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A RECORD OF STUDY  
THE SQUIRREL HILL COMMUNITY  
ITS JEWISH CITIZENRY

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SQUIRREL HILL SECTION, COMMUNITY LABORATORY - COURSE 368

FINAL REPORT

December 1963

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
Preface.....	i
Introduction.....	1
Consultants and Resource Panel.....	6
Chapter I The Physical Environment and Public Facilities.	10
Chapter II The Life History of the Community.....	18
Chapter III The Political Picture.....	22
Chapter IV The Power Structure.....	25
Chapter V Health Problems.....	32
Chapter VI Interacting Relationships of Family Groups	
Related Community Solving Efforts.....	39
Education in Squirrel Hill.....	42
Chapter VII The Future of the Community.....	46
Chapter VIII Conclusion.....	53
Appendix 1 Definition of Squirrel Hill Community.....	55
Appendix 2 A Look at Squirrel Hill.....	57
Appendix 3 A Sidelight on Business Enterprise.....	59
Appendix 4 Population Data	
(a) Nativity for 14th Ward.....	60
(b) Nativity for Pittsburgh.....	61
(c) Income and Educational Levels - 14th Ward.....	62
(d) Jewish Ecological Distribution in Pittsburgh..	64

TABLE OF CONTENTS  
(continued)

<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
Appendix 4 Population Data (e) Occupation, Home Ownership and Rental, Family Size.	65
Appendix 5 Observation of Religious Services.....	66
Appendix 6 Chronology of Irene Kaufman Center, YM&WHA of Pittsburgh..	69
Bibliography.....	71

PREFACE

Twelve first-year graduate social work students, have summarized in the following pages the findings of their collaborative study of the Squirrel Hill Community, with particular reference to its Jewish citizenry. Although this report can by no means be regarded as a finished product, it reflects in some measure, the efforts of the students to understand a culture which in the beginning they knew but slightly. It was both enlightening and reassuring to note how, as they made the rounds of the community and observed its various facets, they gradually modified community held biases, attitudes, and ideas.

In many ways they were like a group of travelers abroad who become increasingly absorbed with the characteristics of the country they are visiting, its people, its customs, its values. They, thus, read and reread their guidebooks, doggedly pursue their sight-seeing, take pictures at every turn, and sate themselves with the experiences offered until the point of exhaustion. Likewise, these students seized the opportunity to talk with all the resource personnel available in the time allotted, dug into the various source materials, and developed an album of clippings, maps, and illustrative material. Although no official study of the Squirrel Hill area exists, or is one being considered at this time, they were able to collate their

data and to integrate the results of their various investigative efforts. They were thus able to use the experiences afforded in the Laboratory as practical illustrations of materia academica presented them in didactic class presentations.

The basis for this study, and in fact for the Community Laboratory itself, consisting of six Sections, each assigned to learn about a geographical area, was contributed by Professor Eleanor Cockerill. She worked out the design of the Course, planned with key community sources for its conduct, and with her committee of Laboratory instructors, developed its guidelines in the form of the "Faculty-Student Manual," Class sessions, and "Ad Hoc Task Forces," consisting of students from all six Community Laboratories, were arranged by her. The students were thus able to round out their study of Squirrel Hill by looking at the Pittsburgh scene, as a whole, and by taking part in selected field trips and interviews, to focus on the county-wide community, in preparation for their field work placements.

The systematic identification and clarification of factual and conceptual knowledge was only one aspect of the educational process present in the Community Laboratory. Of particular advantage was the opportunity for the students (1) to establish rapport with a wide range of persons in the community and (2) to enter into constructive peer relationships with each other in achieving results required by the study assignments made.

This was implemented by the organization of the students into three task forces, each with its specialized charge, embracing one aspect of the study, and each with its own chairman and members. Special assignments were, moreover, made to individual students. Class discussions allowed for a cross-fertilization of ideas and responsibility for communicating was shared by all.

The students involved themselves in this process wholeheartedly. Even when they presented their oral report to all sections of the Laboratory, they arranged for a panel presentation, in which every member took a significant part in the time allotted. This across-the-board sharing of responsibility is also evidenced by this report, in which all the students collaborated. They, thus, demonstrated the ability to conduct their study ensemble, to widen their social perspective, and enrich their professional values. They are commended for helping make this initial rendition of the Course successful.

The by-products in development of interviewing skills, deepening of understanding, and ability to establish relations are indeed more valuable than the knowledge itself sought through the Course in the education of social workers. This result was made possible only because the Jewish community of Squirrel Hill was receptive to the students inquiry and responsive to their efforts beyond the point of any reasonable expectations. This

#6138

is all the more noteworthy in that the community itself did not take the initiative in asking for such a study - although it was originally suggested by one of its leading community workers.

<sup>\*1</sup>  
To all of them, too numerous to list in this record, who so generously gave to the students and its instructors, our deep gratitude and thanks for making this educational experience possible and rewarding.

CLAIRE R. LUSTMAN

\*1. cf. Consultants and Resource Panel, page 6

INTRODUCTION

Broadly, the objectives of the Squirrel Hill Community Laboratory have been "making the unknown the known" to us, the students engaged in it. Specifically, the task of individual sections has been coming to know the physical and social environment, the social and health problems and the unmet social and health needs of the people who live there. Developmentally, the activities of each student, as an individual, has indeed been geared to "implementing the rudimentary tools of observation, description, recording and analysis of interacting and influential variables," within the community which affect the people, create problems of living and reinforce modes of life. A second aspect afforded each of us as students, but no less important, was the alteration and modification of unsubstantiated beliefs, attitudes, bases and stereotypes held in varying degrees by each of us. This is not to say such beliefs, attitudes, and stereotypes have no grounding in fact, for at times they may. The purpose, nevertheless, was to uncover the truth and free the student as much as possible from bias, subjectivity, and rumor. Having fulfilled this purpose, we students then altered and modified our beliefs, attitudes and stereotypes to a substantiated objective outlook and discarded misinformation, rumor, and prejudice.



When the magical words, Squirrel Hill are mentioned, immediately a variety of beliefs, ideas, and stereotypes appear. To what degree such positive or negative feelings are aroused depends somewhat on the source of information. Is it factual, or is it rumor? Is it based on your own investigation or blind acceptance of the words of others? To what degree these attitudes, beliefs, and stereotypes can be altered and modified by factual, scientific observation and study is revealed in this report. By its very nature, the report also serves the purpose of displaying whether the planted skills, necessary to Social Work, have grown and developed, or remained stunted and barren.

Questions listed in the Community Laboratory Manual provide a frame of reference for this write-up. By no means exhaustive or complete, this study focuses on areas the beginning Social Worker must know and employ in order to be effective in his profession.

Squirrel Hill, as perceived by us students can be described from three points of view, that of:

1. The neonate investigator of Squirrel Hill.
2. The improvising learning student enmeshed in the Community Laboratory.
3. The student seeing his efforts within the community in retrospect.

As the neonate investigator of Squirrel Hill, confusion as to what direction to take was initially the rule rather than the

exception. Squirrel Hill appeared to be a many-faceted community that defied definitions, exploration, and understanding. Lack of any written studies, contradictory statements as to values, and overlap of dates and facts seemed to add to the confusion. Many informants were asking the same questions of themselves as we students were asking of them, as informants. Obviously, culture could not be put in a neat package of words. It changed as you studied it.

In the second stage of development, the improvising student entered the community one step at a time and looked at the activity which at first seemed so new, so different, so fluid and so confusing. As step followed step, he no longer was a stranger but a participant in the bloodstream of a thriving community acting and reacting as such. The people interviewed gradually accepted him and his fellow students, not as interlopers but as persons who really were interested in what the community had to offer. As a direct result of this acceptance, the avenues became broader, the contacts with people more personal, and observations less superficial. The "good" and the "bad" were displayed for open perusal, which leads to the third stage of development--that of the student seeing his efforts in retrospect.

By coming to know the community and its people we can now record, at the conclusion of our Course, the student sees the

community of Squirrel Hill not as an observer but almost as a resident. Again, this view is not blind love and identification. Our study revealed careful planning for needs that will have to be met because of present conditions. Steps being taken to prevent future problem conditions arising is an index of a thoughtful, progressive group of people—secure only because of vigilance.

This experience exemplifies the importance of student social workers learning to know the culture of a community. After all, social work must deal with community influences upon the individual. Deviance of behavior is frequently defined in terms of the culture in which one resides. Indeed, in working with the maladjusted or ill citizens in a community, one must understand the attitudes and values of the neighborhood and people in touch with them and appreciate their significance.

Our study has been gratifying in affording a rich educational opportunity, generously made available by the Squirrel Hill populace, specifically the persons who patiently answered our questions and conferred with us.

In view of the contribution this Course has made to our understanding and professional identification, we also would like to express our gratitude to Miss Claire Lustman, whose guidance, efforts, and interest, so freely given, made the successful completion of this course possible. To Miss Eleanor Cockerill, whose unfailing optimism, diligence, and love made

this course a pleasurable reality.

