

CHANGING OBSERVANCE OF TRADITIONAL
JEWISH RELIGIOUS PRACTICES
A STUDY OF GENERATIONS

by
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Practices: A Study of Generations

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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: CHANGING OBSERVANCE OF TRADITIONAL JEWISH RELIGIOUS PRACTICES: A STUDY OF GENERATIONS

Meyer Greenberg, Doctor of Philosophy, 1956

Thesis directed by: Dr. Harold C. Hoffsommer

Changes in the observance of traditional religious practices among Jewish families during the course of three generations are the subject of this paper. The religious practices studied are those related to the cycle of the year--the Sabbath and holy days--and kashruth (the dietary laws). The population is a group of 180 families, chiefly from Baltimore and Washington, D. C., with children in the freshman class at the University of Maryland in the spring of 1949.

The first generation, the grandparents, are in the main immigrants to the United States from Eastern Europe during the years of mass immigration which ended shortly after World War I. The second generation are the parents, most of them American born, while the third generation consists of freshmen at the University.

For the earlier generations the interaction with the American environment is analyzed in terms of acculturation and social mobility. In the third generation attention is focused on changes in religious practice from the time the student was a child and under parental control, through his last year in high school, and then into the latter part of his first year at college.

Information on the background of students and parents and on their

religious observance was obtained by means of a questionnaire. This was followed by an interview to learn the circumstances surrounding changes in the student's observance.

It was found that the parents belong almost entirely to the middle class and are engaged in business or the professions. The student group, of whom two-thirds are male, does not differ appreciably from the general student body either in scholastic aptitude or in grades.

Upon analysis, the combinations of religious practices observed by the individuals were found to fall into seven repeated patterns or types. This classification system was used to compare the observance of the different groups into which the sample was divided.

The relatively sharpest break with tradition occurred in the immigrant generation. The second generation continued to move in the same direction. The third generation departed even further from tradition, especially when under the influence of the college environment, but the rate of change appears to have slowed down.

The process of discarding ritual practices has been a selective one. Observances which are frequent and involve economic sacrifice, such as the Sabbath and holidays, have been the first to be dropped. Others such as formal daily prayer and kashruth outside the home have been abandoned because of inconvenience and because they differ widely from accepted social norms. A minimum observance level seems to have been reached in the evolution of Jewish religious life. Attending synagogue and fasting on the High Holydays and participating in a Passover Seder are still observed by the overwhelming majority of American Jews. The lighting of Sabbath candles is widespread, and kashruth in the home is kept by a

substantial number, though only a very small proportion of the students observe the dietary laws.

The subjects of the study were also classified according to their self-identification with one of the three branches of Judaism--Orthodox, Conservative and Reform. It was found that while the first generation were overwhelmingly Orthodox, the members of the second and third generations have been moving increasingly into the Conservative and, to a lesser degree, the Reform groups. The Orthodox Jews indicate greater average observance than the Conservative, who in turn tend to observe somewhat more than the Reform. However, the observance of all three groups falls far below the standards set by the movements officially. In the student generation, the differences between the groups are further narrowed, and there appears a marked tendency toward similarity in observance patterns.

Future studies are needed to analyze the continuing development and relative strength of the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform groups. It would also be worthwhile to learn whether the students here studied at what is thought to be the lowest point of their religious observance will modify their practices when they are married and have families.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To the student of minority groups, the rapid transformation which the Jewish community in America has undergone during the past century is a particularly striking phenomenon. Although mass immigration of the Jews to the United States did not begin until after 1870, the Jewish group made a quick and thorough adjustment to the conditions of American society. Within a generation or two, for example, the newcomers attained a high educational level, and the majority of them rose out of the lower and into the middle class.¹

The rapid change in class structure of the Jewish sub-community, however, was accompanied by serious strains within the fabric of the Jewish religious system.² The demands of the modern western way of life came increasingly into conflict with the requirements of traditional religious law. As a result, the hold of the religious community over the lives of its members was seriously weakened. Some Jews assimilated

¹See Nathan Glazer, "Social Characteristics of American Jews, 1654-1954," American Jewish Year Book, LVI (1955), 26-28.

²The use of the term "community" in this study follows that of Richard A. Schermerhorn in These Our People: Minorities in American Culture (Boston, Heath, 1949), and of Marshall Sklare in Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement (Glencoe, Free Press, 1955). Compare also the definition of community given by Joseph S. Roucek and Roland L. Warren in Sociology: An Introduction (Ames, Iowa, Littlefield, Adams, 1951), p. 195, as "a group of people who have a certain sense of belonging together, and who reside in the same geographic area in which most or all of the basic institutional activities are present."

and were lost to the group; others gave up religious observance but found different avenues of Jewish expression, such as Zionism. The great majority, however, still retained a loyalty to their religion, while they modified their observance in various ways.

