew worse because of the lack of employment in Pittsburgh.

> They have barely escaped with their lives . . . and have come here naked and lacking everything, and are wandering around the Pittsburgh streets, hungry, lonely, ragged and in anguish.

Their situation sparked the formation of a relief committee, Hevras Ezras Nidhei Russia (The Society for Assistance to the Refugees from Russia) which cut across class and congregational lines. It included representatives of Orthodox Beth Jacob, Shaare Torah, Poale Zedeck, Shaare Zedeck, Anshe Senee, and "the German Temple Rodef Shalom." The Society decided to re-establish an Emmigrants' House, as was once done for the Roumanian immigrants, because some of the refugees had been spending their nights at "Rubin the missionary and the Salvation Army."[8]

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[7]There are no statistical studies of the countries of origin of Pittsburgh's Jews prior to 1938. The respondents in the Oral History Project (OHP) sponsored by the Pittsburgh Section, National Council of Jewish Women, in which the writer served as Research Assistant, 1969-1970, provided many stories to illustrate the brief survey given above. These stories have been strung into narrative form by the writer in By Myself I'm a Book! An Oral History of the Immigrant Jewish Experience in Pittsburgh, by the Pittsburgh Section, NCJW, under the direction of A. Shiloh (Massachusetts, 1972).

[8]All quotations are from an article in Der Volksfreund (January 6, 1905) [my translations].

B. Incorporation of Columbian School

The pressures of immigrants clamoring for education, the long waiting lists, and the disappointment of those turned away because of lack of space at the Townsend Street house, influenced Columbian Council to find larger quarters and new sources of income.

On March 7, 1900, the Columbian Council School was incorporated, with the firm of Weil and Thorp acting as legal counsel.[9] Incorporators were Mrs. Phillip Hamburger, Mrs. Albert Blumberg, Mrs. Henry Oppenheimer, Mrs. A. J. Sunstein, Mrs. Enoch Rauh, and Mrs. A. Leo Weil.[10] Thus, Columbian Council School became a separate legal entity.

The old Slagle mansion at 1835 Centre Avenue was purchased for $12,000. Additional sources of income were obtained, one of these being the Baron de Hirsch Fund, founded in 1891 with $2,400,000 in trust to assist Jewish immigrants.[11] This Fund established to provide the "adult immigrant . . . with a knowledge of the English language, and in the interest of good government, with the customs of the country and the theory of our government . . ." provided

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[9]Paper number 378, Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas. Only the number on a ledger could be found. The actual articles of incorporation seem to have been lost.

[10]Sidney A. Teller, "Brief History of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1895-1937," unpublished MS. (Archives).

[11]Joseph, History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund . . . , p. 274; see also Hartmann.

$500 to Columbian Council of Pittsburgh.[12] "The income from $12,500 invested at 4% is at the disposal of the school."[13]

On April 1, 1900, the Columbian Council School moved into its "new and commodious building."[14] However, the formal opening was postponed until January, 1901.[15]

C. Curriculum, Staff, Budget

1. General Survey

Between 1900 and 1905, the curriculum of Columbian Council School expanded to include many kinds of academic subjects, from elementary to advanced. With the addition of the Peacock Baths in 1902, swimming, dancing, and sports were introduced. A visiting nurse service was also inaugurated, which was to become an important source of public health education for the entire neighborhood. Various crafts and skills were taught when teachers were available.

The most important need during this period was for more teachers. The students packed the rooms to overflowing, textbooks and materials were donated or improvised, but the use of volunteers as teachers made the actual running of the school dependent upon their good will and dedication. By

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[12] Eugene S. Benjamin, "The Baron de Hirsch Fund," Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Charities (Philadelphia, 1906).

[13] Jewish Criterion (March 1, 1900).

[14] Ibid. (March 22, 1900).

[15] Ibid. (January 25, 1901).

the end of this period there were some paid teachers and the burden of teaching elementary English was being passed on to the public schools. Other organizations were also involving themselves in immigrant education during the first five years of the twentieth century.[16]

In budgeting for the School, the members of Columbian Council often drew upon the resources of wealthy Jews and non-Jews in the community. They also continued using their traditional fund raising methods, such as bazaars, lectures, dances, cake sales, etc. With the passage of years, more business-like methods of budgeting were introduced.

Since this period was one of many changes, it can best be studied year by year.

2. 1900-1901[17]

During its first year at the new Columbian Council School building, the evening classes were attended by 216 people of both sexes, ranging in age from nine to forty. Of

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[16]In February of 1905, English classes were introduced at the Zionist Institute, from Monday through Thursday, taught by Miss Elizabeth Seegman, Miss Etta Meyers, and Mr. Morris Neaman. "As each one of the students knows at least one European language, the learning of English is much easier, as shown by their ready conception of the language." Jewish Criterion (February 10, 1905); Also, interview with Etta Meyers Katz, February, 1970.

[17]Information about the functioning of the School for the first year was taken from Miss Sadie Levy's "Annual Report" which appeared in the Jewish Criterion (June 7, 1901). This was the only report to give such detailed information about textbooks, class sizes, and methods. It may be assumed that the same books were used in succeeding years.

these, 120 were Russians, 25 were Roumanians, 17 were Austrians, and four were Americans. After some preliminary testing and interviews, the students were assigned to classes according to their level of knowledge of English. Of the 216, 30 were complete beginners and they were assigned to a preparatory class meeting 8:00 P.M.-9:30 P.M. on Mondays through Thursdays. Because of their interest and the teacher's dedication, the class often ran from 7:30 P.M. to 10:00 P.M. with a great deal of individualized instruction. The textbooks used were Harper's First Reader and Badland's First Lessons in Language.

After two months of these intensive lessons, students were promoted to smaller classes of twenty people each, where only English was spoken and where subject matter was divided into reading, speaking, writing, and dictation. The textbooks for these classes were simplified histories of the United States and Russia, a simplified English translation of the Old Testament, Saddlier's Heroes of History, Harper's First Reader, Maxwell's First Book in English and the Rational Spelling Book One. At this point many of the students were ready for instruction in how to write business letters.

After four months in the second class, students went into two third classes which had only 12-15 students each. The more elementary third grade used Harper's Second Reader, Maxwell's First Book in English and Wright's Compositions. The more advanced group used Arnold's and Gilbert's Third

Reader, Charles Lamb's Essays, Jane Andrews' Series and other books.[18] These classes also studied grammar, composition, and geography.

The staff of the school during this first year in the new building consisted of a salaried resident, Miss Sadie Levy, a salaried teacher, Mr. Ebers, who taught the Monday-Thursday preparatory class, and volunteers: Miss Sophie Half, Mr. Oscar Oppenehimer, and Miss Feingold, who taught the second class, Miss Jennie Hirsch, Mr. Herbert Rosenbaum and Mr. Abe Gross, taught the more elementary third grade; Mrs. H. B. Ferguson, Mr. M. A. Green, and Mr. Alexander Spiro taught the more advanced group.[19]

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[18]The tracking down of textbooks mentioned only once, with no dates or publishers given, would have been impossible without the existence of the Nietz Textbook Collection in the Special Collections of Hillman Library. Together with John A. Nietz, Old Textbooks (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), and Charles Carpenter, History of American Schoolbooks (Philadelphia, 1964), most of these books have been identified. Harper's First, Second, and Third Reader (author anonymous) were published by the American Book Company (New York, 1888). William H. Maxwell's First Books in English, by the same company, 1894. A number of Excelsior Readers by a Sadlier were printed in both New York and Montreal in the late 1870's. The Rational Spellers (Part I) and (Part II) were by a J. M. Rice (no publisher given), 1898. Sarah Louise Arnold and Charles Gilbert collaborated on a number of books. The "Third Reader" may have been one of their Stepping Stones to Literature, Silver, Burdett, and Company (New York, 1897). Jane Andrews authored a series of children's books. One of them, Stories Mother Nature Told Her Children (Boston: Athaneum Press, 1895), is in the historical collection of the Children's Room, Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh. Badlands and Wright could not be tracked down. There is no indication whether the original or a simplified Charles Lamb's Essays was used.

[19]Some of these names appear year after year as volunteers.

The textbooks on the curriculum were supplemented by volumes in the library and reading room, as well as those in the Wylie Avenue Branch of Carnegie Library. When this branch, built in large part due to the influence of members of Columbian Council,[20] opened its doors on June 1, 1899, Columbian School donated many of its books to it. The library's success was literally overwhelming. Frequently the crowds in the building were difficult to manage. During its first half year, the library circulated 44,511 books to 122,730 people.[21]

In its new building the Columbian Council School had a circulating library of 100 books for children and a reading room collection of 500 books. Newcomers to the school were told about the existence of a public library nearby and were urged to patronize it.[22]

The more formal course work of the classes was supplemented by clubs led by volunteers. The Girls' Progress Club, for example, which had grown from six to thirty young women in a very short time, had programs on health, dress, and famous people. The members also prepared and served

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[20] A reminiscing article in Neighbors 2:9 (September 1, 1924), published by the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, Pennsylvania Room, Carnegie Library, gives details.

[21] Fourth Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh for the Year ending January 31, 1900 (In Pennsylvania Room); See also Selavan, "The Education of Jewish Immigrants. . . ."

[22] Many immigrants were familiar with lending libraries, which existed in Eastern Europe from the mid-nineteenth century. It was the free library that was new to them.

refreshments under the guidance of the club leaders, thus learning how to set a table American style. Some of the young people who could communicate quite well in English formed the Columbian Educational Society, one of the most active organizations in the School for some years. Mr. A. Green was elected President and Miss Anna Friedberg, Financial and Recording Secretary.[23]

The presence of a resident worker made it possible to keep the building open very late, for evening activities. For Charles Homer Joseph, Editor of the Jewish Criterion, and on occasion a volunteer worker,

> The foundation of the school rests upon the evening classes. . . . I would ask the members of this community to bear in mind the importance of this work in relation to making of the foreign Jew a representative American citizen. Right along with the English instruction comes a training in American principles. Love of country is instilled into their hearts . . .[24]

In running the building, the $500 contributed annually by the Baron de Hirsch Fund was supplemented by the fund-raising activities of Columbian Council as well as by donations.[25]

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[23]This club was also called the C lumbian Educational League. The pattern of election of officers of both sexes was quite common, both in the association of volunteers and in the coeducational clubs.

[24]Charles N. Joseph, "A Talk on the Columbian Council School," Jewish Criterion, July 5, 1901.

[25]Names of donors, but not the amounts they gave, appeared in the Jewish Criterion frequently. In later years, amounts of donations were also published.

3. 1901-1902

The first year served as a "shakedown" period. Some of the deficiences were corrected by the fall of 1901--the need for resident custodians and for another resident. Mr. & Mrs. Carbon[26] were hired to take charge of building maintenance and Miss Julia Schoenfeld was added to the staff as resident. Classes received more formal designations: A, B, C, D, and were held all through the summer and by fall attendance averaged 935 people a month. The reading rooms were open every night. Two hundred-fifty volumes, borrowed from Carnegie Library and exchanged every three months for other, were available for circulations among the night school students.

The volunteer teachers now numbered fifty-eight,[27] some involved in the regular teaching schedule, some leading clubs. For 1901-1902 the school schedule was:

Mondays through Thursdays--Beginners with Mr. Ebers (Class A)

Monday--Class B, Reading and Spelling, Miss Half
Class C, Spelling, Miss J. Hirsch
Class D, Reading and Composition, Mrs. H. B. Ferguson

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[26]The name was also sometimes spelled Carton.

[27]Some volunteers were replaced by others in mid-term. Occasionally classes in new subjects were announced, but discontinued after a while because either the students were not interested, or the volunteer teachers did not show up regularly. The school is characterized as both "night school" and "evening school" sometimes in the same article.

Tuesday -- Class B, Dictation and Copying,
Mr. O. Oppenheimer
Class C, Reading, Miss Shakul
Class D, Arithmetic and Business Forms,
Mr. H. Rosenbaum

Wednesday--Class B, Composition, Miss Feingold
Class C, Language, Miss F. Strauss
Class D, History and Geography,
Mr. J. C. Boyce[28]

The tremendous response to these classes, the regular attendance by the students (most of whom came after a hard day's work) the enthusiasm of the volunteers, and summer classes, made the Columbian Council School unique.

> The classes in English that are held here in the evenings for foreigners seem to be the only ones of their kind in this city of thousands of immigrants. In other cities similarly situated, this department is undertaken by the city Board of Education. There was some years ago a night school in this hill district, and it was disbanded on account of lack of attendance.[29] That is not our complaint. Last week, a pupil writing to a brother who is coming from abroad advised him to come to this city because he could here attend school all year whereas in New York, classes were only open for five months. Our need is funds to put this branch on a stable basis by adding paid instructors to the noble volunteer corps.[30]

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[28] Jewish Criterion (November 1, 1901). Not only do male volunteers now play an important role, but some of them are non-Jewish. Mr. Boyce was probably not Jewish. Others, as recalled by S. Leo Ruslander, were "John O'Connor, Isabel Kennedy, Walter Sanville, George Baird, and Frank W. Main." S. Leo Ruslander, p. 327.

[29] This is probably a reference to the Baron Hirsch School, founded in January, 1897, mentioned in Chapter Two. Its founder, Alexander Spiro, was twenty years old at the time. He served as a volunteer teacher at Columbian Council School until his untimely death at age twenty-six.

[30] Jewish Criterion (September 20, 1901).

Columbian Council School was also unique in having "Jewish women residents among a foreign Jewish population."[31] Its reputation spread to other cities. A visitor from New York sang its praises in a Cincinnati newspaper:

> The Pittsburg problem as compared with the New York problem is child's play. The work of solution is entirely in the hands of the Council of Jewish Women. It is the only circle that I am aware of that maintains a Settlement House. I visited there and went away enjoying its amplitude.[32]

The clubs started the previous year became even more popular. The Columbian Educational Society met twice a month for lectures, debates, and discussions. It invited guest speakers to present papers. One of these, Charles H. Joseph, saw the club as "a most important agency for Americanization."[33] In one talk, he

> . . . showed that it was possible for young men and women to work their way into paths of learning and culture. As a result of Mr. Joseph's talk, three of the young men decided to give up "stogie" making and seek other employment.[34]

In the spring the society sponsored Arbor Day exercises.

> A tree was planted and named in honor of the late President McKinley. The exercises were most impressive and inspiring and showed what an intense spirit of Americanism has been instilled into the hearts of those whose years of residence in this

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[31]Sadie Levy, "Some Aspects of Social Settlement Work," Jewish Criterion (February 7, 1902).

[32]Maurice H. Harris, "Pittsburg Ghetto," Jewish Criterion. (September 20, 1901), reprinted from the American Israelite.

[33]Jewish Criterion (July 5, 1901).

[34]Ibid (January 31, 1902).

> country may be counted on the fingers of one hand.[35]

It is significant that more emphasis was put on celebrating the American Arbor Day than its Jewish equivalent, Tu B'Shevat, which was completely ignored.

An innovation, probably sparked by the hiring of a nurse named Miss Cherry, in 1901, was the introduction of weekly mothers' meetings where talks were given on hygiene, home nursing, and care of children.[36] There were also classes in stenography, basketry, cooking, dancing and gymnastics.