Signed, Members of the Squirrel Hill Community Laboratory

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Course 368 - Community Laboratory  
 Fall Trimester  
 1963-64

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CHAPTER ITHE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC FACILITIES OF THE COMMUNITY

Squirrel Hill is a community east of downtown Pittsburgh, whose boundaries are variously defined. In most instances, they are set according to the definer's purpose or position in the community. For example, a political figure looked upon Squirrel Hill as being synonymous with the 14th ward. A geographer, interested in social science, presented an expanded definition (including Point Breeze, Greenfield and Monroeville) to illustrate the cultural boundaries, i.e., where people say they live and have family ties. The Post Office Superintendent designated a more circumscribed area for delivery purposes. The Squirrel Hill Community Laboratory Study focused primarily on the Forbes-Murray business area, the hub of the Jewish community, the surrounding residential area, and the network of key institutions and agencies that made this concentrated Jewish community function as it does.<sup>1</sup>

Topographically, Squirrel Hill is much higher than the rest of Pittsburgh. In pre-smoke control days this was one of the primary factors involved in selecting a home site. In the ten or more year period prior to smoke-control a large influx of people migrated to the Squirrel Hill area. An additional factor that led to large

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1. Cf. Appendix 1 "Definition of the Squirrel Hill Community"

migration was the presence of land for building. Squirrel Hill was relatively uninhabited until the late 1800s and the South of Forbes area was farmland until the 1930s.

The housing conditions of Squirrel Hill present some variations with brick, two-story type apartment buildings South of Forbes replacing the old, vast mansions. The high valued, high assessed, large, private homes are located in the North of Forbes area, with moderately priced private homes scattered throughout the entire community. The homes and apartments housing one and two families are in good repair. At the present time, Squirrel Hill is a stable community with little building space. Some new homes are erected on former sites of mansions, perhaps too costly to maintain today. Overcrowding is not a problem. The rent for the Squirrel Hill community is higher than other areas of Pittsburgh, and this is substantiated by the high median income of \$7,500. Many senior citizens find it financially necessary to live in boarding houses, single rooms, or small apartments due to the fact that their incomes are not enough to maintain private homes. Also, many persons, young and old alike, desire the convenience of apartment living and are concerned only secondarily about the very high rents. The Squirrel Hill area is primarily one of privately owned homes with a wide range of prices ranging from moderate in the South of Forbes area to very high in the North of Forbes area.

The visual impression of the housing in Squirrel Hill is that of well-kept but older homes in the South of Forbes area. Dilapi-

dated houses are infrequent but are seen on Murray Avenue near the business section. Homes in the North of Forbes section are attractive. Often architecturally designed and even elaborate mansions are seen here. They are always excellently kept with special attention given to the lawns and shrubbery. A problem arises with regard to real estate, according to the realtors interviewed. Renting and selling of properties to families with a number of children is not desired in a stable community of older established persons with grown children, and this adds to keeping rent and real estate values high.<sup>1</sup>

In discussing the transportation and public facilities in Squirrel Hill, it is extremely important to consider the economic level of the people. According to the businessmen interviewed, a much higher percentage of residents than elsewhere in the city probably own private automobiles, and therefore are not concerned about public transportation. Rather, their concern is with the conditions of the streets and "a place to park." There are two public parking lots, as a result of the aggressiveness and combined efforts of the businessmen in the Forbes-Murray shopping area. Concern over public transportation arises in three areas:

1. Availability of transportation to downtown Pittsburgh for women shoppers and,
2. The special Homewood-Brushton shuttle used primarily by Negro domestic help employed in Squirrel Hill, and
3. High School students traveling to and from school.

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1. Cf. Appendix 2 "A Look at Squirrel Hill"

Squirrel Hill is very well served by a number of streetcar and bus lines with many changes and stops necessary at the junction of Forbes-Murray shopping area. The high speed traffic of the Parkway does not bring business. The cars by-pass the community, and the trolley and bus lines play a very necessary role in the business and social life of the community. The trolley lines also played an important role in settling the Squirrel Hill area, in that they provided access to a relatively uninhabited and elevated section of Pittsburgh.

Street traffic is extremely heavy during rush hours, going to and from the parkway. Hazards are at a minimum, e.e., lighting and controls are adequate due to the effective lobbying of the Board of Trade and Merchants Council of Squirrel Hill.

The quality of public services is essentially good due to great concern of the citizenry and spokesmen of the community.<sup>1</sup> There are no unsightly slums or dumping areas, and the industrial area is South of Forbes and quite removed from the major residential areas. Fire hazards are minimal with controls adequate. There is one fire station adjoining the police station utilizing modern, safe equipment. There are sixty policemen serving the area, and reciprocal help from neighboring communities, in the event of need, is available for both the fire and enforcement agencies.

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1. Cf. Appendix 3 "A Sidelight on Business Enterprise."

The recreation and play areas are more than adequate:

1. Frick Park - with a new playground as a result of action taken by the Board of Trade.
2. Schenley Park - Golf, tennis, and swimming.
3. School playgrounds, however, children still play in the streets!
4. Movie theaters - three "art theaters", which emphasize a cultural image by showing primarily foreign and intellectual films. (They do not sell the candies, nor is popcorn usually found in these theaters under the seats after the patrons have gone home.)
5. Bowling alleys on Murray and Forward are modern and also have billiard rooms.
6. Country Clubs - three serve the residents and provide golfing facilities that compare with the best.
7. Swim Clubs - they appear to be the rage at the present and have a large membership and active following.
8. Bookmobile - which arrives every Thursday is eagerly awaited and well used by all age groups. The youngsters are voracious readers.
9. Near to Oakland with its cultural centers such as the Syria Mosque, Playhouse, various colleges and universities, museums and libraries.
10. Readily accessible to the recreation facilities in downtown Pittsburgh.
11. Fourteenth Ward Athletic Association which concerns itself with the organized sports, primarily the Little League. The fact that the Little League has no diamond means the boys must travel to Frick Park. The parents do not appear to be too interested in providing a closer baseball diamond and have relegated this responsibility to others.
12. Private parties are held and reports have indicated that some of these parties are "wild with parents sometimes providing liquor for the teenagers."

13. The Y.M. and Y.W.H.A. and the Irene Kaufman Center work together and provide the facilities for numerous recreational and educational activities. The informal Adult Education Series is one of the best organized and attended in the country. The two centers combined provide:

- a. Informal Adult Education
- b. Lecture Series
- c. Choral Society
- d. Day Nursery
- e. Art Department
- f. Playhouse
- g. Artist Series
- h. Clubs for all ages
- i. Health Club - which occupies the entire third floor of the Y.M. and Y.W.H.A.

All of these activities are open to the public at large and some are geared to the preservation and enhancement of Jewish culture and identity.

14. For the elderly, the Anathan House was newly created this year. Sponsored by the National Council of Jewish Women, it is almost entirely run by volunteers. The Irene Kaufman Center also has a program designed specifically for the aged, which although it may not meet the community needs as broadly as does Anathan House, maintains professional standards in its program for the aged.

It was pointed out by realtors interviewed that rarely do clients with children ask about recreational facilities in Squirrel Hill.

Functions performed by the community on behalf of its citizens are quite numerous. Opportunities to voice their opinions, practice patriotic feelings, and work for their political party are present in large numbers through the various citizens groups which arise for particular candidates, issues, causes, and functions. Flags displayed on Forbes and Murray Avenues were procured by the Merchants' Council. Republican and Democratic committee and ward chairmen encourage participation and support by the people in

local, state and national issues. Service clubs, such as the Kiwanis, Jewish War Veterans Service Council and the Lions, through their efforts sponsor recreation activities and provide scholarships for worthy students in the area. The American Legion and Jewish War Veterans Service Council and the Lions, through their efforts sponsor recreation activities and provide scholarships for worthy students in the area. The American Legion and Jewish War Veterans handle many local veterans projects, i.e., providing flags for the graves of servicemen and projects for those persons in need. The Board of Trade originally was started for the betterment of business in Squirrel Hill shopping district, but has evolved through the years into a civic-minded organization. Such projects as an annual picnic for crippled children and encouragement of excellence in public services and facilities have been its primary tasks in the past and present. The Merchants' Council is comprised of a group of businessmen who are performing the earlier role of the Board of Trade. Such things as better parking facilities, better public relations, civic improvement, wiser philanthropy, and better service from the various shops are the tasks performed by this organization.

The degree of interdependence with the larger community is reflected throughout the everyday activities of the residents. Squirrel Hill is primarily a residential community and the occupational, cultural, athletic, medical and shopping needs are met

by the larger community. The larger community also comes to Squirrel Hill! A large number of people come to the Forbes-Murray shopping area for foods that cannot be bought anywhere else. The night life in Squirrel Hill, i.e., its movies, restaurants and lounges are competitors with downtown Pittsburgh and draw people from the surrounding communities and counties. It should also be mentioned that Squirrel Hill residents have strong family ties with the residents of the suburbs and other urban communities which provide a close interdependence on the personal level. The Jewish Council on Human Relations often represents the Jewish image to the community at large and the United Fund and Council of Social Agencies, in turn, represent the community-at-large to the Squirrel Hill community. The United Jewish Federation, National Council of Jewish Women, and the Jewish War Veterans Service Council represent Squirrel Hill on the national and international scenes. Religiously, the synagogues and rabbis are exemplary representatives of the spiritual lives of the Squirrel Hill residents.



CHAPTER IITHE LIFE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY

Among the early settlers in Squirrel Hill were the Girty and Turner families. George Girty was the brother of the white renegade, Simon Girty. The Girty-Turner family donated a burial plot which is still kept up on Beechwood. The name of Squirrel Hill was given to the area before 1758 because of the great number of squirrels.

The first Jewish settlement in Pittsburgh was in Old Allegheny. By 1843 there were about 20 German-Jewish families. In this year the Hebrew Benevolent Society was formed. This organization established a synagogue and burial grounds.

In the 1880s Jewish immigration from Russia began. Immigration from Poland followed in the early 1900s. The Hill District was the seat of this influx. Aid was given to the early immigrants by the United Hebrew Relief Association which later was replaced by the Irene Kaufman Settlement.

