

THE BETH JACOB MOVEMENT IN POLAND
(1917-1939)

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to trace the history of the Beth Jacob movement in Poland and to seek out those elements which contributed to its successful and rapid growth in the short span of its existence. The scope of this study extends from the very beginning of the Beth Jacob movement as it was initiated by Sara Schenierer in 1917, and traces its development until its disintegration with the conquest of Poland by Nazi Germany in 1939. The first chapter gives a brief description of the Polish school system in the years immediately preceding the founding of the Beth Jacob schools and describes the lack of Jewish educational facilities for Orthodox Jewish daughters at that time.

In connection with this dissertation this writer has, in addition to conducting a thorough historical examination of the original sources listed in the Bibliography, translated into English from Polish, Hebrew, German and Yiddish that data which was essential to this study. This was, in certain instances, done with the aid of qualified translators.

Personal interviews were conducted with the following people who were helpful and patient in supplying additional information when necessary. They are hereby acknowledged: Rabbi Dr. Leo Jung, head of the World Beth Jacob Movement; Dr. Hillel Seidman, Political Secretary of the Agudas Israel in Poland, at present residing in Brooklyn, New York, for the only known available remaining copy of his book, Dos Yiddishe Rettglezer Shul-Wezen in di Ramen fun der Polische Gezetzgebung; Rabbi Joseph Friedenson (son of Eliezer Gerson Friedenson, editor of the Beth Jacob Journals) for his direction to the remaining sources on the Beth Jacob; Rabbi Jacob I. Wohlgernter of Toronto, Canada, for permission to use his original and most complete available collection of the Beth Jacob Journals; Rabbi Meyer Schwartzman of Winnipeg, Canada; Mrs. Renata Schipper of Paterson, N.J., Polish translator, for her aid in translating copies of the original Polish documents and decrees issued by the Polish government in connection with the legalization of the Chorev schools included among which were the Beth Jacob schools; and to Shulamit Atkin, my dear wife, who typed this dissertation, and without whose help, guidance, and constant encouragement, this could not have been accomplished.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE.....	iii
 Chapter	
I. EDUCATION IN POLAND.....	1
After World War I	
Compulsory Law of Education	
Education for Girls in Poland	
II. SARA SCHENIERER.....	16
School for Girls Established	
Her Literary Work	
Her Letters	
Her Interest in the Bnos	
III. THE BETH JACOB SCHOOLS.....	34
In the Beginning	
Keren HaTorah Formed	
In 1924	
In 1925	
In 1928	
In 1929	
In 1930	
In 1933	
In 1934	
In 1935	
IV. THE SEMINARY IN CRACOW.....	72
Building Plan	
The Curricular Aims	
Seminary Under Orlean	
V. LAST DAYS OF THE MOVEMENT.....	92
VI. BETH JACOB LITERATURE.....	98
Beth Jacob Journal	
Beth Jacob Press	
The Kindergarten	
Books Used in Beth Jacob Schools	

VII.	IN-SERVICE SUMMER COURSES.....	112
	At Rabow	
	At Jardanow	
	At Rabka	
VIII.	TRADE SCHOOLS.....	121
	Business School in Warsaw	
	Ohel Sara	
IX.	BNOS YOUTH ORGANIZATION.....	128
X.	LEGAL STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION.....	133
	Agudas Israel Role	
	Status of Schools in 1932	
	Chorev Program Accepted	
	Status of Beth Jacob Afternoon School	
	Teacher Qualifications in Afternoon School	
	Sources of Revenue	
	Documents Required for Founding of Beth Jacob Schools	
XI.	CONCLUSIONS.....	146
XII.	APPENDIXES	
	APPENDIX A.....	153
	Minorities' Treaty of Versailles	
	APPENDIX B.....	157
	Will of Sara Schenierer	
	APPENDIX C.....	160
	Progress of Beth Jacob Schools for a Ten-Year Period	
	APPENDIX D.....	163
	Will of the Ninety-three Seminarians	
	APPENDIX E.....	165
	Documents of the Polish Government	
XIII.	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	177

I. EDUCATION IN POLAND

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After World War I

When Poland regained its independence after the first World War, it was hoped that the nation that had itself suffered for almost one hundred and fifty years would be sympathetic to the needs of the Jewish people, which had lived and toiled on Polish soil for almost a millenium. It was expected that "in a state where the national minorities made up one third of the population the raison d'etat alone would call for a just and equal treatment of all citizens. These expectations did not materialize."¹ However, it was demonstrated once again that aside from liberal laws and international treaties, the actual day-to-day practice and the determination of the government to enforce the law, affect the plight of Jews in any country.

The Constitution adopted in 1921 was liberal and democratic, being based on the principle of the equality of rights of all citizens, regardless of race, religion, or language. It incorporated the provision of the Minorities' Treaty of Versailles² that assured to all minorities, dis-

¹Wolf Blattberg, "Polish Jewry -- Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow", edited by Leo Jung, Israel of Tomorrow, (Herald Square Press, New York, 1946) p. 417

²A committee of Jewish delegations presented a petition to the Peace Conference in Versailles which requested certain guarantees from the Polish Republic about to be established. See Appendix A, p. 154

tinguished by race, religion or language, free development of their national and cultural heritage. Unfortunately, the lofty principles of the Constitution were good only in theory and were not carried out in everyday life. The nationalist parties never accepted the principle of equality. They were eager to build up a Great Poland, wherein minorities composed thirty-five percent of the population, but on the other hand, insisted on the Polish national character of the state. This was made evident soon after the adoption of the Constitution with the murder of the first president of the new Polish Republic, a few days after his election, because he had been elected with the aid of the votes of the minorities (in particular, that of the Jews).¹

Compulsory Law of Education

After the establishment of Poland as an independent state and the adoption of its Constitution, a Compulsory Law of Education was introduced which set up an educational system on three levels:² Primary schools (7-10 years of age); Secondary schools (Gymnasium -- 11-18 years of age); Schools of higher learning. The government was obligated to provide schools in the areas previously occupied by Russia. Its main source of concentration was in the elementary school area, leaving the establishment of the secondary schools to private initiative.

¹Blattberg, p. 417

²N. Eck (Eckron). "The Educational Institutions of Polish Jewry", Jewish Social Studies (Vol. IX, January, 1947)

The Minorities' Treaty imposed upon the Polish government certain obligations "to secure to the people of the newly created or enlarged states of Europe, with adequate Constitutional guarantees and the sanction to be afforded by the League of Nations the following rights: their civil, religious and political liberty as individuals; their right of organization and development as national minorities; the attainment of equality of status for individuals and for national minorities."¹ In regard to the sphere of education, with which this study is concerned, Poland was obligated to provide in the public educational system, in towns and districts where a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech were residents, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools, the instruction be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language.² In fulfillment of the obligation of Article VI, elementary schools with Ukrainian, German and other non-Polish languages as the medium of instruction were established and maintained by the State, whereas "not a single Yiddish or Hebrew school was so established."³ As a matter of necessity, the Jewish schools were maintained by private organizations or individuals. In 1932, far-reaching reforms took place in the

¹H.W.V. Temperly. "Memorandum of Reasons for Proposals", Treaty of Versailles, (Vol. VII, Claims of the Nationalities, Henry Frowde, Hodder and Staughton, London)

²See Appendix A, Article IV, p. 155

³Eck, p. 1 ff.

government-established schools.¹ The first two grades of the Gymnasium were transferred to the Primary School to raise the level of universal education, while the upper two grades were detached from the Gymnasium and made into a separate unit called the Lyceum (Junior College).

Jewish Schools in Poland²

The twenty years between the two World Wars saw an extensive network of Jewish schools in Poland where Hebrew, Yiddish or Polish were the languages of instruction. In some schools two of these languages were employed simultaneously. These schools were set up by the Orthodox, the Yiddishist, Assimilationist and Zionist factions. Each type of school was tied up with the national, social, or religious ideologies prevailing in the life of Polish Jewry during this period. The new schools created after the first World War had a cultural value, but most important, they also represented a political issue. Each group demanded the right to establish schools with Yiddish and/or Hebrew as the language of instruction as a fulfillment of the Versailles Minorities' Treaty³ and the Polish Constitution.

¹Eck. p. 1 ff.

²Blattberg, p. 423 also in C.S. Kazdan. Dos Geschichte fun Dos Yiddishe Shul-
Vezen in Umuphengeke Poland, (Mexico City, 1947) also in Shmuel Rosenheck. "Hatnuah Halvrit V'Tarbut", Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora (Poland Series, Warsaw Volume) p. 340

³See Appendix A, Article IV, p. 155

Of the four hundred and fifty thousand (450,000) Jewish children, three hundred and sixty thousand (360,000) of them received their education in the local or government public schools, and ninety thousand (90,000) attended Jewish institutions. Of the thirty thousand (30,000) Jewish students in the secondary schools, only one-third were educated in the public high schools.¹ The large attendance in the Orthodox schools was due to the religious spirit of the masses and to their familiarity with this type of education for generations. In these schools, teaching was based on the principles of the Torah and the strict observance of its precepts. The aim of this system was the education of a youth devoted to the Torah and the strict observance of the commandments. The method of instruction was primarily Yiddish, but was greatly modernized.

At the other extreme were the Yiddish schools conducted by the central organization called CYSHO (Central Yiddish School Organization).² Its ideology was strictly secular in nature. Its leaders fought for the recognition of Yiddish as the language of the Jewish people. The main subjects of instruction were the Yiddish language and its literature. The network of schools was comprised of one hundred and sixty-nine (169) elementary schools with a school population

¹See chart on p. 64

²For additional information on CYSHO schools see Rosenheck, p. 341 and Kazdan, p. 91.

of 15,486 students, a few secondary schools and a Teachers' Seminary.¹

There were three types of Zionist schools:² The Tarbut Schools,³ where the language of instruction was Hebrew, consisted of seventy kindergartens, two hundred elementary schools, ten high schools, eight Junior Colleges, and had a total population of thirty-seven thousand (37,000) students; The Bi-lingual Schools where Polish and Hebrew, or Hebrew and Yiddish were the languages of instruction; the Mizrachi Schools, which were operated by religious Zionists and Hebrew was the language of instruction.

The schools of the Polish-Hebrew type outnumbered the Yiddish-Hebrew type. Their program of instruction was basically the same as that of the government schools with ten to twelve hours additional per week for Hebrew subjects. The graduates of many of their secondary schools were entitled to admission to universities on a par with the graduates of the government schools.

The aim of the Yiddish-Hebrew schools (Schulkult) was to assure recognition of Hebrew alongside that of Yiddish. In its sixteen elementary schools, twenty-three hundred (2,300) pupils attended. The Mizrachi schools may be recog-

¹Kazdan, p. 549. See chart on p. 64 of this study.

²Blattberg, p. 424

³These schools were located mostly in the eastern districts of Poland and stretched from the highest to the lowest educational levels.

nized as a transitional stage from the bi-lingual to the all-Hebrew type. They were supervised by the central organization called Yavneh. Its aim was to bridge the gap between rabbinical knowledge and modern science.¹

There was much internal discord amongst the Jewish factions with regard to religion and political issues, with the result that the educational institutions were built along these lines. The government was hostile to the Jewish people, and the Jewish people² were hostile to each other. As a result, the government took advantage of the factional conflicts to evade fulfillment of its obligations under the Minorities' Treaty and hampered the Jewish educational efforts by devious means. The educational controversy centered around four issues: religion, language, Palestine, social opinion.³

The controversy about religion centered around the place of religion in the curriculum and the relationship between religious and secular instruction. On the one hand, the Yiddishists rejected religion completely, whereas the ultra-Orthodox groups believed that religion ranked highest in importance. In between these two extremes were varying degrees of moderate views. The language question involved the view of the Yiddishist who elevated Yiddish (vernacular) to that of

¹Zevi Scharfstein. History of Jewish Education in Modern Times (Ogen Publishing Co., New York, 1949, Vol. III)

²Referring to the various factional groups.

³Eck, p. 1 ff.

the Jewish national language and the creation in Yiddish of a new culture of and for the masses. On the other hand, the Hebraists were devoted to the revival of the Hebrew language both in the diaspora and in Palestine. Still others proposed to cultivate both the Hebrew and the Yiddish languages.¹ A fourth group espoused the adoption of the language of the respective countries in which the Jews dwelt. Neither Hebrew nor Yiddish, they felt, should constitute the base of the curriculum; but Polish (in this particular case) should be the language of instruction. The place of Palestine in the school curriculum was championed by those who wished to place the Zionist aims in the center of the curriculum.² Social opinions were considered an essential element in the curriculum by some, while others felt that politics should be kept out of the schools.

Private primary schools attended by Jewish children were recognized by the government as equal to those of the public school system.³ However, they received no public support. Parents paid minimal tuition fees. The ideological schools were maintained only in the big cities. Many parents sent their children to public schools because of the factional quarrels and because the government hindered and

¹They were called "moderates".

²It met with strong opposition by three such divergent groups as CYSHO, the Agudah, and the moderates.

³See chapter "Legal Struggle for Recognition".

stifled educational efforts. However, when it came to their secondary education, the Jewish schools attracted many children of the upper class because these schools were considered more distinguished than the public schools. The majority of the Jewish pupils attended public schools and supplemented their Jewish education by attending private Jewish schools which were located in every town and village. In Galicia there were many Hebrew supplementary schools and modern Hebrew teachers. In the state-owned religious schools, religious instruction was given twice weekly. This was ineffective as the teachers were incompetent. Tens of thousands of young Jewish boys and girls were educated at the various youth movement centers. There, they were taught Hebrew, Jewish history and Jewish subjects in general. The following chart¹ indicates the number of Jewish pupils in primary and secondary schools in Poland during the years 1934-35.

Type	Public		Private		All Schools
	Number	%	Number	%	
Primary	343,671	80.8	81,895	19.2	425,566
Secondary	9,910	33.2	19,912	66.8	29,822
	<u>352,581</u>	<u>77.6</u>	<u>101,807</u>	<u>22.4</u>	<u>455,388</u>

¹S. Chmielewski, Stan Szkolnictwa Żydowskiego w. Polsce (Sprawy Narodowościowe, 1937, No. I and II). The original source in Polish was unavailable to this writer. However, it was quoted by Eck in his article.

The following figures were released for the year 1936 by the Joint Distribution Committee.¹

Number of Students Attending Jewish Schools.....	180,181
Number of Jewish Institutions.....	1,465

The Office of Statistics of the Polish Republic reported that there were only 97,400 students attending 626 Jewish institutions during the years 1937-1938.²

Most noticeable during these years (especially since the establishment of the Beth Jacob schools) was the progress in the education of girls, itself a revolutionary step for Polish Orthodoxy. How these schools came into being and their development until their disintegration with the conquest of Poland by Nazi Germany can be found in the following chapters.

¹Rosenheck, p. 340. See chart on p.64 of this study indicating a breakdown of the figures according to the sponsoring organizations.

²The figures quoted by the Joint just one year prior to those issued by the government indicate that there were almost twice as many students and institutions in 1936 than there were in 1937. This obvious discrepancy may be attributed to the fact that Jewish institutions seeking Joint support padded their figures in order to increase their allotments. The official figures of the Polish Republic Office, however, are also incorrect because they do not reflect those institutions pending government approval, nor those which were operating without governmental sanction. Yet these very institutions asked for allocations from the Joint Distribution Committee. Rosenheck estimates that prior to World War II approximately one half million Jewish children were of elementary school age. If we add 40,000 students (who were educated in private Jewish schools without governmental approval) to the figure of the Joint Distribution Committee of 180,000, the total number of Jewish students receiving a Jewish education would be 220,000 out of a total number of 500,000, or 44%.

Education for Girls in Poland

"The education for girls in Poland and Galicia was a heartbreaking and tragic one in the years preceding the establishment of the Beth Jacob movement. The difference in the attitudes of the parents towards educating the son and the daughter were diametrically opposed. Their sons, the fathers dedicated 'to the service of the L-rd'¹; they were made students of the Beth Midrash¹, Cheder², or Shteebl³, and confined to the four ells of Halacha.⁴ They possessed little knowledge of the Hebrew language unless it dealt with the tradition of Hassidism.⁵ They were removed from the world of reality both in thought and dress. They wore the traditional Hassidic garb and their world revolved about Jewish law."⁶ As the Jewish holidays would approach, many fathers and sons would travel to various cities to visit with the rabbi, while the mothers and daughters would remain at home to enjoy a lonely holiday.⁷ Such was the lot of the Jewish daughter. Here, the parents sacrificed to the environment. They dressed their

¹House of study

²Private Jewish school

³Hassidic House of Prayer

⁴Jewish law

⁵Pietism (literal translation). See Jewish Encyclopedia (Funk and Wagnalls Co., N.Y., 1910, Vol. VI) p. 251

⁶Scharfstein. p. 138

⁷Judith Rosenbaum-Grunfeld. "Sara Schenierer", edited by Leo Jung, Jewish Leaders (Bloch Pub. Co., N.Y., 1953) p. 411

daughters according to the latest fashion and educated them in the public schools. Many times their daughters attended Catholic monasteries for the benefit of secular studies. They spoke Polish fluently and were part of the Romantic-Polish national spirit. They observed the Jewish laws at home, at the command of the father, but were removed from the Orthodox spirit and what it stood for. The older women seemed to be withdrawing into a spiritual world of their own; the younger longed to be "modern", untutored in Torah, and with a smattering of modern science. In the Polish Gymnasium,¹ they seemed to feel that Judaism was merely "a useless restraint, a shell that obfuscated and that must be burst to let in light."² In many instances they were ashamed of their fathers and brothers, especially in front of their young non-Jewish friends. The son and daughter seemed to live in two different worlds and there was no bridge between them. How wide was the gap between the sons and daughters? According to an article by a prominent American woman, Rebecca Kohut,³ the prime interest of the East-European Jewish families was:

¹The Gymnasium was considered a detriment to the upbringing of the Orthodox Jewish daughters. See Orlean's article "Der Gymnasia Ufgott", Beth Jacob Journal (hereinafter referred to as BJJ, Lodz, No. 94-95, 1933) p. 5

²Grunfeld. p. 409

³Rebecca Kohut (1865-1951). Lecturer, author, educator, communal worker. President of first World Congress of Jewish Women and National Council of Jewish Women. Contributed to support of Beth Jacob schools.

"to educate the son more than the daughter, so that when he would be married he would be an educated husband and father, ready to take his place as head of the family. But what about the daughter? The plan for her was that when she would grow up she would be married off according to the social standards of the family and she would follow in the footsteps of her mother, doing for her family what her mother had done for her own... But we would like to explain the situation further, even after the Beth Jacob schools came into existence. A new era came into existence when Sara Schenierer founded this movement. A whole new situation arose which must be explained in detail in order to understand what Frau Schenierer encountered in order to put her idea across to the East-European Jews. True, the Jewish daughter did receive a secular education in the public schools, but only because this was the trend and not because the parents believed in it. On the contrary, the parents felt that the daughter's only goal should be marriage. This is when the Jewish daughter started seeking non-Jewish companions. She found out from her classmates many things about the Jewish people she never heard about at home, and many times she was influenced by Christian and anti-Semitic ideas. Thus started the resentment against her 'uneducated' mother and her 'unworldly' father. She despised the language that she heard at home because she felt it represented something common and poor. And yet, we cannot blame her entirely, because she did not find any feeling for Jewish life at home. The subjects she learned at school were foreign to the members of her family; they did not understand her and mocked her. The brother, on the other hand, was more respected in the family because he was acquiring Jewish knowledge. The daughter, however, did not aspire to have a Jewish education. This belonged to the brother and she felt that this was as it should be. The brother was important and she felt strange to his world. For this reason she tried to assimilate and to find a place for herself where she would be important. In time, the Jewish daughters were so assimilated that they became the most degraded among the Jewish people, although in the eyes of the non-Jews they were the so-called 'educated' Jewish daughters of Lemberg, Warsaw and Cracow."¹

¹Rebecca Kohut. "A New Morning for the Jewish Girls in Europe", Bejs Jakob (Beth Jacob Central Organization, Vienna, 1930. Original in German) p. 8

This was the plight of the Jewish daughter and her attitude towards her parents and home during the years preceding the first World War and immediately thereafter. This is further pointed out in an article by Sara Schenierer, founder of the Beth Jacob movement, in which she states:

"How can you stand by idly watching your daughters at the Sabbath table dressed in the garments of Polish aristocrats and engrossed in secular books? We have made the mistake of directing our attention toward the education of our sons, while at the same time we have neglected completely the education of our daughters."¹

Sara Schenierer was determined to correct this mistake.

¹Em B'Yisrael, (Netzach Publishing Company, Tel-Aviv, 1956, Vol. I) p. 45

II. SARA SCHENIERER

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Sara Schenierer was born in Cracow in Tamuz of the year 1883, to Reb Bezalel HaKohen, a descendent of the Shach¹ and one of the first of the Hassidim of Sandz. Her mother was a member of an aristocratic family in Cracow, which could trace its lineage from generation to generation back to the Bach.² Her father was dedicated to the education of his children in the spirit of the Torah and its traditions. For eight years Sara studied in the public schools, but even at the tender age of six was nicknamed "Husedka" because of her great religiosity. While in the public school, she excelled in her religious studies, in addition to being a diligent student of outstanding ability who was exceptionally gifted in all types of handiwork.

After the marriage of her older sister, it fell upon Sara to help out in the house, and although she was kept extremely busy at home, she did not neglect her studies and books. She derived pleasure in reading the Tzena U'rena³

¹Shabbeti B. Meir HaKohen, 1621-1662. Russian Talmudist. Among his writings, Sifte Kohen (commentary on the Shulchan Aruch); Ha-Aruk (commentary on the Yoreh De'ah).

²Joel B. Samuel Sirkes, 1561-1640. Polish Rabbi. Among his writings, Bayit Hadash; Haggahot (on all tractates of the Babylonian Talmud).

³Also known as the Teitch Chumash; collection of explanations of the Portions of the Torah and the Haftorahs; taken from the Midrash, Agadah and various commentaries. Original in German and Yiddish; also includes the Five Megilloth. Compiled by Jacob B. Isaac Maynov. Widely read by the Orthodox Jewish women on Sabbath afternoon. First issue, Prague, 1620.

with its commentaries. "Without these", she says, "Shabbos was not Shabbos for me."¹ In describing her great love for Jewish studies, she said, "All my days I derived no greater pleasure than from studying and reading the Holy Books."² Although she was the victim of mockery among her friends and neighbors, she paid no attention to their remarks and continued to go her own way. To help out in the house she turned to professional sewing, for which she had shown great talent.

Her first encounter with the lack of religious feeling among her own circle of friends came when, as a young girl, she was invited to attend a meeting of a group of young girls of the organization "Ruth", which was held on a Friday night. Although she was happy to be included among the other young girls in her town, she was disappointed when she noticed the leader of the group, herself a member of a Hassidic family, kindle a flame without hesitating to remember that it was Friday night. This disturbed her greatly, for she knew that at this precise moment the fathers of the young girls were sitting and studying the Gemorah³, while their mothers were doubtlessly reading the Tsena U'rena. At this moment Sara Schenierer became aware of the fact that if the young girls of the town had the proper environment and the proper meeting places, they would surely not turn from their religion to seek other pleasures.

¹Em B'Yisrael. (Vol. I), p. 22

²Ibid.

³The Talmud

It is true that Sara Schenierer was a dressmaker. "She had many customers; but when they came to her for fittings, she found herself philosophizing about them. She watched them as they looked critically into the mirror. As to dress, they knew what they wanted. They were very particular as to every little detail of fashion and workmanship. She envisioned them beautifully dressed in body, but spiritually in rags and tatters. If only she could help them to see where their real happiness lay. She felt that only because of ignorance were they ready to lose their priceless heritage, to exchange pure gold for mere tinsel."¹

With the outbreak of the first World War on the ninth day of Av, 1914, Sara Schenierer and her family were forced to leave Cracow and to flee to Vienna, Austria.² Little did she know then that this exodus would eventually supply the stimulus for her founding of the Beth Jacob movement. Little is known about Sara Schenierer's marital status.³ The year 1915 saw her a young woman of thirty-two in the Jewish quarters of Vienna, together with thousands of others who had fled from

¹Grunfeld. p. 409

²Em B'Yisrael (Vol. 1) p. 23

³It is interesting to note that in all the biographies and articles written about Sara Schenierer, none mentions that she was married. In her autobiography she refers to her engagement, but does not elaborate. This writer, through personal interviews with Rabbi Joseph Friedenson (active Agudist, editor of Yiddishe Vort, official organ of the Agudas Israel movement in America) learned that she had married twice; her first marriage ended in divorce. She bore no children. Schenierer was the surname of her second husband.

Galicia, struggling to find a temporary home until the storm would subside.