Problems of budget were temporarily solved by Mr. Phillip Hamburger, who agreed to pay the interest on the mortgage, an amount of over $400, and a number of individuals who donated some hundreds of dollars as well as furniture and materials for club use. Mrs. A. Leo Weil, President of Columbian Council School, was cautiously optimistic about the future:

> It must not be understood that the financial condition of the school is such as to need no further attention . . . [but] . . . the public is as last aroused to the need of assistance and . . . finally beginning to understand and appreciate in some measure the responsible task that was assumed by a few women some four or five years back. . . . The period of uphill trials and tribulations . . . is slowly coming to an end.[37]

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[35] Ibid. (May 2, 1902). This started a tradition of planting a tree every Arbor Day on the front lawn, in memory or in honor of some person chosen by the society.

[36] Proceedings of the Third Triennial Convention of NCJW (Philadelphia, 1902), p. 97.

[37] Jewish Criterion (May 16, 1902).

An editorial in the Jewish Criterion later that year was more skeptical:

> Where does the money come from for this work? . . . None of the ladies could tell. Some is given and more of it is begged. It comes, however, but a debt of many thousands of dollars hangs over the heads of these women who are working hard that others be made happier and more comfortable.[38]

4. 1902-1903

During 1902-1903 the work at Columbian Council reached its peak. The class schedules were fairly well organized, there were enough teachers, and few complaints about crowding. This was due to the expanded staff and curriculum. Indeed, there were five residents: Miss Sadie Levy, Miss Julia Schoenfield, a temporary resident,[39] and the two caretakers. In addition, seventy volunteers came more or less regularly to teach the classes and lead the clubs.

A major physical change was the addition of a new $10,000 building, the Peacock Bath House.

> Mrs. A. Leo Weil personally went to Mr. Alexander Peacock, who was one of the recently created millionaires by the formation of the United States Steel Corporation, having been an associate of Andrew Carnegie. Without too much trouble she interested him in the Settlement and he provided the money for

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[38] Jewish Criterion (August 15, 1902).

[39] Probably Walter Sanville (who married Isabel Kennedy) mentioned by Ruslander.

> a bath house . . . which was known as the Peacock Baths.[40]

The building opened in February 1903, adjoining the main building. It included a gymnasium, assembly hall seating 300, ten showers, three bathtubs, and a swimming pool. This made possible the introduction of regular gym and swimming classes which added an "athletic" dimension to the clubs. Some of the clubs added the word "athletic" to their names.

Total enrollment in classes and clubs from May 1902-May 1903 was 1,412. In the evening school the beginners' class met daily, Mondays through Thursdays, 8:00 P.M.-9:30 P.M. with Mr. Frank Ebers. The other classes followed this schedule:[41]

Monday -- Class B, Reading, Miss Pearl Roessler
Class C, Spelling, Miss Blanche Stern
Class D, Civil Government, Mr. S. Leo Russlander[42]

Tuesday -- Class B, Language, Mr. Morris A. Green
Class C, Geography, Mr. Oscar Oppenheimer
Class D, Arithmetic, Mr. Herbert Rosenbaum

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[40] Ibid., p. 325.

[41] Columbian Council School Yearbook (May, 1903), in Pennsylvania Room. There were yearbooks published every year from 1903, but only a few have been preserved. Even the Pittsburgh Section Holdings in the Archives do not have the yearbooks.

[42] S. Leo Ruslander is the son of Moses and Phoebe K. Russlander. His name is often spelled like that of his parents in references to him in the early Jewish Criterions.

Wednesday -- Class B, Composition, Miss Fanny Strouse
Class C, Reading and History, Mr. William Strassburger
Class D, Grammar, Mr. Edwin C. May

Thursday -- Class B, Spelling, Miss Frances Gould
Class C, Language, Miss Celia Barach

While no records of teaching methods have been found, S. Leo Ruslander, Esquire, described what it was like to teach at Columbian Council School:

> I was assigned to a class in English and later to a class in History and Civil Government. I approached the work with the feelings of a hero about to endure great hardship for the cause of humanity seeing in the work only great personal sacrifice, exposure to danger of disease and vermin from contact with the emigrant, and danger to health from sitting in crowded, poorly lighted and ventilated rooms. I did not know then, as I know now, that these boys and girls, and men and women, who came to my classes, were in many instances my intellectual superiors, and that while I had an imperfect knowledge of but one language, many of them were versed in from two to four languages, and that while I had a small smattering of the elements of American history and principles of our government, they were well read and well versed in history and political economy.[43]

5. 1903-1904

During the depression of 1903-1904, when many unemployed immigrants crowded into the Columbian Council School, one sees the reasons for the demand for more space

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[43]Ruslander, pp. 305-306. Ruslander's mother was very active in Columbian Council. When he came home from college he joined the law firm of Weil and Thorp. Mrs. A. Leo Weil persuaded him to volunteer his services as a teacher. This began a lifelong relationship with Columbian Council School and Settlement, leading to presidency of Irene Kaufmann Settlement, 1931-1937. His son, Julian Ruslander was president of the IKS from 1952-1957.

and more teachers which henceforth would be reiterated time after time. As one report noted:

> Registration in evening classes are taken the first week in each month. The rooms have been taxed to their capacity. A couple of teachers for the advanced English are needed and one for the second grade.[44]

The new schedule included crafts and athletics. The library and bath house were open daily. A new service, a branch bank where young people could start small savings accounts, was also opened:[45]

Monday --	3:30-5:00 P.M.,	Sewing
	4:00	Bank
	8:00-9:30	Five English classes, stenography, gym
Tuesday --	3:30-4:30 P.M.,	Cooking, Basketry, Five English classes, clubs
Wednesday --	3:30-5:00 P.M.,	Game Room, Clubs
	8:00-9:30	Five English Classes
	8:00	Bank
	8:00-10:00	Gymnasium
Thursday --	3:30-5:00 P.M.,	Clubs
	8:00-9:30	Four English classes
	8:00-10:00	Gymnasium
Friday --	8:00-10:00 P.M.	Clubs
Saturday --	10:00-11:30 A.M.	Ethical Class
	8:00-10:00 P.M.	Entertainments
Sunday --	8:00-10:00 P.M.	Educational Society

The teachers were Messrs. F. J. Ebers, S. L. Ruslander, A. Buka, G. Rosenblatt, O. Oppenheimer, D. R. Zugsmith [possibly Dr. Zugsmith] H. Rosenbaum,

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[44] Jewish Criterion (January 1, 1903).

[45] Ibid. (October 30, 1903). The schedule is not as detailed as in previous years.

> E. Frohman, W. Strassburger, M. Jacobs, C. Teplitz, M. A. Green, E. May, E. Rapport, A. Oppenheimer, J. Weisman, and Misses Stern, Rosenbaum, Barach, Reich, and Strous.[46]

New physical education subjects were introduced: Swedish gymnastics, Delsarte [sic!] and dancing for girls. The young men's basketball teams began winning games. Involvement in athletics was viewed by the residents as another way to Americanization.

> This desire of our young men to interest themselves in athletics is commendable as there has been a lamentable lack of physical culture in our midst in time past.[47]

The clubs which had been started two years before continued to flourish. Debates were a popular feature and some of the debators became lawyers in later years. Perhaps they learned the rules at Columbian Council School![48]

An attempt to attract new residents was made during the summer of 1903. Scholarships were offered to cover all expenses of young people wishing to study settlement work. A Miss Minnie Hanauer[49] answered the call and served as

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[46] Ibid (May 13, 1904). No indication of classes taught. It is interesting to note that men predominate here as volunteer teachers for evening classes. During the daytime, the activities were run almost exclusively by women. Some of the names listed are new, but almost all of them are recognizable as related to Columbian Council members.

[47] Jewish Criterion (January 16, 1903).

[48] For example, the three men who won the debate on the subject "Whether Labor Unions are Advantages to Society," on January 4, 1903, S. J. Horowitz, J. Margolis, and S. Rosenblatt, became prominent attorneys a decade or so later.

[49] Spelled variously Hanow, Hanaw, and Hanan.

temporary resident that summer. In the fall Miss Julia Schoenfeld came back as Head Resident.

The dual nature of the Columbian Council School, as a nonformal adult educational institution for immigrants and as a settlement house for the entire neighborhood, led to certain problems. When volunteer teachers did not show up for their scheduled classes, the residents were pressed into service, thus neglecting the younger people who came for club activities. One night,

> Classes B and C, seventy in all, were waiting impatiently for teachers who did not come . . . it is absolutely impossible for any work to be accomplished unless the volunteers attend regularly. [This] . . . happens at least once every week and some weeks more often.[50]

The residents also felt that some of the volunteers did not prepare seriously enough for their teaching duties. "No one can do good earnest work unless some time is spent in preparation and study."[51]

Budgetary problems were a concern throughout this period. The Columbian Council organized a series of public lectures for which it charged admission, in one fund raising attempt.[52] In the spring of 1903, the Board of Directors of

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[50] Jewish Criterion (November 6, 1903).

[51] Ibid.

[52] Admission charges were $.25 per lecture. On January 16, 1903, Jacob A. Riis spoke on "The Battle of the Slums." Other well known lecturers also appeared. The texts of the lectures were often reprinted in the Jewish Criterion. A few hundred dollars were raised by the series.

Columbian Council School met to discuss new ways and means of fund raising. It came to the conclusion that "the community at large must take a deeper interest in the work if success would be achieved."[53] The decision was made to canvass the Jewish community in an "exhaustive and systematic" way.

> The entire residence and business portion of this section will be portioned off into districts and subdistricts, and committees appointed to take charge of each division. . . . The results of the campaign will without a question, put the school once and for all time on a proper and right basis; it has shown its need; it has performed much needed services, and with a little energy and aggressiveness exerted in the direction of securing contributors, it will be placed on a footing equal to that of the most important institution in our midst.[54]

The results of this canvass were relatively successful. Many people signed up as members of the Columbian Council School, pledging to donate certain sums of money on a yearly basis.

6. 1904-1905

During the first months of 1904, the crowded conditions at the school made it necessary to reject as many people as were accepted. The decision was made to approach the Eighth Ward School Board for permission to use a room

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[53] Jewish Criterion (April 3, 1903).

[54] Ibid. Such a canvass was not unknown in the community. Done less thoroughly, it was the way the Ladies' Hospital Aid Society (founded in 1897) collected money for Montefiore Hospital.

in its neighborhood elementary school, Franklin School.[55] The School Board agreed, if "they furnish their own teacher and pay for janitor's service."[56]

The removal of the beginners' classes, under Mr. Ebers, to Franklin School, relieved the congestion at Columbian Council School and freed the large assembly room for games and gymnastics. The other three classes met four evenings a week, with an arithmetic class on Saturday nights. The enrollment was an average of 575 people a month.

Classes continued throughout the heat of the summer, when Franklin School was closed, with a nightly attendance of 100.

> Every night, even when the heat has been almost insufferable, hundreds crowd the class rooms, eagerly seeking an education which will fit them to take up their struggle for existence in the new country, and patiently, ploddingly, earnestly, the boys and girls, men and women, take up the tasks which are assigned to them.[57]

The fall schedule included the introduction of some new subjects such as millinery and embroidery for women, mechanical drawing for men, and dramatics and mixed classes in singing

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[55]Various individuals have been credited with this achievement: Mrs. A. Leo Weil; Mr. C. H. Friend; Mr. John Anthony, principal of Franklin School; and Mr. Girard Rosenblatt, a volunteer at Columbian Council School, who paid the janitor himself.

[56]Minutes of Franklin Sub-District School Board, (April 4, 1904) (Archives). It is interesting to note that Jews appear as members of the School Board from about this time. This may have been a contributing factor to making the request in 1904.

[57]Jewish Criterion (August 5, 1904).

and dancing. In October, classes in telegraphy were introduced.[58]

An industrial (vocational training) class for girls, with an enrollment of 80, was taught professional shirtwaist making. "Some of the girls are now fitted to earn a living . . ."[59] Vocational training was considered of utmost importance, to make it possible for young people to leave the sweat-shop industry of stogy making where the hours were long, conditions unsanitary, and wages from $3.00 to $5.00 a week for unskilled labor.[60]

The volunteer workers had developed an esprit de corps. In April, 1904, a group of them assembled to form an organization of Volunteer Settlement Workers, with a constitution and by-laws. The association was soon opened to volunteers from all the institutions in the city, but leadership came from Columbian Council School. Oscar Oppenheimer was elected president; Mary Gusky, vice-president; S. Leo Ruslander, treasurer, and Yetta Baumgarten, secretary.[61]

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[58] No detailed class schedule could be found for this year.

[59] Jewish Criterion (May 13, 1904).

[60] Shirtwaist makers earned $5.00 to $8.00 per week.

[61] Jewish Criterion (April 8, 1904). Oscar Oppenheimer was a member of a family very active in Columbian Council work; Mary Gusky was the daughter of Esther de Wolf Gusky, a member of Columbian Council, and the late Jacob Gusky, an immigrant from Poland, after whom the Gusky Orphanage was name.

> It promises to develop into a body that will exert a most beneficial influence on the volunteer teachers and the institutions with which they may be affiliated.[62]

The first vice-president of the association reminisced sixty years later:

> In the early days there were times when at least 75% of the club, educational, and other work was done by volunteers. . . . We were, on the whole, a very happy family. . . . From these associations many marriages took place. . . . [Also] men and women who were volunteer workers before their marriage would bring their wives or husbands in after they were married as additional volunteers. . . . Later we organized volunteer workers of all Settlements on a county-wide plan where we held meetings together and visited the different settlements.[63]

Clubs proliferated, the gymnasium was in constant use, and Columbian Council School's basketball teams continued their "reputation of never having been defeated."[64] These activities, called "social work," by the resident, Miss Schoenfeld, were considered by her as the most important work of Columbian Council School.[65] The frequent entertainments held in Peacock auditorium usually included lectures, skits, and musical performances. The performers were drawn from students, residents, volunteers, and members of Columbian Council.

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[62] Jewish Criterion (May 6, 1904).

[63] Ruslander . . ., pp. 322-325.

[64] Jewish Criterion (December 2, 1904).

[65] Ibid. (May 13, 1904).

Matters of finance are remarkable for their absence in the 1904 reports. Occasionally the "CCS Notes," a regular feature of the Jewish Criterion, would publish lists of items needed for the School, e.g., a sewing machine, curtain material, yards of toweling, etc. A few weeks later there would appear a list of names of people who had donated the appropriate items.

7. 1905-1906

On May 29, 1905, the Columbian Council School Board of Trustees was legally separated from Columbian Council. Officers of the Columbian Council were no longer ex-officio members of the School Board, which was elected separately. Columbian Council School was now to become a "full fledged settlement."[66]

The Board of Franklin School had agreed to allow Columbian Council School the use of another room.

> Heretofore the two classes were in one large room. We are also indebted to this board for relieving us of the expense of janitor service, $8.00 monthly, since March first.[67]

All through 1904, 1905 and 1906 efforts had been made to have the Central Board of Education take over the responsibilities of conducting night schools. Columbian Council enlisted the help of the prestigious Civic Club of

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[66] Jewish Criterion (May 12, 1905).

[67] Ibid.