Confronted by these threats, Jewish religious institutions attempted to adapt both their methods and the content and interpretation of the religion to the changed circumstances of Jewish life in America. This effort gave rise to the differentiation of the religious community into three distinct movements--Orthodox, Conservative and Reform.

The process of change in observance of Jewish traditions since the beginning of the great Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe is the subject of this study. The population taken is a group of about 200 Jewish families with children in the freshman class at the University of Maryland in the spring of 1949. These families lived chiefly in two metropolitan centers on the eastern seaboard, Baltimore and Washington.

This is a study of three generations, and a history of changing religious observance in each generation. The religious development of these families begins with the grandparents, the adult immigrants, who are in the background. Their religious behavior can be traced through projection back into the East European milieu from which four-fifths of the group originated. Then follows the second generation, who came to the United States as children or were born here not long after the family's arrival, and about whom information is supplied by their children, the Jewish freshmen at the University of Maryland. Last is the Jewish college student himself--American in birth and environment--who can be considered for the most part a third generation American.

Attention in this study is centered mainly upon those aspects of traditional observance in which the generations can be compared. Studied are the rituals for home and synagogue which are related to the cycle of the religious calendar, such as the Sabbath and holidays, and which are performed by the layman rather than by a synagogue functionary. Included also are the regulations of kashruth (the Jewish dietary laws governing the choosing, preparation and serving of food). Omitted from this survey are the rites of passage, the religious ceremonies which hallow the chief turning points in a person's life. These would include the ceremonial circumcision on the eighth day of a boy's life, bar mitzvah (the ceremony accompanying the attainment of a boy's religious majority and his acceptance of ethical responsibility, at the age of 13), the wedding, and the rites associated with death. Such observances either were not under the control of the young people when they took place or else the occasion for their performance had not yet appeared.

For the earlier generations the process of interaction with the American environment is analyzed in terms of acculturation, with some reference also to social mobility.³ Among the specific factors investigated in relation to observance are the length of time the families have been in the United States, their occupations and economic status, and their religious identification (Orthodox, Conservative or Reform).

In the student group, the scope of the analysis is narrowed in

³Acculturation denotes "the entire sequence of processes involved in the contact and subsequent intermixture of the traits and patterns of two or more cultures." (Kimball Young, Sociology: A Study of Society and Culture (New York, American Book Co., 1949), p. 615.) Young defines social mobility as "movement up or down the class scale of status and prestige." (Ibid., p. 618.)

order to bring into clearer focus the changes at different times and under varying influences. Against the background of the parental home, the young person's observance is traced from the time he was a child and presumably followed the example and guidance of his parents, through his last year in high school, and then into the second semester of his freshman year at the University.

In the crucial college period, most of the students live away from home and are thus removed from the direct control and influence of their parents. The atmosphere in the new environment is one whose tone has been set by the non-Jewish majority. At the University there is also a striving for economic advancement through educational success, and a tendency toward conformity with the environment in order to gain social acceptance by both the general student community and the Jewish students who have already accepted campus values.

During the young person's college career, a competitive struggle is constantly in progress for his loyalty and devotion. The protagonist on the one hand is the Jewish religious community, aided in some degree by the parents and by the campus Jewish religious organization, the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation. On the other side are the forces of the general American society, aided by the prestige of the University and the social and intellectual atmosphere in which it operates.⁴

Although much has been and is being written on Jewish life in America from a multiplicity of viewpoints, the sociological analysis of

⁴In all fairness we must note also the positive effect from the stress by the University of the need for identification religiously.

Jewish religious developments is still one of the areas most neglected by investigators. Only one outstanding work has appeared in this field.⁵ Particularly inadequate have been the studies of ritual observance, which have tended merely to record the behavior of scattered groups and to overlook the dynamics of the situation.

So far as the author can ascertain, this is the first comprehensive empirical study of changes in traditional Jewish observance and of the forces involved in those changes. Out of this analysis there emerge answers to some of the significant questions of Jewish religious life in this country--What are the trends in the observance of Jewish tradition? What are the rates of change in each generation? And what are the factors which affect the direction of the change?

The phenomena described here, moreover, should have broader interest also as an illustration of the process of integration now affecting the cultures of other ethnic groups in the United States.