The Hill District was deteriorating by the 1920s and movement into Squirrel Hill was heavy during the 1920s and 1930s. By 1940 almost no Jews remained in the Hill District. Several factors facilitated this movement. A streetcar had been put into Squirrel Hill at the end of World War I, the high elevation meant freedom from smoke. Squirrel Hill had been a high prestige area from

earliest times, and the area was not yet built up which meant that there was room to build new homes.

For the years 1930 through 1960 the population changes and trends have been as follows:<sup>1</sup>

(Information taken from the Pittsburgh Census Tracts)

	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>
14th Ward	40,108	43,846	47,306	47,301
Pittsburgh	669,817	671,659	676,806	604,332

Throughout this thirty-year period the greatest number of foreign-born have come from Poland and Germany. In the period from 1930 to 1960 there has been a movement away from sprinkling throughout Pittsburgh of Jewish people into one of two areas of concentration (Squirrel Hill and East End-Stanton Heights). There has been some movement to the suburbs, particularly to Monroeville. However, this movement is insignificant at the present time. In 1960 Squirrel Hill had more native-born and foreign-born persons and fewer non-white persons than Pittsburgh, as a whole.

	Race, Native white, and foreign-born 1960	
	14th Ward	Pittsburgh
%Native-born	86%	76%
%Foreign-born	13	7
%Non-white	1	17

In interpreting this table, it should be borne in mind that the Negro population in the city is concentrated in a few sections, particularly the Hill District, and Homewood-Brushton sections.

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1. Cf. Appendix 4 for additional descriptive data of population

Many of the ways of life of the Jewish culture have been preserved in Squirrel Hill. There are many Kosher stores in Squirrel Hill which makes it very easy to adhere to the traditional food customs. Culturally, food is a way of expressing hospitality. Some food habits have a religious significance, as in the case of the foods prepared during Passover to commemorate biblical events of spiritual significance. Some of the persons interviewed reiterated that it was common for mothers to express their love for their children through food.

Holidays continue to be observed, particularly Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement) and Rosh Hashonah, this year commemorating the beginning of 5724, according to the Jewish calendar. The synagogues are still regarded as the center of community life by many even though the influence of the rabbi has decreased in other areas of life. The people in Squirrel Hill continue to place emphasis on learning in childhood and throughout life. They also show appreciation of the finer things of life such as art and music.

Some of the patterns of life have been influenced by association with the larger American society. Changes have taken place in religious practices to meet the needs and desires of the people which have brought the practices to more closely resemble those of the larger society. People drive to the temple rather than walk, men and women sit together during services, and many burn

lights and receive telephone calls on Friday night and Saturday. There is a tendency to religious affiliation but nonparticipation. There is also a change in attitude toward increasing acceptance of institutionalized care for the aged. The Orthodox Jew, however, clings to traditions of the past in custom, practice, and outlook in life.

The residents are all very proud of their community. They are pleased that the community has become stable in recent years, i.e., that people like the community and have continued to live in it. This has meant that the average age of the community is a little higher. Most are glad that there are educational programs in the synagogues, and various kinds of programs at I.K.C. which encourage continuation of traditional practices in the community. Non-residents generally view the community as predominantly Jewish, yet feel that this community has the best cultural advantages of any area in the city.

CHAPTER III

THE POLITICAL PICTURE IN 14th WARD

I. The 14th Ward is divided into 32 precincts, with the committee people from the precincts electing the party chairman.

The Democratic and Republican Chairmen are elected for two years.

- A. The emphasis for precinct committee people and ward chairmen to be younger people is apparent in both parties.
- B. The Republicans have a young chairman (Mrs. Hillman of the Hillman Coal and Coke Company family) who is forming the Republicans in stronger organization and activity.
- C. Mr. Kahn, Alderman for the 14th Ward, pointed out the need for the Democrats to get a younger Democratic Chairman.

II. The 14th Ward is an independent ward.

- A. There are a great many college trained residents where the business and professional services of these people spread into other districts. The people vote for the issue instead of the personalities of the candidates.
- B. The housewives who are independent from political jobs vote for the issues of the candidacy or party.
- C. There are 16,800 Democrats and 9,700 Republicans registered in the 14th Ward, but the independent voting pattern for the ward is especially true in state and national elections. Before the elections, discussion groups and seminars about the issues are determinant as to the voting patterns.
- D. The citizens committees in the 14th ward are active. These committees start with a person or persons who see a need for something to be done. The problems taken up by the citizens committees are sometimes referred to a ward chairman or they are taken directly to city council. You find many housewives serving on the citizen committees, because they have the time during the day.

III. The 14th ward has what is termed a solid section of Democrats and Republicans. Despite the tendency to emphasize the independence of the vote in Squirrel Hill, the politicians interviewed agreed on the following:

- A. North of Forbes residents are mostly Republican.
- B. South of Forbes residents can generally be relied on to vote mostly for the Democrats. The size of these majorities varies from election to election and individuals seemingly shift their votes rather than cast one-slate ballots, much more than in other sections of the city.

IV. Independence of the vote.

- A. The two commercial neighborhood newspapers in Squirrel Hill depend on the merchants for their financial support; they stay out of politics.
- B. Votes cannot be bought in the 14th ward. The 14th ward is the wealthiest ward in the city where most of the people holding political offices have other professions on the side.
- C. The political bosses have to be able to discuss the issues of their candidates. They can't ask for the vote without discussing the issues involved with the people.
- D. The housewives have time to meet and discuss the issues of the election. This determines the individual candidate's probability of receiving the vote.

#### Summary

Politicians interviewed from both parties, from local, state and national levels, all agree that the 14th ward is independent in their voting. There have been cases where a Jewish candidate did not carry the majority of the votes in the section where majority of the voters were of his party, and of his same religion.

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In the political job structure more and more jobs are coming under civil service. The political machines are emphasizing the quality of the training of the people chosen to fill political roles over the old method of choosing, based on the patronage of the political bosses.

CHAPTER IV  
THE POWER STRUCTURE

Every resource person interviewed on this subject began by giving us some background information. Each stressed the importance of independence and freedom among Jews. The importance of this factor became increasingly clear. The staff directors of the Jewish Community Relations Council and the Jewish War Veterans Council were interviewed. The editor of the Jewish Chronicle and the director of the Western Mental Health Center, an active, life-long member of the Pittsburgh Jewish Community was seen. In addition, material gleaned from the overall Squirrel Hill Lab sessions has been used. Local, state, and national figures and the Directors of the YM&YVHA and the Irene Kaufman Center were most helpful.

From these resources were learned many basic characteristics of Jewish culture that relate to the power structure. The factor of Jewish independence precipitates another basic characteristic-- power and its influence is extremely fluid. It has already been stated that the voting pattern is not easily predictable, it varies, and even Jewish candidates are not assured of a Jewish vote.

There are several concomitant factors that relate to the independence of the Jews. They attain the highest educational level with the largest number of college graduates, and they live in the highest income area of the city. There is a large number



of small business proprietors who have connections all over the city. These factors all interrelate with the organizational and political life of the Jewish community.

The high level of education grows out of the high value placed on intellectuality and scholarship. Although this has been cited as a means of status and identity during the long years of persecution, it is also indigenous to the culture to value learning for religious purposes. (cf., The study of the Torah.) The aspiration for education has, in truth, some economic basis. Better jobs and a higher standard of living are obtainable through acquiring schooling. Many resource people commented on the importance of the Jewish intellectual heritage. This is a culture that does not allow for boss men. Rather it encourages politics that are issue-centered and independent groups that appear, at times overnight, to take interest in an issue and work hard on it as a campaign. This kind of organization usually breaks up after the campaign, and the energy is then put into some other avenue of expression.

Thus, the power system is characterized as one loosely bound together. Mobility within different areas of the system is common. Traditional Jewish independence, however, makes allowance for exclusive allegiance to any part of the system. This movement may not seem to fit with the high degree of organization that exists in the Jewish community. The answer lies in the importance of organization and is illustrated by a statement

made by Mr. Albert Bloom, Editor of the Jewish Chronicle:

"Organizations are stronger than the individual because, to the Jew, the community is more important, per se."

It is within this community feeling that we must see both the loose structure and the movement within the system. The Jew has seen organizational life as a means of overcoming many of the problems which he has endured for centuries. The challenge is seen in Lillian Friedberg's comment that fifty years ago they could not run a meeting while today they are not only over-organized but are very efficient in their procedures.

Another factor in the looseness of the picture is the stratification within the Jewish community. It exists on many levels and yet is worked around on the level of united community projects. These projects, characterized by a thrust for charity, are extremely important in the Jewish community. They are a source of combined strength, and it is those who are willing to assume responsibility for the indispensable agencies who are leaders in the Jewish community.

These agencies are concerned with education, Jewish defense, human relations, and overseas Jewish relief. The place and importance of these agencies is shown in a study done of coverage and spacing of articles in two issues of the Jewish Chronicle. At the top of the list in importance were World News and Foreign Policy (almost always related to Israel), Social Service, Civil Liberties and Civil Rights, Education, and Religion (the full results are presented in a table at the end of this report).

The relationship of the professional staff of social and religious agencies was explored. It was discovered that staff must be strong people because it is expected of them that they, too, be independent. Generally, good relations exist between boards and staff in the agencies. The religious picture is characterized by saying that the day of the Rabbis having influence over important decisions belong to the past.<sup>1</sup>

The final characteristic to be commented on is the importance of "money people." Board members of agencies are usually "money people" with a sincere desire to help. Jewish society is still dominated by the big givers. This goes back to the old days when the leading Jew was traditionally the person who could do the most for the community. Often he was the wealthiest and expressed his help by ransoming those being persecuted.