While attending services one Sabbath morning at a small synagogue in Vienna near her dwelling, Sara Schenierer was enthused by the sermon of Rabbi Dr. Flesch of the Stumpergasse, who was speaking about the heroine of the Hanukkah story, Judith, and who called for all Jewish daughters to follow in her footsteps and become leaders among their people. The idea to establish a movement for the education of Jewish daughters was then conceived in her mind, for she realized how very little they knew about the grand and glorious history of their people. Until now she had been groping in the dark, but listening to Rabbi Flesch, she became so inspired that she saw the way clear before her. She began to make plans for the fulfillment of her ambitions. She did not know exactly how to go about propagandizing her ideas, nor did she think it would be easy to convince the Polish daughters to follow her footsteps and to listen to her teachings. How could she, in this modern twentieth century implant in the hearts of "modern" daughters the desire to follow old traditions? Yet, she knew that her answer must be that she wishes to teach them old traditions only so that they would not bring disgrace to themselves, to their families, and to their heritage. So, Sara Schenierer wrote down with painful loyalty every lesson she heard from Dr. Flesch during her years in Vienna. She became his constant and most conscientious pupil, and she grew impatient to return to Cracow, to share her learning with her sister Jews.

Her Return to Cracow

Upon her return to Cracow in 1917, Sara Schenierer's first task was to call a meeting of all the women and young maidens in the city and to lay before them her ideas and thoughts for the establishment of a girls' club. In her memoirs she writes of how she sought consolation in the words of the sages: ..."Every assembly which is in the name of Heaven will in the end be established."¹ With this thought set firmly in her mind, she set forth to do her job.

At first Sara Schenierer's plans were met by the women and their daughters with great enthusiasm and happiness. She secured space in Cracow's Orphans' Home and here sought to establish her first group and to conduct her first lecture. It was not difficult for her to reach the mothers and mature young women, but for various reasons, mainly because she was stressing the observance of the Sabbath, it was difficult for her to win the confidence of the very young girls -- those who would have to be the leaders of the new generation. She felt that unless she could win them over completely, they would ridicule her and laugh at her ideas. She was not one to give up easily, however. Months passed and although no great progress was to be seen, Sara Schenierer continued her efforts towards her goal. During the high holy day season, especially, her efforts and prayers were renewed.² She asked for Divine

¹Ethics of the Fathers. (Chapter IV, Verse 14)

²Em B'Yisrael. (Vol. 1) p. 24

guidance and courage in opening the eyes of her Jewish sisters and their daughters so that they might see Israel's light. She knew that she must overlook the hurt to her pride, that she must ignore the sarcasm and ridicule and must do what she knew was right -- and that she would succeed.

As the months passed, Sara Schenierer saw progress. Slowly but surely her small organization for girls continued to meet and to develop nicely. However, one thought always kept nagging at her mind -- would all her efforts ever bear fruit? Would she be able to implant her ideas in the hearts and minds of young, mature women who had already formulated outlooks of their own on life? It was difficult to convince women who were following their own roads of life to abandon them for a completely new way of life. Sara Schenierer knew, therefore, that she must start anew -- that she must dedicate her life to teaching the very young. She would establish a school for the very young, and would create for them an atmosphere of Torah.

School for Girls Established

When Sara Schenierer was firmly determined to establish a religious school for girls, she sought advice from her brother who lived in Czechoslovakia. His first reply was most discouraging and he tried to dissuade her from becoming involved in factional difficulties. However, when he saw that she would not heed his suggestions and was determined to go through with her plans, he wrote her to come to Marienbad,

at which time the Belzer Rebbe¹ was sojourning, and hear whether or not he agreed with the plan. Her brother submitted a brief memorandum to the Rebbe on which were written the following words: "She wants to lead and educate the Jewish daughter in the ways of Judaism and the Torah."² The Belzer Rebbe announced his whole-hearted support of the plan with the words: "Brocho v'hatzlocho".³ "These words", wrote Sara Schenierer in her memoirs, "gave me even greater confidence in fulfilling my goals."⁴

By the month of Cheshvan, 1918, Sara Schenierer was already occupying her own schoolroom, surrounded by twenty-five girls for whom she had formerly been sewing clothes. It was a curious school indeed, without blackboards, bell, books, or materials; but, in spite of the primitive set-up of the school, the number of children grew rapidly. Sara was overjoyed, for now she was able to sew spiritual garments for them as well. By mid-winter, her school was developing nicely and growing daily, with a total of forty students already enrolled. The students, Sara felt, were of excellent calibre, eager to learn and devoted to their studies. She was already convinced that the children knew that "man does not live on bread alone, but on the words of G-d",⁵ and Sara Schenierer

¹Rabbi Isachor Beresch Rokeach (1854-1927)

²Em B'Yisrael (Vol. I) p. 29

³"Blessing and success"

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 30

knew that she could not rest until her school was established on a firm footing.

Sara Schenierer set forth to perform this task without a planned program or curriculum. She depended solely upon her Jewish instinct. Her friends doubted her entire undertaking and professionals reacted with mockery and ridicule. But, she did not reckon with any of these factors. Her religious instinct did not disappoint her.¹

Idealism -- the dynamic force which created, sustained, and nourished the Beth Jacob movement, was embodied in the personality of Sara Schenierer. As the Jewish world watched the rapid development of the Beth Jacob movement, it was amazed, and searched for reasons and causes for the great success of the idea of educating Jewish daughters. They could not understand the main cause for the great victory which Beth Jacob won in the life of the Jewish people. And what was this wonderful power which, in so short a time, was able to develop, broaden, enhance, and achieve such a brilliant success for the Beth Jacob movement? The answer to all these questions is one: "Sara Schenierer Idealism".² Her idealism remained steadfast through hunger, need, poor quarters and broken-down wagons. She sacrificed herself for the "pure ideal", receiving no personal gain. Even after the Beth Jacob movement was financially stable, her idealism

¹Judah Leib Orlean. "Woman of Valor", Em B'Yisrael (Vol. I. Original in Hebrew) p. 16

²Eliezer G. Friedenon. "Idealism", Ibid., p. 17

continued to prevail.

In an interesting letter written to Hillel Lieberman,¹ Sara Schenierer displayed her dynamic idealistic force: "You know that the Beth Jacob does not try to impart a great wealth of knowledge...but a wealth of spirit, a large measure of enthusiasm for the performance of the commandments and a large measure of good personality traits."²

How was it possible for a woman who started with twenty-five children to end up with thirty thousand students and three hundred teachers who were all united through frequent correspondence and working for the same ideal? "It was only possible because of her sincerity, her devotion, and her sacrifice for the idea. Sara Schenierer's call to 'save Jewish girls' was not merely an outside phrase, but an absolute necessity on her part. She felt it was her duty to perform the commandment and thus give reverence to G-d. For this reason the people who came from Western Europe respected her so and unconditionally served her. It was because in the vast European world they had never met such a woman. True, her first schoolroom was a dark, poor room in Cracow, but her power was illuminating. Even though the future for the education of the Jewish daughter was dark when she undertook her mission, one immediately sensed that in Sara Schenierer there was a powerful light that could never be extinguished."³

¹Director of the Beth Jacob Seminary in Jerusalem

²BJJ (Vol. 125, 1935) p. 39

³Leo Deutschlander. "Sara Schenierer and Beth Jacob",

Ibid.

In all her actions and deeds Sara Schenierer displayed great sincerity and the enormous responsibility of a great Jewish leader. While describing her impressions of the Seminary examinations in 1931, she wrote: "At this happy moment, a terrifying thought seized me. Do the young pioneers feel the great trust and hope which we have placed in them?"¹ At the Beth Jacob Seminary cornerstone laying, when her heart was filled with happiness, her joy was once again mixed with trepidation: "I offer a prayer to G-d that He should direct our work in a successful way."² At the summer courses at Jardanow, while she rejoiced with the Seminararians, she was distressed because many of the applications had to be rejected due to financial considerations, and her joy could once again not be complete.

Sara Schenierer was never satisfied with her work only as a teacher and educator, but also had in mind the lot of the needy and the poor. She was a mother to orphans, gathering monies for them. She would sign notes for dowries. She made the personal needs of every teacher her responsibility. She married them off, and in many cases provided for them. She advised the girls they should be mindful while selecting a groom, that he be G-d fearing and scholarly in the laws of the Torah. She was their mother -- and this was her greatest virtue. "The secret of her success lay in her motherliness,

¹"Biography of Sara Schenierer", BJJ (Vol. 125, 1935) p. 34.

²Ibid.

with which she carried her idea and spread it amongst her people. Sara Schenierer's entire purpose in life was children. 'My children', she would say. 'My beloved children.' She always possessed a love in her heart, and in her soul, and in her entire essence was dedicated to her children."¹

Her Literary Work²

Sara Schenierer's literary style was a simple and clear one. She did not employ diplomatic phrases or flowery language. A feeling of warmth permeated all her writings. In everything she wrote, she aimed to teach, to arouse, to summon and to lead. Her first series of plays for children contained "Hanna and her Seven Sons", "Judith", "Esther", "Rabbi Judah Halevi", "The Jug of Oil", and "The Power of the Sabbath."³ Her articles and stories about the Jewish holidays and all matters of Judaism contained the passage which she constantly quoted and which later became the slogan of the Beth Jacob schools: "Serve the L-rd in joy."⁴ Her letters to children in The Kindergarten⁴ taught them character and truth; and strengthened their Jewish faith.

¹Masha Goldberg. (a student of S. Schenierer) BJJ (Vol. 125)

²Em B'Yisrael (Vol. 11) pp. 97-142

³These plays were originally written in Yiddish. They were later published in special booklet form by the Beth Jacob Press. See chapter on "Beth Jacob Literature", p. 109

⁴This children's journal first appeared in 1925 as part of the BJJ. For full description see p. 103

Sara Schenierer devoted much energy to furthering the success of the Beth Jacob Journals. She mentioned them frequently in her letters and emphasized their value to her students at all times. They contained her warm articles about Judaism and her philosophy of life. Her column, entitled "Thoughts on the Biblical Portion of the Week", was used as lecture material in all the Beth Jacob schools.

During Sara Schenierer's first years as a teacher, a text or compendium on religion, necessary for effective instruction was not available. She therefore decided to write her own questions and answers and to prepare her own texts.¹ The book was designed to convey information to the students, and although it was very primitive, simple and old-fashioned in style, it served as a guidebook for her teachers. One can sense in it the warmth of her heart, her fear of the L-rd, and her love for Israel. The book dealt with the Ten Commandments and contained an explanation of the most important prayers and the six hundred and thirteen (613) commandments. Sara Schenierer offered a very intensive program in Judaism, which we can see from the following sample lesson:

"Teacher: Wus bist du? (What are you?)

Pupil: Yach bin a Yiddish kind. (I am a Jewish

¹Rabbi Leo Jung mentions in an article about the Beth Jacob, "The Renaissance of East European Jewish Womanhood", The American Hebrew (September 19, 1930) that he had sent to Sara Schenierer some copies of Magil's "Interlinear Translation" and the girls copied into their writing-books the translation of the Bible. Sara Schenierer's original notes were later published in book form by the Beth Jacob Press and used in the schools as a textbook on Judaism.

child)

Teacher: Mit wus bist du a Yiddish kind? (What makes you a Jewish child)

Pupil: Yach bin a Yiddish kind, weil ich hob die heilige Toire wus hot gegeben der heiliger Bescheffer. (I am a Jewish child because I have the holy Torah, given by the Holy Creator)

Teacher: Wus steit geschrieben in der heiliger Toire? (What is written in the Holy Torah?)

Pupil: In der heiliger Toire steit geschrieben as der heiliger Bescheffer hot beschaffen die Himlen un die Erd. (It is written in the Holy Torah that the Holy Creator created the heavens and earth)¹

In all her educational endeavors, Sara Schenierer concentrated on deeds rather than on words. She wrote with outstanding ability and charming simplicity. Her plays differed from all other plays in the sense that she wove into their fabric wonderful thoughts about the love of G-d and the observance of His commandments.² While it is the object of playwrights to catch the attention of the audience and influence it by his works, it was the object of Sara Schenierer to influence the actors themselves -- to implant in their hearts the holy flame of faith. Her plays, therefore also served as interesting reading material for all, for they contained no flowery expressions or phraseology. They were replete with pure and eternal truths, which re-

¹Grunfeld, p. 415

²Em B'Yisrael (Vol. III) Introduction

freshed the reader with waters from the eternal fount. Their influence was great upon the actors and the audience as well.

Her Letters¹

During her lifetime, Sara Schenierer carried on a large correspondence with her students and teachers. She managed to write to them while on a trip or in the very late evenings. In addition, she carried on a voluminous correspondence between herself and those teachers who lived in Western Europe. The vast differences in the way of life that existed between the Jewish daughters of Western Europe and those of the Hassidic daughters of Poland were bound to create problems for the Beth Jacob teachers. Sara Schenierer foresaw these dangers and in her letters admonished her student-teachers to use a gentle hand when instilling in the girls a strong faith in Torah. She felt sure that the difference of opinion between East and West would vanish if they would all have the same approach to the Torah and the same love for G-d.

Sara Schenierer's time was taken up with lecturing, travelling, and teaching, but she never, in all her correspondence, mentioned how hard she worked. Her only complaint was that she did not have enough time to fulfill all her tasks. Although her letters were written to individuals, they were applicable to all Beth Jacob girls. In them she

¹Em B'Yisrael (Vol. II) pp. 59-96

expressed, among other things, her love for the land of Israel. From one of her letters, written to one of her colleagues who had decided to emigrate to Israel, Sara Schenierer wrote that she, herself, would like to go along, but the Seminary still had need for her.

Her Interest in the Bnos¹

When the first conference of the Bnos took place in Lodz in 1926, Sara Schenierer did not attend,² for she was dubious whether it would be possible through this youth group to win the older girls over to Orthodoxy. Regardless of this fact, she watched the first steps of the Bnos with great interest. After visiting some of the groups, she became an active worker. She helped organize many of the groups and described with great enthusiasm the wonderful work of the Bnos, their aims and objectives, in her correspondence. At the time of the second Knaisseeyah³ of the Agudah, held in Vienna in 1929, a meeting of the World Congress of Orthodox Women took place, at which she was present. She expressed regret that there weren't more Agudah women represented at this Congress. During her many trips to local communities, to visit the Beth Jacob schools, she would take time out to deliver lectures at the local Bnos groups. Her interest in

¹Youth organization for girls. See p. 129

²Em B'Yisrael (Vol. 1) p. 55

³World Convention of Agudas Israel leaders.

preparing the girls for emigration to Palestine is evidenced by her visit to the agricultural training farm of the Bnos in Lodz, where she became acquainted with the study program and delivered a long lecture to the girls. In all her correspondence with her students and educators, she referred constantly to the Bnos and the activities of the organization. She was their leader and faithful worker to her last day.

In the following chapters, this writer traces the history of the Beth Jacob movement and, although the name of Sara Schenierer seems at times to fade from the picture, she continued alongside those she had cast her spell over to work for the education of the Jewish daughter. She always took an active part in all aspects of the movement. She was teacher, author, playwright, leader, guide; but first and foremost mother and friend to the thousands of young girls and women with whom she came in contact throughout the years.

When Sara Schenierer left this world, after a brief illness, she was fifty-two years old.¹ She had led the movement for eighteen years, the first six of which she had struggled all alone (1917-1923). When the news of her death spread, thousands of girls and women wept unashamedly, for they had clung to her as to a personal, intimate friend.² This was the impact of Sara Schenierer upon the women of her

¹She died in Cracow in 1935, although she had been hospitalized in Vienna and had undergone surgery there.

²"Ours and Hers". BJJ (Vol. 125, 1935) p. 42

generation. In her last Will and Testament,¹ written on her deathbed to her thousands of pupils all over the country, Sara Schenierer tried to put in writing her philosophy of life -- the life of a dressmaker, without education, who emerged a pioneer among women and took her place in the ranks of the great leaders in Jewish history.

¹See Appendix B, p.158 for translation of original Yiddish text by Grunfeld.

III. THE BETH JACOB SCHOOLS

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In The Beginning

"The main goal of the Beth Jacob school", wrote Sara Schenierer, "is to train the Jewish daughters so that they will serve the L-rd with all their might and with all their hearts; so that they will fulfill the commandments of the Torah with sincere enthusiasm and will know that they are the children of a people whose existence does not depend upon a territory of its own, as do other nations of the world whose existence is predicated upon a territory and similar racial background. The Beth Jacob ideology stresses the following: religion; fight against assimilation; attachment to the Yiddish language."¹

In the words of Sara Schenierer, "the Jewish people has one holy ideal through which, and because of which, it became a nation -- its Torah. Only because the Jewish sons and daughters abandoned it and did not adhere to its precepts have they been exiled from their holy land, Israel. The Beth Jacob school has as its goal the training of the Jewish woman to fulfill the commandments of the Torah and to educate its daughters in the Torah spirit. Not by the construction of beautiful edifices or large libraries will the fire of knowledge be implanted. No! Only when they will study the holy Torah, disseminate and spread it, fan its flames, open the Jewish eyes and warm the Jewish hearts with it, will the law

¹Schenierer. BJJ (Vol. I, 1923)

of the Torah remain the law of life. And how can this happen if not only through intensive religious schools for the Jewish daughter? Therefore, we must organize only truly Orthodox schools for your daughters which will imbue them with the Jewish faith and will implant in their hearts a Jewish consciousness."¹

The first school was organized in Cracow in 1917 with an enrollment of twenty-five students. How the idea came to Sara Schenierer has already been pointed out in the previous chapter. This first school was held in a Hassidic synagogue. After four weeks duration, the owner disposed them, saying: "I don't want a school on my property."² When Mr. Motel Luxemburg registered his seven year old daughter, he promised to give Sara Schenierer a new home for her school. This turned out to be at Catachina No. 1. Sara Schenierer's "school" for twenty-five students was, in the short period of one year, too small and too overcrowded. With its development and the spread of its popularity, communal workers in Cracow could not stand by idly, and they became interested in the fate of the school. In 1919, the main spokesmen³ of the Agudas Israel (Shlomey Emuney Yisrael) in Cracow decided at its first program session to make the Beth Jacob a part of its

¹Schenierer. BJJ (Vol. 1, 1923)

²"Our Work in the Education of Girls". Ibid. (Vol. 48, 1930) p. 39

³Among these were Ascher Schapiro, Moshe Deutscher and Meier Heitner.

program of activities in such a manner that the local Agudah incorporate the Beth Jacob school in an official capacity.¹ Sara Schenierer no longer stood alone. The organized religious community supported her fervently and with emotion. The success of the Cracow school reached other Jewish communities and many cities and towns turned to Sara Schenierer for assistance in establishing schools in their cities. She accepted this task. Since there were no teachers available who were able to meet her standards, Sara Schenierer sent her own young students of fourteen and fifteen years of age to remote places to head these new schools. The workers of the Agudas Israel came to her help and supported her every move. Der Yid (The Jew)² supported her whole-heartedly. With the growth of the Agudas Israel in Poland, the network of Beth Jacob schools grew, too.

Keren HaTorah Formed

At the first Knaiseeyah G'dolah of the Agudas Israel which took place in Vienna in Elul of 1923, it was decided to form a Torah fund -- "Keren HaTorah" -- whose task it was to support the Torah institutions and Yeshivos. This was the idea of Dr. Leo Deutschlander, a young, energetic man, educated in the Western European style, who spoke in Yiddish with

¹Joseph Friedenzon. "Batey Hasefer Livnos Bais Yaakov B'Polin", edited by Zevi Scharfstein, Hachinuch V'Hatarbut Halvrit B'Airopa (Ogen Publishing Co., New York, 1957) p. 64

²Yiddish weekly published in Warsaw. Official organ of the Agudas Israel.

deep enthusiasm for the philosophy of the Agudas Israel and called upon religious world Jewry to support a Central World Organization for Religious Education.¹ He described the tragic situation of the Torah institutions, especially the Yeshivos, and so impressed the members of the Knaisseeyah by his moving address, that they believed he was the only logical man to organize the Keren HaTorah.

In 1924

When Dr. Deutschlander came to Cracow for the first time in 1924, to attend one of the sessions of the Agudas Israel, he immediately began to work out plans of how to build a movement out of the Sara Schenierer schools. He saw the tender beginnings of the Beth Jacob schools and set himself to work. His first task was to place the Beth Jacob schools under the aegis of the Keren HaTorah. This gave great momentum to the Beth Jacob schools and contributed greatly towards spreading the idea of Beth Jacob. As new schools began to spring up throughout Poland, Sara Schenierer's own school was no longer able to provide a suitable number of teachers for these new schools.

There was no official Seminary as yet in 1924. A pedagogic system was lacking, the most elementary books were lacking, and the situation in general was not a pleasant one.² Dr. Deutschlander put all the pedagogic strength he had ac-

¹"Dr. Leo Deutschlander". BJJ (Vol. 126-127, 1935)
p. 22

²Grunfeld, p. 426

quired in Germany into building the Beth Jacob movement. Through the years he continued to develop the schools. The syllabus, curriculum, examinations, continuation courses, as well as the financial foundation of the whole work, the building of the Seminary -- were the result of his wisdom and effort.¹ Dr. Deutschlander devoted twelve years to this cause -- the religious education of the Jewish child. Although he reaped benefit from his work in general, his greatest accomplishments and richest rewards came from his work in the Beth Jacob movement.²

In 1925

The first Beth Jacob conference, as arranged by Dr. Deutschlander, took place at the Chavatzet School in Warsaw on the first day of Adar, 1925. This brought a sense of order into the Beth Jacob movement in general and into the work of the teachers in particular.³ Dr. Deutschlander warned that new schools should not be built too rapidly -- without first providing properly-trained teachers -- for, even though the need was great, there was danger in providing the schools with ill-trained teachers.⁴ He pointed out that it would be impossible to solve problems which were left untouched for

¹Grinfeld, p. 426

²ibid.

³Raizel Roza. "From My Notebook", BJJ (Vol. 75-76, 1932) p. 53

⁴Deutschlander. "The Beth Jacob Problem", BJJ (Vol. 15, 1925)

many years in the short span of a few months. Internal education, he felt, must take place, which would centralize and organize all Beth Jacob work under the guidance and leadership of skilled educators. The role of the Beth Jacob teacher was considered the most important problem, for the teacher was the heart of the movement and therefore must be specially and highly trained. He called for the erection of a Seminary wherein teachers would be trained for two to three years. He warned that this would be a difficult task because of the heavy financial expense involved and recommended that the Seminary in Cracow continue under a reorganized plan with an improved program of Hebrew studies whose standards must be set by the Central Beth Jacob Organization. All students in the Seminary were required to study for a period of at least one year. Dr. Deutschlander suggested that an In-Service Training Course for teachers be established during the summer months of Av and Elul. These courses would be conducted by pedagogic experts.¹

In describing the program of the Beth Jacob schools, Dr. Deutschlander mentioned two types: the Beth Jacob morning or afternoon school which would offer courses in the religious studies only; the Beth Jacob all-day school which would offer a joint program of Hebraic (religious) and secular studies.² Dr. Deutschlander pointed out that the latter

¹See chapter "In-Service Courses" p. 113

²Deutschlander. "A Little Too Late", BJJ (Vol. 15, Adar, 1925)

type of school was preferable, as it was so preferred in Germany. However, it would be up to those attending the conference to decide which type of school to foster.¹ Dr. Deutschlander also stressed that suitable textbooks and literature would have to be created. The prayer book and the Bible could be used as is; however, it was suggested that a Biblical history be written by experts possessing an Orthodox religious spirit. He suggested that a history book be written containing the biographies of the great leaders of Israel. Other good history books, already in existence, should be translated into Yiddish. However, there should be a rewriting of the history of the Spanish and German eras. He recommended the formation of a Commission on Jewish Education which would work constantly and actively in this field. He pointed out that the influence of the Beth Jacob movement was already being felt outside of Poland -- in Germany, Switzerland, and even America.²

The Warsaw Conference was an historic one for it laid the foundation for the creation of the forge of the Beth Jacob movement -- namely, the Seminary in Cracow and the In-Service Training Courses -- which produced a link between the graduate teachers and their alma-mater. It was at this

¹The Beth Jacob All-Day school actually did not come into existence until 1929. BJJ, (Vol. 52, 1930) p. 19

²Beth Jacob committees were organized throughout the European countries and America to help raise funds for the schools in general and for the Seminary in particular.

conference that Dr. Deutschlander presented the following proposed minimum program of ten hours of study for the Beth Jacob schools, which would include a deep knowledge of Judaism.¹

Grade	Religion and Laws	Prayers and Translation	5 Books of Moses	Prophets	Hist.	Read. Writ.	No. Hrs.
I	3	2	--	--	--	5	10
II	2	4	--	--	2	2	10
III	1	3	3	--	2	1	10
IV	1	3	3	--	2	1	10
V	1	2	4	--	2	1	10
VI	--	1	4	3	2	--	10
VII	--	1	4	3	2	--	10

With regard to this program of studies, Dr. Deutschlander made the following suggestions:²

He called for a program which would impart a great deal of Jewish knowledge, and pointed out that the methodology in Bible should not become one which aimed to teach sermons or homiletics. Rather, it should be taught as a subject and treated as such; and must be taught according to the rules of grammar. A systematic religious training should be instituted which would teach Jewish law in its original sources through its highest philosophical concept. For example, teachers, while teaching the blessings, must

¹Deutschlander. "The Ways and Goals of Beth Jacob", BJJ (1925, Vol. 15) p. 64

²ibid.

teach the meaning of the blessing and then develop the idea of the blessing in its highest philosophical sense. In teaching the prayers, the child must be taught not only its translation, but also must sense the spirit of the prayer. She should be guided until she reaches the point of understanding the prayers by herself.