Allegheny County in its campaign.[68]

> If our institution were relieved of this work, which is properly the city's work, more time could be devoted to club work. Sometimes the Settlement becomes the voice through which the civic conscience makes itself heard.[69]

In the fall, Miss Carrie Gilmour, a public school teacher from Homestead, took up residence at the Settlement as a salaried teacher, paid by the B'nai B'rith Lodges of Allegheny County. This organization also paid for equipment for a boys' manual training class, begun in December of 1905.

The curriculum of the night school, with the two beginners' classes meeting at Franklin School, kept to the same subjects as in the past, but on an expanded basis. Arithmetic, penmanship, and bookkeeping were taught daily. An average of 670 students attended monthly.

The Association of Volunteer Settlement Workers was expanded to include two kinds of members, those active in settlement work and honorary members who provided moral or financial support.

> The purpose of the association is to educate, benefit and help the members in order that they may do their special work with more understanding and to bring together by community of interest, for the mutual exchange of ideas, settlement workers of all the clubs, societies, settlements, etc., in Allegheny

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[68]The campaign to introduce night schools for immigrants via a Central Board of Education had political implications, to be discussed in the next chapter.

[69]Jewish Criterion.

County, without regard to creed, nationality, or previous condition of servitude.[70]

Of the $5,000 to $6,000 per year required to support the School, the Columbian Council donated $205, the Baron de Hirsch Fund $500, and all the rest was somehow collected through the various membership campaigns and fund-raising drives. The separate Board of the Columbian Council School, now alone responsible for the budget, considered the year's collection sufficient to put the school in a "position to cope with the present scope of work, but . . . it would not permit of laxity in the matter of securing new members."[71]

The main problem was the $7,000 mortgage. If this were paid off the interest "could be utilized for improving the work of the school."[72] An appeal for funds to reduce the mortgage netted $2,835. It was felt that this sum could easily be rounded out to $3,000 which would bring the mortgage down to a more manageable $4,000.[73] This objective was quickly achieved.

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[70] Jewish Criterion (April 4, 1905). The reference to "previous condition of servitude" may have referred to former slaves who served the largely black population of Kingsley House.

[71] Ibid (May 12, 1905).

[72] Ibid.

[73] Jewish Criterion (May 29, 1905).

D. Involvement in Other Areas of Immigrant Welfare

Through its Personal Service Committee, Columbian Council had been involved in many areas of immigrant welfare from 1895.[74] Personal Service work consisted of visiting immigrant families and finding individual solutions to their individual needs. This included help in finding better homes and employment, provision of food and clothing, placement of sick people in hospitals, and visiting them there. "Oft times when the Benevolent Society could not supply the needs of the poor a house-to-house collection was made by the Personal Service Committee."[75] An employment committee, working in conjunction with the United Hebrew Relief Association of Allegheny County, tried to find jobs for the unemployed.

Each member of the Personal Service Committee took charge of one family, "giving its moral as well as material needs the most careful attention and assembling upon the first and third Wednesdays of each month to recount their progress and experiences and exchange advice."[76] The aim of each worker was to assist her family to independence. When her goal was achieved, she usually started all over

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[74] This committee was disbanded in 1912 with the formation of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

[75] Mrs. A. Zugsmith, "History of the Pittsburgh Section, Council of Jewish Women," unpublished manuscript [Archives]. Mrs. Zugsmith's brief survey is based on minutes which were in her possession but are no longer available.

[76] *Jewish Criterion* (May 8, 1903).

again. "One of the ladies requested that a new case be given her as her previous charge is now self-supporting and self-respecting."[77]

Throughout this period much work was done with the children of immigrants. A summer playground, opened in 1902, was always full. The Vacation School, led by trained teachers from the Joint Committee of Women's Clubs together with Columbian Council School volunteers, used the School facilities for their over 200 enrollees until the Eleventh Ward Public School was made available in 1905.

Mothers with pre-school-age children could enroll them in the Nannie Oppenheimer Memorial Kindergarten, established in the School in 1905. Funded by Miss Oppenheimer's family, it was open five mornings a week, under the auspices of the Pittsburg and Allegheny Free Kindergarten Association.

With the inauguration of the Peacock Baths in 1903, there was a tremendous expansion of an activity begun in the house on Townsend Street--the provision of hot baths. From an average of 1400 baths per month in 1903, it reached a peak of 4,000 baths a month during the summer of 1904. Many immigrants who disagreed with the ideology of Columbian Council made use of its bathing facilities.

One of the most significant steps taken by Columbian Council was the hiring of a trained nurse, Miss Cherry, for

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[77] Ibid. (July 22, 1904).

$60.00 per month, in 1901. She was soon replaced by Miss Anna B. Heldman, who remained with the institution until her death in 1940.[78] A member of the first graduating class of the South Side Training School for Nurses, 1897, and a veteran of the U.S. Army Medical Department in the Spanish American War, Miss Heldman (or "Heldie," as she was fondly called), was the pioneer in Pittsburgh of the new profession of "visiting nurse." Her home visits went up from 1,500 in 1903 to 2,756 in 1904 to 4,007 in 1905. That year her friend and classmate, Miss Anna J. Cook, joined her as her assistant.

Working in conjunction with Mr. John Anthony, principal of Franklin School, Miss Heldman supervised a pilot survey of health conditions in the public schools. Her report shocked the City Council into establishing a system of medical inspection in the city schools. In 1905 she did the preliminary research for the establishment of a Children's Welfare Division of the Department of Health.

Working out of the Columbian Council School, where she resided, Miss Heldman saw herself as both nurse and health educator:

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[78] Six months before her death, Overhill Street, on the corner of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, was named Heldman Street in her honor. In December, 1956, when the Irene Kaufmann Settlement was transferred to a new governing body, it was renamed the Anna B. Heldman Community Center. The building has been replaced by Hill House. See Ida Cohen Selavan, "Anna B. Heldman, Angel of 'Hell-with-the-lid-off,'" American Journal of Nursing, in press.

> The watchword is prevention, and this should be the motto of every nurse who enters a home, no matter whether rich or poor, on her responsible mission . . . the poor learn how the sick should be nursed, become acquainted with the method of disinfecting and preventing the spread of disease, and also gain some knowledge of invalid cooking and practical lessons in cleanliness. The example is not always forgotten when the nurse's visits cease. . . . The neighborhood is always willing to learn and do anything that may be of benefit for the health of the community.[79]

One of the most dreaded diseases, especially during the summer months was typhoid fever. Pittsburgh had the highest typhoid fever death rates in the country from 1890-1900, 90.11 per 100,000 inhabitants.[80] Miss Heldman taught the immigrant women how to boil their water and milk and take other sanitary measures. During the summer of 1904, the Columbian Council School requested a water filter because it was difficult to boil all the water needed for its use. In 1905 a milk and ice booth was opened at the School by the Milk and Ice Association.

Miss Heldman and the other residents also involved themselves in the enforcement of laws already enacted and the introduction of new laws as needed for the health of the neighborhood. They went through the streets and checked off violations of sanitation codes. After a few visits, "landlords were not slow in obeying orders to make their premises sanitary."[81]

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[79] Anna B. Heldman, "As the Nurse Sees It," Jewish Criterion (October 5, 1906).

[80] Ibid. (January 20, 1905).

[81] Jewish Criterion (May 12, 1905).

At its Centre Avenue quarters, Columbian Council School became a popular place for visitors from other organizations. They stayed for a while and exchanged ideas with the residents. In the fall of 1903, Mrs. Alice Montgomery, the Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court, came to stay in order "to become acquainted with the neighborhood that has given her so much work the past few months."[82] An act to set up a Juvenile Court for children under 16 had been passed in April, 1903, but no provision had been made to pay probation officers.[83] The Women's Club of Western Pennsylvania had set up a Juvenile Court Committee to investigate the possibility of securing capable probation officers and raising funds to pay them until their salaries would be included in the Commonwealth budget.[84] In the meantime, Mrs. Montgomery's salary was paid by the Civic Club.

Mrs. Enoch Rauh, elected president of Columbian Council in May of 1904, had become interested in this work and asked her organization to undertake the responsibility of paying a Jewish probation officer. In 1905 Miss Nannie Oppenheimer was appointed probation officer for Jewish Juvenile delinquents. A number of girls had been arrested

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[82] Ibid. (November 27, 1903).

[83] John S. Fertig, S. Edward Hannestead, under the direction of James N. Moore, Pennsylvania Statutes: A Compilation of the Laws Relating to Juvenile Court (Harrisburg, 1916 [In Pennsylvania Room, Carnegie Library].

[84] Juvenile Court Committee of Women's Clubs of Western Pennsylvania, Annual Report 1903/1904 [In Pennsylvania

for prostitution. The Jewish community had an ambivalent attitude towards prostitution. On the one hand, its existence was denied; on the other hand, an undercover fight against it had been carried on in the heart of the largely Jewish Hill District by the Jews who lived there.[85] Miss Heldman, Miss Oppenheimer, and the residents at Columbian Council School brought out into the open facts that many Jews had wished to ignore.

> We Jews have grown so accustomed to the idea that there are no Jews in the penitentiary and no Jewish girls in houses of ill-repute, and these suppositions carry such a comfortable attitude of mind, that the Jewish public clings to it. . . . However, the percentage of Jewish girls as prostitutes is smaller than might be expected.[86]

When the girls were underage, they were turned over to Miss Oppenheimer who arranged for their commitment to houses of refuge, reform schools, or foster homes. She visited them there regularly.[87]

Room]. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania began paying these salaries in 1909. See "Juvenile Court History," unpublished ms. in Bertha F. Rauh Papers, Archives.

[85]Adolph Edlis, Rabbi Sivitz, and other prominent residents of the Hill District would visit Jewish owners of "houses" and threaten them with religious excommunication. This often had the desired effect. Interview with Jerome Edlis, Fall 1970. See also Selavan, "The Social Evil. . . ."

[86]Hannah G. Solomon, "Juvenile Delinquents and Probation Officers," Proceedings of the Second National Conference of Jewish Charities (Philadelphia 1902), pp. 132-132.

[87]Interview with the late Miss Lisa Blum, successor to Miss Oppenheimer (1970).

While the community supported the cleaning up of the neighborhood, physically and morally, there was one area of immigrant welfare in which Columbian Council encountered considerable opposition: the fight against the "sweat shop" stogy factories which often employed child labor. Most of these small factories were owned by immigrants, who considered the role of Columbian Council as interference in their livelihoods.

In March of 1905, Columbian Council passed a resolution endorsing bills before the State Legislature regulating work done by children to ten hours per day for five days a week and a half holiday on Saturdays, to raise the minimum age limit to 14 years, and to prohibit employment of children under 16 in night work.[88]

A summary of the work of all of the sections of the NCJW shows that Columbian Council was in the vanguard of work for and with immigrants. It was unique in having a visiting trained nurse, an employment bureau, and a manual training class. Only one other section had a Settlement House (Portland, Oregon). Columbian Council was one of two sections to have a gymnasium and a dancing class, one of three to run a vacation school, one of four to have a kindergarten, one of five to have working girls' clubs and juvenile

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[88] Jewish Criterion (March 10, 1905). Conditions were not much better in the larger tobacco factories, some of which were owned by members of Columbian Council School, which employed child labor.

court and probation services.[89]

The members of Columbian Council were very proud of their accomplishments during the first decade of its existence. In reporting to the Fourth Convention of the NCJW, its delegation stated:

> In our slum districts the Columbian Council School is throwing intellectual manna in the path of mentally starved people, and it is bringing light and love, and sunshine and hope into the leaden-hued atmosphere of our so-called Hill District.[90]

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[89] Proceedings of the Fourth Convention of the NCJW (Philadelphia 1905), p. 30.

[90] Ibid., p. 323.

IV. REACHING OUT: 1906-1909

A. New Names

The formal separation between Columbian Council and Columbian Council School, in May of 1905, was underscored by a number of subsequent names changes. The institution founded by Columbian Council had borne the name "Mission School," which had been changed to "Columbian School" (although still referred to as "mission school" in the Proceedings of several NCJW conferences). With the move to Centre Avenue, the name "Columbian Council School" came into vogue. However, many people referred to it informally as "the settlement."

In 1905 and 1906 the names "Columbian School," and "Columbian Settlement," as well as "Columbian School and Settlement," are variously encountered in news items. In the 1907 Yearbook, Mrs. A. Leo Weil reviewed the history of the institution and suggested:

> The change of name of the Settlement from Columbian Council School to Columbian Settlement is deemed desirable to avoid confusion of the Settlement and Council as now exists. . . . The word school is inapplicable and Settlement more descriptive.[1]

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[1]Since Mrs. Weil's report appears in the Yearbooks of the Columbian School and Settlement, 1906-1907. We may assume that this became the official name of the institution.

That the name "Columbian Settlement" would be the new official name was also announced in an article in Charities and the Commons, "which makes clear that in the final adoption of this name it indicates that it is an organization entirely separate from the Council of Jewish Women."[2]

Confusion would have been avoided even without a name change for in May 1906, Columbian Council ceased being the only section of the Council of Jewish Women[3] without a geographic place as its name when it became the Pittsburgh and Allegheny Section, Council of Jewish Women.[4] Although no reasons were given for this falling into line with the rest of the sections, one may surmise that it was in some way related to the election, in December, 1905, of Mrs. Hugo Rosenberg, as National President of the Council of Jewish Women. Mrs. Rosenberg had given the Pittsburgh section the name she had fondly but vainly presented for approval as a national name in 1893. Now, a dozen years later, as National President, she may have decided that it was time for her own section to conform. A touch of personal pride may also have

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[2]"Columbian Settlement of Pittsburgh," Charities and the Commons (March 16, 1907), p. 1059.

[3]Two years after its founding, the NCJW dropped the "National" from its name. It resumed it some years later.

[4]When Allegheny City became part of Pittsburgh, in 1907, the section was called Greater Pittsburgh Section, or simply, Pittsburgh Section.

been involved here--Mrs. Rosenberg was identified as a Pittsburgher, and may have wanted everybody to know that she was part of the section which had pioneered in so many areas of CJW work.

The formal separation between the mother and daughter organizations[5] gave new impetus to each in reaching out into new areas of immigrant welfare.

> The real ideal work of the settlement can never be described. It is best expressed in the term neighborhood house, using the term neighbor in its highest ethical sense. It implies a friendly interest, a warm and neighborly concern in the affairs of those living in the vicinity, and it reaches out [my stress] in an intangible, indescribable manner, creating a sun of communal interest and sympathy, a mutual helpfulness and respect that has around it an atmosphere of uplifting influence with its waves of light reaching sometimes into almost inaccessible recesses of darkness, sometimes cheering and encouraging, always doing good, never harm, and answering in acts, not words, the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?"[6]

Here Mrs. Weil reiterated one of the guiding principles of the Council of Jewish Women, taking responsibility for the welfare of one's fellow human being, in line with Jewish ethics.

B. Public Sponsorship of Evening Schools

The use of the rooms in Franklin School for two beginners' English classes had proved so successful that an additional class was started there in the fall of 1906. However, even the three classes in Franklin School and an

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[5] They are often referred to as such in news items.