The United Jewish Fund annually raises two million dollars in the Pittsburgh area, while the overall United Fund raised ten million from the total community. Pressure is exerted to give. This is one of the problems, since obviously if one does not give there may be real stigma. Group identity and defense become very strong at this point. Fund raising is one of the important roles in this subculture. Performance, therefore, is an indication of status. The following diagram of organizations in the power structure will show the importance of these agencies, and by implication, of fund raising. The list of positions held by

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1. Cf. Appendix 5 "Attendance at Religious Services."

persons listed as being in the power structure will give further indications of this relationship.

Diagram of Organizational Structure

<u>Levels</u>	<u>Secular Organizations</u>	<u>Jewish Community Agencies</u>
1	Country Clubs	Bnai B'Rith-United Jewish Fund-Zionist Movement
2	Kiwanis-Sq. Hill Board of Trade	Hedessah-YM&YVHA-IKC-Jewish Community Relations Council
3	PTAs	Synagogues-Auxiliary & Board of Jewish Home for Aged
4	Swim Clubs	Ladies Aid Society of Montefiore Hospital - Jewish War Veterans

Partial List of Positions Held by Persons in the Power Structure

United Jewish Fund -- President

Israel Bonds -- Past President

National Anti-Defamation League -- Board Member

Conference of Jewish Women's Organizations -- Past President

Jewish Publication and Education Foundation -- President

Jewish Home for the Aged -- President

Montefiore Hospital -- President

Jewish War Veterans Board -- President

Names of Persons in the Power Structure mentioned by informants.  
(Please note, no effort was made to secure an exhaustive list.  
There are many omissions, they are unintentional.)

Leon Falk, Jr. -- Lester Hamburg -- Herman Fineberg --

Florence Rizenstein -- Louis Rizenstein -- Joseph Feldman --

Names of Persons in the Power Structure (Continued)

Judge Olbum -- Lillian Friedberg -- Dorothy Binstock --  
 Mrs. H.M. Fisher -- Bernard Kaplan -- M.A. Marcus -- Al Rogal --  
 Charles Rosenbloom -- Harry Markowitz -- Julian Ruslander --  
 Elliot Finkel -- Stanley Kahn -- Saul Shapiro -- Jack Wolk --  
 Dr. Hyman Kantor -- Dr. Stutz -- Rabbi Shapiro -- Rabbi Freehof

Most Loved People in the Community

(The following three names came up only, under the most loved category; other most loved persons also appeared above.)

Bessie Anathan -- Abe Vanchek -- Abe Pervin

Most Knowledgeable People in the Community

Dr. Fritz Weinberg -- Al Bloom -- Hon. Maurice Goldstein --  
 Ernest Rogal -- Earl Lipsky are cited for general information.  
 The list would be many pages long for persons in specific categories of specialization of information.

None of these three indices of the power structure is meant to be complete; they are each pictorial, suggestive and the results of our limited contacts. Groups, positions, and persons can be added to each. The only point of real clarity in the list of persons is at the top where the first six names came up over and over and in many connections.

The particular problems we faced in trying to get some picture of the power structure were the very looseness of the power structure, Jewish independence, and a reluctance to give too much emphasis to a few individuals. Furthermore, most of our sources had not in their own minds committed themselves as to who was in the power structure in the community. This listing

therefore represents a substantial effort that would need much follow-up to substantiate and perfect it.

Analysis of Articles in Two Issues of the Jewish Chronicle

Rank Order by Importance	Type of Article	Number of Items	Column Inches	Rank Order by Size
1	World News & Foreign Policy (usually related to Israel)	28	318	2
2	Social Service	26	283	3
3	Civil Liberties & Civil Rights	9	101	7
4	Education	11	123	6
5	Religion	13	139	5
6	Social Events	uncounted	384	1
7	General Society Culture Entertainment	10	200	4
8	Unclassified	5	35	8

Explanation: In determining importance, several factors were considered: place where items were found in the paper; treatment, such as headings, editorials, pictures; and finally, size and amount of items.

CHAPTER V  
HEALTH PROBLEMS

In trying to develop an overall picture of the health problems in the Squirrel Hill Community, we must first be apprised of the community itself.

The Squirrel Hill Community as we know it consists of a typical middle class affluent population. Their median income is about \$7,500 per year, and most families in the community own their own home. It is in this type of social milieu that we will examine the health problems and their consequent effects upon the population.

There are no typical environmental health problems associated with this area. Incidence of such diseases as tuberculosis, influenza, pneumonia, and those associated with vitamin deficiency is rare.

In reference to this problem, health authorities contacted confirmed there is a minimum of overcrowding with the large majority of housing being one or two family homes and relatively few apartments. Food supplies are adequate and public facilities are readily available in this area along with competent medical care.

The health habits and use of medical care by the residents of Squirrel Hill present a contrast to those of the general

population. Minimal use is made of general practitioners and as a result there are only three or four general practitioners in the area. Thus, such sources as the doctors interviewed and the Visiting Nurses Association, described the Jewish community as being articulate in shopping around for specialized medical care. With relatively more awareness of the available community resources, it appears to be quite normal for each family to have his own specialist rather than a family doctor.

In the Jewish community the GP is seemingly for minor illness and emergency use. If someone is really sick the trend is to obtain a specialist. The psychological basis for this attitude may be intense preoccupation with physical health, being sensitive to one's own and others' pain, and therefore taking great steps to avoid pain. The Oakland area is the center for medical services for the Squirrel Hill community.

Associated with the concern for health services and the economic stability of the Jew there is a tendency for him to deal directly with a physician. Apparently, there is some disgrace associated with being on public assistance, but there is less disgrace to be in debt to a doctor.

If the individual can afford it, there is a strong preference for a private room if hospitalization is needed for more than a 24-hour period, and extensive use of private nursing care if the situation dictates. There is also a goodly use of the pharmacist to dispense certain types of medication, such as sleeping pills,



anti-spasmodic pills for stomach disorders, dietary medication, etc. (It was interesting to observe the activity around this in the Squirrel Hill pharmacies.) There is almost exclusive use of the pediatrician in treating the diseases and disorders of childhood.

The primary types of health problems handled by the VNA in this area can be seen by reviewing figures taken from the January-October 1963 caseload report of the Visiting Nurses Association.

1. Chronic illness - 55 cases including the elderly and also a number of young people who are suffering with Multiple Sclerosis and Parkinson's disease.
2. Cancer - 21 cases.
3. Fractures - 17 cases - older people mainly with hip fractures, middle-aged women with wrist fractures.
4. Active illness - 16 cases, - i.e., stroke.
5. Short-term care - 16 cases, - i.e., post-operative dressings and care.
6. Heart disease - 15 cases.
7. Diabetes - 8 cases.
8. Arthritis - 8 cases.

This caseload is focused on the adult patient since the agency dropped its maternity program. Interestingly, the only recent program conducted by the County Health Department in recent years in this area was for a group of high school girls who were obese and wanted to lose weight. Squirrel Hill is a family-oriented community. Most patients are seen by public

health nurses in a family setting where the other members cope with the illness as well as they can but eventually must ask for more help.

The stress on preventative medicine is a must in the Jewish Community and this seems to color their whole outlook in general toward medical care.

The mental health picture presented by this community and its similarity to the other health problems should also be considered. One should and can expect to find in a striving middle class community the incidence of neurosis as a mental problem. Squirrel Hill is no exception, but here an interesting aspect of this neurosis was pointed out by the psychiatrists contacted. There is rarely any neurosis associated with being a Jew: He is aware of his identity and finds comfort in this fact. The "Jewish neurosis" is usually based on two forms of status - financial and intellectual.

There is a relatively high incidence of psychosomatic illness. There does not seem to be much psychosis. It was hazarded that Jews might tend more toward depressive reactions among younger people; schizophrenia and senile psychosis in the elderly, by all our informants in the medical nursing field.

The emphasis that the Jewish culture gives to mental illness is predicated on the idea of prevention rather than care. They do not hesitate to avail themselves of mental clinics, child guidance centers, and psychiatrists if pre-symptoms of mental

disorder come to light. Jews as a culture do not cover up their feelings. This, coupled with their cultural dislike of behavioral problems, goads them into seeking help. This leads towards some ambivalence. The Jews may not mind going to clinics for psychiatric problems, but do mind going to clinics for health problems. They insist on private care for the latter, wherever possible.

In our modern society the ever pressing problem of providing health and care for our aged citizens presents a problem. The Jewish culture accepts this challenge and has taken concrete steps to provide a number of services toward the elderly people in their community.

Mr. Kalson, Executive Director, Jewish Home for the Aged, puts it in these words, "Historically, care for the aged by Jews is based on the Commandments. This biblical basis has carried to the present and concomitant with this is the strong familial ties which dictate responsibility for the aged to the family."

In providing care for their elder citizens over 60, the Jewish Home for the Aged is only one part in a network of Jewish Community services that handle this problem. Montefiore Hospital has set up a model plan of home care which enables them to give the chronically ill proper medical care and at the same time free a bed for a more acute illness. Once the patient is on his way to recovery, or <sup>for</sup> those with a lingering illness not requiring intensive medical care, there is the Bickur Cholim Convalescent Home. Finally an apartment house for geriatric patients is in the

planning stage. It will be on the grounds of the Home for the Aged, and it will provide a community life as a part of its program. Here again the Jewish community will be in the position of a pace-setter in social planning.