It was at this conference that Alexander Sische Friedman¹ proposed that compensation be made from a central fund to commission writers to create material for the Beth Jacob schools.

In 1928

By the year 1928, there were twenty thousand (20,000) students attending Beth Jacob schools, with sixteen thousand (16,000) in Poland and four thousand (4,000) outside of Poland.² In an interview with Eliezer Gerson Friedenon,³ Dr. Deutschlander reported that the Beth Jacob Seminary in Cracow already had fifty-four students who were divided into two classes and were under the guidance of Sara Schenierer and Chava Landsberg.⁴ There were thirty students in one group and twenty-four in the other. The first group was to

¹ General Secretary of the Agudas Israel, lecturer, author. See Eleh Ezkiroh (Vol. I) p. 112 ff.

² E. G. Friedenon. "Our Work for the Beth Jacob", BJJ (Vol. 39-40, 1928) p. 5.

³ Ardent Agudist, founder of Bnos, editor of BJJ. See Eleh Ezkiroh (Vol. I) pp. 99-102

⁴ She worked for many years with Sara Schenierer and Dr. Deutschlander in Cracow and in Vienna. She accompanied Beth Jacob on its route from Europe to Israel. She died in 1947.

be administered its final examinations and would be assigned positions as teachers in the Beth Jacob schools about to be founded. Plans for the founding of twenty-five additional schools for 1929 were being formulated. The Chavatzelet School for Girls in Warsaw opened training and pedagogic courses for teachers under the leadership of Mordecai Baumberg. Trade schools were opened in Lemberg and Warsaw, while the one in Cracow was closed because suitable quarters were not available as yet. At the summer courses held in Rabka during this year, one hundred and twenty-four (124) teachers took part in the In-Service Training Program, with lectures being given by Frau Judith Rosenbaum and Frau Rosa Deutschlander.

With regard to the progress being made for the erection of a new building for the Seminary in Cracow, the following information was available:¹ The exterior of the building had been completed at a cost of \$30,000 and an additional \$30,000 was needed to complete the interior of the building, which was to house four hundred (400) girls and was to include a library. The Beth Jacob Central Organization in Vienna had organized campaigns and had enlisted the help of Rabbi Leo Jung of New York and Rabbi Tobias Horowitz, who was visiting America from Poland, in campaigning for funds for the Seminary. Campaigns were also being planned for Poland, Holland, Germany and France.

¹BJJ (Vol. 39-40, 1928)

In 1929

In 1929 there were one hundred and eleven (111) schools in existence, with a school population of 14,930 students, an overall staff of one hundred and twenty (120) teachers, In-Service Training Courses conducted every summer, a good library of newly-created textbooks suitable for the Beth Jacob schools, tens of Bnos groups, and the sympathy and support of the entire world -- which looked to the completion of the new building of the Beth Jacob Seminary in Cracow.¹

At the second Knaisseeyah of the Agudah held in Cheshvan of 1929, in Vienna, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Knaisseeyah has confirmed that the Beth Jacob movement has proved itself to be the only solution to the question of education for girls, which is a painful and difficult problem. The Knaisseeyah therefore requests of all religious Jews in Poland that they contribute with all their means towards the support of these schools. The Knaisseeyah recognizes that the foundation of the movement is the religious-enlightened teacher and therefore requests that all religious Jews in Poland contribute towards the building of the Seminary in sizeable sums and to try to influence the various communities to set aside in their budget a sizeable allotment for the benefit of this fundamental institution."²

From this resolution we can see the close relationship between the Beth Jacob movement and the Agudas Israel. Eliezer Gerson

¹Alexander Sische Friedman. "From Month to Month", BJJ (Vol. 27, 1929)

²Kazdan, p. 482

Friedenzon summarized the connection between the Beth Jacob movement and the Agudas Israel with the following statement:

"In a Jewish community where Agudists do not endeavor to create a Beth Jacob school, or do not lend full-hearted support to the existing school so that its foundation shall be secure, they are doing a great injustice and are in default in regard to their elementary obligation to the Torah."¹

During this year a conference of all the Beth Jacob schools in Poland took place in Warsaw, at which time three hundred (300) representatives attended, including Jacob Rosenheim, active Agudah leader, and Dr. Deutschlander. All pedagogic, financial and organizational problems of the Beth Jacob schools were discussed, resulting in the following resolutions:²

- (1) A program of secular studies is to be introduced as part of the Beth Jacob movement.³
- (2) All rules and regulations with regard to tuition payments, building regulations, and time allotments, shall be set up by the Central Organization.
- (3) A special pedagogic commission is to be appointed to consult with the teachers regarding pedagogic problems.
- (4) No visitors shall be permitted to visit the classrooms without consent of the teachers.
- (5) To develop the youth groups⁴ in the schools so that they shall become part of the school program.

¹Kazdan, p. 483

²BJJ (Vol. 52, 1930) p. 19

³Founding of the Beth Jacob all-day school

⁴The youth groups for younger girls in the elementary schools were called "Batya".

- (6) All regulations in regard to registration must be adhered to in order to safeguard the classes from being over-enrolled.
- (7) To support the Bnos organization as the logical continuation of the Beth Jacob program, as exemplified by the Beth Jacob and Bnos group in Lodz.
- (8) All teachers should be required to assist in the founding of Bnos groups.
- (9) To encourage the usage of Yiddish as a spoken language between parent and child in the home, as well as in the school.
- (10) The establishment of a commission to set up a program of religious studies and to prepare suitable texts for its implementation.
- (11) To encourage the development of teachers from amongst the Polish Jewish girls in the Seminary, rather than from amongst those of German extraction.
- (12) Students in the Seminary should be encouraged to converse in Yiddish.
- (13) The program of Hebrew language should be included and broadened with the approval and agreement of the great rabbinical authorities.
- (14) The establishment of courses in the trades and vocations for the benefit of the older Beth Jacob girls and Bnos members.
- (15) More visitation to the schools should be encouraged, thereby helping to solve the pedagogic and organizational problems of the schools.
- (16) The Central Organization should set up the Seminary in such a manner that the students in training should also be recognized by the government school authorities as qualified to teach in the public school system.
- (17) To set up a program in secular studies for teachers in the profession who desire to complete their studies in such a manner that they may be considered qualified and recognized by the government.
- (18) To set up a program at the Cracow Seminary for

high school graduates to qualify pedagogically as teachers for the general studies, thereby enabling them to fill the vacant positions in the religious community schools.

- (19) To set up a course for religious kindergarten teachers and to establish pre-kindergarten departments in the Beth Jacob schools.
- (20) To request the government to exempt Beth Jacob students from attending religious lectures given at the public schools which they attend, as these courses are both harmful and an unnecessary burden to the children attending Beth Jacob afternoon schools.
- (21) To improve the health conditions of the Beth Jacob students by the founding of summer camps and colonies and the purchase of medical equipment.

During this year, a letter was sent by Count Ciechanowski, Ambassador from Poland, to Rabbi Leo Jung, chairman of the American Beth Jacob movement. It read:

"In reference to the conversation I had with you and Rabbi Tobias Horowitz, who came from Poland to the United States of America for the purpose of establishing Beth Jacob schools, I take real pleasure in telling you that the Polish government follows with great and sympathetic interest the development of these schools which, in its opinion, are destined to play an important part in the educational system of the Jewish population in Poland."¹

A mimeographed brochure, "Beth Jacob News" was issued during the summer of 1929 which gave a progress report of the movement for a ten-year period.²

¹Bejs Jakob (Beth Jacob Central Organization) Vienna, 1929), p. 30

²See Appendix C, p. 161 for copy of original text of this brochure. It is interesting to note that the figures in the brochure and those issued by Dr. Deutschlander in 1930 differ. All figures differ from those issued by A. S. Friedman, BJJ (Vol. 100, 1933) which must be considered as the most accurate in view of his position as statistician of the movement.

In 1930

By 1930 there were four types of Beth Jacob schools in existence: afternoon schools; all-day schools; Gymnasia (high schools); Seminary and teachers' courses.¹ The afternoon schools existed in the small towns, while the larger cities had the all-day schools.² There were few requirements for the establishment of the Beth Jacob afternoon school. The teachers needed character references but were not required to be licensed. Great emphasis was placed on the Beth Jacob afternoon school. Children attended these schools after they returned from public school. In many of the government schools, the children operated on a double shift because of overcrowding, causing many of the children to attend the public schools in the afternoon. Thus, they were left free in the morning, without a place to receive religious instruction, since there were no all-day schools in these small towns.³

The Beth Jacob all-day schools included a program of secular studies and had to maintain the standards set by the government.⁴ Because the children had to be graded according to their secular studies, the pedagogic and system-

¹A complete list of all schools in existence during this period can be found in Bejs Jakob (1929).

²Kazdan, p. 487

³Friedman. BJJ (Vol. 94-95)

⁴These are included in the chapter "Legal Struggle for Recognition", p. 134

matic success of the religious studies were minimized. The secular studies were taught in Polish. In order to compete with the influence of the Tarbut schools, the Beth Jacob schools had to broaden and strengthen their Hebrew language studies, but did not want to use Hebrew or Yiddish as the language of instruction in the secular studies. Their attitude was: "If we have to teach goyishkeit (secular studies), we prefer to teach in goyish (Polish)."¹ They also preferred to have non-Jews teach the secular studies, for they felt that in this manner they would be able to avoid having an assimilationist instructor in their schools who would, perhaps, be in a position to influence the students with his philosophy of religion. One of the main problems of the day schools was the lack of trained religious personnel or textbooks which were written by Orthodox people along religious lines.

The first conference of Beth Jacob school administrators took place in Lodz in 1930, at which time two hundred and twenty (220) delegates from over one hundred and eighty (180) cities participated.² The question of legalizing the Beth Jacob schools in light of the forthcoming new law of compulsory education was discussed. It was recommended at this conference that:³

(1) A proclamation should be issued by the outstand-

¹Friedman. BJJ (Vol. 94-95, 1933)

²BJJ (Vol. 52, 1930) p. 19

³ibid.

ing rabbinical authorities requesting religious Jews to send their children to the Beth Jacob schools.

- (2) Teachers should be trained to become spiritual leaders of the youth in addition to being pedagogues.
- (3) Kindergarten departments should be formed in the Beth Jacob schools.
- (4) Women's auxiliaries should be formed to help finance and support the schools.
- (5) The Beth Jacob schools should stress the development of personality and character training.
- (6) The Hebrew language should be taught in all Beth Jacob schools.
- (7) Formation of new schools should continue and better service should be offered to the existing schools.
- (8) Effort should be made to broaden and strengthen the Orthodox press, especially the Beth Jacob Journal and The Kindergarten.
- (9) In the larger cities, provision should be made to accept as many poor children as possible into the school, in an effort to enable them to have a Beth Jacob type of education.
- (10) The Central Organization should be in close contact with the schools at all times.

A progress report issued during this year revealed the following:

Year	No. Schools Established	Pupils in New Schools	Total No. Schools	Total No. Pupils
1919-23	8	--	8	1,130
1924	22	3,360	30	4,490
1925	19	2,095	49	6,585
1926	6	755	55	7,340
1927	32	3,565	87	10,905
1928	27	2,700	114	14,505
1929	33	3,340	147	16,145
1930	15	2,000	162	18,145

¹Deutschlander, Beth Jakob-- Was Ist, Was Will, Was Leistet (Vienna, 1930). Figures in this chart for 1927, 1928, 1929 and 1930 differ from those in BJJ (Vol. 100, 1933)

The year 1931 saw the opening of the new Beth Jacob Seminary in Cracow. Matters during this year dealt primarily with the Seminary and can be found in the chapter, "The Seminary in Cracow."

Concerning the Beth Jacob movement, the following two statements were issued in the Beth Jacob Journal during 1932; the first by the Gerer Rebbe¹ and the second by the President of the Executive of the Rabbinical Council of the Agudas Israel:²

"In our time, the work of the Beth Jacob is a holy work. The question of a Jewish education for Jewish daughters is more important than the education of our sons, for that has always been taken care of."³

"The founding of Beth Jacob schools for the education of Jewish daughters in the tradition of the fathers, in the faith of the mothers, in love for Judaism and its holiness, is a matter of great significance for entire Israel. The already-founded Beth Jacob schools are a jewel for the Jewish people. If those who receive a Jewish education in the private religious schools must remain in a Jewish environment in order not to stray from the road of faith, then how much more so is this true in regard to Jewish daughters who do not have that support which comes with Torah knowledge. In former times, when the masses were religious and every Jewish home was a sanctuary; when the Jewish daughters grew up under the guidance of the parents -- then, it was not so necessary to have such schools. Today, when the atmosphere is full of apostasy and lack of faith, the Beth Jacob is a life necessity not only for the education of our daughters, for the education of the entire future generations which lie in the hands of the future mothers."⁴

¹Abraham Mordecai Alter. Born in Gora, 1866. Died in Jerusalem, 1948.

²Rabbi Chaim Ozer Grodzenski. Born 1863. Died 1940.

³"Gerer Rebbe's Opinion Re Beth Jacob", BJJ (Fifteen Year Issue, Sivan, 1932)

⁴Ibid.

In 1933

All Beth Jacob schools in Poland during the year 1933 were under the supervision of the Beth Jacob Central Organization. All teachers were placed by the Central Organization and received instructions with regard to the methods and materials to be employed. The Central Organization sent out circulars and bulletins to the schools and issued statistics about the movement. It also carried on a monthly correspondence page which was distributed to the schools entitled, "What Teachers Write". The Central Organization issued several bulletins which contained news of the movement and propagandized it throughout the country. Regional conferences were set up by the Central Organization in Poland, at which time pedagogic and organizational problems were discussed.

After the Beth Jacob Conference in Lodz, during this year, the need to strengthen the bond between the Central Organization and the various branches of the schools in the provinces was stressed.¹ More unity between the teachers, the laity, and the Central Organization was desirable. The conference had been held in order to obtain a full picture of the entire school movement as it existed throughout Poland and to have an exchange of opinions and ideas between the school teachers and administrators. The outcome of this conference resulted with the Central Organization, the local

¹E. G. Friedenon. BJJ (Vol. 107, Elul, 1934) pp. 1-3

administrations, and the teachers being more united in their aims and goals. One of the most important problems discussed at this conference was the difference of opinion in regard to curricular procedures. While some administrators insisted that no course be given in Judaism, others insisted that it was the mainstay of the curriculum. Some educators felt that Jewish history should not be taught at all. There was also a difference of opinion as to which accent should be used in the instruction of Hebrew. Some insisted on the Sephardic, while some insisted on the Polish-Ashkenazic accent. Some administrators felt that Yiddish should not be taught as a language. The purpose of this conference was to come to a common understanding as to which procedures should be followed. Another request made was that there should be no lowering of teachers' salaries in order to meet the operating costs of the school. It was up to the administration to enroll new students by conducting an intensified propaganda drive for the Beth Jacob in an effort to encourage religious Jews who were not as yet doing so, to send their daughters to the Beth Jacob schools. The provincial schools stressed a need for regular supervisors who would be in a position to see that all regulations were carried out. However, it was impossible to grant this request. Instead, teachers were urged to seek visitation to a model school which would be set up and thus derive encouragement and self-advancement in their pedagogical work. It was stressed that "discipline is the keynote of the movement, and all must discipline them-

selves to follow the aims and objectives of the movement without deviation."¹ It was the duty of all teachers to help set up Bnos groups, even though some of the local administrators were only interested in the educational aspect of the Beth Jacob schools and did not concern themselves with youth activities. With regard to this Eliezer Friedenzon said:

"We have labored in vain and it is a desecration of G-d's name to permit our children to belong to strangers. We must give our children an all-encompassing education and we must observe all principles and use all methods which lead to that goal."²

With regard to the supervisory visits, experienced teachers were requested to visit fifty schools in order to determine the following:³

- (1) The initiative of the teachers aside from their regular teaching duties.
- (2) The knowledge and understanding of students in their studies.
- (3) The shortage of proper books in the schools.
- (4) The discipline and loyalty of the student to Judaism.
- (5) The discipline and loyalty of the student to the Yiddish language.
- (6) The attitudes and friendships existing amongst the students themselves.
- (7) To determine the unity of the school as reflected in its curriculum and its identification with the Bnos.

1-3 ¹E. G. Friedenzon. BJJ (Vol. 107, Elul, 1934) pp.

²ibid.

³"Work of the Beth Jacob Central Organization in 1933", ibid. (Vol. 117, 1934) p. 15

- (8) The attitudes of the student in her association with children who do not study in Beth Jacob.
- (9) The attitude of the student towards Agudistic ideals.
- (10) The extent of the independent actions of the student and her self-reliance.

In 1933, two all-day schools were opened in Warsaw, at which time a conference with the teachers and administrators took place. The following recommendations were made for the improvement of the all-day school:¹

- (1) Lengthening of the hours of the Jewish studies program so that there would be twelve hours in contrast to the rural schools where a ten-hour program was offered.
- (2) Hebrew language should be taught as a preparation for the explanation of the prayers.
- (3) Translation of the prayers should be taught in the first year, without waiting for the child to have sufficient knowledge of the Hebrew language before learning the meaning of the prayers.
- (4) One hour per week should be allotted to reading the Psalms, even in the higher grades, so that students will be able to read most prayers without error.
- (5) The study of the Five Books of Moses should be started in the fifth grade along with the study of the prophets, since the students are not prepared for these subjects before. The prayer of Hannah, Isaiah, and certain portions of the week should be started in the sixth grade -- not before.
- (6) This program and these recommendations should be accepted in all the Beth Jacob schools in every big city, especially with regard to the teaching of the pronunciation of words. In some Beth Jacob schools the Polish-Ashkenazic accent is employed, in some the Lithuanian, and in

¹A. S. Friedman, "An Evaluation of the Jewish Studies Curriculum", BJJ (Vol. 96, 1933) p. 14

some even the Sephardic. The Polish-Ashkenazic accent must be ruled as the accepted accent, since that is the accent the parents use at home. In order not to create a dichotomy between parent and child, the school must adopt the accent used at home.

The following table indicates the proposed time allotment revisions of Jewish studies, whereby the total number of hours would be twelve instead of ten:¹

Grade	Heb. Read.	Yid.	Judaism	Lit.	Trans. of Prayers	Heb. Lang. Gram.	Torah	Proph.	Total
I	5	3	3	1	--	--	--	--	12
II	2	3	2	1	1	3	--	--	12
III	1	3	2	2	2	2	--	--	12
IV	1	3	2	2	2	2	--	--	12
V	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	--	12
VI	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	12
VII	1	2	1	2	--	2	2	1	11

Although the land of Israel was not treated as a subject in the curriculum, the students were imbued with a love for the land, as exemplified by the following poem which was sung on Tu Bishvat:²

"O Holy land, Eretz Yisrael
 O how we long for you.
 We want to see you as in days of old
 With glory and splendor unlimited.

We would fly as birds
 And settle in your cities
 To breathe your air
 And to wet your earth with our tears.

¹BJJ (Vol. 94-95, Tishri, 1933) p. 14

²Friedman. "The Chamisha Asar Song", Eretz Yisrael (Eretz Yisrael Centrale of Agudas Israel, Vol. III, Adar, 1933) p. 13. Original song in Yiddish. Translated for this study by this writer. Tu Bishvat is the New Year for trees in Israel.

At least we eat with sorrow and joy
Your fruit, sweet and healthful.
And as we eat, we pray to G-d
To greet you, in person, very soon.

To plant your trees by ourselves
To kiss your earth and stones.
To dance joyously on your mountains
All together, all as one."

The following statistics were released for 1933, indicating the growth of the movement for a ten-year period:¹

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Students
1923	7	1,040
1924	22	4,490
1925	49	6,585
1926	55	7,340
1927	82	11,547
1928	114	15,941
1929	146	20,900
1930	176	24,440
1931	196	27,741
1932	215	30,640
1933	265	37,981

In 1934

The year 1934 was a crucial one for the Beth Jacob movement, for it had to cope with many problems in spite of the fact that it was firmly established and had made phenomenal growth.² A lack of discipline was evident in the movement of which both teachers and administrators were guilty, for they looked upon the Central Organization and its ideas as those emanating from individuals and not from the heart of the organization. The teachers and administrators did not

¹"Growth of the Beth Jacob", BJJ (Vol. 100) 1933

²"Beth Jacob Movement on a Healthy Foundation", Ibid. (Vol. 104, 1934)

feel that the directives of the Central Organization were binding upon the school and they acted arbitrarily. Judah Leib Orlean¹ stressed in an article dealing with this particular problem that if the Beth Jacob school system was to be successful and was to continue to produce what he called a "Beth Jacob type of student", the teachers and administrators must consider the directives of the Central Organization as binding, and must follow them. It was his feeling that inasmuch as the Central Organization was comprised of educational experts, and not laymen, their directives were not to be challenged, nor were they to be set aside by the local school administrators, even though the local authorities were not in full agreement with these directives. He felt that there should be no changes in the administration, the aims, or the objectives of the school. Said he:

"All local administrations must follow the school directives as set down by the Central Organization if there is to be unity within the organization. Of course, certain directives may be issued which will be questioned and discussed. However, if change is necessary, it will be forthcoming from the Central Organization. In other words, each group should have the right to question, in a democratic manner, but the directive of the Central Organization must be considered as authoritative and binding on all the schools. The movement needs rigid discipline in order to preserve the principles upon which Beth Jacob was founded. Many disputes between the local administrations and the teachers have been settled through the arbitral efforts of the Beth Jacob Central Organization. Some of the schools have slackened their tempo as well as their enthusiasm towards their work, with the result that a decline in educational achieve-

¹Director of the Seminary after Sara Schenierer. See p. 82 of this study for additional information.

ment is evident. The tempo must be quickened if the goal of Beth Jacob -- to rebuild the personality of the student -- is to be achieved. There must be clarity of purpose in mind at all times. There must be no slack and no let-up in the effort. Everyone should vie in helping to uplift the standards of the schools. This includes the teachers, the administrators, and even the children. All should keep the ideal in mind at all times."¹

The year 1934 brought with it curricular problems as well. Orlean presented these problems, as he saw them, and offered his solutions to them, in a most interesting article. They follow:²

Problem of School Books: Parents refuse to buy books (especially the prayerbook). They complain to the local authorities that the purchase of prayerbooks is unnecessary since they are willing to supply their own from home. The teachers feel that a uniform prayerbook is necessary for all the children, but they are being undermined by the local authorities who are pressurized by the parents. Parents are obligated to buy the prayerbooks. The parents do not cooperate, and set up their own standards as to which books are necessary and which they feel they can do without. The result is that many children don't have textbooks and the technical aspect of teaching is made difficult. Parents do not purchase copies of the Beth Jacob Journal and The Kindergarten and, in many instances, the children use the teacher's copies. There is nothing more suitable for the children to read than these two magazines. Yet, the parents fail to see the need for them, nor do they realize that purchasing these publications tends to strengthen the Beth Jacob schools. All children must own a complete set of books. After re-reading them, they can set up their own little Jewish library. They must subscribe to the Beth Jacob Journal and The Kindergarten.

Registration and Admission Practices: Parents tend to register their children two to three months after

¹"Beth Jacob on a Healthy Foundation", BJJ (Vol. 104, 1934) pp. 5-6

²"Curricular Problems in the Schools", BJJ (Vol. 109, 1934)

the school term has begun, and in many instances even later in the term. As a result, classroom work suffers; children who started on time waste time while the new students are catching up. There is always a new stream of children and the teacher is in a constant state of repeating and reviewing. Schools are being turned into merry-go-rounds, which is bad for the morale and discipline of the classroom. If this practice continues, the school will be destroyed. Children must be registered on time. Examinations should be administered to all the children and if they fail to pass such examinations, they must be held responsible for making up all work missed.

Problem of Practicing What is Taught: The home environment, in many instances, is a poor one. The atmosphere is not always a religious one and in contradictory to what the children are being taught in the classroom. Children must actually 'live Jewishly' in the school, for the home is lacking in this respect. All the commandments must be performed in the school. The children must spend the Sabbath day in the school, participating in the youth activities, songs, dances, lectures, and children's services. The teacher's duty is to start training the very young -- to be the student's constant companion, influencing her at all times, guiding and protecting her from straying from the right path. Do not compromise on anything, as is the habit of most parents. Children do not understand compromise.

Problem of Proper Attire: Parents feel that their daughters are being trained to be 'rebetzins'.¹ They believe that their dress is too extreme. There is to be no compromise. Children must be taught when they are very young that no part of the body should be exposed. Just as the boys are taught to keep their heads covered, so must the girls learn to recognize what the proper attire for young Jewish daughters is. Although the parents have a tendency to influence the local schools by pressurizing the teachers into lowering their standards, the Beth Jacob movement cannot and will not submit to such pressures for a few dollars.