[6] Jewish Criterion (May 18, 1906).

additional three in the Columbian School and Settlement building were not enough to satisfy the needs of the immigrants. On November 1, 1906, sixty people had to be turned away, "all begging to be taken in."[7]

Addie Weihl, the Head Resident, in her report for 1906, told of many fruitless efforts in the past to secure evening classes for the neighborhood:

> In desperation, I appealed once again to Mr. Jamison, one of the directors, and Mr. Anthony, principal of the Franklin School, and thanks to their efforts, it was decided at the board of directors' meeting that night, to bring the matter before the Central Board of Education.[8]

The minutes of that meeting read:

> On motion by Anglock and Amdursky that Mr. Jamison be instructed to ask for Night School in Franklin Building from Central Board of Education.[9]

This time Miss Weihl's efforts bore fruit. The Central Board of Education granted permission for such a school, with five teachers, whose salary would be paid by the Board. Classes started on November 19, 1906, for six months. By January of 1907 there was an enrollment of 400. The teachers who had previously worked for Columbian School and Settlement were retained, "on account of their knowledge of Yiddish."[10]

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[7] Jewish Criterion (February 1, 1907).

[8] Yearbook of the Columbian School and Settlement.

[9] Minutes of the Franklin Sub-District School Board (November 6, 1906), p. 110 (Archives).

[10] Jewish Criterion (February 1, 1907).

The requests to use the building for classes had to be renewed by the school board at the beginning of each term. Thus, on May 5, 1907, the minutes read: "Motion made that continuation of Night School be referred to the Monthly Committee and Prof. Anthony with power to act."[11] The reason for this was the peculiar structure of the Pittsburgh school system before 1911.

> The control of the public schools of Pittsburgh was vested in 46 sub-district boards, each having six directors, and in a Central Board composed of 44 members. Under this form of administration, educational opportunities varied greatly from ward to ward throughout the city. It was found, upon careful study of the situation, that in many cases the local district boards, elected by popular vote, tended to serve the political organizations to which their members owed allegiance.[12]

The sub-district system was open to charges of political corruption and mismanagement. A. Leo Weil, husband of the President of Columbian School and Settlement, was a founder and President of the Voters' League, which campaigned for reorganization of the Central Board with appointed rather than elected directors.[13] This campaign, part of the larger campaign for municipal reform, was backed by most members of of the Pittsburgh and Allegheny Section, CJW. The struggle

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[11] Minutes . . . (May 5, 1907; September 2, 1907; September 10, 1908; October 4, 1909).

[12] The Report of a Survey of the Public Schools of Pittsburgh, Pa. (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940), p. 278.

[13] The new Board of 15 directors appointed under the new code took office on November 15, 1911.

for municipal reform was a clash with ward politicians who were more closely attuned to the immediate needs and interests of their constituents. In the Hill District wards, a number of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe saw the Voters' League's municipal reform movement as an attempt to wrest power from local residents and centralize it in the hands of wealthy business and professional people. Thus, indirectly through their involvement in immigrant education, the non-enfranchised members of CJW became aware of the political implications of a centralized appointed Board of Education.[14]

For a number of years, Franklin evening school was the only public elementary evening school in the city.[15] There were close ties between it and the Columbian School and Settlement, for, when the six month term at Franklin School was over, many of the students continued their studies at the settlement. A local Jewish weekly reported:

> On Monday, July 1, the English classes will be enrolled for a summer course at this school. The

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[14] Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," Pacific Northwest Quarterly (October 1964), analyzes the membership of the Civic Club and the Voters' League in terms of occupational and social structure. Nowhere does he mention the leading role of a number of Jews in these organizations. I consider this participation important for it shows that Jews were fairly well integrated into Pittsburgh soceity (except for membership in certain restricted clubs). It also points up the problem of intrareligious tensions on a political level, i.e., forces of centralization versus ward politicians.

[15] W. H. Laning, Principal, Franklin School, "Report on a Questionnaire Submitted to the Principals of the Pittsburg Public Schools by the Survey Commission," unpublished ms. (March 31, 1927), Statistician's Office, Pittsburgh Board of Public Education.

> experiment of having these classes under the control of the Department of Education during the winter has been most successful. It is safe to predict that this beginning has proven to be the first step toward a first class night school system in this city.[16]

The more advanced courses at the Settlement, such as algebra, chemistry, and physics, prepared students for higher education and four young men entered night school at Carnegie Tech in 1906. While most of the immigrants were not ready for college, a great number were interested in continuing on to high school.

The response to the opening of public elementary school classes for immigrants in 1906 led to the opening of an evening high school in 1907, called, "the most important event in the history of the public schools since the establishment of the high school in 1857."[17] Edward Rynearson, Principal of Fifth Avenue High School and Herber L. Holbrook, Principal of the Evening High School, made plans for 300 students. On the opening night, 1000 people showed up, many of whom had learned their basic skills at the Columbian School and Settlement.

The phasing out of the classes at the Settlement, so that students would attend the public classes and make more room available for settlement activities, raised a

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[16] Jewish Criterion (June 28, 1907).

[17] Samuel Andrews, Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1908), p. 196 [in Pennsylvania Room].

problem for some Jewish immigrants. Columbian Council had carefully refrained from scheduling courses for Friday nights. The public schools were not thus constrained. In a plaintive letter to De Volksfreund, a Yiddish weekly, a young man named Avraham Moshe Berman wrote:

> Since there is now in Pittsburgh an evening high school where classes are held Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and many Jewish youths attend who do not want to desecrate the Sabbath, I think it would be proper for the local Rabbis to do something to prevent the desecration of the Sabbath, and I ask you to persuade them through your newspaper that all the Jewish youth should protest, as was done by New York newspapers on a similar occasion. I think we could persuade the Director that Friday evening should be devoted to reading, with writing on the other evenings.[18]

Rabbi M. A. Ashinsky responded to Berman's plea, talked to Mr. Rynearson, and persuaded him to free Jewish students from the obligation of writing on Friday evening.[19]

C. Increased Professionalism in Settlement Work

1. Expansion of Settlement Work

By 1907, Columbian School and Settlement had become a well known institution, visited by distinguished guests,[20]

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[18] Der Volksfreund (October 11, 1907) [my translation].

[19] Ibid. (October 18, 1907). In his reply, Rabbi Ashinsky expresses his sorrow that school and the Sabbath conflict. However, he faces this as a fact of life in the "golus" (exile).

[20] A sample of visitors for the years 1906-1908: Miss Emily Greene Balch, Professor of History and Social Science at Wellesley College; Dr. J. B. Elliot, head of the Hudson Guild, New York; Rev. R. H. Conwell, of Philadelphia, who gave his famous "Acres of Diamonds" speech; Professor Felix Adler of New York, the founder of Ethical Culture Society;

its activities reported in the widely read Charities and the Commons,[21] and in Jewish periodicals. A visitor from New York lauded its work:

> Dr. Lee K. Frankel spoke in the highest terms of the work that is being done by the school. He remarked that he had come prepared to offer suggestions and criticism on the system of the Settlement, but after investigating what had been and is being done he could find no room for adverse comment.[22]

Columbian School and Settlement was unique in having Jewish women residents serving a largely Jewish clientele. While some residents left after a year or two, usually to marry, others stayed for longer periods. Its best known resident, Miss Anna B. Heldman, Head Nurse, was not Jewish, but many immigrants thought she was because she had learned to speak some Yiddish.[23] The annual reports of the residents for 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, give us a picture of industrious, eager, energetic young people, immigrants and volunteers and salaried workers, working together for common goals.

The goals of the Columbian School and Settlement, as separate from the goals of the CJW, were thus formulated by

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Mayor George W. Guthrie of Pittsburgh, who spoke on "Women's Place in Communal Uplift"; Mrs. Florence Kelley, National Secretary of the Consumers' League; Dr. Boris Bogen, Superintendent of United Charities of Cincinnati; Miss Jane Addams of Hull House.

[21] On March 16, 1907 and April 24, 1909.

[22] Jewish Criterion (February 1, 1907). Lee K. Frankel was the manager of the United Hebrew Charities of New York, 1899-1909.

[23] According to respondents (OHP) she spoke better Yiddish than the Jewish residents or Council members.

its President, Mrs. A. Leo Weil:

> The special purpose of the settlement is the advancement of the civic, intellectual and social welfare of the surrounding community. It aims to do this (1) by guiding the foreign-born to American conditions, (2) encouraging self-improvement, (3) by stimulating healthy pleasures, (4) broadening civic interest, (5) creating ideals of conduct.[24]

2. Kindergarten and Kitchengarten

Council leaders and settlement workers believed in the environment as the major factor in influencing behavior. Mrs. Henrietta Spiro, Chairman of the Personal Service Committee, expressed the feeling that "environments work wonders of their own accord. . . . I am a greater believer in environment than in inheritance."[25] Since cleanliness was one of the American virtues to be taught to the foreign-born, it was necessary to surround the immigrants with a clean environment. It was believed that environmental influence was especially beneficial for the young. Thus, the Nannie Oppenheimer Memorial Kindergarten offered the children access to a world of clean, light rooms, which

> . . . is having a good effect. Ikie, whose whole family have an antipathy to soap and water, guesses he will clean up a bit. . . . Isadore has decided that when there are so many big windows and so much sunshine coming in the room it is better to be clean. . . . We try to instill in their baby minds the good in life, putting before them all that is refined, so that they will have an innate [sic!] knowledge of right and wrong.[26]

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[24]"Council School Number," Jewish Criterion (October 5, 1906).

[25]Ibid. (May 18, 1906).

[26]Miss Jessie Keyt, kindergarten teacher, Ibid. (October 5, 1906).

Mr. and Mrs. Moses Oppenheimer supplied suits and overcoats for needy children attending the kindergarten named for their late daughter, while Mrs. Pauline Frank supplied caps and mittens.[27] During its first year the kindergarten had an enrollment of 58 which was more than doubled the following year to 133 and increased a year later to 175.

The kindergarten children were also seen as a means of educating their mothers in American methods of child care. "One of the most interesting meetings held was a discussion . . . led by Dr. Luba Robin Goldsmith."[28] Some of the mothers were organized into a club whose aim was to teach them how to sew garments for their children. However, "to the astonishment of the Worker, they preferred to learn to read and write, and the mothers' reading class was formed."[29]

In connection with the kindergarten, an innovative program, called a "kitchengarten" was introduced by Miss Keyt, the kindergarten teacher. This was a method of teaching domestic science in a "play way" through songs and games.

> I wish you could have seen, as I did, these little ones seated around our long kitchen table, with their caps and aprons on, cleaning knives and forks and spoons, with such happy little faces, all busy at work.[30]

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[27] Jewish Criterion (January 24, 1908).

[28] Ibid. Dr. Goldsmith was probably the first Jewish woman M.D. in Pittsburgh. She devoted a great deal of her time to immigrant welfare.

[29] Yearbook . . . , p. 6.

[30] Jewish Criterion (January 24, 1908).

3. Industrial Arts

The industrial arts classes of the settlement, many of which had begun as clubs, developed into an important aspect of settlement work between 1906 and 1909. "The educational work on account of the public night school, which by the way has proven a tremendous success . . . has given way to the industrial side of our activities, much more than formerly."[31]

The sewing and embroidery classes for girls had proliferated into separate classes for sewing, mending, darning, embroidering, machine sewing, and a dressmaking class for women which met twice a week with a paid teacher. One venture, which lasted about a year, was a full time industrial arts school. Eight girls attended during the daytime and five younger girls came after school hours. There were great hopes for expanding the school, and making the students self-sufficient.

> Our dream has now become a reality. Through the efforts of Miss Blume, the teacher's salary is almost assured for the first year, and since October 1 an establishment of which we are justly proud has been conducted. . . . In the three months of its existence, 158 garments have been turned out with earnings for the girls amounting to $50.90.[32]

However, despite these dreams, the school was "temporarily discontinued" in 1909, "for the lack of better quarters and

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[31] Jewish Criterion (January 24, 1908).

[32] Ibid.

on account of small attendance in the forenoon."[33]

Housekeeping and cooking classes with average enrollments of about 80 women and girls altogether, were held for self-improvement, rather than vocational training.

The decision by the local B'nai B'rith District to support a manual training department for boys was very welcome.

> Jericho Lodge started the good work by donating $100. This was followed by Braddock Lodge with $50. and Iron City Lodge with $50. Sar Shalom donated $50., Ibn Gabirol $50, and Lebanon Lodge $10.[34]

The money went to equip a shop to accommodate 24 boys and to pay a trained teacher for two months. "After this the instructors will be volunteers and will include graduates of technical schools."[35] In the fall of 1906, this department was expanded to enroll fifty boys.

> Under the direction of Vice President A. L. Solomon, of District #3, International Order of B'nai B'rith, the Council School has been assured a donation of $500. from the lodges in this vicinity. This sum will hereafter be a yearly donation. The money will be devoted to securing a paid teacher for the manual training department of the school and a paid night teacher in the English classes.[36]

The class met three evenings a week with Mr. Bartholomew, a paid teacher, and a fourth night with Mr. Harry Cerf, a volunteer. During the summer of 1908, the enrollment more than doubled, to 126. "To watch the boys at work, their

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[33] Ibid. (June 11, 1909).

[34] Ibid. (January 12, 1906).

[35] Ibid. (March 16, 1906).

[36] Ibid. (September 21, 1906).

persistence and their pride in a finished piece, is proof sufficient of the value of this character building."[37]

By 1909 many other subjects, such as music, elocution, drawing, painting, bookkeeping, and stenography, were included in the category "industrial classes." A total of 645 people were enrolled in such classes in May of 1909, most of them in sewing and manual training.

4. Clubs and Gymnasium

> The final reward to the persistence of the residents in obtaining public night schools has given us more rooms for clubs, the greatest educator and helper in our work.[38]

It was in its clubs that the settlement reached the greatest number of people. The two oldest clubs, the Columbian Educational Society and the Girls' Progress Club had disbanded by 1906. Their members had remained loyal to the settlement, and some of them returned as volunteers to lead new clubs. The Young Fols' Civic League seemed to be the heir of the CES. It had been started by Mr. Louis Alpern, but in June, 1906, it became a self-governing body. "It is composed of [50] young men and women who desire to become familiar with the civil government and laws of the country of their adoption."[39] Programs usually included a serious

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[37] Yearbook . . . , p. 11.

[38] Jewish Criterion (February 1, 1907).

[39] Ibid. (November 23, 1906).

lecture or debate, refreshments, and socializing. Sometimes musical presentations were included. The annual "mock trials" became special events, attended by hundreds of people.[40] The Young Folks' Civic League also conducted a series of lectures in Yiddish, "for the education of parents in civic matters."[41]

A younger and smaller rival of the YFCL was the Good Government Club. "This club proposes to study politics and the moral side of political life, and what to do to save our city."[42] It began its career "brilliantly at a meeting on February 17, 1907, where Mr. Ben Paul Brasley gave a paper on "The Civil Service Reform Bill."[43] Two smaller clubs, the Coming Men of American and the Civic Improvement Club also followed a pattern of debates and declamations. These clubs were made up of younger children and their programs included field events. The Girls' Literary Club presented "A Midsummer's Night Dream" in 1906 and "She Stoops to Conquer" in 1907. Miss Mae Stein organized the boys' Swastika Dramma Club[44] which changed its

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[40] S. Leo Ruslander who sometimes served as judge at these mock trials, gives the humorous programs of some of them in his autobiography.