The Jewish community is willing to support a network of rehabilitation services, such as enumerated above, as essential to make medical and social progress in the field of geriatrics.

In moving from the area of medical care to the observation of social problems in the Squirrel Hill Community, a striking difference is noted. There is a relative absence of juvenile delinquency and school dropouts. It was mentioned as a documented fact that rarely is there a knifing or real brutal assault. There are no records of Jewish children as delinquents in the local Juvenile Court for the past decade. Group organizations (formal) operating from the various recreational facilities that are available in this area include the Irene Kaufman Center, YM&WHA, and the various Zionist organizations. They attempt to occupy most of the teenagers after-school activities, and thus counteract juvenile deviance, whenever possible. A word of caution was sounded, however, by Mr. Hyman Haffner, Executive Director of the School for the mental ill at Peole Zedek Synagogue. He stated that juvenile delinquency is on the rise and if one looked closely enough, illegitimacy which is being covered up is also on the rise.

In this respect, Jewish families often hesitate to seek help on matters of social problems from a Jewish agency. One reliable informant summed this matter up by stating, "It is a disgrace to have your child loused up." So they seek outside help and consultation, thus covering up publicly but accepting the problem privately.

As assimilation and acculturation overtakes the Jewish Community, the future social problems similar to other middle class groups will become more and more prevalent, in the opinion of all the persons interviewed.

The picture of social and health problems in the Jewish community would not be complete without reference to the agencies that have grown out of it. We visited Council House, whose program organizes volunteers to help in mental institutions; Vocational Rehabilitation Center, whose program works with the handicapped, and the School for the Mentally Ill, whose program is for psychotic and pre-psychotic children who can live at home. Each of these institutions is non-sectarian. Council House and Vocational Rehabilitation began in and for the Jewish community and broadened to the total community. The School for the Mentally Ill is only three years old and began on a non-sectarian basis but received its impetus and about half of its funds from the Jewish community. A continued thrust toward devising programs to meet new problems as they arise can be expected.

CHAPTER VIINTERACTING RELATIONSHIPS OF FAMILY GROUPS AND THEIR MEMBERS  
WITH THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AFFORDED BY THE  
COMMUNITY AND RELATED COMMUNITY SOLVING EFFORTS

Squirrel Hill is, in the judgment of Pittsburghers, the "nicest" residential area within the city. (Shadyside is the only other one generally mentioned in the "nicest" category.) 71.47% of the people own their own homes. These are well-kept and adequately furnished, providing financial security and good opportunity for establishing and maintaining families. The preservation of Judaic traditions and values has encouraged interpersonal relationships beyond the conjugal unit, however, the desire to incorporate American ways has led the young affluent generation, in establishing their families, to move away from Squirrel Hill to suburbia. The trend among Jewish young adults is to consider themselves Americans first, Jews second.

It should be noted that every Jew in Squirrel Hill is not "financially well-fixed" - there is a small group, living South of Forbes, who migrated from the old Hill district but were not able to establish themselves financially and socially; yet this group has a certain amount of security. They are well-provided for and many cultural and educational activities are opened to them and their children.

The way of life and social functioning of the Jews in Squirrel Hill is greatly affected by the values and social circumstances of the people in the area. There is a great deal of appreciation of education and cultural activities. This is evident by the quality of the schools and community centers, which offer a wide variety of activities to stimulate the mind, encourage interpersonal relationships, and provide relaxing recreational facilities. Additionally, Squirrel Hill is strategically well located to take advantage of the many cultural programs offered by the University of Pittsburgh and Oakland. The residents of Squirrel Hill take advantage of these cultural activities. Even when cost is a factor, most of them can afford the necessary outlay for quite a few of the dramatic, musical, athletic, etc.; affairs.

The schools, especially Taylor Alderdice High School, offer beside the regular curriculum, advanced courses; social clubs, and educational programs sponsored by the P.T.A., that involve all members of the family. The synagogues provide religious instruction and classes in Jewish history that are well-attended up to the age of 13, after which there is a remarkable decline in interest by young people. Aside from the programs of these two groups, family social life revolves, for the most part, around the Irene Kaufman Center-YI&WHA. Activities there include social, athletic, cultural and educational programs for all from "3 to 93. There is an active Senior Citizens group connected with the Center,

which plans, carries through and evaluates its own programs. For the women of Squirrel Hill there is a vast multitude of volunteer organizations that absorb their energy and creativity.

Squirrel Hill, unlike many other communities in Pittsburgh, is not faced with the problem of unemployment and its accompaniment, the provision of food, clothing and shelter for the people. Family groups are, instead, coping with the following kinds of environmentally induced stress:

1. There is great pressure brought to bear on young people to succeed and excel through education, and on the head of the household through business pursuits, in order to maintain an adequate income to satisfy family needs. Some of the children as well as the adults can not stand this pressure which has resulted in neurotic behavior on the part of some Jews.
2. There has been some conflict between the younger group who have tended to become more liberal in their religion than their parents and grandparents, who still retain many of the old Jewish traditions. This is reflected to some degree in their religious practices. Basically, the philosophy of Orthodox and Reformed Judaism is the same. The difference lies in the fact that the Reformed Jew interprets how he will practice his religion, just as the young American Jew interprets to what extent his Jewish background will influence directly his everyday living. It is a two-way street, many Jews switch from Conservative to Reform and vice versa. The Orthodox Jews have formed a Young Orthodox Scientists of America group. This group represents all of the young men who are in the field of science and are interested in Orthodoxy. Another club which has been formed for perpetuation of Orthodoxy is the Young Israel Group. Some of these persons are offspring of Conservative and Reform parents.
3. A third source of tension with which Jewish families in Squirrel Hill have to cope (as well as the American society) is psychological in nature. The Jewish people have always been known for the care and respect they



(Continued)

3. give to the aged members of their families. With the increase in life span and the decrease in productive years of an individual, as a result of our youth-oriented society and forced retirement programs, problems are presented that many families are unable to cope with. This stressful situation is met by some of the people by placing older members of the family in institutional settings. For many of the families this was not a solution. Recognizing that this wasn't the answer for all the families, the Jewish community began a program which they had hoped would meet the needs of all of the families who had aged members. The Jewish Family and Children's Service began a program to prepare the older citizens for retirement. They also sent a caseworker around to all of the Senior Citizens' groups in Squirrel Hill to inform them of the services being offered. A program for the moving of older people from larger apartments to smaller ones was started. Also if a person was located on the third or fourth floor they would help them find quarters on the first floor. If the person required housekeeping services this was provided.

#### EDUCATION IN SQUIRREL HILL

Although the curriculum is divided into four classifications (Academic, General, Business and Vocational), the great majority of the students are enrolled in the Academic course. Some do not really have the ability to pursue an academic program, but due to the whims of their parents are forced to struggle along.

Taylor-Alderdice has several advanced programs that offer six college credits upon completion of the course and comprehensive testing. Approximately 90% of the students who enroll in such courses pass with honors. A visit to an advanced history class was most impressive. The students seemed unusually interested, eager to participate, and well-informed.

The Principal of Taylor-Alderdice, informed us that the behavioral problems within the school are different from those of other schools in the area. Among the boys, vandalism in the lavatories and locker areas is the worst problem. They are persistently destroying smaller pieces of equipment such as soap dispensers and locks. Other problem areas are fighting and class cutting. Fighting, somewhat under control now, seems to be a result of a prestige conflict between students in the academic curriculum and those in lower rated courses. Most of the students in the non-academic curriculum are not residents of Squirrel Hill. They come from the feed-in areas of Greenfield, Hazelwood, New Homestead, Regent Square, and Swiss Helm. This situation seems to contribute to the conflict. "Drop-outs" and juvenile delinquency are not considered a problem of any significance, and those that do occur are usually children from the feed-in areas.

From time to time, social sub-cultures are in evidence within the school. Sororities and fraternities have been quite popular, and although they have no formal association with the school, they are popularly considered to be school-sponsored. The administration no longer accepts their advertisements for the yearbook, as this seemed to create too much identification with the school.

The Parent-Teacher organization is a very active one, and parents on the whole seem more interested in their children's educational career than parents in many of the other city schools.

Dr. Teal, Principal of Taylor-Alderdice, drew a comparison with Allegheny High School, where he had been prior to this. During his two years at Allegheny, he saw only 12 parents in his office. Parents in Squirrel Hill make fewer requests for special treatment for their children.

There is a wide range of community resources, services and supports upon which family groups can draw their problem-solving efforts. Professional agencies, such as the Jewish Children's and Family Service, the counseling services offered by the Rabbis of many synagogues in Squirrel Hill, and the contribution in the area of prevention made by the IKC and YM&YHA<sup>1</sup> are but a few of the institutional supports available to assure individual and family stability.

Although these services are available, there is some question as to whether or not they are fully utilized. The staff of the Jewish Family and Children's Agency have evidence that they are meeting the needs of the people in Squirrel Hill and that the people are making good use of their agency. However, other leaders in the community disagree with this, according to statements made to us students in interviews with them. A Jewish person may prefer to seek counsel from a non-sectarian agency, just as many Christians may so prefer. The Jewish families

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1. Cf. Appendix 6, Chronology of IKS and YM&YHA of Pittsburgh

in Squirrel Hill like their other middle class neighbors, for a long time tended to deny the existence of family problems. This however is changing, as evidenced by the interest and enthusiasms put into plans by the Jewish Family and Children's Agency for a Child Guidance Clinic that will soon be put into effect. The need for this clinic is a direct result in part, of the many pressures children are forced to undergo as a result of the value placed on self-enrichment through education and achievement. Success, though historically a by-product of this process, is becoming valued in and of itself.