Question of Weltanschauung: The ideal of the Beth Jacob is the acceptance of Malchus Shomayim (The Kingdom of Heaven). Children must be taught to under-

¹Wives of rabbis (literal translation). Actually refers to fact that the parents felt their daughters were being taught to be fanatic.

stand who the authorities of Torah are. They must be taught the proper outlook with regard to today's problems and they must understand how to react to local irreligiosity and the problems presented by it. It is the job of the Beth Jacob teachers to establish sound ideological ideas and not to get involved in politics.

The fault of the entire friction in the Beth Jacob schools can be placed upon the local lay leaders, for they have come to regard the Beth Jacob as an impartial educational movement, indifferent to the ideas of the Agudas Israel. This is not so. The Beth Jacob is part and parcel of the Agudas Israel philosophy. The parents are guilty of not concerning themselves with the students when they leave the Beth Jacob schools at the tender age of fourteen. They are being gathered up by irreligious organizations and this is the fault of the local administration, for it concerns itself only with the student while she is in the school, and does not wonder what will happen to the child when she graduates. Fourteen is a very impressionable age and the logical solution to this problem is the continuation of the student in a real Jewish atmosphere. The parents are also guilty of withdrawing the children when they learn how to read and write, resulting in a loss of tuition. To cope with this problem, it is necessary to increase the tuition rates in the upper grades. It is incumbent upon the local administration to strengthen and support the Bnos and Batya groups. The movement needs intensity. Hundreds are as yet receiving no education, and it is up to the Beth Jacob movement to remove the smugness of the parents and not to follow their whims and caprices.

What caused so many Beth Jacob schools to close each year? All the schools were community supported, but were expected to carry out the philosophy of the Agudas Israel.¹ In order to achieve this, it was necessary for the school administrators to be members of the Agudah, so that they could influence the nature of the school. Unfortunately, the adminis-

¹"Beth Jacob Central Organization in 1933", BJJ (Vol. 117, 1934) p. 16

tration of many schools changed hands, with the result that they were no longer Agudistic in policy. They strayed from the ideals of the Beth Jacob movement and were therefore closed down by the Beth Jacob Central Organization. The teachers were recalled and transferred to other cities. Statistics indicating the opening and closing of schools for 1932-1934 follow:¹

Summer 1932	161 schools with 166 teachers
Beg. 1933	<u>35</u> schools closed temporarily
	126 schools remaining
Summer 1933	14 schools were reopened
	<u>49</u> new schools opened
	63 schools opened, bringing the total to 189 schools with 204 teachers
Beg. 1934	14 schools temporarily closed, making a total of 175 schools
Beg. 1934	27 schools opened again
	<u>36</u> new schools opened
	63 schools opened, bringing the total to 238 schools and 244 teachers
Iyar 1934	25 schools temporarily closed
	4 schools re-opened
	8 new schools opened, bringing the total to 225 schools with 238 teachers
Total number of students in these schools: 30,000	

Other available statistics for 1934, were found in Kazdan's study of all religious schools during this period.² They follow:

¹ Ibid.

² Kazdan, p. 549

Type of School	Orthodox Schools	
	No. of Schools	No. of Students
Chorev	568	71,000
Beth Jacob	250	38,000
Yavneh	184	12,277
Private Rel. Schools	1,500	40,000
Community Schools	58	10,300
	<u>2,560</u>	<u>171,577</u>
% of all Jewish children.....		29.5%

Type of School	Non-Orthodox Schools	
	No. of Schools	No. of Students
CYSHO	169	15,486
Tarbut	269	37,000
Schulkult	16	2,343
	<u>454</u>	<u>54,829</u>
% of all Jewish children.....		9.3%

The total number of students receiving religious, Yiddish or Hebrew education, according to Kazdan, was 226,406. In addition, 343,671 children attended public school. Some of these also studied in the Beth Jacob after-noon schools and in the private religious schools. The best accurate estimate, according to Kazdan, of Jewish children attending any type of school in Poland, would be approximately 500,000.¹

Summary: 61.2% of Jewish children studied in Polish-teaching public schools
 29.5% (one-third) of the Jewish children studied in the Orthodox school system
 9.3% of the Jewish children studied in the Yiddish-

¹ Ibid.

secular or Hebrew-secular school system

Two staunch supporters of the Beth Jacob movement during this year were the Lubavitcher Rebbe¹ and the Chofetz Chaim². The editor of the Beth Jacob Journal stated, after a speech delivered by the Lubavitcher Rebbe to the Beth Jacob students and Bnos:

"It is characteristic that such a great scholar and a leader of Hassidus should show such devotion to the idea of education for Jewish women. We are sure that if all the great rabbis of Israel would come to the aid of our cause verbally and actively, our work would surely be successful."³

A copy of a letter written to "The Supporters of Torah in the City of Pristik" by the Chofetz Chaim was reprinted in the Beth Jacob Journal. It stated:

"When I heard that religious Jews volunteered to found a Beth Jacob school to teach Torah, the fear of G-d, and ethical behavior to girls, I wanted to strengthen their hands. This is a great matter in our days; especially since the stream of apostasy is rampant, and the free-thinkers steal the souls of our brothers and all who are G-d-fearing. It is rewarding to enroll one's daughter in this school. All the doubts about the prohibition of teaching one's daughter Torah are baseless in our days because our generation is different from previous generations where every Jewish home followed the path of Torah and the precepts and read 'Tsena U'rena' every Sabbath. Today it is different. We must therefore try to increase the number of such schools and to save whatever we can."⁴

¹Rabbi Isaac Joseph Schneiersohn, 1880-1950.

²Rabbi Israel Meir Kahan, 1838-1933.

³BJJ (Vol. 115, Iyar, 1934) p. 3. From this statement it is evident that not all the great rabbis of the time supported the idea of education for girls.

⁴BJJ (Vol. 112, 1934)

In 1935

From a circular sent by the Cracow Beth Jacob Central Organization, and a copy of which appeared in the Beth Jacob Journal, it was evident that schools were suffering from financial difficulties during this year, with the result that some of them had closed down temporarily, only to re-open again in a few months as a new school. In the meantime, all their previous obligations were cancelled. It was obvious from the circular that teachers were not being paid the salaries due them and their wages were being withheld.

"This term thirty-two school administrations have asked to change their teachers. Many school administrations demand that the teachers participate in the fund-raising activities of the schools. In many a case teachers are required to make appeals for the schools. If the teacher is not a polished speaker, she is deemed incompetent and is released from her job. The Central Organization feels that it is unfair to ask teachers to be polished speakers and severely criticizes the school administrators with mismanagement. If there are not enough paying students to sustain the school, only the school administrators themselves are to blame."¹

A new project mapped out by Judah L. Orlean was put into effect during the year 1935. The plan was as follows:

"A questionnaire is to be set up (consisting of over one hundred and eight (108) questions) dealing with school life. This will give a clear picture of the schools and of the progress being made by the children. The data shall be gathered in the following manner: The two hundred and fifty (250) existing schools shall be divided into fifty areas, each with five schools. One teacher is to be selected from each area to do a two-week visitation to the four other schools in her area. She is to spend two to three days in each school and on the basis of her

¹"A Look at Our School Life", BJJ (Vol. 120, Kislev 1935) p. 2

observation answer the questionnaire. The schools of the visiting fifty teachers are to be divided into ten parts and are to be visited by ten teachers from the previous two hundred schools. All questionnaires, after being filled out, will be submitted to the local Central Organization of five schools, one school to be selected superior on the basis of the questionnaire. These fifty selected schools will be visited by the Beth Jacob Central Organization which will select the ten best schools. All members of the pedagogic body of the Central Organization will select one school as a model school. The following shall be the results of the survey: The selection of one model school; the selection of ten superior schools; the selection of fifty good schools. Such a survey shall be conducted each year with awards being distributed to the sixty-one (ten plus one plus fifty) selected schools. Banners shall be awarded to the schools, in addition to which special exhibits made by the children of these schools shall be on display at the Beth Jacob Seminary in Cracow. Scholarships shall be awarded to the best students upon entrance into the Seminary. Each of the sixty-one schools shall hold a festive celebration in honor of its being selected, at which time local lecturers and leaders shall be invited to participate in the festivities. The model school shall, of course, receive the highest survey awards. This survey shall be carried out over a period of six months."

The number of hours of general studies, under the New School Law of 1935, was to be one hundred and twelve (112) per week. This was a change-over from the previous policy wherein the two lower classes received a sum total of twenty hours (two times ten) and the five remaining classes twelve hours weekly for a total of sixty hours (five times twelve). Each class, therefore, now received fourteen hours of instruction per week. The previous number of hours of instruction under the law of 1922 was eighty. This represented an increase of thirty-two hours in the secular studies.

The time allotment for the general studies and religious studies in the all-day school under the new law was as follows:¹

Grade	Jewish Studies Per Week (No. of Hours)	Secular Studies Per Week (No. of Hours)	Total Hrs.	Time Schedule
I	18	14	32	9:00-2:00
II	18	14	32	9:00-2:00
III	20	14	34	9:00-2:50
IV	20	14	34	9:00-2:50
V	22	14	36	9:00-2:50
VI	22	14	36	9:00-2:50
VII	22	14	36	9:00-2:50
VIII	22	14	36	9:00-2:50

The schedule for review of the religious studies was as follows: Grades I through V -- 4:15 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.; Grades VI through VIII -- 4:15 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. The time allotment of subjects per week was as follows:²

Subject	Grade								Total Hrs.
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Polish Language	6	6	4	5	4	4	4	5	38
History	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	2	8
Geog. & Soc. Sci.	-	-	2	2	4	4	4	4	20
Arith. & Geometry	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	22
Drawing	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	5
Manual Training	2	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	8
Music	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	5
Gym	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	6
Total									112

¹Hillel Seidman. Dos Yiddische Religieze Shul-Vezen in die Ramen fun der Polische Geetzgebung (Chorev Press, Warsaw, 1937) p. 69.

²Seidman. Ibid. (Chapter II) p. 70

The regional conference of Beth Jacob teachers held in Cracow during this year (1935) was the first conference of Beth Jacob teachers to be held without the presence of Sara Schenierer, who had recently passed on.¹ At this conference, Judah Leib Orlean pointed out that there was a dearth of proper literature for students of the Beth Jacob, with the result that a resolution was passed urging all teachers to use The Kindergarten as suitable reading material. It was also decided to perpetuate the name of Sara Schenierer by creating a fund entitled "Ohel Sara", in her memory, which would be used to create literature for the movement. All girls who were engaged to be married and had received a dowry had decided to give up their dowry while retaining a small amount to purchase some jewelry, and to contribute the money towards this fund. One of the Beth Jacob lecturers, Chana Grossfeld, contributed \$300 of her dowry towards this fund.²

In 1936, the following statistics were released³ by the Office of Statistics of the Polish Republic:

Organization	No. of Institutions	No. of Students
CYSHO	169	16,486
Tarbut	269	44,780
Schulkult	16	2,343
Yavneh	229	15,923
Chorev	177	27,605
Chorev (in Vilna)	190	21,518
Yeshivos	103	10,217
Vaad Hayeshivos	64	5,724
Beth Jacob	248	35,585
	1,465	180,181
Community Schools and Chadorim		50,300
		230,481

¹BJJ (Vol. 125, Iyar, 1935)

²Ibid.

³Rosenheck, p. 340

The following data was available for 1937 and 1938:

"In 1937, there were two hundred and fifty (250) schools, in which there were 38,000 students. In the summer of 1937, there were 230 schools and 249 teachers. In 1938, there were 235 schools and 247 teachers. This meant that there was one teacher available for every one hundred students. In 1938, there were 229 schools, 30,938 students, and 337 teachers. During this year, Isaac Lewin¹ reported that there were 225 schools and 27,000 students. The most authoritative figure, taking into consideration all sources is: 230 schools and 23,000 students."²

The last figures issued before the outbreak of the war, according to Kazdan, with regard to all students receiving a religious education in Poland are: Chadorim, Talmud Torahs and Yeshivos, 692 institutions and 71,469 students; Beth Jacob schools, 250 institutions and 38,000 students; Total number of religious institutions, 942; Total number of students, 109,469.

In 1937, at a meeting of the Third Knaiseeyah of the Agudas Israel, held in Marienbad, the following decisions were made regarding the Beth Jacob movement:³

- (1) The World Central Organization of the Beth Jacob movement should now be located in London instead of Cracow.⁴
- (2) A Central Beth Jacob Organization should be set up in each country, which would service and represent all the schools on a national scale.

¹Member of the City Council in Lodz. At present residing in New York, he is principal of the Yeshiva University High School for Girls in Brooklyn.

²Kazdan, p. 485

³Rabbi B. W. Jacobson. "Program of Achievement", BJJ (Vol. 145, 1938) p. 2

⁴This was due either to the impending war, or because the Beth Jacob was now a world movement, rather than a Polish movement.

- (3) Any school which is not a member of the Beth Jacob Central Organization should not be called a Beth Jacob school.
- (4) Representatives of the London World Beth Jacob Central Organization and a delegate of each national Central Organization are the Executive Advisory Board of the World Beth Jacob movement. This Board should meet every year in a different country.

According to statistics published in the Beth Jacob Journal¹ for the year 1938, it was reported that funds were distributed to seventy-eight (78) provincial schools which came from the office of the Beth Jacob Central Organization in London. It was further reported that funds would be forthcoming from the Joint Distribution Committee for support of these schools. In Cheshvan, 1938, twenty-two schools closed down, and twenty-three re-opened after being closed. Four completely new schools were opened. The winter of 1938 saw 224 schools active, with 247 teachers. The reason given for the closing of the schools was the indifference of the religious community, which threw the work of running and supporting the schools on a few individuals.

¹BJJ (Vol. 150, 1938) p. 56

IV. THE SEMINARY IN CRACOW

The center of the Catholic youth organization and the Polish youth movement in Cracow was the St. Joseph Seminary. It was founded in 1862 and was the first Catholic youth organization in Poland. In 1914, at the outbreak of World War I, it had developed three periods of growth: before the arrival of the Western Europeans, pedagogues and teachers at which time the Seminary was under the direction of Sarmatian educators, pedagogues and administrators and guidance of the Seminary by a group of teachers under the influence of Dr. Leo Sautsonlander. The third period under the direction of John John Orlan.

IV. THE SEMINARY IN CRACOW

When Dr. Orlan left the Seminary, he brought with him three outstanding German pedagogues: Dr. Alois Rinsbaum, Betty Roshen and Maria Landsberg. Although these three were now up to the Seminary, they were educated in the universities of Bonn and Halle where they received their training in the very best and best of the German pedagogical system. They were well known in the Seminary and their period of teaching the time to see Seminary and later from 1920 to 1925 as a study of the Seminary. This was the beginning of a new period (1925-1933) in the Seminary.

The Seminary was also in the year 1925. It was the year that the Catholic youth movement in Poland was organized and the Seminary was the center of the movement.

IV. THE SEMINARY IN CRACOW

The center of the entire school organization and the pattern according to which the ever-increasing number of Beth Jacob schools formed themselves was the Beth Jacob Seminary in Cracow. The Seminary in 1939, at the outbreak of World War II, had witnessed three periods of growth:¹ Before the arrival of the Western-European pedagogues and teachers at which time the Seminary was under the direction of Sara Schenierer; Pedagogic administration and guidance of the Western European educators under the influence of Dr. Leo Deutschlander;² The third period under the direction of Judah Leib Orlean.

When Dr. Deutschlander assumed the curricular responsibility of the Seminary, he brought with him three outstanding German pedagogues: Dr. Judith Rosenbaum, Betty Rothchild and Chava Landsberg. Although these three women grew up in a Western-European atmosphere and were educated in the Universities of Bonn and Heidelberg, they understood Sara Schenierer very well and worked along with her most harmoniously. In 1925, when they arrived in Cracow, the girls in the Seminary shared one large room that served as a "study" during

¹E. G. Friedenзон. "Our Seminary on the Eve of a New Period", BJJ (Vol. 96, 1933) p. 2

²Dr. Deutschlander died in August, 1935. This was the year that the Beth Jacob suffered a double blow, for Sara Schenierer and Dr. Deutschlander died within a few months of each other.

the day. Through the efforts of Dr. Deutschlander and his co-workers, this was soon to change. What was the Seminary like as it appeared in those days? Dr. Deutschlander gives the following description:

"The girls met in an old boarding house in an old and delapidated street. The steps were in bad shape. Two rooms were rented out to the future Beth Jacob teachers. We opened the door and walked in. The first room we had to go through served as a kitchen in which they cooked for fifty people. It was small and narrow and was separated from the other room by a curtain. This second room served as a study room and sleeping quarters, in addition to being used as a dining room, wardrobe and washroom for all fifty of its occupants. Twenty girls shared one room, sleeping two in each bed. There was no room for additional beds and so the others slept on folding cots that were set up in the room used for studies during the daytime. In spite of this, all the students were happy and anxious to learn; joyous and carefree at all times. Many of the students came from well-to-do homes and were used to luxury, but they never expressed dissatisfaction. These girls, who were the pioneers of the Seminary, served the Torah with self-deprivation, devotion and boundless love."¹

The most important outcome of the first Beth Jacob conference held in Warsaw in 1925, was the formulation of plans to build a Beth Jacob Seminary.

"Dr. Deutschlander's life goal was to see the speedy building of this Seminary and he carried on a wide-spread propaganda campaign in letters and words for the Beth Jacob Seminary. He visited all the Jewish cities and was successful in setting up a Beth Jacob Committee in all the populated Jewish centers. All these committees were directed through the Keren HaTorah Central Organization in Vienna, and Dr. Deutschlander kept activating these committees constantly. After a few years, he was successful in raising the sum needed to build the large Beth Jacob Seminary. It was difficult to raise funds for this purpose, but Dr. Deutschlander travelled

¹Deutschlander. "Historical Background" (Original in German) Bejs Jakob (Beth Jacob Central Organization, Vienna, 1929) p. 7

from land to land; he aroused the people, he demanded attention, and it was mainly through his efforts that the Beth Jacob Seminary rose to the high level it finally reached before the War."¹

Building Plan

The new building for the Beth Jacob Seminary was erected in 1931 and was situated at "Stanislawa 10".² Those who visited the Seminary in the years between 1933 and 1939 saw a fine building, well-equipped, large dormitories and study rooms and a beautiful dining hall, sunlit and well-furnished. But the building was never fully completed.

"The outside decorations, which were the last thing on the plan were never actually made. When the hostile wind of destruction howled over the Jewish quarters of Cracow, the Beth Jacob Seminary in Stanislawa 10 still displayed an unfinished facade, bare against the sky."³

The building plan was as follows:

The Basement: Two kitchens, a dining room, sleeping quarters for the house-master and a central heating system, a practice-teaching room.

Ground Floor: Three rooms, a gym, a kindergarten room.

First Floor: Two large classrooms, 1 large room for Seminar and 1 room for the director.

Second Floor: Dormitories for the teachers and study rooms.

¹Grunfeld, p. 427

²Funds for the Seminary were provided by the American Beth Jacob Committee composed of Cyrus Adler, Sue Golding, Leo Jung, Rebekah Kohut and Frieda Warburg; the ultra-violet ray equipment was the gift of Jacob Michael of Germany.

³Grunfeld, p. 424

Third Floor: Three large sleeping quarters and lavatories.

Fourth Floor: Same plan as the third floor."¹

The Curricular Aims

The following were the curricular aims of the Seminary:²

- (1) To give the students a clear knowledge of all Jewish subjects and the ability to study further and to broaden and deepen their education.
- (2) To afford the students a thorough education in the secular subjects which shall include the Polish language, its literature and history; the German language and literature; Pedagogy; Psychology; History and Geography.
- (3) To give the students a most modern pedagogic training and perfection according to the latest trends in education.
- (4) To develop a Jewish consciousness and a religious weltanschauung in the students.

Time Allotments for the First Two Grades³

Subject	Grade I	Grade II
Five Books of Moses	6 hrs.	6 hrs.
Prophets and Hagiographa	4 hrs.	4 hrs.
Prayers and Ethics of the Fathers	4 hrs.	4 hrs.
Jewish Law	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Biblical History	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Jewish History	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Hebrew Grammar	4 hrs.	4 hrs.
Pedagogy	2 hrs.	3 hrs.
Psychology	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Polish History, Literature, Geography	4 hrs.	6 hrs.
German	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
Handicraft	2 hrs.	2 hrs.
	<u>36 hrs.</u>	<u>39 hrs.</u>

¹BJJ (Vol. 39-40, 1928) p. 22

²Ibid.

³Deutschlander. Bejs Jakob, Sein Wesen Und Werden (Keren HaTorah Centrale, Vienna, 1928) p. 13

The course of study at the Seminary was for a two-year period and consisted of the following areas of emphases:¹

Five Books of Moses: This included the study of the Five Books of Moses in the original and in its entirety with the commentary of Rashi and Rabbi Samuel Raphael Hirsch.

Prophets and Hagiographa: This included historical selections from the Prophets; Thirty chapters in Isaiah; selections from Jeremiah and the twelve minor prophets with special emphasis on those used as Haftorahs; fifty selected chapters from the Psalms with accompanying ethical commentaries; readings from the Megillos according to the holidays and also on a regular day-to-day basis.

Prayers: Selections from prayers for the weekday, holiday, and Sabbath services were studied. Ethics of the Fathers were also studied in conjunction with the commentaries.

Jewish History: This course began with the study of the creation of the world and continued until modern times.

Hebrew Grammar: The course of study in grammar included rules of vocalization, a declension of nouns and conjugation of regular and irregular verbs. Also included were drill and analysis in oral and written composition and recitation of simple stories of the Bible and dictation.

Jewish Law: The course of study included laws pertaining to daily living as well as those of the Jewish year. Duties and obligations of the Jewish man and in particular duties and obligations of the Jewish woman. The general program dealt with the teaching of the commandments in the spirit of Jewish law. Some of the textbooks used were: Mesilas Yishorim by Rabbi Moses Chaim Luzato; Selected Works from Chorev; The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel by Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch; The Jewish Problem and Traces of the Messiah by Dr. Isaac Breuer; Amudey Hagolah by Stern.

Psychology: Psychological foundation of spirituality; the important discoveries and laws of spiritual life.

¹ibid.

Pedagogy: The course in Pedagogy included the history of Pedagogy, biographies and selections of outstanding pedagogues, pedagogic quotations culled from the Talmud, educational psychology and methodology, special methodology to be employed in the general studies program, and special methodology for Beth Jacob schools, school health and hygiene. Text used: Pedagogic Works by Forster, Kerschensteine, Spranger.

Polish: The studies in Polish literature, history, and geography were taught according to the prescribed course of study as set up by the government.

German: Instruction in the correct oral and written use of the language. The goal of this course was to provide the teachers with the ability to read by themselves the important religious literature of Hirsch and others which were written in the German language, as well as selected classical works such as the poetry of Schiller, Goethe, Nathan the Wise by Lessing, Zweig, and Beer-Hoffman.

Gymnastics: The course included exercises and instruction in various games for children, outings, free-play. The exercises were held indoors in the winter and outdoors in the summer.

Handicrafts: A program in sewing, repairing, embroidery, knitting was offered and was flexible according to the needs of the students.

Requirements for Graduation: A written lesson plan for a model lesson; a pedagogic essay or composition; a final paper about a specified text of the Bible.

The following statistics indicate the number of students that were graduated from the Seminary during the years 1926, 1927, 1928 and 1929. The salary of a Beth Jacob teacher was 120 to 200 zlotys per month.¹

Beginning 1926	--	33 graduates
Beginning 1927	--	25 graduates
Ending 1927	--	10 graduates
Beginning 1928	--	32 graduates
Ending 1928	--	24 graduates
Summer 1929	--	34 graduates

¹Deutschlander. "Historical Background", p. 7

A class of forty Seminararians graduated in Cheshvan of 1932.¹ In 1933, eighty students comprised the graduating class. It was reported that most of the students in the Seminary were former Beth Jacob students who were highly intelligent and capable. A breakdown of students enrolled in the Seminary revealed that thirty-one came from Congress Poland, twenty-six from Polish Lithuania and suburban communities, and thirty-one from Galicia. There was a shortage of space in the Seminary during this year due to the fact that many candidates from outside Poland were seeking admission.²

In 1933, there were two parallel classes in the second year, one with thirty-six students and one with thirty-three students. In the first year course there were two classes: one with twenty-six students and one with twenty-three students. There was a total of one hundred and eighteen (118) students of which one hundred and five (105) dormed in the Seminary, while thirteen were from local Cracow.³ A preparatory course for the Seminary was opened during this year for girls fourteen to sixteen years of age. It was a two-year course and was designed to give the girls a strong Jewish religious atmosphere while preparing them for the Seminary proper. Seventeen girls took this course.

¹Moshe Deitscher. BJJ (Vol. 70, 1932)

²ibid.