[41] Jewish Criterion (January 24, 1908).

[42] Yearbook . . . , p. 8.

[43] Mr. Ben Paul Brasley, like Mr. Ruslander, a retired lawyer, is the only other volunteer from this period I have been able to interview.

[44] The name "swastika" is also found in the Swastika Whist Club, to which many of the younger Columbian Council

name to Thespians and became coeducational in 1908.

Most of the eleven boys' clubs and five girls' clubs (in 1907) combined educational and sports activities. "The gymnasium, particularly, is one of the bright spots in the settlement."[45] Some of the clubs were named for people who supplied uniforms and equipment, e.g., the Sanviller, for Walter Sanville, and the L. S. Levin Club. The Virginian Athletic Club practiced "Swedish movements and Indian Club swinging."[46] An innovation in the winter of 1906 was a gymnasium class "composed entirely of men whose work keeps them confined indoors."[47]

From 1907 the settlement also served as a meeting place for the Socialist-Territorialists (a Socialist-Zionist organization which followed the ideas of Israel Zangwill) whose presence there seems somewhat incongruous. All their meetings were held in Yiddish.[48] They were defended by Miss Addie Weihl:

> The Territorialists, a socialistic body of whom so many people speak with fingers crossed, are the

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set belonged. The word probably referred to the American Indian symbol.

[45] Jewish Criterion (November 16, 1906).

[46] Ibid. (May 4, 1906).

[47] Ibid. (November 16, 1906). This may be seen as the forerunner of the popular Jewish Community Center Health Club.

[48] The local Zionists had a Central Zionist Institute, but the Socialist-Territorialists did not meet there, probably because of the ideological split between Zangwill

> most refined, educated and intelligent men and women who meet with us . . . among the Territorialists we find some of the dreamers and idealists Russia has failed to appreciate.[49]

5. Need for New Quarters

The Slagle Mansion, considered "commodious" in comparison with the house on Tounsend Street, became, in the following decade, much too small for the many different activities it housed. "Our establishment is filled to overflowing."[50] Just as important as the lack of space was the breaking down of the building, whose maintenance was a major problem.

> There were many physical handicaps due to the growth of the institution and the lack of funds. The building was wired for electric lights and also for gas lights and gas heat. The lights were often out-of-order, and dim at best. The gas pipes leaked and the odor of gas was never entirely absent. The windows were not tight, the ventilation bad, the class and club rooms crowded and always seemed to lack fresh air. Many of the repairs were made by volunteers, mostly at night.[51]

The pressures upon the facilities inspired some members of the settlement to look for solutions. Rabbi J. Leonard Levy of Rodef Shalom, and Mr. A. Leo Weil approached Mr. and Mrs. Henry Kaufmann and suggested that they donate a large sum of money to build a memorial to their only

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and Herzl. Many of its members were Yiddishists. See Ida Cohen Selavan, "The Jewish Wage Earner in Pittsburgh, 1890-1930," American Jewish Historical Quarterly (Spring, 1976).

[49] Jewish Criterion (January 24, 1908 and June 11, 1909).

[50] Ibid. (January 24, 1908).

[51] Ruslander, p. 311.

daughter, Irene, who had died in July, 1907.[52] In April, 1909, Mr. and Mrs. Kaufmann announced that they would donate $150,000 to be used to erect, equip, and partially endow a new building in memory of their daughter, to be known as the Irene Kaufmann Settlement.

> The building is to be erected on the present site at 1835 Centre Avenue. . . . Mr. Kaufmann will contribute annually to the Settlement 25% of the maintenance fund contributed by the community, which agrees to raise $10,000 annually.[53]

At the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Columbian School and Settlement, a motion was made to have the President of the Columbian Council [sic!] of Jewish Women made a member of the Board of Trustees of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement ex-officio. "The debate became somewhat excited and acrimonious."[54] No details are given about the subject of acrimony, but it is remarked that this was the "first time in the history of this organization where there was any serious split in sentiment."[55]

In June of 1909, Mrs. A. Leo Weil submitted her resignation as President of the Columbian School and Settlement. While she made no reference to the debates at the meeting of the Board of Trustees, it is possible to read

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[52] According to the obituary in the Jewish Criterion (July 26, 1907) she had died from drinking carbolic acid "by mistake."

[53] Jewish Criterion (April 16, 1909).

[54] Ibid. (June 4, 1909).

[55] Ibid.

between the lines of her letter her disappointment as being displaced as president of the institution she had nurtured from its beginnings. The analogy she used in her letter, of the Columbian Council as "the mother which had given birth to the School, which had grown into the Settlement, but had now grown into man's estate," is quite significant.[56]

During all the years when financial support was uncertain and the women had balanced their budget with cake sales and "begging" her leadership had been unchallenged. With the arrival of large sums of money and the promise of more, the Board seemed to feel the need for male leadership for the Settlement, "which had now grown into man's estate." Thus, the election of Mr. Nathaniel Spear, as the President of the IKS, may have been of great disappointment to her.[57]

As if to emphasize the complete separation of the two entities, the Pittsburgh Section, Council of Jewish Women, became an incorporated body in May, 1909.

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[56] Jewish Criterion (June 11, 1909). Another analogy used by Mrs. Weil in the same letter of resignation is grist for the mill of the psycho-historian: "Are we not like the bride bedecked for the wedding? The husband's palace awaits its mistress. . . . Willing though she be to be led to the alter, yet she pauses upon its threshold . . . 'Oh God: Grant that this moment may be remembered never with regret, but always with joy. . . .'"

[57] Of course, one should not project the feminist views of 1975 backward onto a woman of the first decade of the twentieth century. Mrs. Weil may very well have concurred with the belief that male leadership was necessary at that time.

D. Involvement in Reform Movements

1. Reforms in Suffrage

From its inception, the NCJW was involved with reform. Its first goal, as set forth by its founder, Hannah G. Solomon, was for the involvement of Jewish women in the work of religion, philanthropy and education. Jewish women had always had a major involvement in philanthropy, but certain areas of religion and education had been closed to them by Jewish law (Halacha) and tradition. Mrs. Solomon's call was, therefore, if not revolutionary, certainly reformist.

The stated goals of the NCJW do not mention the words "votes for women," but many of its leaders were undoubtedly sympathetic to the women's suffrage movement. The Women's Congress at the Columbian Exposition was attended by Susan B. Anthony and other suffragettes. In October of 1894 the NCJW joined the National Council of Women (after whom it had patterned its name), some of whose members were active proponents of women's suffrage.

In her address at the first convention of the NCJW, Mrs. Solomon only hinted at her position:

> . . . the most sacred day in the life of man should be the day on which he receives his right of citizenship. . . . Would that we Jewish women might ring the paean of religious liberty to all wherever they dwell--the right of citizenship to all who observe the laws![58]

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[58] Proceedings of the First Convention of the NCJW (Philadelphia, 1896).

The American Jewess (April 1895-March 1898) which aspired to be the national organ of the NCJW[59] published in its fourth issue an article on "The New Woman" by the Reverend Ella E. Bartlett of St. Louis, with portraits of Kate Field, Jane Addams, Susan B. Anthony and Frances E. Willard. Throughout its short life span this monthly carried provocative articles about successful business and professional women, experimental societies, the position of women in America, and the lack of Jewish women as members of radical reform congregations.

Wherever in the United States NCJW Sections were organized, came voices expressing participation in the zeitgeist:

> A national organization of Jewish women is an index of the time. We are coming from behind the clouds of oblivion and disinterestedness to our future value as women in this progressive and enlightened age.[60]

> Without a doubt a movement towards unity is in the air. . . . The lesson that in union is strength has been learned again, and the women of our times have caught it up. The idea existed that women had an inherent incapacity for combination or cooperation. Women could never work together, so it was said. It cannot be said now. . . . Jewish women can work to-tegher--and, working, can achieve definite results.[61]

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[59] At the 1896 NCJW Convention, a motion was made to allow eight pages of the American Jewess to serve as the official organ of the NCJW. It was not put to the vote. Since Mrs. Rosa Sonneschein had been a vigorous critic of the NCJW's lack of Zionism and Sabbath observance, this may have been the reason for sending the motion to committee, "even though the majority of the Sections were in favor." American Jewess (December 1896), p. 130.

[60] Mrs. Nellie L. Miller, Memphis, Tenn., Proceedings.

[61] Mrs. Rebekah Kohut, New York Section, Ibid.

Some Jewish men reacted to the founding of the NCJW as if it were a challenge to the sanctity of the Jewish home. Israel H. Peres of Memphis, Tennessee, charged:

> The organization has no reason for existence. . . . No one can preside over the home and attend to its countless duties as well as the mother and when she leaves her home affairs to 'convene' she misses her aim and neglects her duty.[62]

Peres' charges aroused much controversy in the NCJW. He repeated his position that "in the home the woman wields the best influence in the progress of society." He claimed that the NCJW was, in effect, a tool of the women's suffrage movement and owed its existence to a suggestion by Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin, of Chicago, "that the Jewish women of the United States combine and cooperate with the Congress of Women's Clubs, to promote in a reasonable manner the cause of equal suffrage."[63]

These debates seem to have by-passed Columbian Council almost entirely. If there were strong advocates of women's suffrage in the organization, they did not make any statements for publication. Even when its members entered the arena of civic reform they were occasionally rebuked by the editor of the Jewish Criterion. He expressed displeasure with

> the 'revolutionize-the-world spirit' that has of late crept into the work of the CJW. It should . . . leave the press and the forests and the ballot boxes [my stress] and all the rest of these questions where they belong, to the men. . . .

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[62]Israel H. Peres, "The Council of Jewish Women," Chicago Reform Advocate (January 2, 1897).

[63]Peres, American Jewess (May 1897).

> We feel that we should devote some space to this question which threatens the very welfare of the home. We refer to woman's suffrage. . . . The evil contained in the proposition is too tremendous not to be argued deliberately and calmly. . . . There is no need for women to jump into the political arena and desert that for which God intended them, if they give to the state the right kind of sons. Remove from society proper home training and let all the women in the country vote and we shall have political conditions a thousand times worse than today.[64]

2. Reform in Religion

The founder of the NCJW, Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon, was also associated with reform in religion. Her father, Michael Greenebaum, was one of the pioneer radical Reformers in Judaism, and she herself spoke out for Sunday worship, which came under attack within her own organization. Some of the leaders of Columbian Council were strong smypathizers with this movement--Rodef Shalom was, after all, the place from which the Pittsburgh Platform was promulgated in 1885,[65] but Conservative women were also part of Columbian Council from its inception. Until it voted to allow mixed seating in family pews in 1894,[66] Tree of Life Synagogue was considered Orthodox. Even after the introduction of family pews it was listed as "Orthodox" in many directories, although a group of Orthodox dissenters to mixed seating had left, simply because only two designations were then

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[64] Charles H. Joseph, Jewish Criterion (July 10, 1908).

[65] David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism (New York, 1931), pp. 329-381.

[66] Minutes of Tree of Life Synagogue, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

current in American Judaism, "Orthodox" and Reform." Tree of Life was actually the first Conservative synagogue in Pittsburgh.

Thus, at least in Pittsburgh, the membership of Columbian Council was not monolithically Reform as in some other cities. However, in their attitude toward Orthodox rituals, Columbian Council spokeswomen tended to use the phraseology of Reform. These rituals, such as Bar Mitsva, Sabbath observance, kashrut, were considered "outmoded," "oriental," "superstitions," etc. In an article on "Confirmation among the Jews," Bertha F. Rauh wrote:

> The custom of confirming children had its beginning in the old Bar Mitsvah ceremony . . . one which is today considered an empty form, one which has outlived its usefulness and is disregarded and abolished in all reform congregations.[67]

In response to a motion for the observance of the Sabbath, Fannie H. Hamburger declared: "That is probably the most difficult problem we have to contend with."[68] Kashrut was seen as a burden and an embarrassment, and often prevented social interaction with other groups.

> The first Presbyterian Church has been extremely kind to us by taking 27 of our convalescent children to their summer home in Glencairn. . . So many of our mothers object to the homes, because they are not kept kosher, consequently some of our mothers and children were sent home from the fresh air home because they refused to eat and the children cried with hunger. Others made trouble by carrying a lot of edibles with

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[67] Jewish Criterion (December 27, 1895).

[68] Proceedings of the First National Convention, ... , p. 379.

> them, expecting to keep them in baskets in their bedrooms.[69]

Columbian Council's major involvement in religious reform is the network of Ethical Schools it established in Southwestern Pennsylvania. The first Columbian Ethical School began as the "Mission School" which became the "Columbian School." In the Columbian School and Settlement, religious classes met under the supervision of Miss Miriam Schoenfeld (who began her career as a teacher at age twelve) as a fairly independent unit, run by Columbian Council rather than by the residents in the settlement. In 1908 a branch of the school was established in McKees Rocks, and, somewhat later, in Donora. By 1920 there were twenty-four schools.

> In 1923 the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods incorporated the education of unaffiliated Jewish children into its program. The Rodef Shalom Sisterhood of Pittsburgh, Pa., knowing the long history of the Pittsburgh Section of the NCJW in this work, asked to share it. Together, these two groups carry on, as the Southwestern District of Pennsylvania Jewish Religious Schools Cimmittee.[70]

The religious influence of the Columbian School and Settlement was probably rather indirect as far as adults were

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[69] Jewish Criterion (February 1, 1907. In 1908 Emma Farms was founded for underprivileged mothers and children. In 1971, the camp, no longer for the underprivileged and now known as Emma Kaufmann Camp, moved to Lake Lynn in West Virginia. "Last summer during the Camp's initial season in its new site the kitchen was made Kosher. In this way children from all kinds of Jewish homes could feel comfortable about coming to camp," Jewish Chronicle (June 7, 1973).

[70] Mildred W. Kreimer, "Southwestern District Religious Schools celebrate 60th year," Jewish Criterion, (September 11, 1953).

concerned. Dance classes and dramatic performances held on Friday evenings, with tickets sold at the door, were among the attractions which young people found difficult to resist. The Orthodox older generation accused the settlement of being a pernicious influence on its youth, but it is doubtful if the young people would have attended synagogues even if the attractions of the settlement were absent. The rejection by some of these young people of Orthodoxy did not mean that they were opting for Reform. They were, rather, part of a general movement toward secularism present in Europe as well as in America.

3. Social Reform

It was in social reform that Columbian Council was most active. At first, it carried on its work in a discreet, "feminine" fashion, introducing certain changes in the neighborhood via male spokesmen, and not expecting credit for these changes. Some of these were the building of a branch library in the Hill District by Carnegie Library and the opening of free public elementary and high schools in the evenings for immigrants.

With the introduction of the visiting nurse service out of the settlement, Columbian Council gradually entered the arena of civic reform as an active force. Anna B. Heldman, in her daily forays into the community to ferret out cases of illness, encountered many instances of landlords

breaking the law, of child labor in crowded tenements, of typhoid fever due to lack of a water filtration system.