On the surface, Squirrel Hill seems to provide an ideal atmosphere for family groups to develop and for the rearing of children to take place. Its many religious, educational and cultural institutions, plus the cohesiveness of family relationships add to its favor. Beneath the surface, however, the same problems beset the Jewish citizenry of Squirrel Hill, as any American middle-class group. We were more impressed with the similarity of problems known to us as students with middle-class backgrounds, than we were by the dissimilarities. We could only hope that the steps already underway to keep the pressure to succeed and achieve under control, would continue to enable a natural, individualized development among its young people, making them better prepared to deal with the problems of everyday living.

CHAPTER VIITHE FUTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

The future of Squirrel Hill as perceived by the residents is not blind optimism. The organizations, businessmen, citizens' groups, political leaders, and churchmen know that the present high level standards of the community will not perpetuate themselves automatically. As a result, the Jewish people are working and planning for the future needs of the community. Many of these efforts are in the planning and pilot stages of development serving primarily the needs of Squirrel Hill residents. However, as in the past, these projects, by design, expand themselves and thrust outward to serve the larger community. As previously noted, the independence of thought and action by Squirrel Hill citizens is a basic characteristic and this very independence is the key to the future. When need is seen or foreseen it can proudly be said that someone is working on it. Solutions worked out for the Jewish community are then adopted for the wider community.

The future of Squirrel Hill as perceived by city and county planners is good. Squirrel Hill, unlike other parts of Pittsburgh, is not scheduled for redevelopment, nor is it considered a blighted area. To keep it from becoming such, firm positive support by these persons is given to the leaders of Squirrel Hill in their efforts to promote a better future.

A general concept of the Squirrel Hill community expressed often by its residents is: "I am proud to live here and have no intention of moving." It is understandable why such a statement is made. Conditions are optimal and conducive to such an attitude. A general concept held by "outsiders" or non-residents might be expressed as: "Money, Jews, and it's a nice place to live but I can't afford it." Again, it is understandable why such an attitude might be held. Squirrel Hill makes no secret about the fact that a large number of wealthy people live there, and it makes no secret that Jews live there. Why should it? Does wealth and a concentration of one ethnic group make Squirrel Hill less desirable? It has been pointed out in this report that not everybody is wealthy in Squirrel Hill, not everybody in Squirrel Hill is Jewish. Also, the high percentage of non-Jewish residents - fully fifty percent - emphasizes the fact that Squirrel Hill is not a ghetto. A person might well be truthful when he says, "I can't afford to live in Squirrel Hill," but this attitude should be based on what he can afford - buying or renting a home - not on prejudice. It is a tribute to both groups that the Jew and non-Jew alike live in harmony side by side down through the years.

The social systems of influence in Squirrel Hill undergoing change and adaptation due to significant alteration in aspects of other interrelated social systems might also be viewed under the general categories of evolution and acculturation.

Squirrel Hill, over the years, has undergone a period of evolution with regard to population, i.e., from a relatively unpopulated area to a thriving community. A large part of this movement was due to Pittsburgh's smoky reputation. Being on a higher elevation, Squirrel Hill had always been relatively free of Pittsburgh's scourge; and with the installation of a streetcar line, Squirrel Hill became more accessible. These same transportation facilities that helped populate Squirrel Hill, coupled with better communications, provide one of the major influences affecting social systems within the community. As the larger community became more accessible to the residents of Squirrel Hill, and interaction between the two increased, it was inevitable that social systems of influence such as the family unit, the religious foundation, the economic framework, and the political structure should undergo revision that would change modes of living and ways of life. As these changes took place, the Jewish residents were affected greatly. The extended family unit gradually diminished in size where today, even though family ties remain strong, the unit itself is much smaller with more mobility. As higher education reached more people, the influence of a greater variety of cultures impinged upon the families, and this added to the moulding of the smaller family unit. As people through communication and transportation were brought into greater contact with the outside community, the religious foundations also underwent change. What formerly had been a policy-making and influencing

institution, evolved through the years to a counseling and advisory institution. Economically, the residents became more affluent and with increased leisure time the residents, through their organizations and initiative, constructed one of the best instructional and recreational systems in the United States. This opportunity for a fuller life modified the family unit also. No longer did the family provide the center for recreational life, the organization with its energetic leadership segmentalized the family by devising programs for peer groups which separated the family members. The economic situation also had an effect on the political structure. People of independent means combined with a cultural independence could not be swayed by a political hack. The issue rather than the personality decided the vote on a particular candidate. All of these changes and alterations took place within a period where immigrant and first generation families gave way to second and third generation families with more frequent interaction and interdependence on the larger community.

Unresolved health and social problems in Squirrel Hill exist but are not acute. As a result, the community sponsored by public and private philanthropy is able to investigate, through pilot studies, how they can improve welfare and health policy. An example of this activity is the Paole Zadek Home for Emotionally Disturbed Children. Initiated by three interested men, sponsored by the Community Chest and Paole Zadek Synagogue, the home is



seeking new methods of dealing with emotional illness in children. In the next year and a half this pilot study will be turned over to the larger community for financial support. Thus, planning and community organization necessary for mobilization of defenses against such illnesses as emotional disturbance are permitted to operate because of minimal unmet social and health problems.

Intervention at city, county, state, national and international levels becomes possible as these initial programs expand themselves to the larger community and necessitate more funds and staff. A word about the fund-raising organizations of Squirrel Hill clarifies this point. For general needs, the United Jewish Federation, and in special projects such clubs as the National Council of Jewish Women, are organizations that reach the individuals for contributions. These contributions are then dispersed to meet local, city, county, state, national and international needs. Even though these particular organizations are sectarian in nature, their policy permits the use of funds for all peoples in need. Thus, a recognition of unmet social and health needs of others, by such organizations, permits intervention at all levels.

As mentioned previously, Mr. Leonard Kuntz shared the findings of his Population Study of the Jewish Community of Pittsburgh with us students before it was released for general information in January 1964. It has given leaders of the Jewish

community and the U.J.F. raw materials on which to map the future of this community with suitable benchmarks along the route. Three challenging sets of facts in the survey throw light on directions future planning must consider:

First, the aged population in the community will increase by 50 percent within the next 10 years; by 100 per cent in 20 years.

Second, the zero to 10 year age group will rise 40 percent by 1973; and 55 percent by 1983.

Third, the 35-60 fruitful and productive age group will decline 15 percent by 1973; and 20 percent by 1983.

While the age groups on either end of the scale increase sharply in numbers, the productive mid-group will decline in numbers over the next 20 years. The people with marked "needs" will increase, while the people who support those needs will decrease. As pointed out in the U.J.F. annual meeting at the close of 1963 what is needed in future planning includes: -

(A) More person-to-person contact in communicating understanding of what faces the total Jewish community. Although the old axiom of "75 percent of the money for charity is given by 5 percent of the people" is no longer true, nevertheless, the base of charitable giving indeed needs to be broadened and lifted at one and

the same time; (B) More intensive development of a supply of new, young, vigorous leaders; (C) More programs of broader and perceptive education.

CHAPTER VIIICONCLUSION

The social worker, be he in casework, group work, community organization, administration or education must necessarily be able to regard a culture different from his own, not as a pariah but for its possible worthwhile contributions to the foundations of humanity. By so doing, the social worker, as an instrument of peace, contributes immeasurably to the harmony necessary for peace. The tools of social work become the means by which a social worker effectively performs this task, and it is hopeful that the aims and objectives expressed in the introduction have been to a large degree fulfilled by all who participated in the community laboratory.

As students of the Jewish people in Squirrel Hill, at the conclusion of our Community Laboratory Course we can now appreciate the significance of the Judeo-Christian continuum in modern day society. We are also aware of the problems of such groups as the United Jewish Federation in trying to meet the challenge of its people over the past half century of its functioning. To quote from this body's annals as reflective of the overall Jewish scene (in Squirrel Hill) in Pittsburgh in particular:

"The United Jewish Federation's most pressing imperative is still that of broadening the base of leadership and involvement in its affairs. It must continue to train young people, maintaining its policy of rotating board and committee members so that new members with fresh ideas can see at first hand the growth of the community and develop an identification with it. It must encourage participation of all groups in the community, social as well as religious and philanthropic. And it must have more and better contributors. This imposes upon the Federation the necessity of giving the community a better understanding of what it does.

"The goals and values of our United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh are the goals and values of generations of Jews. Our Federation will survive as long as we preserve our Jewish heritage and at the same time contribute to the main stream of American life pursuing these ends with decency and justice. On its fiftieth anniversary, there is opportunity for our Federation not only to commemorate the achievements of a golden past but also to begin those of a golden future."<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps these words are a true echo of what the Jewish citizenry visualize for themselves in the future.

Finally, in concluding this report, in the words of Edward M. Keating, in describing "The Jew in American Culture," in Ramparts Magazine:

"I hope this report will not be an ending, but rather a beginning, to a significant and continuing exchange of ideas and opinions between friends whose differences are respected and whose similarities can affect the larger society in which we live."<sup>2</sup>

Respectfully submitted by,  
Students of Squirrel Hill  
Community Laboratory

- 
1. Annual Report of the United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh, 1962, page 23.
  2. "The Jew in American Culture," Ramparts, Autumn 1963, Menlo Park, California, P.O. Box 3, page 4.