³BJJ (Vol. 117, 1934) p. 15

Sixty-nine girls graduated from the Seminary in Cheshvan, 1934. A new course for thirty-seven girls, in addition to those remaining, made a total of eighty-six girls left in the Seminary; seventy-six dorming and ten from Cracow proper. Another preparatory course was opened for twenty-one girls, bringing the total of girls taking this course to thirty-eight. Eight of these lived in the dormitory, while the remaining thirty from Cracow, lived at home. A new course was scheduled to open in Cheshvan, 1935. Inasmuch as the financial burden could not be carried by the Seminary itself, only those capable of paying a tuition fee of one hundred zlotys per month, would be accepted.

In 1938, work at the Beth Jacob Seminary was being intensified at all fronts.¹ Many applications were refused as they were not submitted in time. Forty new students were admitted, and for the first time some students came from outside of Poland.² These students later became the pioneers of the Beth Jacob schools in their own respective countries. There were seventy students in the graduating class of 1938. Another preparatory course was instituted during this year. Innovations included a course in business studies and the teaching of the German language. Forty girls were enrolled in this preparatory class.

¹"In the Cracow Seminary", BJJ (Vol. 152) p. 18

²In the last days of the Seminary (preceding September 1939) there were students from Belgium, France, Switzerland, Roumania, Lithuania, America and Canada.

In the year 1938, the Polish government looked favorably upon the work being done at the Beth Jacob Seminary.¹ The Beth Jacob Central Organization in London had delegated Fraulein Ehrlinger of Luzanne, Switzerland to visit the Beth Jacob schools in Poland and other countries. She spent a few days at the Seminary in observation. At this time it was decided to introduce entrance examinations, which were to be held simultaneously in a few sections of the country, for the new term scheduled to begin in Cheshvan. The entrance examinations were prepared by the Beth Jacob Central Organization, which appointed a pedagogic committee amongst members of the Beth Jacob faculty to be present and conduct these examinations. It was decided that all applications were to be in by Sivan in order for the candidates to be eligible for the Cheshvan term. It was further decided that all candidates must apply to the local Central office to be eligible for the examinations.²

It was during the year 1938 that the Seminary applied for subsidy from the government, which it felt was due it for religious purposes. The government sent an inspector who visited the school for two days and was very pleased with the modern pedagogic approach being employed. Director Orlean reported to the students the purpose of the inspector's visit, the government's attitude towards the Beth Jacob movement, and the problems of the Beth Jacob schools.

¹Kazdan, p. 495

²ibid.

Seminary Under Orlean

Director of the Seminary in 1935 was Judah Leib Orlean¹ whose pedagogic talents and personal influence brought spirit and life into the Seminary and into the entire movement.² His appointment came after a long correspondence between the Gerer Rebbe,³ his spiritual guide, and Rabbi Jacob Rosenheim.⁴ Orlean now had an opportunity to teach older students and to enlarge his sphere of influence. In order to accomplish this effectively, he removed himself from politics, organizational and newspaper work, and put all his strength and energy into the Seminary. He was primarily concerned with becoming not only a teacher to the students, but their guide in choosing a way of life for themselves. He expressed interest in all the girls' personal problems and always stood eager to offer his help, advice and counsel. It was through this approach that he built up a large circle of organized and disciplined students with whom he kept in contact during the year and whose bond he strengthened during the summer lectures at Jordanow and Rabka. Orlean kept in close contact with the teachers after graduation and kept them in constant touch with

¹Born in Warsaw, 1900. Died in concentration camp, exact date unknown. See Eleh Ezkiroh (Vol. 1) pp. 177-189.

²Before he assumed this position he was the administrator of the Bais Yaakov and Bais Hasefer L'Banos in Warsaw.

³See footnote p. 52 this study.

⁴Seidman. "Judah Leib Orlean", Eleh Ezkiroh (Vol. 1) p. 183

the heart of the movement. He molded the character of the girls, shaped their personalities, and saturated their very beings with a deep love for Torah, faith and Judaism, in such a manner that those teachers who served in the cities and towns throughout Poland left a definite "Beth Jacob" impression upon the parents and their children. As head of the Seminary in Cracow, Orlean was able to uproot all vestige of assimilation and imitation of the non-Jew from the hearts and minds of his students and save them from the strange winds of irreligiosity that were blowing. In their stead he implanted a love for the original and traditional Judaism which embraced all phases of Jewish life, as well as the Hebrew and Yiddish languages.

The students, under Orlean's administration, received a very broad education, especially insofar as Jewish religious studies were concerned.¹ At times they graduated from the Seminary with such a broad knowledge of the Torah that they astonished even their own fathers and brothers. However, Orlean always stressed to them that it was not how much they knew, but how they applied their knowledge. "Your fear of G-d precedes your knowledge."² The Seminary students, themselves, felt that their knowledge was immaterial in comparison to their religiosity, their fear of the L-rd. This probably accounts for their great success as teachers when they assumed

¹ Joseph Friedenson "Batey Hasefer", p. 73

² Ibid.

teaching positions in the various Polish cities. The spiritual attitude of all the Seminary graduates was the same. They knew that the task before them was great and they set out upon their missions with such determination and faith, that they were bound to succeed. Time and again Orlean stated in numerous articles that the role of the teacher was the most important role occupied in the entire Beth Jacob movement. He placed the entire responsibility of the "finished product" on the teacher, and thus he gave his all to influence his student-teachers and to teach them how to influence their students. In a most interesting article, he pointed out what the goals of the Seminary were and the role of the teacher in fulfilling these goals.¹

"Times have changed. The Jewish home nor the parents are what they were previously...the home has become dull and dry. Judaism has become frigid and the commandments are performed perfunctorily. There is no vestige remaining of internal life, of warmth of the soul. The customs are strange and there is a strange life pervading the entire atmosphere...If so, what is missing in the educational institution? A formal program of study, nor knowledge are the important things. The most important place is occupied by the teacher, who fills the role of the father and mother. Who and what should she be? All the characteristics which the parents inherited and transmitted to their children through training in their homes, must be found in the teacher who should be able to influence and to transmit these characteristics through the school. This is the important part of her professional training. With this it is possible to build a Jewish school which would be similar to the home of old. But where can such a teacher be found? The school should be the meeting place of the children, as well as a place for their studies.

¹The remarks in this article are applicable to the American day-school scene.

One does not have to possess a sharp mind to understand that an institution where the teacher shall be trained to be a teacher, father, and mother, cannot be created in the same manner as other institutions. This cannot be set up by means of a program of studies. The important thing is the environment; teachers who have a dynamic influence upon their students; spiritual builders; developers and fashioners of the movement. The difference between the Beth Jacob movement and others cannot be judged in studies, diplomas, etc. It must have a different approach. One must first visit the Seminary in Cracow; one must read the students' correspondence, listen to their words, in order to have an insight into their souls. One must see the Seminary in its inner essence. Here one does not study to be a teacher, but becomes a true teacher -- a father and a mother. Only through work of many years, through the creation of an all-encompassing environment, and through the inculcation of a deep sense of responsibility does the instructor in Cracow teach, imbue, and impart to his students. The Seminary in Cracow is in a sense a laboratory for people who are trying to build a 'school-home' in a synthetic manner. The goal of this 'school-home' should be: the instructor; the program of studies; the methodology."¹

A group of leading educators joined Orlean in carrying on the work of the Seminary when he became its Director.² This group of educators stood on a high spiritual pedestal. Almost all of them had modern outlooks, but were able to cope, in a religious manner, with any problems that were bound to arise. They were married to well-educated young men, well-known in Polish-Jewish circles, and they set an example for other daughters of Jewish-Polish families by their dress and behavior. Their influence upon the students of the Seminary

¹Orlean. Darkeynu (Jubilee Edition, Central Organization of World Agudas Israel, Tishri, 1936) pp. 65-67

²Among these were Judith Brominger, Esther Goldshtoof, Grossfield-Beigin, Gross-Fostug, Inzelbaum-Fass, Lacia Szarainska, and Tzirel Sorutzkin (living in Israel Today)

was so great, that many of the students who had originally come to the Seminary with the intention merely of receiving a good Jewish education and pursuing the educational field, left their parents' homes and went into all the various Polish cities as teachers with the purpose of spreading the light of Torah to the daughters of Israel.¹ The educational power of the lecturers at the Seminary in Cracow was their individuality. Each lecturer possessed a different intellectual characteristic. Each one enlightened the souls and the hearts of the students in a different manner. All together they built one unity and harmony which generated idealism and creativity and happiness in their students. Their holiness and devotion to the cause may be seen from the "Will"² which the ninety-three Beth Jacob Seminarists wrote before taking their own lives, rather than to be molested by the Nazi tormentors.

Judah Leib Orlean was very antagonistic to those Jewish parents who, after sending their children to the Beth Jacob elementary schools, enrolled them in the government Gymnasium, which was anti-religious and secular in nature. In many of his articles, he leveled a scathing criticism at those parents of the Agudistic persuasion who understood the importance of religious education for girls, and yet, at the same time, accepted the secular Gymnasium as an acceptable

¹Joseph Friedenson. "Batey Hasefer", p. 73

²S. Yarchi. S. Schenierer (Netzach Publishing Co., Tel-Aviv, n.d.) p. 4. See Appendix D, p. 164 for translation of Hebrew text by this writer.

institution for the continuation of their daughters' studies. One of his most interesting articles criticized the parents most severely for accepting the Gymnasium as the apex of perfection. He wrote:

"My heart bleeds when I observe thousands of children from Hassidic-Jewish homes who are caught in the bewitched snares of phrase words such as 'grades', 'diploma', 'university'. Our parents are not acquainted with the Gymnasium or its program. They do not have the faintest idea of how great its influence is. Our parents only know that since non-Jews have respect for it, it is enough for them to sacrifice everything in order to have their daughters enrolled. Our Jews should be alarmed at the number of catastrophes which the Gymnasias have wrought upon our daughters, whether they be the best or even religious in nature. Jewish graduates of the Gymnasias are not very much in demand, nor are the diplomas of great value in the government schools, inasmuch as during the preceding year, the new Beth Jacob school in Warsaw needed five matriculated teachers with diplomas and fifty-five candidates applied for the job. In addition, the general studies program in the Gymnasias, which offers Shakespeare and Goethe has an extreme anti-Jewish influence upon the girls who attend. How can a religious Jew believe that a girl, who devotes most of her time to secular education, will respect her grandmother and grandfather and not consider them as absolute barbarians? After all, they did not attend the Gymnasium, nor did they receive a diploma and matriculate. How can we consider them as cultured people? I am not opposed to secular education, but it depends upon the form, the measure and the age. Remove the pagan idols, the modern idolatry, from your midst."¹

In addition to Orlean's article, there was another very interesting article on the subject of the Gymnasium by A. B. Eckerman² who wrote:

¹Orlean. "The Deification of the Gymnasias" (Der Gymnasia Ufgott), BJJ (Vol. 94-95) p. 5

²secretary of the Agudas Israel.

"How can the Gymnasium program of four hours weekly of Jewish studies and thirty-six hours of secular studies give the Jewish daughter the determination for carrying out the Jewish laws and customs? Primarily, one must sense sharply the purposelessness, the aimlessness, the injury and sham of Gymnasium education."¹

With regard to secular studies in general, the following viewpoint was expressed by Baila Z. Gross, lecturer in secular studies at the Seminary.

"The goal of the Beth Jacob secular studies should not be to search out those things which are intrinsically Jewish in the secular world, but to designate the boundary where the Jewish aspect ends and the secular begins. In other words, we must define what the boundary is between the Jewish and the worldly. True, we study the world cultures, rather as a task, in order to conquer them for ourselves; in order to adapt them to our point of view; but not as some of the Jewish youth of today think -- in order to excel in them exclusively. The Beth Jacob student must possess a worldly knowledge not for herself, but rather for others, who are far removed from us and think differently than we do. Because of them, we must have a secular knowledge. However, the secular studies are no less valuable to the Beth Jacob student, inasmuch as she needs them for inner perfection and completeness, for she must know the surrounding world and what transpires about her. The secular studies have two purposes: They enable us to go into the world, and by comparison to recognize the value of Judaism; they enable us to derive from the world that which is necessary for our work -- for the benefit of Judaism. The student in the Beth Jacob Seminary must be acquainted with the secular studies, in order to counteract the influence of the *haskalah*², the assimilationist, and the nationalist."³

Character and personality molding were very important aspects of the Beth Jacob Seminary. This was accomplished

¹Eckerman. "A Rewarding Work", BJJ (Vol. 94-95) p. 13

²enlightenment movement

³Gross. "A Viewpoint of the Role of the Secular Studies", BJJ (Vol. 100) p. 56

through a series of discussions, with the girls having the opportunity to express themselves freely, so that they would crystallize their religious convictions by themselves. Of course, the influence and the guidance of the authorities was felt at all times, but the inner freedom of choice was also granted.

On Monday evenings open discussions were held in the Seminary, at which time all students were able to participate and express their ideas. On the Sabbath, one or two students would render a summary on the Biblical portion of the week, after a committee of three students would preview the summary and make any necessary corrections. Afterwards, the summary was criticized constructively by the student body as a whole. The program on the Sabbath included a review of the Biblical portion of the week by one of the lecturers. The lecturers would participate in the Sabbath meals, along with Sara Schenierer, who was present at all of them. An interesting story or bon mot was always heard during the meal. Judah Leib Orlean would deliver a weekly talk during the Shalosh Seudos¹ dealing with some aspect of ethical behavior. Daily services were conducted morning and evening for the students in one large room. However, on the first of the month, and on those Sabbaths when the blessing for the new month was recited, Sara Schenierer and her students always attended the services in the big synagogue. In addition, special evenings were arranged to welcome guests and dignitaries and for holi-

¹Third meal on the Sabbath, eaten before the evening prayers are recited.

day celebrations. The students in the Seminary elected a Student Council to take care of matters pertaining to their own welfare and established a school library and school newspaper.¹

To the outsider, the Beth Jacob Seminary was a forge for the purest Jewish thought. This was expressed in an article by Abraham Merdecai Rogovi² who wrote:

"It is a centrifugal force for Jewish weltanschauung, where only the purest remain and the condensed in removed from the impure. The secret of the success of the Beth Jacob Seminary lies not only in studying, but also in observance. In this detail the Seminary is perhaps the only educational institution in the entire civilized world where there is no dichotomy between theory and fact. The students and teachers not only speak about high ideals, but they live them. Both the lecturers and the students are imbued with the idea of becoming exemplary personalities. The dormitory facilities make it possible for a harmonious living-together of the teachers and the students."³

A most noteworthy sight to Rogovi was the great stress on proper deportment on the part of the students, as shown towards the educators, and in comparison, the natural, harmonious living-together between teachers and students.

"At the lecture, a distance of 'derech-eretz' and respect separate the lecturer and the student, and a moment later, the relationship of a mother and sister exists between them."⁴

¹BJJ (Vol. 117, 1934)

²Ardent Agudist in charge of the religious studies program at the Business School in Warsaw, a successful trade school of the Beth Jacob.

³Rogovi. "In the Forge of the Beth Jacob Seminary", BJJ (Vol. 157)

⁴Ibid.

The students enjoyed life in the Seminary, as is evident from various articles and letters which appeared in the Beth Jacob Journals and which were written by the students themselves. The following two articles are good examples of these letters:

"The few months since we have arrived at the Seminary are behind us. But how fresh they still are in my mind. We live here, as one large family. We have a mother, the wonderful Frau Sara Schenierer; we have friendly teachers and how close they are to the students -- like a sister to a sister. At times we are admonished by Judah Leib Orlean, but even then, how mild and how soft are his words. We are all friends, fired with enthusiasm emanating from the words of Torah, the Sabbath songs, the inspiring Kiddush¹ of Sara Schenierer and the Sabbath meal of joy. We learn much. Our work is sweet, for we know that we are going to create something important for our people, for our sisters."²

"All the students who are assembled concentrate on the words of the speaker, whose words come closer to our hearts. Our doubts vanish, our souls are purified, our hearts are more peaceful, and a stream of faith permeates our limbs. In spite of the darkness outside, which surrounds us, all our faces shine with the inner light of joy. The more we think about the words of our speaker, the more healing is their affect, and the more refreshed we are. When the lecture is finished we all feel stronger from the nice encouraging words of Judah Leib Orlean and we all proclaim in ecstasy 'The Torah of the L-rd is complete', while we utter a prayer that our perfect faith should remain with us eternally. As we sing song after song, we feel that our hearts and souls are bound together. We have no personal thoughts; we have but one collective idea -- that our hearts should be purified to serve the L-rd in truth. We do not long for the past, nor does the future weigh heavily upon us; for we are one -- we are unified and strong -- marching on towards one goal."³

¹Breindel Klepfisz (student in the first year). "The Dream, Cracow", BJJ (Vol. 98-99) p. 16

²Blessing over the wine on Friday night

³A.B. (student in the Seminary). "Shalosh Seudos in the Seminary", Ibid.

V. LAST DAYS OF THE MOVEMENT

V. LAST DAYS OF THE MOVEMENT

If trouble and sufferings can measure the strength and spiritual stand of man and of an organized community, then the Beth Jacob movement, during the years of destruction and desolation of World War II, surely proved how strong were her spiritual forces. She stood with honor, in the very midst of the fire that terrorized the world. When the Nazis overtook Poland, the Beth Jacob movement did not cease to exist at the very beginning. It was dangerous for the teachers to appear in the streets, but this did not deter them. They conducted schools in secret; many times in their own homes, or in other private homes. Even the Seminary in Cracow, which was turned into a refugee camp, did not cease to operate.¹

Orlean stood greatest in the time of crises. In September, 1939, all lectures in the Beth Jacob Seminary in Cracow ceased.² After being persuaded by the Biane Rebbe³, who collected funds to support his work, Orlean continued his educational work. Later, he was subsidized by the Joint Distribution Committee. He returned to his lectures and resumed his contact with his students in the German-occupied zone of Poland. There he worked together with the former Senator Ascher Schapiro, Moshe Deutscher, Meyer Heitner, Lacia

¹ Joseph Friedenon. "Batey Hasefer", p. 80

² Seidman. "Judah Leib Orlean", p. 185

³ Rabbi Moshe Friedman, 1883-1943. Died at hands of the Nazis.

Szarainska, Chava Landsberg and others. Through his efforts, the Beth Jacob became at this time a movement of mutual help and assistance for all the surviving Jews. Beth Jacob teachers and leaders extended both help and rescue to their fellow Jews, regardless of their religious affiliations, and shared their meager bread with the less fortunate.

In 1940, after being severely beaten by the Nazis, Orlean left Cracow for Warsaw, where he resumed his lectures before a large group of girls. In Warsaw, Orlean was like a father to the Seminary graduates, and those students of the higher grades, and organized classes. Beth Jacob schools continued to operate in various forms, under the leadership of Agudah leaders. The Beth Jacob teachers used to correspond with Orlean. Joseph Friedenson¹ states that it is characteristic of the Beth Jacob teacher that the correspondence did not deal with the daily problems of the time, but with the academic problems they faced. He quotes from memory one of the letters Orlean received from a Beth Jacob teacher after the Nazis overran the community in which she lived:

"We are all well, thank G-d. My family is in tact, except for my brother who was taken to Lublin and needs much mercy. I am meeting with the children again, but they are not permitted to carry books. Can you advise me how to teach Hebrew and Yiddish without a textbook? Until now I have taught the children the blessings, prayers, and laws, by heart. Please answer me, and if this is not possible, forget this letter. I will try to give the children a foundation and when G-d will help, they will continue to learn and will fill in what they have missed."²

¹Was in the Warsaw Ghetto with Orlean.

²Joseph Friedenson. "Batey Hasefer", p. 80

At times, the students, who were looking for answers to the reason for the destruction that was going on about them, would turn to Orlean, who was always able, in the past, to supply them with the answers, and to strengthen their faith. They would put the age-old riddle before him: "Yesh tzadik v'ra lo, rasha, v'tov lo"¹, but try as he would, Orlean could find no answers. This time, he, too, was stymied.²

From Warsaw, Judah Leib Orlean sent lessons in writing to Cracow where Beth Jacob groups were learning with interest and zeal. In Cracow, the educators and students of the Seminary taught their students in secret, in small groups. The girls used to agree beforehand to say that they came for a birthday party, in case of an attack by the police on the house, for it was not permissible for large groups of Jews to congregate in one place in the Cracow Ghetto.³

The last news of the Beth Jacob schools is given by Dr. Hillel Seidman, who describes how the leaders carried on their work under the threat of deportation and death.⁴ In the beginning of 1940, the Joint Distribution Committee commenced its activities of help and relief for Polish Jewry. At the Judenraat⁵, Alexander Sische Friedman represented the

¹Why the wicked prosper while the good suffer

²Seidman. "Judah Leib Orlean", p. 180

³Joseph Friedenson. "Batey Hasefer", p. 80

⁴Seidman. Diary of the Warsaw Ghetto (Buenos Aires, 1948) p. 332

⁵Miniature Jewish Council representing all factions

religious faction and demanded its due share of financial help. He established a network of kosher food kitchens for religious Jewry with the help of David Guzik,¹ and was instrumental in obtaining sums to support the kitchens, as well as the needy rabbis, laymen, and scholars of the Yeshivos. In the Warsaw Ghetto, Friedman was primarily occupied with educational work. He organized a wide network of religious schools in the Underground, which encompassed the Yisodey HaTorah schools for boys and the Beth Jacob schools for girls, elementary religious schools and even three religious schools of higher education. Thousands of children and hundreds of teachers were part and parcel of these institutions, which were conducted under the guise of "soup kitchens"², health stations, and recreation centers. Eventually these schools were permitted to operate in the open, but as the situation grew worse, it was virtually impossible to carry on educational work in any organized manner.

Thus ended the era of the Beth Jacob movement in Poland. As Dr. Grunfeld states so beautifully in her memoirs of Sara Schenierer:

"The figure of Sara Schenierer will become more and more legendary. The story of her life will not lose its spell and will grow more touching as the movement grows and branches out. As time passes on, the personal touch that is still lingering round her name will fade and she will become a historical personality, known as the founder of the Beth Jacob. But no one will know of

¹Head of the Joint Distribution Committee

²This was possible because the children also received their meals in school.

the many who worked with her and gave of their strength and devotion to breathe life and vigor into the movement. Alas, for those girls who passed untimely into the realm 'beyond', for those sweet young teachers, so wholehearted in their efforts, so generous in their love for the school children, so loyal unto death to Sara Schenierer and to their own mission."¹

¹Grunfeld, p. 429

VI. BETH JACOB LITERATURE

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Beth Jacob Journal

The years between 1917 and 1924, produced nothing of great consequence in the field of Beth Jacob literature. Several articles by Sara Schenierer were printed from time to time in the weekly "Der Yid" (The Jew), but her writings did not influence the Jewish daughters and their parents to any great extent during these years.¹ After Eliezer Gerson Friedenzon became interested in the Beth Jacob schools, he realized that the success of these schools depended primarily upon his ability to spread and propagandize the ideals and goals of Beth Jacob; to explain them and bring them close to the hearts of the masses.² For this a literary organ in Yiddish was needed which would service the Jewish mother and would arouse the daughter; which would create a harmonious atmosphere between mother and daughter. With this in mind the Beth Jacob Journal was established. The idea of a newspaper for the Beth Jacob schools was the work of this one individual. Sara Schenierer herself did not believe that the small Beth Jacob movement (as it existed then) would be able to support and maintain a newspaper of its own.³ Friedenzon, however,

¹"History of Beth Jacob Literature 1923-1933", BJJ (1933, Vol. 96)

²J. Friedenson. "Eliezer Gerson Friedenzon", p. 99

³"History of Beth Jacob Literature"

was instrumental in interesting one of his friends in Lodz to furnish the necessary sum of money for the first edition which appeared in Tamuz of 1923. In it were articles by Sara Schenierer and Judah Leib Orlean, as well as many articles which were reprints from Der Yiddishe Vort (The Jewish Word), official newspaper of the Agudas Israel. Public response to the newspaper was poor¹ and although the Journal was a spiritual success, it was a financial loss. Friedenзон was not one to give up easily, however, and in Tishri of 1924, he issued a second edition, at which time two thousand copies were printed with the help of a few patrons. It appeared again during the month of Adar, at which time a Polish section was added. During this year nine issues of the Beth Jacob Journal appeared, totaling one hundred and eighty (180) pages. Contributors during this first year were: Sara Schenierer, Alexander Sische Friedman, Meyer Schwartzman, Rabbi M. Levai. Reprints of articles from older Orthodox papers also appeared. In time, circulation of the Journal increased, for the students of the Beth Jacob schools became its faithful readers. In it they found spiritual food and love for Torah and tradition. The Beth Jacob Journals were used in all the Beth Jacob schools as supplementary reading material, as well as by the members of the Bnos who paid their subscription rates in advance and thus helped ease the financial burden of printing the Journal. Friedenзон gathered around

¹"History of Beth Jacob Literature"

him the best of the literary writers to contribute to this endeavor. Among these were Dr. Nosan Birnbaum, Dr. Isaac Breuer, Alexander Sische Friedman, Dr. Ben Zion Fessler, Dr. Leo Deutschlander, Judah Leib Orlean, Zelig Schachnowitz, Elimelach Shteir, Alter Schnur, and Sara Schenierer.