> Sickness is prevalent in the neighborhood. Miss Heldman and an assistant have been fighting the typhoid epidemic. Surely it is time for the people to rise in revolt and demand pure water [my stress].
>
> The total disregard for care and order is all but disheartening. The laws that are constantly violated in our city streets are causing more harm than the settlements or any other institution can counteract in their constructive influence.[71]

With the other residents, and backed by the Board of Directors of the Columbian School and Settlement and by Columbian Council, Miss Heldman fought for reform of health conditions until her dying day.[72]

The Juvenile Court Aid Society, which undertook the payment of the salary of a Jewish Probation Officer, was very much involved in social reform. The children in Miss Nannie Oppenheimer's charge were assigned to various institutions and to foster homes. She kept track of each case and reported on them regularly. In addition she handled many "preventive" cases, potentially delinquent youngsters whose

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[71] Jewish Criterion (August 17, 1906).

[72] According to Miss Jeanette Washington, R.N., who worked with "Heldie" at the IKS, Miss Heldman died as a result of illness contracted during the last Christmas of her life, when she worked through the holiday because of a lack of nurses. Her names is memoralized by Heldman Street in the Hill District and by the Anna B. Heldman Society which provides shoes for needy children. (This is probably an outgrowth of the Malbish Arumin Society [clothing the naked] she organized at the settlement to sew clothes for needy children). See Ida Cohen Selavan, "Anna B. Heldman, Angel of 'Hell-with-the lid-off,'" American Journal of Nursing (in press).

homes she visited. She reported that many children required little attention, while others entailed as much work as court cases.

> The sins of the children are few: unsatisfactory living, bad environment, the pathetic lack of understanding between the immigrant parent and the Americanized child, the many conditions for which society as a whole is responsible, entirely account for juvenile delinquency.[73]

It was in the course of juvenile court work that Columbian Council encountered a new problem: the immigrant girl without family who was living an immoral life. In April, 1906, the Immigrant Aid Committee was formed for the explicit purpose of supervising Jewish immigrant girls who arrived in the United States unaccompanied by family. Mr. A. Leo Theuman of New York, described as "a practical worker in the field of philanthropy," was invited to investigate conditions in Pittsburgh, especially in regard to "white slave traffic."

> Immigrant girls are made the victims of diabolical schemes and are induced to enter houses of an immoral character. There is without doubt a powerful organization of traffickers in this infamous business who have worldwide correspondence and connections.[74]

Since Jews were sometimes accused of being the masterminds behind this traffic,[75] this was a very sensitive area, especially for middle-class and upper middle-class

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[73] Jewish Criterion (June 5, 1908).

[74] Ibid (June 29, 1906).

[75] Ida Cohen Selavan, "The Social Evil in an Industrial Society: Prostitution in Pittsburgh, 1900-1925." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1971.

Jewish women. Mr. Theuman's report reflected many of the attitudes of his sponsors.[76] The dangers to the physical and moral welfare of young immigrant girls were the sweatshops, "certain dancing halls and other places of amusement,"[77] and crowded housing conditions.

Obviously, to change all of these conditions would require sweeping social reforms. Mr. Theuman was not prepared "to suggest remedies for deplorable general conditions." He suggested specific remedies, among them the setting up of an Immigrant Industrial Institute:

> With such an institution, immigrant girls may be taught many industries and trades about the house and thus be fitted for positions in factories.[78]

Mr. Theuman also commented on the District Attorney's crusade against vice and immorality and the Board of Health's campaign for cleanliness. "I have grave doubts as to their success unless they have the full cooperation of the public."[79]

The Immigrant Aid Committee undertook personal supervision of single Jewish immigrant girls coming to Pittsburgh. They were met at the train station, helped to find suitable jobs and housing, and visited for their first

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[76] Original report in Box 13, 64:40, NCJW Holdings, Archives.

[77] The report as published on the front page of the Jewish Criterion (August 31, 1906) is a somewhat censored version of the original.

[78] Jewish Criterion (July 27, 1906).

[79] Ibid. (August 31, 1906).

two years of residence in the city. The 1908 report of this committee provided meticulous follow-up information on each of the 17 cases under its care. It was hampered in several instances "due to the fact that we are unable to find proper boarding places for Jewish girls."[80]

It was in these one-to-one relationships with young working women that some members of Columbian Council became "radicalized" to the extent of voicing criticism of the social system which did not pay a living wage to these girls for a fifty hour week.[81] In this context it is interesting to note that settlement work in general has been considered a radicalizing factor in American life.[82] Jane Addams had declared quite openly in her earliest writings:

> The Settlement, then, is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city.[83]

As a result of a talk, "The Women and Children Who Work All Night," by Florence A. Kelley, the National Secretary of the Consumers' League of America, Columbian Council joined the Consumers' League and organized a Child Labor Committee. It wrote to Congress asking for

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[81] Personal Service and Immigrant Aid Files, Archives.

[82] Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963 (New York, 1965), pp. 3-37, fixes the date of the establishment of Hull House as the symbolic beginning of the new radicalism.

[83] Jane Addams, "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," in Henry C. Adams, ed., Philanthropy and Social Progress (New York, 1893), p. 22.

> . . . the establishment of a children's bureau in connection with the federal government for the collection of data regarding the employment of children throughout the United States for the promotion of judicious legislation in their behalf . . . and for an appropriation to permit of an investigation into the conditions surrounding the employment of women and children.[84]

Miss Mildred Cohn, Chairman of the Committee on Child Labor, visited and inspected sixty factories between September 1907 and May 1908, "of which thirty were either very dirty or children were working in them."[85] Columbian Council also provided scholarships to parents to permit their children to go to school.

This was, basically, the Columbian Council approach to the amelioration of the evils of child labor: personal inspection of factories, with threats to employers who were breaking the law; and personal approaches to parents of children of school age, with payment to the parents to make up for the loss of their children's wages, if they agreed to send their children to school.

It was here that Columbian Council sometimes came into conflict with the very people they wished to assist--poor Jewish immigrants. Although, on a percentage basis, more Jewish children were in school than the children of any other immigrant group, many of them were employed in the small family stogy factories and the visits of the "inspector," were considered an intrusion into the family's personal affairs.

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[84] Jewish Criterion (May 25, 1908).

[85] Ibid. (June 5, 1908).

The Western Pennsylvania Branch of the Consumers' League, formed by Columbian Council to abolish the sweat-shop and tenement work, met with Mrs. Kelley to "confer . . . as to the possibilities of new work which might be undertaken under conditions which might develop during the completion of the Pittsburgh Survey."[86]

4. The Pittsburgh Survey

The first social survey of an American city was made by Edward T. Devine, editor of Charities and the Commons, of housing conditions in Washington, D.C. His report led to some reforms, a juvenile court, and a bill for the condemnation of unsanitary housing.

Mrs. Alice B. Montgomery, the Chief Probation Officer of the Allegheny County Juvenile Court, invited the publication committee of Charities and the Commons to do a similar study of Pittsburgh. It began its work in 1907 with the bulk of its financing a sum of $26,500 from the newly founded Russell Sage Foundation.[87] The staff consisted of about twenty experts in economics, public health, settlement work, and social work, with their youthful assistants, many of them women.[88] Some of these women made the Columbian School and Settlement their headquarters.

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[86] Jewish Criterion (June 5, 1908).

[87] John F. McClymer, "The Pittsburgh Survey, 1907-1914," Pennsylvania History (April 1975).

[88] Jewish Criterion (October 11, 1907).

> These young girls were lively and their social life and ideas were exhilarating to us volunteers and others at the Settlement who had close contact with them.[89]

One young woman, Miss Anna Reed, became an assistant resident. She contributed a chapter to the final publication of the Pittsburgh Survey, on the Hill District. Miss Heldman cooperated in the survey of health conditions carried on by the Pittsburgh Survey Team. The work of the Columbian Council and of the Columbian School and Settlement received unreserved praise by all the researchers who mentioned them.

> Women have borne a particularly important share in public betterment work. The Civic Club of Allegheny County which is chiefly in the hands of women, and several women's organizations, particularly the Twentieth Century Club and the Council of Jewish Women have accomplished many telling results in this direction. . . .
>
> The Columbian School and Settlement . . . in the 'Hill District' is supported by public spirited Jewish citizens. The usual variety of clubs and classes is provided and their opportunities are received with even more than the usual eagerness by the children of recent Russian immigrants. Much attention is given to education in hygiene by means of a gymnasium, baths, and instructive district nursing as well as securing the enforcement of sanitary laws. This settlement has given special attention to the very useful function of serving as pacemaker to the public schools, in the matter of evening industrial schools, recreative centers, and vacation schools.[90]

The attitudes of Columbian Council members towards the Pittsburgh Survey staff was rather more restrained.

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[89]Ruslander, p. 323.

[90]Robert A. Wood, "Pittsburgh: An Interpretation of its Growth," in Civic Frontage, edited by Paul U. Kellogg [Pittsburgh Survey] (New York, 1914), pp. 33-38.

When one of the social work students took off her stockings, dangled her bare feet in the water, and smoked a cigarette on a boat ride, she was fired and sent home.[91] For the rather straitlaced Columbian Council, the "essentially moderate"[92] ideology of the Pittsburgh Survey workers was too radical.

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[91] Ruslander, p. 323.

[92] McClymer.

V. EVALUATION OF COUNCIL'S WORK

A. Criteria for Evaluation

In evaluating the work of Columbian Council during the first fifteen years of its existence, one must differentiate between the narrative of events and interpretation of the significance of these events. This is very difficult when almost the only source of data is a newspaper, the Pittsburgh Jewish Criterion, whose editors and staff were closely allied to the members of Columbian Council by blood or marriage. Straightforward reports dealing with names, numbers, and dates, were accepted as reliable data. Some interpretive reports of a complimentary nature were also accepted as reliable data, e.g., the enthusiasm with which the evening classes were received; the dedication of the volunteers; the importance of the work in public health, etc., for they were backed up by other sources. Critical editorials were so rare that they were introduced by the writer to point up the significance of those aspects of Columbian Council's work which were criticized. The dearth of primary sources, i.e., minutes, was fairly satisfactorily supplemented by the reports in the Jewish Criterion.

The most important limitation of data, which made it difficult to answer fully the question of the characteristics of the immigrant population served by Columbian

Council was the lack of information about these immigrants. The Jewish Criterion and the various yearbooks gave only gross figures--numbers attending classes, taking baths, etc. Only one report gave a breakdown of student population in terms of country of origin. Thus, most evaluations dealing with the immigrants themselves came from the same sources which served the immigrants. Some conclusions could be drawn from the statistics--the large numbers of immigrants who responded to the work of the settlement house on a voluntary basis showed their need for and acceptance of these services. The few critical statements found by the writer in oral history or written sources were included, as were interpretations by the writer of some of Columbian Council's statements about the immigrants.

It is important to recognize the role played in the evaluation process of the writer's subjective judgement. As the daughter of Yiddish speaking, Orthodox Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe, she often felt resentful when reading statements critical of her parents' way of life. As a Zionist, she was in ideological disagreement with some of the non-Zionist or anti-Zionist positions taken by people whom she nonetheless admired. As a feminist she was particularly sensitive to the attitudes of men writing about "women's work."

It would be a fallacy to state that her evaluations are completely objective. However, the writer recognizes

those areas where subjective judgement was involved and has attempted to deal with them in a scholarly fashion.

B. Success or Failure in Achieving Original Goals

In evaluating the success or failure of Columbian Council in achieving its original goals, it is necessary to differentiate between two sets of goals. One set of goals, which served as the basis of the NCJW constitution, was formulated by Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon in 1893.[1] The other set of goals was drawn up specifically for Columbian School and Settlement about ten years later.

The NCJW resolutions were an expression of Mrs. Solomon's personal stance as a Reform Jew and an intellectual. Her father, Michael Greenbaum, was one of the earliest Jewish settlers in Chicago (from 1847) and one of the founders of Temple Sinai,[2] "the most radical of American Jewish congregations."[3] She had been raised in a family

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[1] See Chapter I, B.

[2] "On June 20, 1861, Reform Judaism, in Chicago, was officially born. Sinai Congregation was Incorporated with Dr. Felsanthal as its first Rabbi." (Mrs. Solomon's grandmother was a Felsanthal.) Hannah G. Solomon, Fabric of My Life (New York, 1946), p. 82.

[3] David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1931), p. 371. Some of the radical resolutions proposed by Rabbi Emil Hirsch of Temple Sinai were adopted at the Pittsburgh Conference in 1885. Rodef Shalom was often included among the radical Reform congregations although its position was not as extreme as that of Temple Sinai.

which "believed that girls as well as boys should be given educational advantages."[4]

These trends are seen in Mrs. Solomon's reiteration of the main goals of the National Council of Jewish Women in a talk given in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1898, as the

> . . . study of Jewish history and literature, to study and practice the newest and best methods of philanthropy, to further the interest of the Sabbath schools, and to organize mission schools for poor Jewish children.[5]

Her emphasis was on self-education for Jewish women of her class and religious education for Jewish children. Adult education of immigrants played almost no part in her goals for the NCJW, except insofar as it related to philanthropy.

At the founding meeting of the NCJW a number of women actually expressed opposition to the education of adult immigrants in subjects not "suitable" for their stations in life. Mrs. Minnie Louis, of New York, claimed that immigrant girls were unfit to be stenographers or school teachers, but should be trained in industrial work.[6]

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[4]As each Greenebaum daughter finished public school she was sent abroad to Germany to continue her education. Hannah preferred to stay in Chicago, majoring in Latin and mathematics. After her marriage she continued her studies in philosophy and science. In 1891 she reviewed Spinoza's Theologico-Politicus, which she read in German, for the Chicago Woman's Club. Solomon, pp. 25-52.

[5]Hannah G. Solomon, A Sheaf of Leaves (Chicago: Privately printed, 1911), p. 84.

[6]Jewish Women's Congress, Papers (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1894) [JCC], p. 180.

Miss Julia Richman of New York considered training for domestic service as the ideal solution for poor Jewish girls.[7]

Ten years later, even though there had been many changes in the composition of the American Jewish community, and in the role of the NCJW, Mrs. Solomon still insisted that the chief aim of the Council was "to interest our members . . . in the field of Jewish studies."[8]

These changes are reflected in the specific goals formulated by Columbian Council for the Columbian School and Settlement a decade after the Council's birth. What happened between 1895 and 1896 was a "great shift in the sources of immigration. In the former year 55% of the aliens came from northwest Europe; in the next year, southern and southeastern Europe gained the upper hand."[9] What was true of the non-Jewish immigration was even more true of Jews. The influx of many thousands of Jewish immigrants, mostly from Eastern Europe, created internal conflicts within the American Jewish community, between the Yahudim (German Jews) and the Yidn (Eastern European Jews). Popular views of this conflict depict it as "an epic duel of wit and will . . . between . . . the German Jews of Our Crowd[10] versus their

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[8]Solomon, A Sheaf of Leaves, p. 122.

[9]Edward A. Ross, "Immigrants in Politics," in Immigration: An American Dilemma, edited by Benjamin Z. Ziegler (Boston, 1953), p. 24.

[10]Referring to Stephen Birmingham's Our Crowd (New York, 1967).

nearly three million 'poor cousins' from beyond the Pale,"[11] There are also scholarly studies of this conflict, which, like the popular works, focus on New York and ignore the rest of the country almost entirely.[12]

In Pittsburgh the gulf between German Jews and East European Jews was not as great as in New York. A number of East European Jews had joined Rodef Shalom Congregation,[13] and by the eighteen-nineties probably fifty percent or more of the members of Jewish philanthropic organizations were of Eastern European origin. The influence of the German Jews

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[11] Ande Manners, Poor Cousins (New York, 1972), quotations from inside of front flap cover.