APPENDIX 1DEFINITION OF THE SQUIRREL HILL COMMUNITY

The term "community" has long suffered from a casual and varied usage in which the only common element has been the concept of a natural grouping of people in a relatively small local area. There are, however, more essential elements to this concept:

- (1) a definite geographic area,
- (2) a group of people interacting socially,
- (3) certain common interests considered to be important.

The widely varying definitions which have been arrived at for the Squirrel Hill community east of downtown Pittsburgh have included one or more of these essential elements. Consensus was difficult to come by, however. Each person to whom the question of the boundaries of Squirrel Hill was posed, presented a different definition. Where the boundaries were set varied according to the definer's purpose or position in the community.

For example, political figures looked upon Squirrel Hill as being synonymous with the Fourteenth Ward. This, no doubt, is to expedite the breakdown of the area into its 32 political party districts.

The Community Planning Commission gave an even more inclusive definition for purposes of planning public services and facilities:

"Squirrel Hill A is the name given to a large segment of the East End bounded on the south by the Penn-Lincoln Parkway, on the north by the Pennsylvania Railroad, on the west by Boundary Street and on the east by the city line. It contains (whole or in part) the communities of Squirrel Hill, Point Breeze, East Liberty, Shadyside, Bellefield and Oakland. It is mainly residential and contains two of the largest parks in the city; Frick Park and Schenley Park. Within its borders are located Chatham College and the major part of Carnegie Institute of Technology. Its two most prominent shopping streets exist in the Forbes-Murray Area and on Walnut Street. Lesser quality retail areas are those along Ellsworth (between Summerlea and R.R.). The only industries in the area are between Penn and Lexington and the Railroad and also along Penn Avenue near Mellon Park."

The superintendent of the Squirrel Hill branch of the United States Post Office, Mr. C. Tyrrel, designated a more circumscribed area for delivery purposes. Squirrel Hill for him was bounded in the north by Fifth and Penn Avenues; west by Wilkins Avenue, Beeler Street, Northumberland Street and Schenley Park; south by Beechwood Boulevard; and east by Frick Park, Homewood Cemetery and S. Dallas Avenue.

In a monthly newsletter published in May 1947, the American Service Institute of Allegheny County defined Squirrel Hill as follows:

"Squirrel Hill seems to embrace most of the 14th Ward and only a small part of the 15th Ward. It extends in all four directions from the intersection of its two main thoroughfares, Forbes Street and Murray Avenue. Broadly speaking, the boundaries are Fifth Avenue on the north and Beechwood Boulevard on the south, Schenley Park on the west and Homewood Cemetery and Frick Park on the east. ... based on opinions of a variety of key people in the community as to what constitutes Squirrel Hill."

Mr. James Bronner, assistant executive director of the United Jewish Federation was the first person who even hinted at an important cultural component in his definition. He set no boundaries, for a community to him is more than a geographic area. The fact that a person lives in a place called Squirrel Hill is almost irrelevant. Focusing on the Jewish population, Mr. Bronner traced the common proliferations of residents out of Squirrel Hill: mama and papa live in Squirrel Hill, their children move to Shadyside (or any other community nearby), their children's children move out to the suburbs (Monroeville, etc.). With the people go the ways of life of Squirrel Hill. "Everyone, no matter where he lives, goes to Murray Avenue where all the kosher meat markets are for chickens for the Sabbath!"

Mr. Leonard Kuntz, an assistant professor of Geography at the University of Pittsburgh and a resident of Squirrel Hill with an interest in social science, developed this cultural component even further. Squirrel Hill for him was an elusive entity. "The most meaningful definition is the cultural. Where people say they live is of interest." At present the most common definition for Squirrel Hill is one which has been considerably expanded (includes Point Breeze, Greenfield, and even Monroeville). Family ties link these widely scattered areas together.

The focus of the Squirrel Hill Community Laboratory study has been primarily on the Forbes-Murray area, the hub of the Jewish community. To understand it fully, however, it has been necessary to learn its relationship to other predominantly Jewish sections of the area, to greater Pittsburgh, and its suburbs.

APPENDIX 2A LOOK AT SQUIRREL HILL

Task force C which is particularly interested in the interacting of family groups and their members with the physical and social environment afforded by the community and also in problem solving efforts underway in the community, set out the morning of September 13th for an informal observational tour of Squirrel Hill.

The group drove through the entire area intent upon gaining a visual impression of housing, educational institutions, recreational, shopping and marketing facilities. The latter part of the tour included walking through the shopping districts with a number of stops at specific business establishments.

The area North of Forbes Avenue and some of the area South have well kept, attractive and obviously expensive homes situated on terraced and landscaped lots along wide streets. There are many modern apartment houses and some older apartments which seem to be converted old mansions. An interesting observation here, in the class of culture elaborations, was a man spraying his lawn green. He was using an ordinary hose but the water was green.

The campus of Chatham College provided a pleasant opportunity to contrast the traditional campus with the more modern campuses of the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Tech. Its campus is green, hilly and rustic with a decentralization of buildings. The buildings are a combination of old and new. The physical appearance is one of quality.

Marketing proved quite interesting. The group visited the Giant Eagle supermarket and made observational comparisons with a similar market in a non-Jewish area. They found generally massive displays of merchandise with particularly large quantities of fish, cheese, bread. The delicatessen department was larger and had a greater variety of prepared foods. The candy display was different in that much of it was shown in its original cartons in a wholesale manner. There was a very complete stock of national candies.

Advertising and pricing set the "Special" and "Sale" atmosphere throughout the market. There were no posters or "carry-out" boys.



A statement from a clerk, non-Jewish, who had also worked for the same company in a non-Jewish area was that about 90% of customers in the market visited are Jewish. She said she did find differences in working in this market. She said of the customers in the 90% Jewish market: "They want catered to."

The group visited shops including: Arthur Moser's Interior Decorators, the Tweed Shop, Linton's, Maxine's, and a Beauty Salon. They talked with responsible persons everywhere except the beauty salon where although their presence was recognized, none came to speak to the group. The workers in the beauty salon all were busy with customers. The merchandise shops named deal in some popular priced merchandise but mostly in the more exclusive, higher priced wares. Knitwear at Linton's is priced from \$200 up.

The group enjoyed a coffee break at Weinstein's restaurant and delicatessen. The waitress, though busy, was helpful in suggesting a variety of pastries when she learned that the group was out to sample Jewish culture. An interesting observation in decor was the very prominent display of two large portraits of an older couple, probably Mother & Father Weinstein.

At the conclusion of this informal tour the group agreed that they had observed differences in this area which could be related to Jewish culture. They concluded that the informants were cordial, helpful and available but in no way "pushy."

APPENDIX 3A SIDELIGHT ON BUSINESS ENTERPRISERecord of an Interview with Secretary, Squirrel Hill Board of Trade

The Squirrel Hill Board of Trade was organized in 1917. One of its primary objectives was to secure trolley service. Since its beginning trolley service has been increased to an interval of every fifteen minutes. They were instrumental in getting the new lighting system and the high level bridge between Homestead and Squirrel Hill.

The organization hasn't been active lately, because the younger people have not joined. There are about one hundred paid up members, but only one fourth of these are active. In 1926, there were 225 members including professional and non-professional people. The board works hand in hand with the Merchants Council, some people are members of both organizations.

The board was instrumental in getting the parking facilities on Beacon and Murray Streets. The cost of acquiring two houses formerly on the lot was \$75,000. The businessmen in Squirrel Hill bought bonds at a 4% dividend. The total cost of the parking lot was \$150,000 with the merchants buying bonds covering 33% of its cost.

The board each year raises money and gives a picnic for the Home for Crippled Children. There has been a decrease in the polio cases admitted from 90% to 1% through the use of polio vaccine. Many of the high school children do volunteer work at the Home for Crippled Children. The money used to promote the picnic for the Crippled Children is done through the sale of ads in a special published book sold to the merchants in the district. The fund raising and picnic is an annual affair, held every June for the past 37 years.

It was mentioned that there is very little vacant property in Squirrel Hill. There are apartments going up on Denniston Street. These apartments are financed by private funds.

APPENDIX 4(c) NATIVITY OF POPULATION1930-1960

for Ward 14

Data taken from the Pittsburgh Census Tracts 1930, 1940,  
1950, 1960.

	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960*</u>
Germany	649	545	491	1379
Poland	549	718	785	2575
Austria	275	539	481	1365
Hungary	251	258	434	1128
U.S.S.R.	1631	2051	2322	5593
Italy	260	260	284	1240

\*In the 1960 Census the foreign born population is combined with the native population of foreign or mixed parentage into a single category termed "foreign stock."

APPENDIX 4(b) NATIVITY OF POPULATION1930-1960for Pittsburgh

Data taken from the Pittsburgh Census Tracts 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960.

	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960*</u>
Germany	14409	9805	5898	25265
Poland	15251	10848	7840	24166
Austria	3937	6102	4477	10467
Hungary	2235	2405	2486	5991
U.S.S.R.	9224	8179	6857	15039
Italy	18154	16241	13466	33623

\*In the 1960 Census the foreign born population is combined with the native population of foreign or mixed parentage into a single category termed "foreign stock."