Special issues of the Journal were a great event in the religious literary world. In 1927, a special issue honoring the first anniversary of the Bnos appeared. The year 1933 saw a special issue of the Journal dedicated to "Religious Education".¹ Some of the most interesting articles appearing in this issue were: "The Deification of the Gymnasia" by J. L. Orlean; "Be Well and Strong" by S. Nadler, which called for a physical training program in the Beth Jacob schools; "The Living Corner" by A. M. Rogovi, commenting on the publication of the books Jewish Life (Yiddish Leben); "On the Threshold of a New Year" by Sara Schenierer; "The Jewish Studies Program of the Beth Jacob All-Day Schools" by Alexander S. Friedman; "Methods and Goals of Jewish Religious Education" by I. L. Gersht, calling for religious teachers imbued with a deep religious feeling who would transplant their idealism into the hearts and minds of the students through personal exemplification.

The following interesting announcement was published in the Passover issue of 1934:

"Tens of schools and Bnos branches do absolutely nothing about spreading their own Journal, and this is

¹Vol. 94-95. The articles were written in Yiddish.

a crime. In our camp, discipline must be adhered to. Undisciplined organizations will be removed from the movement. Therefore, we are declaring that a "Month for Beth Jacob Literature" will take place from the Intermediary Days of Passover until Lag B'Omer."¹

In spite of this, the Beth Jacob Journals did become self-sustaining and even realized a substantial profit, which enabled Friedenzone to issue other books for the Beth Jacob schools and for the Jewish home. The Journals were published until the beginning of the War. Many of the articles appearing in the Journals are quoted throughout this dissertation, the names of which are listed in the bibliography.

Beth Jacob Press

After a time, Friedenzone realized that a religious newspaper alone was insufficient. A complete religious literature was needed which would act as a stop-gap in the face of the onslaught of non-religious material which was being issued by heterodox elements. This literature was flooding the home and was creating a dichotomy between the religious parents and their "modern" daughters. A publishing house known as The Beth Jacob Press was soon established which printed during the fifteen years of its existence, a large number of pamphlets, textbooks and miscellaneous writings. This was run on a successful business basis and was financially secure. Friedenzone ran the risk of publishing books

¹There was a certain enthusiasm lacking in the movement on the part of local administrators during the years 1933-34 which probably accounts for this announcement. This problem is discussed on p. 58.

which were of good content although they were poor financial risks. His only criterion was that the material should be of benefit to religious Jewry. He compensated his authors well and encouraged them to be creative, especially in the case of young talented writers.¹

The Kindergarten

When the Beth Jacob Journal was soundly established, Friedenзон began to issue a newspaper for girls in the elementary grades of the Beth Jacob schools entitled, The Kindergarten, which first appeared as a supplementary section to the Beth Jacob Journal in 1925. It was most welcome by the teachers and students and used in the classroom as reading material. In addition to The Kindergarten, Friedenзон issued a newspaper for children in the primary grades called New Saplings (Frishinke Boimelach). The only textbook used in the Beth Jacob schools until 1926, was Judaism (Yahadus) by I. N. Kaminitz.² Although there were forty-nine schools in existence at this time, there were no other textbooks with the exception of the prayer-book and the Bible from which the children in the Beth Jacob schools could study. The works of Sara Schenierer were copied by the teachers in longhand and then transmit-

¹At the first Beth Jacob conference held in 1925 in Warsaw, it was proposed that compensation be made from a central fund to commission writers to create material for the Beth Jacob schools. See p. 43

²Hachinuch Press, 1925.

ted to the children,¹ but how 6,585 students were able to pursue their studied without textbooks in the various subjects is difficult to understand. Other language books published for the Beth Jacob schools were: I Am A Hebrew² (Ivri Anochi) by Alexander Sische Friedman, which was used for teaching the Hebrew alphabet; The Jewish Soul³ (Der Yiddische Neshome) by Eliezer Schindler, which was a language book for the fourth and fifth grades; Yiddish Language⁴ (Yiddish Lashon) by N. Berliner and E. Schindler, which was issued in three volumes. Volume I included the alphabet and beginner's Yiddish. Volume II was used for the children in the second and third grades. Volume III was used for the children in the fourth and fifth grades. Two Hebrew language books to appear through the Beth Jacob Press in 1934 were Hebrew Language (L'shon Aiver) and The Beginning of Wisdom (Raishis Chochmoh).

¹Grunfeld, p. 415

²Beth Jacob Press, 1927

³Beth Jacob Press, 1932. This was the first text in Yiddish language to be employed in the Beth Jacob schools. A. S. Friedman said that its value for judaizing the souls and hearts of the girls was inestimable. (BJJ, Vol. 75-76, p. 32)

⁴Beth Jacob Press, Vol. I, 1932. Vols. II and III, 1933. This book included a full course of thirty lessons in Yiddish spelling and grammar, as well as stories about school and family life, holidays and illustrations. E. G. Frieden-zon stated that this book was accepted in all the Beth Jacob schools as the only language book in which the names of the authors were sufficient guarantee for the quality of the book. (BJJ, Vol. 96, p. 1)

A great deal of emphasis in the curriculum was placed on Yiddish for it was felt that no dichotomy should be created between the language of the parent and the school. Throughout the Beth Jacob Journals the following slogans were printed to bring home the idea that parents should speak in Yiddish to their children: "Yiddish Not Jewish Secularism" (Yiddish Nisht Yiddishkeit); "The Holy Tongue and Yiddish" (Lashon Hakodesh und Yiddish); "With Jews We Speak Yiddish" (Mit Yidden Ret Men Yiddish); "Jewish Mothers Speak Yiddish With Their Daughters" (Yiddishe Mammes Reden Yiddish Mit Zeire Techter); "Speak Yiddish in a Jewish Manner" (Ret Yiddish in a Yiddishe Veg).

In a reprint of the article "Jews, Judaism and Yiddish" (Yidden, Yiddishkeit und Yiddish), Eliezer Schindler espoused the cause of Yiddish with its correct usage and pronunciation.

"Jewish daughters who do not speak Yiddish, create a barrier between themselves and the Jewish people. Jewish daughters who do not know Yiddish will be unable to rear their children in a true Jewish spirit. All religious Jewish daughters must thank the L-rd that He endowed the Jewish people with such great power that they were able to create from foreign matter a language of their own, which is so befitting to Jews and Judaism."¹

In Volume 48 of the Beth Jacob Journal, there appeared an article by Dr. Shlomo Birnbaum entitled, "Yiddish", in which he dealt with the language and spelling problems of the Yiddish language.

¹E. Schindler, "Yidden, Yiddishkeit und Yiddish", BJJ (Vol. 56) p. 8

"In short, we are using the language and the spelling of the free-thinkers in Yiddish as well as in Hebrew -- for it is a simple fact that both the old and the new enlightenment movement, assimilationism and nationalism, are an outgrowth of free-thinking. Therefore, we should not use such a language, nor such a spelling. When we will use Yiddish properly in regard to spelling and pronunciation, we will be in a better position to ward off strange influences which are dangerous to Judaism, and we will be in a better position to counteract them. We must not forget that we are the standard, and whoever wants to adhere to the standard must return to us and must use our language, our correct spelling and our standard of Judaism."¹

In the Tishri issue, Volume 59, the Yiddish spelling rules by Dr. Birnbaum were printed and later adapted for use in all the Beth Jacob schools. Among these rules were the following:

"Pronunciation of the "vuv" is to be enunciated as short "i", and not "oo". For example, the word "Chumash" is to be pronounced as "Chimish" and not "Choomash". Two "yuden" appearing together in one word are to be pronounced as long "i". For example "tzine" is the correct pronunciation, not "tzain".²

In 1933, the Beth Jacob Press issued Dr. Birnbaum's Yiddish Word Book (Yiddish Verter Bichel) containing 6,000 words in Yiddish and Hebrew which are used in the Yiddish language. Rules for spelling, grammar, declensions, conjugations, etc. were also contained therein. In addition, Dr. Birnbaum issued an exhortation for the use of Yiddish which contained material dealing with the importance of Yiddish and its interrelationship with tradition. It encouraged its

¹Dr. Shlomo Birnbaum. "Yiddish", BJJ (Vol. 48) p. 4

²S. Birnbaum. "Yiddish Spelling Rules", BJJ (Vol. 59)

readers not to use the language, grammar and spelling as employed by the nationalist and assimilationist. It was entitled The Redemption of the Language (Dos Geulah fun Lashon).

Since religion played such an important part in the curriculum of the Beth Jacob schools and was its *raison d'etre*, the textbooks which were issued by the Orthodox press were most welcome by the teachers in all Beth Jacob schools. In 1928, the first text on Judaism was released, entitled Judaism (Yiddishkeit) by I. N. Kaminitz.¹ It was suitable for the first school year and contained the fundamental principles of Judaism, morning prayers, blessings over the food, and the Ten Commandments. It appeared in story form with pedagogic instruction for the teacher. Volume II of this book was issued during this same year and contained the obligations of the Jewish child in his daily life. Two volumes of Judaism (Yahadus) by Sara Schenierer were also released during 1928.² Volume I contained twenty laws dealing with daily living in simple language, with illustrations and an inspiring introduction to each law. Volume II, Book 1, contained the first eleven laws dealing with the Sabbath, with an introduction to each law. Volume II, Book 2, contained the remaining laws for observance of the Sabbath

¹Mesorah Publishing Company. This publishing house was operated by members of the Agudas Israel.

²Mesorah Publishing Company.

with explanations and notations. The first book on Judaism to be written expressly for the Beth Jacob schools was Jewish Life (Yiddish Leben) by Judah Leib Orlean.¹ In emphasizing the importance of teaching Judaism, Sara Schenierer wrote:

"You shall put your whole self into this work, and therefore you must first stress the teaching of the laws -- and really teach them. Don't just put them in the program. Try to put every law into effect in daily living."²

One other book was used by the Beth Jacob schools for teaching Judaism. It was Our Religion's Book³ (Undzer Religion's Buch) by Dr. N. H. Ehrman, which was a study of the Jewish religion based on the calendar of Jewish holidays.

The books used for the study of Jewish history were Jewish History⁴ (Yiddische Geschichte) by Stern, compiled and translated into Yiddish by M. Baumberg and History of the Eternal People⁵ (Koros Am Olom) by J. Gutkowski.

The music book used in all the Beth Jacob schools was published in 1933 and called Our Song (Undzer Gezang). A series of children's literature books was released by the Beth Jacob Press in 1933. Some of these were: A Rainbow (A Regenboigen) by E. Schindler; Starlets (Shterndlach) by

¹First volume released in 1932 by Beth Jacob Press. Volume II, which this writer was fortunate enough to secure a copy of, was not issued until 1938. In the introduction to the second volume Orlean wrote that there were supposed to be ten volumes to this set of books on Judaism. Unfortunately, this never became a reality.

²S. Schenierer. BJJ (Vol. 109) p. 15

³Published in 1932

⁴Published in 1925

⁵Published in 1934

E. Schindler; Esther (a drama) by Sara Schenierer; Judith (Yehudis) (a drama) by Sara Schenierer; The Jug of Oil (Dos Krigele Oil) (a drama) by Sara Schenierer; Hannah and Her Seven Sons (Channa und ihre Ziben Zin) (a drama) by S. Schenierer; The Power of the Sabbath (Der Koach fun dem Shabbos) (a drama) by S. Schenierer; Judah Halevi (Reb Yehudah Halevi) (a drama) by S. Schenierer; The Treasury of Judaism (Der Otzar fun Yiddishkeit) by M. Kaminer; The Holy Tongue Alphabet (Lashon Hakodesh Aleph Beys) by Leib Nimtzivitz; Judaism and Language (Yiddishkeit und Lashon) by Dr. S. Birnbaum; The Alphabet from an Orthodox Viewpoint (Der Aleph Beys fun Orthodoxishen Oisleg) by Dr. S. Birnbaum. A small booklet containing the life stories of Maimonides, Rabbi Moses the son of Maimon and Rabbi Judah Halevi was compiled by E. Schindler and published in 1928. It was used as supplementary reading material in the schools. Another literary endeavor was Collective Writings of Sara Schenierer (Gezamlte Schriften fun Sara Schenierer) issued in 1933.¹

In addition to textbooks, the Beth Jacob Press printed a series of propaganda brochures about the movement in 1931. These included: Bnos by A. M. Rogovi; Enroll Your Child in Beth Jacob (Farshreibt Eiyer Kind in Bais Yaakov) by Sara Schenierer; Beth Jacob (in Polish) by Rabbi A. Lewin; The Lost Paradise (Der Farshvundiner Gan Eden) by J. L. Orlean. In 1936, the Bnos Agudas Israel published the first

¹This book has been translated into Hebrew and published by the Beth Jacob Press in Israel.

biography of Sara Schenierer.¹ The last book to come off the Beth Jacob Press was A Time for Action (Eys Laasos), a few selected writings of Dr. Nosan Birnbaum.

BOOKS USED IN BETH JACOB SCHOOLS

(According to Subject)

<u>Name of Book</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Year</u>
<u>Literature</u>		
Aleph Beys fun Orthodoxishen Oisleg	Birnbaum, S.	1933
A Regen Boigen	Schindler, E.	1933
Biographies for Children	Schindler, E.	1928
Channa und ihre Ziben Zin	Schenierer, S.	1933
Der Otzar fun Yiddishkeit (3 volumes)	Kaminer, M.	1933
Esther	Schenierer, S.	1933
Gezamlte Schriften fun Sara Schenierer	Schenierer, S.	1933
Lashon Hakodesh Aleph Beys	Nimtzivitz, L.	1933
Reb Yehuda Halevi	Schenierer, S.	1933
Seven Children's Booklets	Schindler, E.	1932
Shterendlach	Schenierer, S.	1933
Der Koach fun dem Shabbos	Schenierer, S.	1933
Yehudis	Schenierer, S.	1933
Yiddishkeit und Lashon	Birnbaum, S.	1933
Beth Jacob Journal (160 volumes)	Friedenzon, E. G. (editor)	1924-39
The Kindergarten (120 volumes)	Friedenzon, E. G. (editor)	1925-39
Frishinke Boimelach	Friedenzon, E. G. (editor)	
<u>History</u>		
Koros Am Olom (3 volumes)	Gutkowski, J.	1934
Yiddische Geschichte	Baumberg, M.	1925
<u>Religion</u>		
Undzer Religion's Buch	Ehrman, N. H.	1932
Yahadus (2 volumes)	Schenierer, S.	1928

¹Seidman. Renesans Religijny Kobiety Zydowskiez (Bnos Agudas Israel, Lodz, 1936, Polish)

Yiddishkeit (2 volumes)	Kaminitz, I. N.	1928
Yiddish Leben (2 volumes)	Orlean, J. L.	1932 and 1938

Language

Der Yiddische Neshome	Schindler, E.	1932
Ivri Anochi	Friedman, A. S.	1927
L'shon Aiver	Unknown	1934
Raishis Chochmah	Unknown	1934
Yahadus	Kaminitz, I. N.	1925
Yiddish Lashon	Berliner & Schindler	
Volume I		1932
Volumes II and III		1933
Yiddish Verter Bichel	Birnbaum, S.	1933

Music

Undzer Gezang	Unknown	1933
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VII. IN-SERVICE SUMMER COURSES

VII. IN-SERVICE SUMMER COURSES

Dr. Judith Rosenbaum Grunfeld¹ gives the following most picturesque description of the summer days at the Beth Jacob camps:

"July and August were unbearably hot days in the Cracow Ghetto. The heat and stench of the factories and tanneries, right next to the residential apartment houses, made the air exceedingly dense. We left Cracow for two months every summer. We had rented a number of lightly built houses in the country. Huge wagons drew up in front of Stanislaw 10; hundreds of suitcases were stored in them, bedding, kitchen and household goods, and for the next two months the schoolrooms would be meadows and woods and the fields of lonely country places. We marched out, at 6:00 a.m., in the cool morning air for physical training; we learned Tehillim² in the rays of the rising sun, by the slope of the hills; we learned Hebrew grammar while the bells of the cows grazing by tingled to the conjugations of the verbs.... We listened to lectures of learned men who came to us after they had become used to the fact that there was a colony of girls who were themselves already young scholars and intelligent listeners. We would sit in the meadows and have debates on education and there the students would discuss improvements in their own units. At the same time, these summer courses were attended by the majority of those Beth Jacob teachers who had already found teaching positions in various schools. They flocked to these camps, formed themselves into groups and thus, during their summer vacation, they became once more disciples of Sara Schenierer and her teaching staff, in order to increase their knowledge and to keep abreast of educational developments. Thus the spirit of Beth Jacob never grew

¹Judith Rosenbaum Grunfeld, a disciple and chief lieutenant of the sainted Sara Schenierer came to Cracow from Germany with Dr. Leo Deutschlander. Today she is principal of the Jewish Secondary School of London and one of the outstanding Torah-true pedagogues in today's Jewry. This writer has been carrying on a correspondence with her with regard to this dissertation.

²Psalms

stale in them and the personal bond that linked them with their tutors and comrades never weakened."¹

These summer courses were the work of Dr. Deutschlander. He hoped that the summer courses would give the Beth Jacob teachers proper training through continuation courses to be given regularly.

At Rabow

The first camp at Rabow in 1925 was housed in an invigorating atmosphere with sleeping facilities for forty-five teachers, special quarters for the lecturers, and special quarters for the Secretariat, as well as temporary quarters for the Central Keren HaTorah. The studies took place outside, in the forest. Students sat on wooden benches and a lectern was supplied for the lecturers. The course of studies, and the faculty, were as follows:²

Psalms and their Commentaries: Dr. Leo Deutschlander

Chizuk Hadas:³ Dr. Ehrentreu

Prophets and General Subjects: Dr. Rosenbaum and
Frau Mannes

Dr. Deutschlander stated prophetically that the summer courses would have a special historical significance for the Beth Jacob movement. He said:

¹Grunfeld, p. 495

²A. Zonenfried. "Notes and Impressions from a Visit", BJJ (Vols. 19-20-21) p. 132

³A course in strengthening of religious beliefs.

"We have great faith that the first summer course institute will open a new period in the education of the Jewish daughter in the interest of Orthodoxy in Poland. Towards this end the best guarantee will be the deep religious feeling of the student-teacher, her exemplary self-sacrifice for her holy task, and her boundless desire for continued study. She will become the true Jewish mother and will rear a new Jewish generation."¹

Forty-five students attended these first summer courses. The following paragraph shows the deep emotion of the Seminarists during this first summer at a Beth Jacob camp:

"At the first summer institute held at Rabow from Tamuz through Elul, 1925, those of us who were there clearly understood what Beth Jacob meant for us and for the whole world. We saw how the east and west united to work for one ideal. We were strongly united with our sisters from the west who came to help us in our work and to show us the way. What great dedication they showed. What wonderful true love they displayed towards their sister Jews. How we were inspired by the Tehillim lecture and how devoted were the teachers."²

At Jordanow

The second and third summer courses took place at Jordanow. There were eighty students in 1926, with the program of studies and the faculty as follows:³

Psalms and their Commentaries: Dr. Deutschlander
Hebrew Language and Prophets: Director M. Baumberg
Chizuk Hadas: Sara Schenierer⁴

¹ Ibid.

² Raizel Roza. "From My Notebook", BJJ (Vol. 75) p. 53

³ Friedman. BJJ (Vol. 24) p. 2

⁴ In addition to lecturing, she was counsellor and guide to the campers.

General Studies: Fraulein Rothschild

Sara Schenierer, in an article in the Beth Jacob Journal¹ reported that there were ninety-five girls² attending the courses during the summer of 1926 at Jordanow, and they were divided into five groups. There were fifty-five teachers from the Rabow camp who had returned, as well as forty Seminararians who were to complete their studies at Passover. It was expected that each girl who was to graduate would teach one hundred and fifty (150) students. Sara Schenierer wrote that she was saddened greatly by the fact that many girls who had requested to attend these courses were refused admission because of shortage of space, shortage of funds for food, and lodging, with the result that fifteen girls were sleeping in one room.

At Rabka

Two hundred teachers and Bnos leaders took part in the summer institute at Rabka in 1929.³ Examinations of the graduating class of the Seminary took place, in addition to which special teachers' conferences were held dealing with problems in the movement. This was the first time that courses for teachers and Bnos leaders took place simultaneously. Supervision of all pedagogic work was done by

¹Schenierer. "After the Second In-Service Training Program". (Vol. 26) p. 4

²This figure differs from that in the BJJ article by Friedman (Vol. 24) p. 2

³Friedman. BJJ (Vol. 45)

Dr. Deutschlander, with a combined faculty of German and Polish talent.¹ Final examinations were administered in the middle of Tamuz. In these examinations the girls displayed outstanding knowledge, and they proved themselves to be excellent teaching potential. A special conference for Beth Jacob teachers was held during this summer at which time the problem of the dearth of literature which was available to the Beth Jacob and Bnos movements was pointed out. An association of Beth Jacob teachers was formed, with Fraulein Rosenblum of Lodz elected President.²

From an article by Eliezer Friedenon, it is interesting to note that during 1929 the Beth Jacob summer colony was comprised of two large buildings; one building stood on a hill, the other was slightly removed. The entire colony was surrounded by the high Tatra mountains. This camp differed greatly from the original camps in the sense that there was much more comfort and convenience. This was due mainly to the efforts of Fraulein Szarainska who supervised the girls. Two hundred girls attended these courses. Friedenon described his feelings in these words:

"The motivation towards study and benefit from the lectures are the greatest factors amongst the students. Everything else is secondary. To the stu-

¹Among these were: Sara Schenierer, Poland; Dr. Rosenbaum-Grunfeld, Frankfurt, Germany; Fraulein Landsberg, Bresslau, Germany; Frau Jacobson, Hamburg, Germany; Fraulein Szarainska, Cracow, Poland; and Judah Leib Orlean, Warsaw, Poland.

²BJJ (Vol. 58) p. 23

dents, time is of the essence, and frequently the students ask that the lectures should not terminate so soon. The parks, the music, all the pleasures of this world are considered unimportant in their eyes, in contrast to the study of Torah of life. I spent half a day in the camp, at which time friend Orlean, who is giving one of the courses, engaged me in a conversation about the work that is taking place. Orlean expressed regret that I was unable to be present a few days ago when the examinations of the graduating class of the Seminary took place. The examinations, according to Orlean, included tests on the Five Books of Moses, from beginning to end, with a deep and comprehensive understanding of its entirety. The graduates knew the commentaries of the Torah, as well as the homiletics of the rabbis. They are thoroughly acquainted with all cross-references and can compare and contrast various sources of the Torah dealing with many topics. Most astonishing of all is that all this knowledge was displayed orally and with great feats of recollection. The same applies to the study of prophets and all the other studies. Everything is studied systematically, reviewed, and committed to memory. One can sense among the students the harmony existing here with the Polish-Hassidic environment. Proof of the matter lies in the fact that the German lecturers themselves, like Dr. Rosenbaum and Fraulein Landsberg have harmonized the Hassidic spirit and mannerism which exists in the Polish-Yiddish-Hassidic life with their own backgrounds. We note here, as we acquaint ourselves with the knowledge of the teachers, to what extent the Beth Jacob movement possesses a mind, a heart, and an understanding of all problems whether they be pedagogic in nature or those pertaining to a knowledge of Judaism. The teachers show such great knowledge and erudition that we can fully entrust the education of our young children to them. They are able to give our children a thorough Jewish knowledge from the original sources of the Torah, and we must admit that the teachers themselves have also absorbed from Frau Sara Schenierer the desire to influence and to be influenced in the knowledge of Torah and invigorating Judaism."¹

The following statistics were available through

¹Friedenzon. "Pictures and Notes", BJJ (Vol. 46)

Professor Zevi Scharfstein's study of the history of Jewish education.¹

Year	Place	No. of Girls
1925	Rabow	48
1926	Jardanow	98
1927	Jardanow	76
1928	Rabka	124
1929	Rabka	240

The girls who attended the camp came from Palestine, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria; while the majority came from Poland. In 1929, the President of Poland visited the Rabka camp and later stated that the government wished to continue to be very sympathetic and constructively helpful to the Beth Jacob movement. He said:

"...Beth Jacob is a blessing for European Jewry, for it saves our maidenhood from moral and religious dangers and from political radicalism."²

At the Rabka summer courses in 1930, the Beth Jacob teachers' organization conference dealt with proper usage, handwriting, and spelling of the Yiddish language. At this conference it was concluded to revert to the old traditional Yiddish spelling.³

¹Scharfstein, pp. 138-153. These figures differ from those released in the BJJ by Friedman and those released by Sara Schenierer in her article, as heretofore mentioned in this chapter.

²Ibid. pp. 138-153

³BJJ (Vol. 70)

No summer courses were held during the year 1931. This was due to financial difficulties and pedagogic shortage. This writer has been informed that the summer courses were never officially resumed.¹

¹According to Joseph Friedenzone, the in-service training courses were never resumed as such. Instead, they became, in an unofficial manner, part of the Bnos leadership training courses, Chavos Shmuel.