[12] The only scholarly work that I know of that deals with this conflict specifically, in a locale outside New York, is Robert Rockaway's "Ethnic Conflict in an Urban Environment: The German and Russian Jew in Detroit, 1881-1914," American Jewish Historical Quarterly (December 1970). The handful of Jewish community histories published in the past thirty years make occasional references to this "ethnic conflict" within each community in passing.

[13] Dr. Albert Blumberg, whose wife was president of Columbian Council, 1900-1902, was a native of Lithuania who had joined Rodef Shalom. Mrs. A. J. Sunstein, an officer of Columbian Council, was the daughter of Moses Fink, a Russian Jew. Mrs. Jacob Gusky, who endowed an orphanage in memory of her husband, was the widow of a Polish Jew. Mr. and Mrs. Moses Russlander were both of Eastern European background, indeed Mr. Russlander had studied in a Yeshiva. The society columns of the Jewish Criterion had occasional references to marriages between members of Rodef Shalom and Tree of Life. E.G., On May 12, 1905, the engagement was announced of Miss Josephine Baer, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Baer of Rodef Shalom and Mr. Morris A. Green, son of Abraham Green (born in Holland, in Pittsburgh from 1863), of Tree of Life. Morris was a very active volunteer worker at Columbian School and Settlement. Charles H. Joseph, nephew of Henry Jackson, a Zionist and pillar of Tree of Life, succeeded Rabbi J. L. Levy of Rodef Shalom as editor of the Jewish Criterion.

was greater because of their longer residence in the city and their generally greater wealth and social position. Thus, organizations such as Columbian Council were viewed by newly arrived Russian and Roumanian Jews as "German" even though many of its members and some of its leaders were not German in origin.

The presence of such members led to some ambivalence in attitudes towards new immigrants. The leaders of Columbian Council and of the Columbian School and Settlement could not very well relegate them to domestic service or factory jobs simply because they were less Americanized than themselves. Thus the goals of Columbian School and Settlement showed more awareness of the potential for adult education among Eastern European Jews.

Each set of goals will now be examined and evaluated as to the success or failure of Columbian Council/Columbian School and Settlement in achieving them. The first goal, as set forth by Mrs. Solomon, called for uniting women interested in religion, philanthropy and education and considering practical means of solving problems in these fields.[14]

The Columbian Council's work in education and its practical approach were very successful, even remarkably so. However, where Mrs. Solomon's intentions seemed to be for the self-education of members, Columbian Council's efforts

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[14]Solomon, A Sheaf of Leaves . . . , p. 129.

were largely towards education of others. Its success was described by The Survey:

> The work has been carried on in an old residence set back from Wiley [sic!] Avenue . . . and up the steps past the lawn to an old-fashioned porch . . . has come a never ending stream of neighbors who have been sure of understanding and help from the householders within . . . out from there has gone no little of the spirit which is characteristic of the newer Pittsburgh, of remedying conditions, or re-invigorating and broadening the usefulness of schools and health departments and government generally in its relation to the wholesomeness and sanctities of life of the humbler dwellers of the town.[15]

Its success in philanthropy was less spectacular in terms of the nubmers of people reached, but was quite impressive in the quality of aid given. Its success was attested to even by outsiders: during the 1907 depression, Columbian Council was chosen by the Chronicle-Telegraph as the agency for distribution of coal, shoes, groceries, and money. Mrs. Marcus Spiro, Chairman of the Personal Service Committee, divided up the city among her members. The North Side home of Mrs. Fannie Weinhaus served as headquarters for hundreds of people who came for help. Almost $2,000 was distributed. In 1908, of the $25,000 distributed by the Oliver estate among various philanthropic organizations, Columbian Council received $4,000 as the most representative Jewish organization in the city.

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[15] The Survey (April, 1909), p. 146. Charities and the Commons changed its name to The Survey in 1909, probably as a result of its success in the Pittsburgh Survey.

In the study of the Jewish religion, Mrs. Solomon's second goal, Columbian Council was deficient. Its study circles were not well attended. Mrs. Rosenberg, president of Columbian Council admitted:

> I consider myself a fairly good Jewess, but I will admit I know very little of the Hebrew language and cannot read it, and I think some of my sisters are in the same condition.[16]

The third goal set forth by Mrs. Solomon, to improve the Sabbath schools and to work for social reform, was very vigorously pursued. Columbian Council set up a network of Sabbath Schools in Southwestern Pennsylvania which served Jewish families who might otherwise have felt abandoned by their religion. In numerous small towns within a 100-mile radius of Pittsburgh, where only a handful of Jews lived, these schools were often the only source of Jewish religious education.[17]

Columbian Council was very successful in its social reform work. The election of Bertha Floersheim Rauh as president, in 1904, marked "the beginning of a quickening of interest and an infusion of new energy along every line of Council endeavor."[18] Mrs. Rauh was especially influential in the Council's decision to enter Juvenile Court work and aid to immigrant girls. In 1906 Columbian Council officially

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[16] Proceedings of the First National Convention, NCJW, p. 274.

[17] Kreimer.

[18] Amelia Zugsmith, "History of the Pittsburgh Section, Council of Jewish Women," u.d., probably 1920 [Archives].

endorsed civic service reform as applied to municipal government.[19]

Columbian Council's Child Labor Committee was quite successful in its efforts to combat the employment of children under fourteen in factories, mills, and sweat shops. In 1909 the Pittsburgh Section, NCJW, joined the National Child Labor Association.[20]

In 1908 a number of new committees, explicitly aimed at social reform, were organized: Consumers' League; Sanitation; Abatement of Smoke; Public Welfare; Expectoration Prevention; Street and Garbage; and Public Baths. The success of these committees must be viewed in the light of their relatively small number of members. They were as influential as more populous organizations for providing the impetus for social reform legislation.

The fourth goal presented to the NCJW by Mrs. Solomon, to "secure the interest and aid of influential persons in arousing the general sentiment against religious persecutions . . . " was a circumlocution for the old Jewish method of self defense called "shtadlanut." This word refers to the figure of the "Shtadlan"--a Jew in a position of power--who could represent the Jewish community in royal courts or presidential mansions whenever Jews were threatened.

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[19]This was the year George W. Guthrie was elected mayor.

[20]In 1917 the Juvenile Court Committee and the Child Labor Committee were merged into the Child Conservation Committee. That year Pennsylvania enacted enforcement of child labor laws.

Columbian Council spoke out on a number of occasions when Jews were oppressed, and it encouraged influential Americans to act. In 1903, for example, a letter of appreciation was sent to Secretary of State John Hay for his efforts on behalf of Roumanian Jews.

Pittsburgh Section, as part of the NCJW, also participated in the Peace Movement. It celebrated Peace Day on April 23, 1908, and joined the Peace Society of America in May, 1908. However, it carefully avoided the subject of Zionism, even though a fairly vocal minority, on the national level, demanded that it commit itself to the restoration of Palestine to the Jews.[21] Most of the members of the Pittsburgh Section, during the fifteen years under study, did not identify with Zionism. Mrs. Solomon herself felt that the most rational solution for the Jewish problem would be "to form a state in some territory under the protection of the English flag."[22]

The 1893 goals of NCJW did not explicitly refer to the movement "for the emancipation of one half of the intelligent citizens of the country."[23] In the words of Mrs.

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[21]Rosa Sonneschein, "The NCJW and our Dream of Nationality," American Jewess (October 1896).

[22]Solomon, Sheaf of Leaves . . . , p. 88.

[23]Ellen M. Henrotin, "The General Federation of Women's Clubs," Review of Reviews (March, 1896); an unpublished manuscript distributed by the NCJW, "Years of Progress," dated July 21, 1966, states: "Towards the close of the 19th century, demands matured for social reform, including political equality for women. [Council was] born in this creative ferment. . . ."

Ellen M. Henrotin, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. However, Mrs. Solomon's close association with Mrs. Henrotin, her reference to herself in her autobiography as a "confirmed women-rights-er,"[24] and other statements she made, implies the acceptance of the goals of women's suffrage, at least by some of the leaders of NCJW. Columbian Council allied itself with various organizations that did include women's suffrage among their goals. It joined the State Federation of Women's Clubs in 1895 and occasionally invited lectures on the subject Mrs. Henrotin called one of the "forces . . . powerfully affecting the civilization of the twentieth century-- . . . the Woman Question."[25]

The goals of Columbian School and Settlement, drawn up and published about 1905, were very specifically aimed at the problems of immigrants in the Hill District. They were influenced by the progressive educational philosophy of the time, which considered environment a more potent factor in development than heredity. Its goals were destined to change the immigrants' environment and thus influence changes in their behavior as well.

> The special purpose of the settlement is the advancement of the civic, intellectual and social welfare of the surrounding community. It aims to do this by (1) guiding the foreign born to American

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[24] Solomon, Fabric of My Life, p. 48.

[25] Henrotin.

> conditions, (2) encouraging self-improvement, (3) stimulating healthy pleasures, (4) broadening civic interest, (5) creating ideals of conduct.[26]

Cleanliness was both a German and an American virtue in which Eastern European immigrants were considered deficient. One of the most important features of the settlement, even when it was still in the house on Townsend Street, was its bathroom. With the addition of the Peacock Bath House, in 1903, the settlement could offer thousands of hot baths and showers to the neighborhood. The volunteers and members of the Columbian Council and the Columbian School and Settlement also served as models of dress and decorum to impressionable young people. The fact that these clean, well dressed, and polite Americans were also Jews, made it easier for young immigrants to visualize themselves as Americans. Eva Abrams, who worked at the settlement, reminisced:

> Once a year Mrs. A. Leo Weil would invite all the people who worked at the Settlement to have dinner at her house. I still remember how elegant everything was. A servant appeared as if by magic to serve and take away. Later, I discovered that Mrs. Weil had a button under the table which she pressed with her foot. We all admired her and wanted to be like her.[27]

In its goal of encouraging self-improvement, the Settlement reinforced tendencies already present among many

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[26] Jewish Criterion (October 5, 1906). These goals are also found in the article on Columbian School and Settlement in Robert A. Woods, Handbook of Settlements (New York, 1911), p. 283.

[27] Interview with Eva Abrams, librarian at Jewish Home and Hospital for the Aged, July 1973.

immigrants. By providing reading rooms and non-formal adult education in all kinds of subjects, not only English and civics, it helped enrich the lives of those who participated. The "healthy pleasures" it aimed to stimulate, such as gymnastics, swimming, dancing, dramatics, debates, etc., provided alternatives to the bars and dance halls and houses of prostitution which served as the only recreational facilities in other neighborhoods. The Hill District was well supplied with these, too, but the evening activities at the Settlement gave young people a choice.

The goal of "broadening civic interest" was very successfully achieved through the various civic betterment clubs sponsored by the Settlement, as well as through the personal interest taken by the residents. Many immigrants learned about their rights to become citizens from doughty Miss Heldman (who was also a notary public and stamped their applications for citizenship) who fought "vice and crime, prostitution and gambling"[28] in the neighborhood. Immigrants were encouraged to study for citizenship tests, to take out papers, and to involve themselves in civic affairs. The owner of Weinstein's Restaurant, a Hill District landmark, testified: "Miss Heldman offered to give me private lessons at six o'clock in the morning, before I opened the restaurant, just so that I could pass the test."[29] While no statistics are available, there is

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[28] Jewish Criterion (August 16, 1957), p. 20.

[29] Interview with the late Rachel Weinstein, 1969.

an impression of an unusually high proportion of lawyers among Settlement habitués. They may have been influenced by the large number of lawyer husbands of Columbian Council members.[30]

The success of the fifth goal, "creating ideals of conduct," must be evaluated from two viewpoints, that of the older, more traditional immigrant, and that of the younger immigrant, more amenable to assimilation. Kurt Pine, a resident at the Irene Kaufmann Settlement in the thirties, concluded:

> The relationship between the Settlement and some of the strong Jewish groups in the Hill was often rather tense. These groups realized that the Settlement was a necessity for many Jewish people, but they did not support it. The Orthodox Jewish people said, in the early decades of the century, that the Settlement was an agency to convert their children into gentiles. The Socialists disliked what they called its 'charitable approach' and emphasis of the Settlement on its public baths. Not that they were against physical hygiene, but they felt insulted that the 'rich German Jews' offered baths that the 'poor, dirty Eastern European Jews could clean themselves.' The Zionists hated the idea of Americanization as the Settlement represented it. . . . However, the younger generation accepted the Settlement and its services. Time and necessity made many of the older Jews more tolerant of the Settlement and what it could offer them. The Settlement, on the other hand, modified many of its policies, and today it is generally accepted by old and young in the Hill District as a valuable institution.[31]

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[30]The late Judge Benjamin Lencher was called "the Daniel Webster of the Settlement." Neighbors weekly published by IKS (September 1, 1924) [Pennsylvania Room].

[31]Kurt Pine, "The Jews of the Hill District," unpublished master's thesis (University of Pittsburgh, 1940), pp. 69-70.

C. Educational Innovations

All of the educational innovations introduced or supported by Columbian School and Settlement eventually became part of the Pittsburgh public education system. In certain areas the Settlement was not the first, but one of the few pioneers in the field. In effect, the Settlements in the urban centers of the country

> . . . were experimental stations where new proposals in education, recreation and public health work were tested. The first kindergartens were established in Settlements. The yards of these institutions were early used as playgrounds. The beginnings of medical inspection and school nursing . . . offer a notable example of this pioneer work.[32]

Kindergarten work was becoming widely recognized by progressive educators in the 1890's.[33] Columbian Council's first act as an organization was to support a kindergarten, the Columbian Kindergarten, so named in its honor.[34] Eventually it opened its own kindergarten on its premises, the Nannie Oppenheimer Memorial Kindergarten. Work with pre-school children remained an important aspect of Settlement activies, even after kindergartens became part of the

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[32] Gaylord S. White, "United Neighborhood Houses," in Arthur S. Holden, The Settlement Idea: A Version of Social Justice (New York: Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 184.

[33] Amalie Hoffer, "The Social Settlement and the Kindergarten," NEA Journal of Proceedings, 1895.

[34] Many of the publications of the Pittsburgh Section, NCJW, mistakenly list this kindergarten as the first in the city. It was the fifth.

local school system.[35]

Columbian Council was also an innovator in religious education. As was noted before, its greatest success was in the outlying areas in communities with small Jewish populations. Miss Miriam Schoenfeld became supervisor of the religious school in 1907 and continued in a supervisory capacity until her death in 1934. She introduced the notion of training religious school teachers, at first informally, in her home, and then more formally, in a Teachers' Institute, from 1916.[36] This was an educational innovation: previously, any well-meaning adult who volunteered to be a Sunday School teacher had been accepted.