APPENDIX 4

(c) INCOME AND EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

Segment	Street Boundaries	Tot Pop	14th Ward			Av Hs Hold	Income or more	School Comp
			Negro Pop	Foreign Pop				
14A	No. Humberland, Wightman, 5th and Wilkins	5,137	63	1,731	3.1	\$10,000 or more	14.7	
14B	Wilkins, 5th, Shady	3,425	41	1,256	2.6	\$9,932	14.6	
14C	Wightman, Forbes, Dallas, & Wilkins	5,009	54	2,021	3.3	\$9,612	13.0	
14D	Shady, Dallas, Wilkins, & 5th	3,412	41	1,103	3.5	\$10,000 or more	12.8	
14E	Penn, 5th, Penn R.R., City Line	3,552	170	1,140	2.6	\$7,082	12.3	
14F	Dallas, Forbes, City Line, Penn	4,645	12	1,154	3.1	\$7,888	12.5	
14G	Northumberland, Boundary, Murray, Saline Ward Line	6,898	75	4,182	2.8	\$7,056	12.3	
14H	Murray, Forward Forbes, Mile Run	5,869	41	3,679	3.2	\$7,528	12.4	
14I	Saline, Forward Nine Mile Run	5,887	18	3,156	3.2	\$7,750	12.4	

APPENDIX 4

(c) INCOME AND EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

<u>Seg Ident</u>	<u>Street Boundaries</u>	<u>Tot Pop</u>	<u>Negro Pop</u>	<u>14th Ward (contd.)</u>		<u>Avg Hs Hold</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>School Comp</u>
				<u>Foreign Pop</u>	<u>Pop</u>			
14J	Forbes, East Fork, Mile Run, City Line	1,339	0	491		3.0	\$7,209	12.5
14K	Monongahela River Nine Mile Run City Line	2,128	0	814		3.6	\$6,729	11.9

APPENDIX 4(d) POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING  
TO SECTIONS OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

Drawn from 1960 Census Tract

	<u>Number of heads of households</u>
Pittsburgh	
Downtown	107
Oakland	449
Shadyside	620
Lawrence-Bloomfield	124
Squirrel Hill	6,407
East End (Except Stanton Hts.)	1,258
Stanton Heights	834
Homewood	64
North Side	22
	<u>9,885</u>
Environs	
Wilkinsburg	38
Swissvale	16
	<u>54</u>
Suburbs	
Brookline-Dormont	95
Greentree	6
Scott Township	344
Mount Lebanon	382
Castle Shannon	6
Dormont	45
Baldwin	8
Whitehall	54
Brentwood	63
Pleasant Hills	34
Upper St. Clair	6
	<u>1,043</u>

APPENDIX 4(e) OCCUPATION, HOME OWNERSHIP & RENTAL, FAMILY SIZEOccupational Distribution - 14th Ward

	Jews	Non-Jews
Professional	24.47%	21.56%
Clerical	2.1	15.7
Sales	15.53	15.67
Manufacturing and self employed	37.89	14.87
Skilled	8.24	8.2

Family Size

Number in Family	Percent of total
2	22.8 %
3	18.11
4	29.4
5	17.32
6	4.72
7	.26
8	.00
9 or more	.26

Home Ownership and Rental

	Jewish	Non-Jewish
Rent	27.47%	39.36%
Own	71.47	60.64

Sources: 1960 Census Tract Data. Population Study by Mr. Leonard Kuntz.



APPENDIX 5ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICESObservational Experiences

It was my good fortune to attend the evening service for Rosh Hashana at the Tree of Life on the eve of their centennial year. This conservative congregation was formed as the result of a split over proposed reforms at Rodef Shalom in June of 1864. It was also the first holiday service in their new building which had just been dedicated within the previous month.

The congregation has the only English name of any Jewish congregation in the city. It is modernistic, and is the only conservative group that comes from a reformed temple rather than from an orthodox synagogue. Parts of the service were in English and the English translation for the rest of the service was present in the service book.

The sanctuary auditorium is very large and even though there was a very large gathering of people there were still some seats available. There was a sense of people having especially come out to be in their new home. They were very well dressed, but I saw almost no ostentation or over dressing.

The service was essentially simple. Rabbi Halperin's sermon was a review of 100 years of history, and a look into the next hundred years. Further modernization was seen with ritual and mystical other worldly concepts being deemphasized. The growth of humanism and of a concern for man's relation to man was viewed as the centralrose of the witness of this congregation. Also forecast was a growth in adult education in the synagogue. As language study becomes more valued in our society, Hebrew was envisioned as taking a larger place. And the day was envisioned when Torah would mean all truth as it did when only the scripture was known, and in order for this to happen we must see the chemist in his laboratory as a student of Torah.

In addition to the above I attended the Saturday morning Yom Kippur service of Rodef Shalom at the Syria Mosque. They were using the "Newly Revised" Union Prayer Book for the first time at a Yom Kippur service. Rabbi Freehof commented on the revision and the attempt behind it to keep in touch with the development of the people. The music was in the western motif, in contrast to the eastern motif in the conservative synagogue.

Because of comments made in class by other class members as to noises during services, I was consciously observing noise content and looking again at dress. I felt there was a quiet sense of reverence and that noise of all kinds, seats moving, people talking, etc., was at a minimum. I observed people to be very well dressed but not over dressed.

The sermon used a bit of biblical symbolism as a basis for moving into a discussion of Freud and the reality of a lower and higher self in man. Having studied both theology and psychology I had mixed reactions along lines I did not expect. I had no serious questions about the popularization of Freud, but I did have serious questions about the literal use of a scriptural story on its face value. I was disappointed that a Rabbi of renown would totally ignore and fail to mention any of the material in biblical scholarship that relates to the passages he was using.

The degree of direct congregational participation was about the same as in the conservative service and ranks above that involved in a Protestant service and in a similar range with that in a Catholic mass.

On September 18, 1963, we had our first opportunity to observe directly and participate in one of the Jewish High Holy Day's services. The Rosh Hashana or Jewish New Year service of the Rodef Shalom Congregation was held at the Syria Mosque to celebrate the Year 5724 on the Jewish calendar.

The service was conducted by Rabbi Freehof in an informal, happy atmosphere. The congregation was composed mostly of middle-aged adults with an even distribution of older adults and young people comprising the remainder of the group. It was estimated by Rabbi Freehof that there were approximately 600 guests attending the service. The atmosphere reflected the happy occasion of the holiday, in contrast to Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. People were busy greeting friends throughout the service, except during the sermon, at which time they were very attentive. (To the observer this seemed strange and in direct contrast to the serenity and solemnity that accompanies so many Christian services. Much of this can no doubt be attributed to the festive atmosphere and the fact that the Syria Mosque is a concert hall and regardless of the decor, could hardly provide the same atmosphere for worship as a temple.)

Rosh Hashana is the beginning of the ten days in which Jews re-examine their acts for the past year, repenting for their misdeeds and righting the wrongs, or injuries they have caused against another. Rabbi Freehof's sermon was an inspiring challenge to the youth of today, to re-examine their lives and stand firm for

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their convictions. The service so similar in structure to the majority of Protestant services, was felt by us to be rewarding and inspiring for the coming New Year.

APPENDIX 6Chronology of Irene Kaufmann Settlement & Centers  
and Young Men & Women's Hebrew Association of Pittsburgh, Pa.I.K.S.

1895 - Council of Jewish Women  
start citizen's school in  
one room of private house.  
Named variously--

Columbian School  
Columbian School and  
Settlement

1900 - Moved to 1835 Center Ave.  
Charter obtained, and  
School was incorporated.

1902 - Peacock Baths (donated by  
Alexander Peacock)

1909 - Became Irene Kaufmann  
Settlement, through  
generosity of Mr. & Mrs.  
Henry Kaufmann

1929 - Additional Kaufmann gift  
made possible expansion  
of all I.K.S. facilities.

Predominantly Jewish  
neighborhood began to  
change to mixed settle-  
ment of Jews, Italian,  
Syrians, I.K.S. con-  
tinued to meet needs of  
changing community.

1942 - By this year the I.K.S.  
neighborhood had become  
about 70% Negro.

After Board Self-Study--  
(see next page)

Y.M. & W.H.A.

1883 - Y.M.H.A. organized on  
North Side to provide  
social and literary  
activities for Jewish  
Young Men.

1893 - Y.M.H.A. of Allegheny  
County chartered.

1910 - Y.M.H.A. reorganized and  
established in Pittsburgh

1914 - New Charter - Y.M.H.A.  
of Pittsburgh.

1916 - Membership of 1,000;  
self-sustaining.

1918 - More than half of  
membership enrolled in  
services World War I,  
but agency survived.

1921 - Became Y.M. & W.H.A. of  
Pittsburgh.

1926 - Present building erected.

1930 - Central Board of  
Directors, original  
holding company, notifies  
withdrawal of financial  
support.

1934 - United Jewish Fund  
assumed responsibilities  
of Central Board.

I.K.S. (CONT'D.)

Y.M.&W.H.A.(CONT'D.)

1. Plans formulated for interracial policy at the Hill I.K.S. Accomplished by 1943.

1960 - Became United Fund affiliate.

2. Plans formulated to meet the needs of Jewish community now spread to East End and Squirrel Hill.

1943 - I.K.S. Board takes over Squirrel Hill Boys' Club. Becomes I.K.C. of Squirrel Hill.

1947 - Agency meeting its goal of servicing the neighborhood as well as persons outside the Hill who wished to be served.

1948 - 1950  
Pilot demonstration in East End results in I.K.C. of East End.

1952 - Separate agency and board on Hill.

1956 - I.K.S. (Center Avenue) incorporated as Anna B. Heldman Community Center.

1958 - Construction of new facility in Squirrel Hill.

Opened August 30, 1959.

1961 - MERGER into Young Men & Women's Hebrew Association and Irene Kaufmann Centers of Pittsburgh.

(Foregoing provided by Mr. Leon Rubenstein, Director, Irene Kaufman Center, Forbes and Murray, who afforded space for the Squirrel Hill Community Laboratory sessions.)

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