VIII. TRADE SCHOOLS

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The Polish government had always searched for ways and means to place obstacles in the paths of the Jewish merchants and consequently proposed a law which would prohibit anyone from conducting a place of business without a proper commercial diploma. Since many of the Jewish religious merchants in Poland had never attended a government school, thousands of them were in jeopardy of losing the right to operate their businesses. The only logical solution to this problem was to educate their daughters in a commercial school, which would be recognized by the government, and therefore would avoid any arising questions. The Beth Jacob leaders decided to unite the knowledge of Torah with practical education, and so they introduced a practical aspect to the Gymnasium program. This consisted of: (1) knowledge of business; (2) knowledge of domestic science. This was the beginning of a new phase in religious education for girls.

Business School in Warsaw¹

The business school set up in Warsaw was recognized by the government in 1936 and was extended the same privileges as those accorded the government Gymnasium. It offered a wide program of business education and was widely acclaimed and successful. It was the first business school

¹Joseph Friedenson. "Batey Hasefer", p. 70

in Poland whose graduates were recognized as being on the same level as those graduates of the government Gymnasium, for they were permitted to practice as government bookkeepers. The school also conducted a program of religious studies under the supervision of Abraham Mordecai Rogovi.

Ohel Sara¹

The trade school in Lodz, known as Ohel Sara, was founded by Eliezer Gerson Friedenzon in 1934. It existed for a period of five years, until 1939, when it was destroyed by the Nazis. Ohel Sara offered a program of trade and commercial education in preparation for practical living, as well as a rich program of Jewish studies. The girls, all between the ages of fifteen and eighteen enjoyed individual instruction in Jewish living in a very religious atmosphere. They had spacious living quarters and were given strict supervision. The girls came from good Jewish homes, many times from rabbinical families, and were, in many instances, daughters of "heads" of Yeshivos. Most of the girls came from the suburban areas.

The daily schedule at Ohel Sara began at 8:00 a.m. and consisted of five hours of trade studies and three hours of Jewish studies daily.² Three hours weekly were devoted to the study of the Polish language. The Sabbath program

¹BJJ (Vol. 152) p. 18

²ibid. (Vol. 150) p. 60

consisted of Friday evening services, Sabbath songs, various discussions, and a review of the Biblical portion of the week. In addition, a series of lectures was delivered by Friedenzon which dealt with such areas as: personality development; Agudism; history of the land of Israel; enlightenment; Reform Judaism and its catastrophic implications for the Jewish people. Lectures on Israel dealt with settlement in Israel; ancient settlements in Israel; secular and religious Zionism. In addition, special evenings for celebration of holidays and elaborate welcome affairs for guests were always planned in advance.

A student administration was elected by the girls to deal with their problems of daily living in the dormitory and the school. The students also published their own newspaper, "Undzer Ohel".¹

The following courses were offered at Ohel Sara.²

- (1) A one and a half year course in women's dressmaking and cutting, according to the latest methods.
- (2) A year's course in sewing and cutting undergarments.
- (3) A special course in bookkeeping and correspondence.
- (4) A year's course in nursing.

Every student was required to take the courses offered in the program of Jewish studies. They were:

- (1) Bible Course I -- Exodus: Shmos, Voerah, Bo,

¹"Our Tent"

²Kazdan, p. 492

Bishalach, Yisro

- (2) Bible Course II -- Deutoronomy: Voeschanen, Ekev, R'ay, Shoftim
- (3) Prophets -- Those portions read in the synagogue during the week.
- (4) Hagiographa -- Selections from the Psalms and the first five chapters of Proverbs, the Book of Esther.
- (5) Passover Haggadah
- (6) Code of Jewish Law -- certain selections
- (7) Jewish history
- (8) Selections of the great rabbis (Chazal)
- (9) Pedagogic lectures
- (10) Lectures in character building (Midos)
- (11) Hebrew language.¹

Examinations were administered before graduation, at which time there was an exhibition of the girls' work on display.

There was a strong connection between the Bnos movement and the Ohel Sara school, for it was at the first Congress of the Bnos that a request was made for the Beth Jacob Central Organization to plan a wide program of work for the education of the Bnos members, so as to enable the young Jewish daughters to earn a livelihood.² It was therefore decided to enlarge the Ohel Sara institute to enable it to admit more girls and to establish other such schools throughout the country in all the large cities. The Bnos asked the Central Secretariat to

¹Hebrew language played a very important part in the Ohel Sara program. It was taught six hours weekly.

²Kazdan, p. 492

to conduct a wide campaign for the Ohel Sara school and the productivization of the Jewish women and youth.

The first graduation at Ohel Sara took place in 1937.¹ Judah Leib Orlean, when he was Director of the Seminary, would frequently visit and test the girls in their academic achievements. In Tishri of 1939, examinations took place in the trades and general Jewish studies, at which time thirty-five girls were graduated and granted their diplomas. Many students were accepted for the coming year.

The success of this particular Beth Jacob school was very great and the number of students who sought admission before the outbreak of World War II was very large. This was in a measure due to the critical economic situation of the Jewish masses in Poland, who desired their daughters to "earn a livelihood" and therefore sent them to this particular trade school, thinking this would help ease their economic situation. Approximately three hundred girls studied in Ohel Sara each year. Most of them paid a minimal tuition fee. The deficit was covered by the Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish community of Lodz, and the Central World Organization of Agudas Israel, as well as the American Committee for Beth Jacob schools, headed by Rabbi Leo Jung.

On the eve of World War II, hundreds of girls were seeking admission to Ohel Sara. The administration therefore

¹BJJ (Vol. 151-152) p. 18

decided that all girls desiring to enter Ohel Sara must first spend a summer at the Central summer colony¹ where candidates would be screened and selected, and would receive a preparatory course before entering Ohel Sara.

A program of reorganization, which would bring about technical and pedagogic improvements was planned for 1939.² The need for a new building was stressed repeatedly as girls were being turned away.

¹Operated by the Bnos

²The invasion of Poland by the Nazis unfortunately put an end to the fulfillment of these plans.

IX. BNOS YOUTH ORGANIZATION

IX. BNOS YOUTH ORGANIZATION

At the end of 1926, when the Beth Jacob movement had marked its ninth anniversary, it had approximately sixty schools and its own newspaper, but the leaders of the movement felt that the schools should become something more than schools alone.¹ The girls studied in the Beth Jacob schools until the age of fourteen or fifteen. What was to become of them after they had left the confines of Beth Jacob? There was no guarantee that what they had sapped up during their stay in Beth Jacob with regard to religion and Torah would remain with them. They were at a very impressionable age and not too sure of themselves.

This problem was solved at the first meeting of the Bnos Agudas Israel which took place in Lodz in 1926. It was organized mainly through the efforts of Eliezer Gerson Friedenon, whose primary concern was that the girls who graduated from the Beth Jacob schools should not lose contact with the school after graduation. In the issue commemorating five years of the Beth Jacob Journals,² Friedenon described the factors which made him realize the great need for a girls' organization:

"I have visited many cities and towns as a representative of the Agudah. The scornful glances and animosity of the free-thinkers did not deter me, for I knew how to refute their arguments. But one

¹Kazdan, p. 499

²Issued in 1928

question bothered me and did not give me peace of mind. It was the question which was asked of me by one of the free-thinkers during one of my lectures: 'And where are your girls? They are in our clubrooms. They belong to us.'¹

What was the main purpose of the Bnos groups? In the words of its first national President, Chaya Kahn:

"We have come to the Jewish community to conduct a campaign against assimilationism and secular nationalism...we have come to wake up the Jewish daughter who is faithful to the Jewish people and its G-d."¹

The youth groups were divided into two categories: Girls up to sixteen years of age were members of the Batya groups, while girls over sixteen were members of the Bnos.

The Bnos became a center, where the girls of the Beth Jacob schools gathered after school hours to continue their friendships, as well as their study groups, in a social atmosphere where they all had common interests. Here they realized that they were all one type, part of a large organization, inseparable, with the same outlook on life. The Bnos movement differed from other youth organizations of the time insofar as it did not become directly involved in politics. It supported the policies of the Agudas Israel wholeheartedly, but it had no political platform of its own, nor did it infringe on any of the political activities of the Agudas Israel. The Bnos itself was primarily a cultural movement that sought to keep the Beth Jacob girls within a religious atmosphere. In most instances, a Beth Jacob teacher stood at the head of each local Bnos group. The youth

¹Kazdan, p. 499

groups held conventions, ran summer camps, organized workshops, conducted discussion groups and Shalosh Seudos on the Sabbath at the club houses, read news releases and activities of the movement, and in general developed a program of intensive work for the religious daughter and her needs. In addition, the groups set up their own leadership training courses, which were called "Chavos Shmuel".¹ They held regional conclaves and did a great amount of cultural work in the evenings, offering a program of Jewish and secular courses, as well as furnishing a library and reading rooms.

Great results were achieved by the Bnos. The Jewish daughter no longer possessed an inferiority complex. She did not feel cut off from her irreligious counterpart. She had a sense of security and a feeling of "belonging" to a large group of girls who were imbued with a mission in life. The attitude of the girls towards Yiddish was highly positive, as it was the language of the parent and of religious Jews. Because Yiddish was considered an instrument against assimilationism, all discussion groups were conducted in Yiddish and the publications of the Bnos were written in the Yiddish language.

Available figures indicate that in 1927 there were twenty-five branches of Bnos groups, with 750 members; in 1932, there were 109 branches, with 8,000 members; in

¹Named for Dr. Leo Deutschlander.

1937, there were 279 branches with 14,672 members.¹

On the eve of World War II, there were approximately three hundred Bnos groups in Poland. At the third national convention of the Bnos held in Lodz in 1937, approximately two thousand delegates were present. This was the largest convention of Orthodox Jewish women ever to meet in Poland.

¹Kazdan, p. 499

X. LEGAL STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION

X. LEGAL STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION

In 1924, when the Beth Jacob schools came under the jurisdiction of the Chorev school system of the Agudas Israel, the struggle for their recognition became part and parcel of the general struggle which the Agudas Israel leaders carried on for the legalization and recognition of the entire Chorev school system. In 1937, there were two hundred and fifty (250) Beth Jacob schools with 38,000 students enrolled.¹ Approximately one third of all the students enrolled in the Chorev schools attended the Beth Jacob schools. How these schools were legally established and recognized is related in this chapter.

In 1917, even before the establishment of the Polish Republic, organized Orthodoxy, under the name "Agudas Ha-Orthodoxim" pledged its allegiance to the New Republic of Poland, but in return demanded a guarantee that in the new Polish government Jews would be given permission to observe the laws of the Torah and its traditions without any governmental interference.² Such a guarantee was given in a letter by the Temporary Government of the Polish Kingdom issued on February 20, 1917.³ As we study the history of education in Poland

¹Seidman. Dos Yiddishe, etc., p. 8

²ibid. (Chapter I) p. 10

³For full text see Appendix E, No. 1

during the years between the two World Wars we find that the rights of Jews were also guaranteed in Article 110-111 of the Constitution (March 17, 1921)¹ and were incorporated in the new Constitution of April 24, 1935, at which time these rights were guaranteed anew.

At the creation of the Polish Republic in 1918, the religious educational school system in Poland was unclear and insecure both pedagogically, legally and materially. There was great confusion and Jewish life in general was unstable. Religious Jewry was confronted with the problem of coping with the general tendency to unite all children of all school systems into one unified school system for the educational training of the entire youth of Poland. This was desired by those of assimilationist tendencies whose hope it was to modernize and liberalize the education of Jewish youth.

Agudas Israel Role²

In 1916, the Agudas Israel movement (then called Agudas HaOrthodoxim) was established in Poland. One of its first goals and aims was to build and develop a religious educational school system. This problem occupied the most important place in the program of the Agudas Israel. Its activities were threefold:

- (1) a. To make religious education a community-wide responsibility.
- b. To bring order, system and organization to

¹See Appendix E, No. 2

²Seidman (Chapter I) p. 10

education.

- c. To elevate it to a high pedagogical level.
- (2) To secure guarantees for its legal status and governmental recognition, while at the same time retaining its religious character and Torah-true educational principles.
- (3) To provide for the financial and material needs of the religious school system in Poland.

Upon study, it is interesting to note that no other school system, whether it be CYSHO, Yavneh, or Tarbut, had so many specific laws, instructions, and circulars issued by the government in connection with it, as did the Chorev school system of the Agudah.¹ This was due to the many political intercessions on behalf of the religious school system obtained through the devoted work and energy of the Jewish parliamentarians.²

The Department of Education of the Agudas Israel had two goals:

- (1) To create a regulated, concise, clear and legal basis upon which to legalize the private religious schools and Talmud Torahs in accordance with their program of studies.
- (2) To obtain governmental recognition of these schools so that students of these religious institutions, wherein they also received a program of general studies, would be considered as fulfilling the requirements of the government school laws as were decreed.

¹Seidman. (Chapter 1) p. 4

²Among these were members of the Parliament: Rabbi Zvi Perlmutter, Elijah Kirschbraun, Senator Asher Mendelson, Rabbi Aaron Lewin, Leib Minzburg, and Rabbi Moses Elijah Halpern. Those who prepared the necessary document and paper work were Meshulum Kaminer, Dept of Education of Agudah; Alexander S. Friedman, Head of the Chorev Org.; A. B. Eckerman, Agudas Israel Political Dept.; Dr. Hillel Seidman, Political Secretary of the Agudas Israel.

This met with considerable difficulty for the following reasons:¹ The disorganization of the religious school in general; the lack of finances to carry on the struggle; lack of pedagogic training; misunderstanding at times by various religious and communal leaders. The Agudas Israel, therefore, had no choice but to found its own system of schools. It attempted thereby to provide religious education on a community-wide basis. Although the Agudas Israel was primarily interested in its own type of school, it attempted to legalize all the private religious schools and Talmud Torahs, and became the spokesman and champion of all the religious schools.²

In order to attain status and legalization of the religious schools, it was necessary to institute a program of secular studies. The goal of the Agudas Israel was to find a way whereby the students would receive a speaking knowledge of the important and useful aspects of the general studies program and thereby receive the authorization of the governmental school authorities. At the same time, however, it was necessary for them not to overburden the children with secular studies, in order that they might devote themselves diligently to the religious studies which were the backbone of the religious educational system. It became necessary, as a matter of course, to shorten the program of general studies as required in the Polish elementary schools and drop from the curriculum such subjects as: fine arts, music, gymnastics,

¹Seidman. (Chapter I) p. 4 ff.

²Ibid.

drawing, etc. The course of general studies finally agreed upon consisted of: Polish language; arithmetic; history; geography; elements of science.

In 1923, the schools received the recognition from the Ministry for Religion, Creeds and Public Enlightenment, in which the shortened program of secular studies mentioned above was acceptable. The course was an eight year one, with seven classes. The first year served as a preparatory class. In this class, as well as in Grades 1 and 2, the secular studies occupied ten hours of instruction weekly. In the five other grades, twelve hours of instruction weekly were devoted to the secular studies, with the greater portion of time devoted to the study of the Polish language. In a circular to the superintendents of the school districts in Warsaw, Lodz, Bialystok, Polesia, Wolinia, and Wilna, the Minister of Education and Religion recognized the above program in the sense that:

"it is a religious school in which is taught the religious studies in a satisfactory manner and is to be recognized if the minimal program of secular studies is taught...the students are to be recognized as fulfilling the requirements of the Compulsory Law of Education."¹

Even though this circular speaks only of exempting the students in the all-day religious schools from attending the government schools, it nevertheless established the legal status of the religious school system in general, and the school inspectors granted concessions to the religious

¹See Appendix E, No. 3

schools on the basis of this circular. This circular was in effect for a period of ten years. In 1932, a new school law went into effect, bringing with it a new chapter in the development of the religious school system.

Status of Schools in 1932¹

In 1932, the new school law² came into effect. The question as to whether rules and regulations under the law of 1922 were to remain in effect was to be decided. It was the opinion of the government school authorities that the law of 1922 was null and void. The religious school system was now left in a precarious and doubtful state of legality. The inspectors made demands upon the religious schools which were very severe, and as a result, the existence of the religious school system was in grave danger. The Political Department of the Agudas Israel and the Chorev Central Organization set to work hurriedly in an effort to settle this problem. The Orthodox parliamentarians in the Sejm and the Senate³ worked two years to solve this problem. It was their goal to have the government state that the circular of 1923 affecting the Talmud Torahs and private religious schools with regard to secular studies was still in effect. The

¹Seidman, p. 18

²Law of March 11, 1932 (Law Record of the Polish Republic, No. 33, Article 343). Because of the many difficulties and controversies centered around this law, it did not actually come into effect until June 30, 1935. The government then decreed that the religious schools must close on August 31, 1936.

³Rabbi Lewin, Leib Minzburg and Senator Mendelson

Ministry, however, refused to accept this.

In the meantime, the Orthodox parliamentarians were influential in having a government circular¹ issued on January 18, 1934, stating that supervision over the religious schools should be done in a friendly manner, without placing any obstacles in the path of opening and operating these schools.

The new task of developing a new program of secular studies which would be acceptable to the government and would be in accordance with the Law of 1932 lay before the Chorev Central Organization. It consulted with the greatest rabbinical authorities and devised a program which would not overburden the child with secular studies so that not only would the program of religious studies not suffer, but at the same time, it would be acceptable to the government. The Chorev attempted to minimize once again the least important studies, such as the fine arts.

Chorev Program Accepted²

The final program set up by the Chorev was an eight year one, thereby cutting down the number of hours for secular studies in the individual classes, but prolonging the school program for one additional year. The Chorev exercised its influence in seeing that no difficulties should be encountered when seeking approval for use of the school

¹No. 1/4156/33

²Seidman (Chapter 11) p. 25

buildings and that demands and requirements for the buildings should be fulfilled piece-meal. The Agudas Israel requested that no demands be made concerning the limiting of the religious studies and simultaneously requested that government officials who were in charge of the secular studies program should have no jurisdiction over the religious studies. After many deliberations and conferences, the religious demands of the Agudas Israel were met by the government in a circular¹ dated June 4, 1935. Under this circular the schools received recognition which they did not have until now. Although the students heretofore were not compelled to attend the government schools and were permitted to attend the private Jewish schools, their diplomas were not recognized by the government. With the issuance of this circular the religious schools fulfilling all the requirements contained therein had the right to issue diplomas which would be as acceptable as those of the government schools.² At first only the religious schools which belonged to the Chorev religious school system received this recognition from the government. After much deliberation, however, other religious schools also received the same recognition.

Now that the problem of recognition of the Beth Jacob school diploma no longer existed (in view of the aforementioned), there remained two problems yet to be solved.

¹See Appendix E, No. 4

²See Appendix E, No. 5

These were the question of building permits and guarantees for the school budget. As to the question of building permits all schools, according to a decree issued on July 6, 1932, "must receive sanction from the Voivoodships" (counties) before building permits were issued. A great amount of expense and much difficulty were therefore encountered before building permits were issued.

With regard to the school budget, the Minister of Religion demanded a monetary guarantee for the budget, or security, from all schools seeking permits. Parents were willing to make declarations of a guarantee to pay tuition on an annual basis, thereby guaranteeing support of the religious schools to the satisfaction of the government.

Status of Beth Jacob Afternoon School¹

The problem facing the Beth Jacob afternoon school was a two-fold one: to secure the right to build Beth Jacob afternoon schools and to secure permission for Beth Jacob students attending the government schools to be excused from attending the religious studies courses taught therein. A circular issued on April 14, 1924² by the Polish government stated that no public school ordinances should be demanded from these afternoon schools. However, character references regarding the teachers were required and suitable quarters had to be supplied by the owners of these afternoon religious schools. In a circular which was issued on

¹Seidman. (Chapter III) p. 28

²See Appendix E, No. 8

October 10, 1927¹ the same requests were made as in the circular of 1924, but two additional points were made:

- (1) School inspectors should not prevent nor hinder formation or operation of such schools.
- (2) Girls attending government schools should not be hindered from attending the Beth Jacob schools. However, the girls are not to be excused from the religious studies courses in the government public schools.

It is interesting to note, however, that the Agudas Israel was instrumental in using its influence so that Beth Jacob graduates taught religious studies in the government schools, claiming that other teachers were irreligious and incompetent. In this manner, the Agudas Israel was successful, in many instances, in easing the situation for their students as far as religious studies were concerned.

The Minister of Religion acceded to the requests of the Agudas Israel in regard to the recognition of the Beth Jacob afternoon school as merely being "courses in Judaism" and as such the afternoon school was not subject to adhere to the law of 1932 pertaining to the elementary all-day schools. The status of the afternoon schools in 1937 was still determined by the circulars of 1926 and 1927 which were considered to be valid and therefore the right to found Beth Jacob afternoon schools was continued.

In the new school law of March 11, 1932, with regard to private schools, rules and regulations were set down with the purpose of unifying the schools in Poland by

¹See Appendix E, No. 6

common rules, regulations, forms, organization and curriculum. After much deliberation with the Polish government the Beth Jacob afternoon schools were exempted from the laws regarding the standards for the courses of studies and pedagogic qualifications for Hebrew teachers in the Beth Jacob afternoon schools.¹

Teacher Qualifications in Afternoon Schools

Governmental requirements in regard to qualifications of Hebrew teachers in the Beth Jacob afternoon schools were determined by the circular issued in 1923.² It demanded certain qualifications of secular teachers only and not of Hebrew teachers. At times the school inspectors demanded qualifications, but at the request of the Chofetz Chaim who went to see Premier Bartel in regard to this matter, a circular was issued on March 3, 1932³ stating that Hebrew teachers needed only a character reference and Polish citizenship, and were not requested to furnish teacher qualifications. Thereafter, the Jews had autonomy over the qualifications of teachers.

Sources of Revenue⁴

Although it was guaranteed in the Minorities' Treaty and the Polish Constitution, support for these religious

¹See Appendix E, No. 7

²No. 21,000/1. See Appendix E, No. 3

³See Appendix E, No. 7

⁴Seidman. (Chapter III) p. 38

schools was not always forthcoming. Some communities and some magistrates refused to make allocations for these schools even though the Polish government law of October 19, 1927 stated that "the communities must support the religious education of the youth" and "the magistrates are instructed to make allocations towards these schools."

Documents Required for Founding of Beth Jacob Schools²

In order to receive a concession to found a Beth Jacob school, it was necessary to bring into the City Hall, through the school inspector, a request with the following documents:

- (1) Charter of the School. (In the case of an all-day school, a course of study also had to be presented in duplicate form).
- (2) Building sanction from the local government re the building.
- (3) Preliminary budget for the school year.
- (4) Declaration of Budgetary Guarantee.
- (5) Declaration of school help and equipment.
- (6) Charter of the sponsoring organization.

¹Ibid. p. 51

XI. CONCLUSIONS

XI. CONCLUSIONS

The phenomenal growth of the Beth Jacob movement which first began as the private school of a dedicated individual and later grew into a well-organized network of over two hundred and fifty (250) schools with a total enrollment of approximately 38,000 students in the short span of fifteen years, may be ascribed to the idealism, self-sacrifice and dedication of its founders, builders, educators and teachers. In essence, the Beth Jacob became an organized school movement in 1924, six years after it was first started by Sara Schenierer, when it became affiliated with the Agudas Israel movement and with the entrance upon the scene of Dr. Leo Deutschlander who brought a sense of order and pedagogic organization into a movement struggling for its survival and groping for direction. The movement was further strengthened with the establishment of its mother institution, the Beth Jacob Seminary, and the intensification of its teacher-training programs and in-service training courses which provided it with its supply of trained personnel. The movement, during the short span of its existence, before its untimely destruction by Nazi Germany, had already carved out a pattern for the religious education of girls which was later emulated, continued and adapted in Israel and America, as well as in other countries throughout the world.

The following conclusions may be drawn from this study of the Beth Jacob:

(1) From 1924 through 1939 (excluding those years from 1940-1943 in which the movement continued under the most adverse and trying conditions in the Warsaw Ghetto), Beth Jacob was the only movement for the education of girls that ultimately received the respect and admiration of Polish orthodoxy, including such outstanding leaders as the Gerer Rebbe and the Chofetz Chaim, as well as from such radical reform Jews of the west represented by the Central Committee of the American Reform Rabbis who cordially endorsed and actually supported the Beth Jacob.¹ In addition, support was also forthcoming from the Polish President, Prime Minister Bartel of Poland, and the Polish Ambassador to the United States in the form of verbal approval of the work done by the Beth Jacob.² Even those religious elements who attacked the Cheder as an educational institution because they felt it was cut off from reality, voiced their admiration at the pioneering work of the Beth Jacob movement, as was illustrated by an ardent Mizrachist when he wrote:

"But times demanded educational work which required creativity and modernization. The religious education for girls developed differently than the Cheder. Even though they accepted the theory of escape and segregation, there developed here a modern educational system which began with the Beth Jacob elementary school, continued through the Chavatzetlet school and terminated with the Beth Jacob Semi-

¹Jung, "Renaissance of East European Jewish Womanhood", The American Hebrew (September 19, 1930)

²Excerpts of letters are found throughout this study.

nary."¹

- (2) It became the second largest school movement in terms of student enrollment in comparison to all other existing school movements.²
- (3) It produced the first modern Orthodox school literature and textbooks in the history of Jewish education in Poland. Whereas the Cheder, which was the mainstay of Jewish education in Poland for hundreds of years, had produced no textbooks, so to speak, but relied on original sources such as the Talmud, Bible, Prayerbook and Code of Jewish Law, the Beth Jacob movement produced, in addition to a school-home monthly, a series of textbooks used in the instruction of Yiddish language and literature, Hebrew language and grammar, Jewish law and Jewish history.
- (4) It created the Beth Jacob prototype from which emerged a new generation of religious daughters who were proud of their Judaism and their heritage. Jewish daughters who previously were subjected to the light of the outer-world began to feel themselves at home in the traditional religious family life. They shed their secular books and the Polish literature and turned to the Bible, to the history of their people, and to books dealing with Jewish religion. They were no longer ashamed of

¹S. Z. Kahane. "Re Religious Education in Poland", edited by Isaac Werfel, Areshet (Mosad Horav Kook, Jerusalem, 1944) p. 122

²See figures p. 64

the Yiddish language and began to speak Yiddish amongst themselves, not only at home, but also in the street, and were no longer fearful lest they be considered "uncultured" women. They were proud of their Jewishness and were imbued with a missionary zeal to learn, to spread, disseminate and continue the old Jewish way of life.