The idea that children should be involved in organized recreation during the summer months was very new in 1897 when Columbian Council introduced vacation school. After the move to the Slagle property in 1900, and the piece-by-piece equipping of an outdoor playground in 1902, Columbian Council joined the Committee on Summer Playgrounds and Vacation Schools. In 1906 it took charge of a Vacation School conducted in a public school building by Miss Miriam Schoenfeld, with 200-300 children in attendance.[37] In 1908

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[35]The non-sectarian nursery school at the Jewish Community Center in Squirrel Hill (heir to the ones at Columbian School and Settlement and the Irene Kaufmann Settlement) is one of the best nursery schools in the city.

[36]Kreimer.

[37]In 1915 the city took over all the playgrounds.

the first move in summer camp work was made with the opening of Emma Farms.

From its earliest classes in sewing, offered at Townsend Street, Columbian Council expanded its training program to include many kinds of skills. "The settlements sensed the need for new forms of training to prepare individuals for work in an industrial society."[38] Eventually these subjects were introduced into the public school curriculum, at first in the evening high schools:

> In 1911 Fifth Avenue High School had 624 students taking academic subjects, 420 taking shorthand, 225 taking typing, 125 taking mechanical drawing and 55 taking courses in civil service preparation. Allegheny Evening High School had 374 students in the academic department, 180 taking typing, 175 taking shorthand, 53 taking mechanical drawing, 95 taking cooking, 81 taking sewing, 19 taking manual training and 24 in civil service preparation.[39]

In 1898, a year before Carnegie Library opened a branch in the Hill District, a reading room was opened in the Townsend Street building. The adult evening courses, begun there in 1899 and continued at the Settlement, are Columbian Council's most outstanding innovation in the field of education--an innovation not because the idea was new but because Columbian Council was the first agency in Pittsburgh to offer year-round free evening classes for adults. Columbian Council was also the driving force behind

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[38]Morris I. Berger, "The Settlements, The Immigrant, and the Public School: A Study of the Influence upon Public Education, 1890-1924" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1956), p. 156.

[39]Lawrence F. Greenberger, "Adult Education through Evening Schools" (unpublished dissertation, University of

the introduction of such courses under public sponsorship.

How innovative this was may be seen in the statistics for the entire Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, where, in 1910, 460,045 immigrants over the age of 15 could not speak English, and 20.1% of these were unable to read or write any language. Of 263 urban centers with over 2,500 inhabitants, 127 had over 1,000 foreigners, more such communities than any other state in the Union.

> Only 42 communities had any evening school facilities for immigrants over the age of compulsory attendance. Only 29 of these maintained public facilities. . . . In the school term 1914-1915, the total number of foreign pupils enrolled in these evening schools aggregated less than 20,000, a remarkably small number as compared with those unable to speak English and illiterate.[40]

In Pittsburgh, for the term 1913-1914, 2,464 students were registered at Franklin School evening courses and 1,541 students were enrolled at Fifth Avenue Evening High School.[41] Thus, one neighborhood in Pittsburgh suppled more than 20% of all evening school pupils in the entire state. The involvement of Columbian Council in this achievement has already been shown.

Pittsburgh, 1936. Greenberger's title is misleading. His two volume study concentrates on evening high schools in the period after 1926, when they were first included in the Pennsylvania School Code.

[40] Commissioner of Labor and Industry, Annual Report, Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, 1916, pp. 1158-9.

[41] Evening Schools and Extension Work Circular, 1913-1914 (Pennsylvania Room).

Along with English, civics and vocational courses for adult immigrants, introduced by Columbian Council on a non-formal basis and eventually taken over by public schools, the Settlement also sponsored the notion that "the immigrant--as well as the American workingman--should share in the mental wealth of humanity."[42] The social and athletic clubs, the debating societies, the music courses,[43] the plays and entertainments, enriched the often hum-drum lives of the immigrants. The pioneering work of settlements in the area of leisure and recreation inspired John Dewey to propose them (especially Hull House) as a model for what the public school could and should become:

> In conclusion, we may say that the conception of the school as a social center is born of our entire democratic movement. Everywhere we see signs of the growing recognition that the community owes to each one of its members the fullest opportunity for development. . . . To extend the range and fullness of sharing in the intellectual and spiritual resources of the community is the very meaning of the community. Because the older type of education is not fully adequate to this task under changed conditions, we feel its lack and demand that the school shall become a social center.[44]

"Finally, the efforts to educate the immigrant served as the seed for the adult education movement."[45] Here

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[42] Isaac Spectorsky, "The Newcomer and the Night School," Charities and the Commons (1907), p. 892.

[43] The music school, now named the Anna Laufe Perlow School of Music, is one of the finest in the city.

[44] John Dewey, "The School as a Social Center," NEA Journal of Proceedings (1902), pp. 382-382.

[45] Berger, p. 126. Berger is here referring to the movement as it appeared in the twentieth century.

we come full circle. The original aim of Columbian Council to educate its own members was an integral part of the adult education movement of the nineteenth century, spearheaded by women's clubs.[46] Writing in 1896, Ellen M. Henrotin described the beginnings of this movement in the mid-nineteenth century:

> Little groups of women commenced to gather together to discuss some topic of present interest, to study literature or history; these clubs were at first merely classes in literature. . . . Study ceased to satisfy club women; they desired to put into practice some of their theories, beginning with philanthropy.[47]

With the expansion of settlement work came an expansion of adult education which included men as well as women, native Americans as well as immigrants. The lecture series, the art, music and theatre classes, became the province of all. This aspect of Columbian Council's innovative work was not fully integrated into the public school system. It continues as an integral feature of its successors--The Irene Kaufmann Settlement, the Anna B. Heldman Center, and Hill House in the Hill District and the Y-IKC and the Jewish Community Centers in Oakland, Squirrel Hill, East Liberty and South Hills.

D. Innovations in Public Health

Columbian Council's first important venture into public health remained its most important innovation in that

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[46] James Truslow Adams, Frontiers in American Culture: a Study of Adult Education in a Democracy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944.

[47] Henrotin.

field, the introduction of a visiting nurse service. One does not read much about Miss Cherry, hired in 1901, but with the employment of Anna B. Heldman, from October 1, 1902, a series of "firsts" can be credited to the Settlement.

In 1905 it was she, her assistant Miss Cook, and another nurse Miss Chayter, who demonstrated the necessity and value of medical inspection of the public schools, with Franklin, Letsche, and Moorehead schools in the Hill District as case studies. The large percentages of children who had defective vision, hearing, teeth, enlarged tonsils, skin diseases, and were malnourished[48] shocked the authorities into establishing medical inspection in the schools in 1909.[49] Miss Heldman and the co-workers under her supervision pioneered the preliminary work of the Children's Welfare Division of the Department of Health. With the data obtained, Dr. Edwards, Director of the Bureau of Health, got permission from City Council to employ five nurses to instruct mothers in the care of infants and sanitation measures in the home. Miss Heldman instructed the other nurses in this work.[50]

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[48] The exact findings are published in the Pittsburgh School Bulletin of the Pittsburgh Teachers' Association (February, 1908), p. 7 [Pennsylvania Room].

[49] Jewish Criterion (May 28, 1909).

[50] A front page story in the Gazette-Times (July 24, 1908), features a picture of Miss Heldman with the caption, "Nurse Anna B. Heldman in charge of Hill District."

From July 1, 1906 to June 30, 1907, Miss Heldman, released from her ordinary Settlement duties, did the field work for the Typhoid Study made for the Pittsburgh Survey.[51] This study laid the groundwork for a water filtration system for the city. She was also involved in the intensive housing survey for the same sponsors.

As visiting nurse, Miss Heldman knew the lives of hundreds of families. In 1903 she learned of the existence of a Visiting Nurse Society in Chicago, joined, and laid the foundation for such an organization in Pittsburgh.[52] Accompanied by Miss Hunt of West Penn Hospital, she lobbied in Harrisburg for the passage of a bill for the registration of nurses. Because Miss Heldman lived and worked at the Columbian School and Settlement, later the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, and was closely identified with it, her individual contributions may be credited to the Settlement as well.

An important health area in which Columbian Council did pioneering work was held for the blind. S. Leo Ruslander has described how his mother, Phoebe Katz Russlander, became interested in working with the blind. She organized a Committee on the Blind of the Pittsburgh Section, NCJW, in

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[51]Frank Wing, "Thirty-five Years of Typhoid: The Economic Cost to Pittsburgh and the Long Fight for Pure Water," Civic Frontage, edited by Paul U. Kellogg (New York: Survey Associates, Russell Sage Foundation, 1911), does not give adequate credit to her work.

[52]The Public Health Nursing Association of Pittsburgh took over the visiting nurse service in the twenties at the IKS.

1909. Through her efforts, and those of this committee was born the Pennsylvania Association for the Blind.[53]

Settlements all over the country were involved in some forms of public health. Each city faced health problems peculiar to itself. The members of Columbian Council were well aware of the respiratory problems in the Pittsburgh district even before Samuel Hopkins Adams lambasted the city's administration:

> Public health is a public asset. This is a truth which, in her singleminded pursuit of commercial and industrial expansion, Pittsburgh long ago forgot, if, indeed, she ever stopped to realize it . . . Pittsburgh's little army of defence now faces the most complicated problem of municipal betterment to be found in American hygiene.[54]

They joined with other women's clubs to "agitate the smoke nuisance question"[55] but their efforts were ineffectual. The Abatement of Smoke Committee, formed in 1908, could do little in the face of the industrial powers which created the smoke nuisance.

Thier interest in the eradication of tuberculosis, mistakenly considered a "Jewish disease"[56] at the turn of

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[53] A plaque in the lobby of the Pittsburgh Association for the Blind on South Craig Street pays tribute to Mrs. Russlander.

[54] Samuel K. Adams, "Pittsburgh's Foregone Asset, the Public Health," The Survey (February 1909), p. 940.

[55] Jewish Criterion (October 26, 1906).

[56] Joseph Rakower, "Tuberculosis Among Jews," in Ethnic Groups of America: Their Morbidity, Mortality, and Behavior Disorders, Vol. 1, The Jews, edited by Ailon Shiloh

the century, inspired them to contribute to the Jewish Hospital for Consumptives in Denver, and to conduct a public health campaign in the Settlement.

> The Tuberculosis exhibit, brought through the initiative of . . . Miss Reed, and subsequently managed by the Pittsburgh T[uberculosis] C[ommittee], has been a wonderful factor for the enlightment of the public about this dread disease. An average of over 1,000 persons a day visited the exhibit for five days in this house alone. Who can fathom the knowledge spread by an object lesson such as this? Numbers of afflicted by the plague have since come to us for guidance and advice. Would that the T.C. had sufficient funds for a permanent exhibit, to be shown in all the thickly populated sections of our city at certain intervals. We are very grateful to Mr. A. Moore of the Pittsburg Leader, for his generous donation toward bringing this exhibit here.[57]

In an effort to fight the "white plague," open-air schools were innovated. The second open-air school in the city was organized in the spring of 1911 on the roof of the IKS. It was taken over by the Board of Public Education in 1912.

E. Problems for Future Study

The decision to make 1909 the concluding date for this dissertation was due to a number of factors: the transfer of Columbian School and Settlement to the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, with a new Board of Directors in 1909; the choice of a male president to head the Settlement, beginning an unbroken line of male presidents to the present; the final separation of the Pittsburgh Section, NCJW, from

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and Ida Cohen Selavan (Springfield, Ill., 1973).

[57] Jewish Criterion (January 24, 1908).

the Settlement, completing a process begun in 1900.

Each of these institutions, Columbian Council and Columbian School and Settlement, exists at the present, in a metamorphosed form. The evolution of the present day Pittsburgh Section, NCJW, with its ramified interests and activities, has been a gradual one. The history of Columbian School and Settlement has been more eventful. The new Irene Kaufmann Settlement of 1909 became the Anna B. Heldman Settlement in 1957, with a new Board of Directors.[58] The building was razed in the sixties, and on the site was built Hill House, opened in 1973.[59] The name of Irene Kaufmann was perpetuated in the Irene Kaufmann Centers of Squirrel Hill, East End, and South Hills. In 1960 came the formal amalgamation with the Young Men and Women's Hebrew Association of Oakland, leading to the ponderous title of YM&WHA-IKC, abbreviated to Y-IKC. In January of 1975 came another name change, this time to the Jewish Community Center of Pittsburgh (although YM&WHA-IKC remains as part of the legal name). Each of these entities deserves separate study.

In the course of the dissertation, various problems were touched upon but not examined fully, for they were

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[58]Sidney J. Lindenberg, "Combined History of the Anna B. Heldman Community Center and the Irene Kaufmann Settlement," unpublished ms. April, 1957 (in JCC, Squirrel Hill).

[59]Marcia Henderson, Dave Leherr, Thomas M. Hritz, "Hill House Geared to Meet Almost Everyone's Needs," Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (March 26, 1975).

peripheral to the central focus of the dissertation. These problems could serve as possible areas of exploration for investigators of the future:

The history of the ethical schools established by the NCJW and their influence;

Involvement by NCJW members in the women's suffrage movement;

Attitudes towards Zionism and possible ideological clashes within the NCJW;

Ethnic conflict within the Pittsburgh Jewish Community;[60]

The dilemma of Columbian School and Settlement: Americanization of immigrants or preservation of Judaism;[61]

Present Jewish institutional life in Pittsburgh and its roots in the past;[62]

Comparative study of NCJW and Hadassah.

Other subjects for further study relate to Pittsburgh in general rather than to the Jewish Community in particular:

The education of immigrants in the city of Pittsburgh after 1906;

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[60]Robert Rockaway, "Ethnic Conflict in an Urban Environment: The German and Russian Jew in Detroit, 1881-1914," American Jewish Historical Quarterly (December 1970).

[61]Based on a question raised by Robert Morris and Michael Freund, editors, Trends and Issues in Jewish Social Welfare in the United States, 1899-1958 (Philadelphia, 1966), p. 9.

[62]Based on a statement by Daniel J. Elazar in "The Institutional Life of American Jewry," Midstream, June/July,

Influence of the Pittsburgh Survey on improvement of public health conditions;

Recreational opportunities for immigrants at the turn of the century.

The present dissertation may also serve as a model for people wishing to do intensive investigations of other settlement houses in the city, e,g., Kingsley House, Woods Run Industrial Settlement, Soho Baths Settlement House.[63]

Of special interest to me has been the encounter with a number of interesting women, whose biographies are not widely known. My current interest in the women's movement, especially the Jewish Feminist Organization, makes such women as Rosa Sonneschein, editor and publisher of the American Jewess; Cassie Ritter Weil and Bertha Floersheim Rauh of Columbian Council; and Hannah Greenebaum Solomon and Sadie American of NCJW, worthy of further research.

1971, p. 31. "The roots of the present system lie in the response of the Jews already established in the United States at the time of the mass immigration to the needs of the new immigrants as they perceived tham, as modified by the organizational demands generated by the latter for and by themselves."

[63]Robert A. Woods, "Pittsburgh: An Interpretation of Its Growth," in Civic Frontage, edited by Paul U. Kellogg [Pittsburgh Survey] (New York, 1914), pp. 33-38.

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"On-Site Instruction: A New Approach to Area Study" - Roland I. Perusse, Inter American Institute of Puerto Rico

DISCUSSANTS: Gordon R. S. Hawkins, Director of Training, United Nations Institute for Training and Research; Budd L. Hall, Research Officer, International Council for Adult Education

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