(5) It was responsible for the creation of a new religious teacher who received a thorough pedagogic training, as well as a thorough Hebrew and secular education. It produced the first Jewish Orthodox-orientated and pedagogically trained Jewish teacher.

(6) It brought about a change in the existing concept of a religious education for the Jewish daughter, who heretofore, in most cases, received her religious instruction in the home. This idea was changed by the Beth Jacob movement which looked upon the education of the Jewish daughter as a necessity in light of the weakening of Jewish observance in the home. The knowledge of the graduates of Beth Jacob in Jewish history and Yiddish literature, and their deep understanding of Jewish problems, their serious approach to life, and their modesty in dress and proper behavior commanded respect not only amongst the religious Jews, but also in the irreligious circles, whose members expressed astonishment at the new type of Jewish daughter attending this new type of school.

In this sense, Beth Jacob acted as a stimulus for the

erection of institutions throughout the entire world where concentration is placed on the importance of the role of the future Jewish mother, her responsibility and training.

Just how great were the accomplishments and the influence of the Beth Jacob, only time will tell. As Isaac Breuer, ardent Agudist, wrote:

"A Zionist once asked me, 'What did the Agudas Israel do for the benefit of the future of Israel -- and how can she compare to Zionism?' I said to him, 'You built houses and planted vineyards and sowed fields. The Agudas Israel built sons and daughters. History will decide which work was the most important.' And with this answer I referred specifically to the daughters of the Beth Jacob."¹

¹Isaac Breuer. Moriah (Jerusalem, 1945) p. 221

XII. APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A
Minorities' Treaty of Versailles

APPENDIX A

MINORITIES' TREATY OF VERSAILLES¹

The following document was presented by the Comite
Des Delegations, Juives Aupres de la Conference de la Paix

Paris, le 10 Mai, 1919

"To Their Excellencies

The President and the members of the Peace Conference:

The Comite des Delegations Juives aupres de la Conference de la Paix, acting on behalf of the several organizations whose names are subscribed hereto, and who speak for nine million Jews, respectfully submit to your honorable body the following clauses intended for the protection of the several national, religious, racial and linguistic minorities of Bulgaria, Esthonia, Finland, Greece, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Ukraina, Yugoslavia and other eastern and central European lands, and earnestly pray for their incorporation in the several treaties that shall be the outcome of your deliberations, the right being reserved to propose such modifications as may be required to meet conditions existing in the various of the foregoing lands:

- (1) The State of _____ undertakes the following obligations to each of _____ the other Allied and Associated Powers, and recognizes them to be obligations of the International Concern of which the League of Nations has jurisdiction.
- (2) The State of _____ agrees that all citizens of _____ shall enjoy equal civil, religious, national and political rights without distinction as to birth, race, nationality, language or religion; assumes the obligation to protect the life, liberty and property of its inhabitants and assumes to them freedom of religion and of the outward exercise thereof.
- (3) None of the foregoing rights shall be abridged, nor shall any discrimination, disability or restriction whatsoever be imposed by law or otherwise upon any per-

¹H.W.V. Temperly. "Memorandum of Reasons for Proposals", Treaty of Versailles, (Vol. VII, Claims of the Nationalities, Henry Frowde, Hodder and Staughton, London)

son on account of race, nationality and religion, nor shall he be denied the equal protection of the law. All existing laws, decrees and ordinances in contravention herewith are repealed.

- (4) The right of any person to use the language of any minority of _____ in business, private intercourse, at public meetings and in the press, as well as before the various tribunals either orally or in writing, shall not be limited; nor shall any such national minority be restricted in the use of such languages in its schools and other institutions, nor shall the validity of any transaction or document be affected by the use of any language whatever. Schools which employ the language of any national minority shall, if their course of study complies with the general education requirements, enjoy equal rights with all other schools of the same grade. All existing restrictions are repealed.
- (5) The State of _____ recognizes the several national minorities in its population as constituting distinct, autonomous organizations, and as such having equally the right to establish, manage, and control their schools and their religious, educational, charitable and social institutions. Any person may declare his withdrawal from such a national minority. Within the meaning of the articles of this chapter, the Jewish population of _____ shall constitute a national minority with all the rights therein specified.
- (6) The State of _____ agrees that to the extent that the establishment and maintenance of schools, or religious, educational, charitable or social institutions, may be provided for by any State, departmental, municipal or any budget, to be paid for out of public funds, each national minority shall be allotted a proportion of such funds based upon the ratio between its numbers in the respective areas and the entire population therein. Moreover, the authorities of each minority shall be empowered to impose obligatory contributions to members of such minority.
- (7) Article 7 was not relevant to this study.
- (8) Those who observe any other day than Sunday as their Sabbath shall not be required to perform any acts on their Sabbath or holy days which by the tenets of their faith are regarded as a desecration, nor shall they be prohibited from pursuing their secular affairs on Sunday or other holy days.
- (9) The State of _____ agrees that the foregoing obliga-

tions are hereby embodied in her fundamental law as a bill of rights, with which no law, regulation, or official action shall conflict or interfere and as against which no law, regulation, or official action shall have validity or effect. None of the foregoing provisions shall be amendable without the consent of the League of Nations.

Any of the signatories of the treaty of which this chapter shall constitute a part and any minority that may be affected by a failure to observe or to effectuate any of the provisions of this chapter shall be entitled to submit their claims for adjudication to the League of Nations or to such tribunal as it may establish and upon such condition as it shall prescribe. With the expression of our high esteem and with full confidence in your exalted spirit of justice we have the honor to subscribe ourselves:

Respectfully,

Au nom du Comite des Delegations Juives aupres de la Conference de la Paix, compose des representants des Pays et Organisations suivants.

Amerique, Etats-Unis: Congres Juif d'Amerique
Amerique, Canada: Congres Juif du Canada
Galicie Orientale: Conseil National Juif
Italie: Comite des Communautes, Federation Sioniste, Federation Rabbiniq
Palestine: Assemblee Constituante Juive
Pologne: Conseil National Juif
Roumanie: Publications Officielles de la Federation Sioniste, Union des Israelites indigenes et Union Poale Sioniste
Russie: Conseil National Juif
Tchecoslovaquie: Conseil National Juif
Ukraine: Assemblee Nationale Juive

Organisations: American Jewish Committee: Bnai Brith, Organisation Sioniste

Mandats Par Ecrit: Grece (Salonique), Transylvanie et Bukovine

Presidence du Comite:

President: Julian W. Mack
Vice-Presidents: Louis Marshall, Leon Reich, Israel Rosoff, Nahum Sokolow, Menachem Ussishkin

Membre de la Presidence: Henry Cutler

Secetaire-General: Leo Motzkin

APPENDIX B

Will of Sara Schenierer

APPENDIX B

WILL OF SARA SCHENIERER¹

"What shall we say, what shall we speak, how shall we justify ourselves? There are many thoughts in the heart of man, but only the counsel of the L-rd prevaieth. Whatever the Merciful doeth, He doeth for our good. May His Great Name be blessed for His manifold kindnesses.

All my life I complained about my inability to cry at the time of prayer. But now it is hard for me to keep back my tears. Only now do I feel how strong is the inner bond that ties me to my children. But spiritual ties are very strong. They last forever. Just as I cry as I am writing to you now, so will your tears flow as you read these my words. May it be the will of our Father in heaven that your tears and mine reach the throne of Glory to pray for Israel's complete redemption.

I am turning to you, my dear daughters, going out into the great world to guide and train the daughters of Israel and to establish homes in Israel.

I am convinced that you understand well your great task. We have a good G-d in Heaven and He aids every person to walk in the way that He desires. Throughout the years of my work, men were sent to me who were genuine helpers.

If the feeling of sadness should overcome you, if doubt arises in your heart whether you are worthy of the mission entrusted to you, whether you are fulfilling your tasks properly -- then examine yourself whether you have done your duty or not. If your answer is positive, then remember what I told you every day after prayer, quoting the passage in Deutoronomy 'And now, oh, Israel, what does the L-rd, thy G-d, ask of you, except to revere the L-rd, thy G-d, to walk in all His ways, to love Him and to serve the L-rd thy G-d with all thy heart and soul.'

I should like to single out two grave dangers which threaten you, my daughters. Be ware of the feeling of pride, arrogance or cocksureness, that persuades one to think that he is great in achievements and deserving of honor. Secondly,

¹ Grunfeld, p. 160

keep away from the other extreme, the feeling of inferiority which whispers to man: 'you are nothing, without any value.' This exaggerated humility causes sadness to abide in man, introduces doubt into his heart as to whether his work will succeed.

And now my dear daughters, you are standing before the severest test, that of life itself. For some time life is hard, but in your hands, by the blessing of the L-rd, there are strong weapons of defense. They are fear of G-d, love and service.

Your sainted teacher, Yehudah Leib Orlean, once said, at the time of a formal examination: 'The tests have shown that you know how to learn and to teach. The problem which troubles us is whether you will also understand how to train Jewish souls.'

Before the High Priest entered on the service in the Holy of Holies, he would be asked 'Is there any whisper of evil intention in your heart, have you forgotten or perhaps not even learned? One can remedy ignorance or forgetfulness, but if your intention has become impure you would desecrate the Holy of Holies.'

My dear girls, you are going out into the great world. Your task is to plant the holy seed in the souls of pure children. In a sense, the destiny of Israel of old is in your hands.

Be strong and of good courage. Don't tire. Don't slacken your efforts. You have heard of a Chassid who came to his rabbi and said joyfully, 'Rabbi, I have finished the whole Talmud.' 'What has the Talmud taught you?' asked the rabbi. 'Your learning is fine, but your practical task is the main thing.'

Let me complete these words with the verses you all know so well.

Serve the L-rd in joy.
I keep the L-rd before me continuously.
The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the L-rd.
Teach us to number our days.
The L-rd's Torah is perfect, it restoreth the soul.
May the L-rd guard your going out and your coming in
from now and forever more.

May he listen to our prayers and send us the true redeemer and the true redemption.

Yours forever,
Sara Schenierer

My beloved daughters, may G-d grant you long life.

APPENDIX C

Progress of Beth Jacob Schools for a Ten-Year Period

APPENDIX C

MIMEOGRAPHED BROCHURE OF PROGRESS OF BETH JACOB SCHOOLS FOR A
TEN-YEAR PERIOD¹

Progress Report

Summer 1929

Year	No. Schools Established	Pupils in New Schools	Earlier Schools	Total Schools	Total Students
1919-23	8	1,130	---	8	1,130
1924	22	3,360	8	30	4,490
1925	19	2,095	30	49	6,585
1926	6	755	49	55	7,340
1927	32	3,565	55	87	10,905
1928	15	c4,000	87	102	c15,000
1929	24	3,000	102	126	18,000

Of the thirty-nine schools established during the years 1929-29, a good number of them are already in their own buildings. In 1929, the Teachers' Training Course for Graduates had been added to the Girls' High School in Warsaw, thus enabling a number of qualified leaders and teachers to be gained for the Beth Jacob schools.

Very Great Progress: The Industrial Arts School at Lemberg was considerably developed and a new Industrial Arts School was opened in Warsaw. The same school at Cracow is to be reestablished in a new building. Eight new kindergartens were added to the Beth Jacob system during this year.

Health of Pupils: Jacob Michael, a Berlin philanthropist donated apparatus for ultra-violet ray equipment which was used at various schools under the guidance of a school physician and trained nurses. These were essential since cold winters and prolonged undernourishment had sadly affected the health of the pupils.

Professional Guidance: In all cities in which the Beth Jacob schools exist executive committees were organized for these schools to advise girls individually, after graduation, as to profession, work and general future plans.

The Central Institute: The Central Institute at

¹This original brochure is on file at the New York Public Library, 42nd Street, N.Y.

Cracow (Beth Jacob Seminary) is in the process of final construction. The Institute will house a girls' Teachers' Training College, a dormitory for one hundred students, a Training and Testing School, the offices of the inspectors, a library and executive offices. The institute is to be situated in a beautiful, healthy district on the banks of the Vistula River. It also has a roof garden which is to be used on hot days. The total cost of the building is to be \$60,000.

APPENDIX D

Will of the Ninety-Three Seminarians

APPENDIX D

LAST WILL OF THE NINETY-THREE SEMINARIANS¹

The following "Will", written but a few hours before the arrival of the Nazi troops, speaks for itself. It was sent to New York, addressed to Dr. Isaac Lewin, and translated from the Hebrew by this writer:

"I don't know when this letter will reach you, or even if your honor remembers me. I met you at the convention in Marienbad. When this letter reaches you, I will no longer be among the living. In a few hours, all will belong to the past. We had four rooms. There are ninety-three of us between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two, all of us student-teachers of the Beth Jacob. On the 27th of July, Gestapo agents removed us from our rooms and threw us into a dark room. We have only water to drink. The young girls are frightened. But I comfort them with the thought that soon we will be with our mother Sara. Yesterday they took us out from our dark room, bathed us and took our clothing. They left us only gowns for our bodies. They told us that today German soldiers will come to visit us. We immediately swore to each other that we would die together.

The Germans don't know that the baths they gave us were our baths of immersion prior to our deaths. We have all prepared poison. When the soldiers come we will drink the poison. Today we are all together. We are reciting our confessions all day. We are not at all afraid. We have only one request of your honor. Recite the "Kaddish" for ninety-three daughters of Israel. In a short while we will be with our mother Sara.

(Signed) Chaya Feldman, Cracow"

¹Em B'Yisrael (Vol. 1) p. 20. The authenticity of this document has been questioned by many Agudists acquainted with Beth Jacob who claim that it was written for propoganda purposes only.

APPENDIX E
Documents of the Polish Government

APPENDIX E

DOCUMENTS OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT

No. 1

"From: The Temporary Government of the Polish Kingdom

To: The Organization of the Jewish Believers, Agudas
Ha-Orthodoxim

Date: Warsaw, February 20, 1917

The Temporary Government accepts with great satisfaction the statement of the Jews who consider themselves to be loyal citizens of Poland as well as pious followers of their faith.

The arising Polish government ties together the broken thread of historical tradition marked by religious tolerance and assures, as it did in the past, that the Jews living in Poland will have the right to practice their own faith, with the conviction that the Jew who serves faithfully the G-d of his forefathers will also serve faithfully the independent Polish State as citizens of equal rights.

(Signed)

The Temporary Government of the Polish Kingdom"¹

¹Seidman. p. 10

No. 2

Text of Articles 110 and 111 of the Polish Constitution of
March 17, 1921

"Article 110: The Polish citizens who belong to the minority, whether it be of nationality, religion, language, have the same right as the other citizens for founding, administering, with their own means, charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational facilities and also have the right of using their own language and following the practices of their religion.

Article 111: All citizens are granted the freedom of conscience and religion. No citizen may be limited because of his creed and religious beliefs in his rights which are granted to other citizens. All citizens of the Polish government have the right of freedom of belief, both public and in private, and may practice their religious services if they are not against the public order and public morale."

No. 3

"From: Minister of Religion, Creeds and Public Enlightenment

To: Superintendents of the Schools Districts in Warsaw, Lodz, Bialystok, Polesia, Wolinia and Wilna

Date: September 13, 1923 -- No. 21000/1

The Central Organization of the Orthodox Jews in Poland (Shlomey Emuney Yisrael) administers in different cities a chain of religious schools under different titles. These schools did not include the teaching of secular subjects of the Polish language, exclusive of the religious studies.

Now the Central Organization has started to reorganize these schools trying to include to a certain degree also the program of public elementary schools. The intentions of the Organization are apparent in the included program.

The Central Organization has approached the Ministry of Religion, Creeds and Public Enlightenment with the request that the children attending schools providing the above-mentioned program should be considered as fulfilling the requirements of elementary schools and should therefore not be compelled to attend the government elementary schools. Although the program is not quite equal to that program of the government schools and does not include a few subjects whose educational significance should not be underestimated, on the whole it can be assumed that the children educated on the basis of this program will reach such a stage of development that they can be excused from the duty of attending the government elementary schools.

With regard to this, the Ministry does not see any difficulties to free the children which attend the religious schools with the above-mentioned program from the public schools; this type of request should be treated kindly. Each of these schools individually must, of course, meet the legal requirements which every private school is required to meet. The teachers of the secular subjects must have the same qualifications which are obligatory for the teachers of the public schools in this area.

While visiting these schools great attention should be paid to the fact that although the program of certain subjects in the curriculum are different from the program of the public schools, the methods of teaching in these schools should be the same as the public schools. Attention should also be paid to the fact that in those schools where special hours for physical education are not provided, such schools

should utilize the recess periods and vacation periods to provide physical education instruction, in an equalized manner. In this matter, there should also be demanded from the principals of these schools, concrete plans.

The teaching of art, which does not have special hours, should find its place in the curriculum by being integrated with other subjects as in the public school program. The teaching of music is regarded as being part of the service, but should still be included in a formal manner.

If the visitation to the school would show that the school does not produce those results which are expected on the basis of the above-mentioned program, the children of these schools should be compelled officially to attend the public schools."¹

¹Seidman. p. 14. The validity of this circular was later extended to all school districts.

No. 4

"From: The Ministry of Religion, Creeds and Public Enlightenment

To: The Central Organization of the Orthodox Jews in Poland, Agudas Israel

Date: Warsaw, June 4, 1935

(In reply to the correspondence dated February 15, 1935)

The Ministry agrees to the Temporary Organization of the Schools supported by the Agudas Israel Religious Jewish Schools which, by preserving the general obligatory, pedagogic and didactic principles and administrative rules, insures within eight years of teaching the realization of the First and Second Level Program together with the most important part of the Third Level. The Organization should fulfill the following conditions.

(1) The number of hours for secular subjects (except religion and Judaism) within eight years of teaching of the pupil should not be less than 112 hours weekly.

(2) Within the eight year period a pupil should have:

Polish language	-- 38	(each year must have a minimum of 4 hours)
History	-- 8	
Geography	-- 10	
Science	-- 10	
Arithmetic and Geometry	-- 22	
Art	-- 5	
Manual Training	-- 8	
Music	-- 5	
Physical Education	-- 6	

(3) The teaching of these subjects should take place in the morning and under no circumstances should they start later than after two hours of religious instruction.

(4) The general weekly number of school hours assigned for the secular studies and the religious Judaistic subjects should be adapted to the age and development of the student of the individual class and no school year can exceed thirty-six (36) hours.

(5) Afternoon review should take place only after a suitable

ble recess and must not end later than seven o'clock.

- (6) In naming the school, which fulfills the above-mentioned requirements, the name "Sixth or Eighth Grade Elementary School" should also be included.

The Ministry, in informing the inspectors about the above-mentioned, emphasized that in the application for founding particular schools based on the above-mentioned conditions, suitable teaching and educational programs should be included, and it is also suggested that reference be made to this circular.

(Signed) Director of the Dept.
Dr. M. Mendy¹

No. 5

"From: The Ministry of Religious Creeds and Public Enlightenment

To: The Central Organization of the Orthodox Jews in Poland, Agudas Israel

Date: Warsaw, February 5, 1935

In connection with the foregoing the Ministry informs that it is inclined to agree to such a Temporary Organization of Religious Jewish Schools supported by the Agudas Israel (which gives the possibility to pupils to fulfill their school duty) schools which by preserving the general obligatory, pedagogic and didactic principles and administrative rules, insure within eight years of teaching the realization of the First and Second Degree program and the most important part of the Third Degree, it is fulfillment of all demanded conditions; gives possibility to issue the final certificate equal to the final certificate issued by the public elementary schools of the Second Degree.

The school should fulfill the following conditions:

- (1) The number of hours of teaching the secular subjects (except religion and Judaism) within eight years of teaching of the pupil should not be less than 120 hours weekly, divided in the following manner: The first four years twelve (12) hours weekly and the next four years eighteen (18) hours weekly.

Within the eight year period the following:

Polish language	-- 38 hours
History	-- 8 hours
Geography & Science	-- 20 hours
Arithmetic and Geometry	-- 25 hours
Art	-- 6 hours
Manual Training	-- 10 hours
Music	-- 6 hours
Physical Education	-- 7 hours

- (2) The teaching of these subjects should take place in the morning.
- (3) The number of hours of religious and Judaistic subjects together with the secular subjects cannot overburden the students.
- (4) Afternoon review may take place after a suitable recess

for dinner, cannot finish too late; enough time must be left so that the students may complete their homework for their secular studies.

The Ministry will take under consideration (in the shortest possible time) in connection with the above-mentioned conditions, plans and suggestions concerning the Temporary Organization of Religious Schools. (Planning the hours and programs of teaching in education).

(Signed) Head of Department
St. Bugajski¹

¹Seidman. p. 18

No. 6

"From: Minister of Religion, Creeds and Public Enlightenment

To: The District School Boards

Date: October 10, 1927

In the matter of the private religious education for the Jewish children, the Central Organization of the Orthodox Jews in Poland, having as a main task the religious education for the growing youth, organizes religious courses known mostly as "Beth Jacob" in different places. These courses do not have the character of a school, for they contain only teaching of religious subjects five to seven hours weekly after school hours and their purpose is to complement the school teaching in the religious education and Judaic subjects, especially where these subjects are not taught sufficiently in the school curriculum for various reasons.

To administer the above-mentioned courses it is necessary to receive permission from the District School Board and in cases where the District School Board does not exist, permission from a school inspector is required. This permission should not be denied, because only persons of high moral character and citizenship will be permitted to teach these courses, and the classrooms will meet the hygienic and sanitary requirements. The pupils of public schools may, with permission of their parents, attend private religious courses or private religious schools, but they may not be excused from attending the religious studies of their own belief which are offered in the public schools.

(Signed) Minister Dr. Dobrucki¹

¹Seidman, p. 26

No. 7

From: The Ministry of Religious Creeds and Public Enlightenment

To: Mr. Aaron Lewin, Member of the Club of the Jewish Orthodox Representatives and President of the Rabbis Organization in Poland.

Date: March 3, 1932 (Reply to Correspondence from November 14 - 18, 1932)

In reply to the above mentioned correspondence I inform you that of the teaching instructors in the private religious schools or in special courses of exclusively religious subjects, for instance Bible and Talmud, no qualifications would be demanded as required in the first and second article of the order of the Polish government (March 6, 1928 referring to the professional qualifications of teachers of elementary schools). However, these teachers, according to the first article of the sixth law of March 11, 1932 (referring to the private elementary school and educational and school facilities) should, before being admitted to teaching, prove their integrity and Polish citizenship. However, I emphasize that the child attending schools where religious subjects are taught exclusively, cannot be considered as having fulfilled the requirements of attending an elementary school. However, teachers who desire to teach secular subjects in addition to the strictly religious subjects, must have in the fields of these subjects, those qualifications prescribed in the first and second paragraphs of the first or fourth articles of the above-mentioned order. Simultaneously, I explain that I cannot agree to excuse from religious hours in school, those girls that attend special religious courses in the Beth Jacob.

(Signed) Secretary of State
Kazmierz Pieracki¹

No. 8

"From: The Ministry of Religious Creeds and Public Enlightenment

To: The Superintendents of the School Districts

Date: April 14, 1924

The Central Organization of the Orthodox Jews in Poland (Shlomey Emunay Yisrael) organizes in different places religious Judaistic courses mostly under the name Beth Jacob, which include exclusively religious Judaistic courses given five to seven hours weekly in time after the school lessons. In regard to this (these courses do not have the character of a school, but their purpose is only to complete the school teaching in religious education and Judaistic religious subjects, especially where these subjects for various reasons are not respected sufficiently in school teaching) the superintendents may recommend that the school inspectors in granting concessions for founding above-mentioned courses must not adhere strictly to all conditions imposed for the founding of private schools, but may only limit themselves to demand that the teachers for such courses should be of integrity, and that the owners should insure suitable facilities.

(Signed) Manager of the Ministry
I. Mikulowski-Pomorski¹

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