⁵See Marshall Sklare's recent book, cited above.

CHAPTER II

THE JEWISH TRADITION AND MODERN TIMES

The Place of Ritual in the Jewish Religion

The Jewish religion, as developed in the Talmudic period (roughly, the seven centuries ending with the year 500), is an all-encompassing way of life governing all aspects of individual and community behavior. It includes not only holy days and worship but also regulations to guide one's conduct toward his fellow man and his society. No area of life is exempt from the aim of bringing every individual into communion with God and to make every action an expression of God's will.

In Jewish tradition there was little distinction between ethical and ceremonial laws. All were included in halakhah--the rules of right conduct and righteous living which governed Jewish life. All were considered mitzvot, divine commandments, because they either had their source in the Torah, revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai, or were derived from the Torah by later sages in a process of continuing revelation.

In the close-knit religious system which the halakhah set up, deed was prior to creed, and practice was more important than theology. The rabbis of the Talmud advised man to "busy himself with the fulfilling of the commandments even though his heart is not in it for ultimately the hand will teach the heart." As Freehof analyzes the Jewish viewpoint,

Judaism is convinced that if you begin with the right action you will arrive at the right beliefs, . . . The foundation of Jewish religious life is Jewish practice

upon which are built habits of mind and attitudes to the universe. It is a case of "we will do and then we will hear." First we obey God's commandments and then we learn to understand God's nature. We do not begin with theology, we arrive at theology. This is the historic Jewish way.¹

Before the advent of modern times, the Jew in Christian Europe was outside the body politic and was looked upon as a member of a separate corporate entity. As a non-believer he was excluded from civic activity and was permitted only limited participation in economic life. His social and cultural contacts with non-Jews also were rigorously restricted.

Since the individual Jew had no other society in which he could participate, he turned to the Jewish community to satisfy his social, cultural and religious needs. These the community could meet effectively, since it was permitted internal autonomy and could conduct itself in accordance with Jewish law, both civil and ritual. As a result, religious observance was universal and was markedly uniform for all Jews in the community.

The outside world, moreover, held little attraction for the Jew religiously, since he believed firmly that the only way for him to gain salvation was through loyalty to the Jewish religion. This belief was confirmed by the fact that the rest of mankind also shared the world outlook upon which that belief was based. They too accepted the Bible as the word of God. They too believed that salvation will come only in the world to come and that the sole way to salvation was to live according to the revealed will of God. The three major religions differed

¹Solomon B. Freehof, Reform Jewish Practice and Its Rabbinic Background (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1944), p. 4.

only on which had the authoritative revelation of that will. Neither philosophical divergences nor social ambition, therefore, could wean the Jew away from his people and its tradition, for they not only enabled him to live in this world but also assured him of bliss eternal.²

The Impact of Modern Times

The modern era has wrought a revolution in Jewish life as great perhaps as any which accompanied such ancient catastrophes as the Babylonian Exile and the destruction of the Second Temple. Changed conditions in western society--intellectual, economic and political--have undermined the foundations upon which Jewish communal, religious and social life had rested for many centuries. From the resultant crisis Judaism is still struggling to recover.

The philosophical enlightenment of the eighteenth century, with its encouragement of skepticism and relativism, led to a weakening of the belief in religious law as divinely inspired, absolute and eternally valid. The Bible was no longer universally accepted as the infallible word of God, and man's salvation came to be identified with self-advancement in this world instead of with the world to come. As a result, religion began to lose its hold upon the minds of men.

Another effect of the enlightenment was to destroy the belief that one must be qualified for salvation in order to hold civic and political rights. The religious pluralism which began with the Protestant Reformation helped to make possible ultimately the trend toward

²Mordecai M. Kaplan, Judaism as a Civilization (New York, Macmillan, 1934), pp. 6, 11-12.

separation of church and state and the removal of religious prerequisites for citizenship. The breakdown of the medieval social system also brought with it the emancipation of the individual from the dominance of his corporate group and the creation of a society of individuals rather than groups. Slowly and very gradually, beginning with the American and French Revolutions, the Jews also were emancipated and were granted political equality in most of the countries of the western world.

Hand-in-hand with these developments, and often preceding them, came the rise of modern capitalism, with its emphasis upon competition and individual enterprise. In the competitive struggle, human and religious values tend to be subordinated to the purely economic, and the former are often discarded when they appear to be a handicap.

Within the Jewish community, modern conditions did not make their appearance until the eighteenth century, and the majority of the Jews of the world were still unemancipated at the beginning of the twentieth century. The impact of modern times, when it did reach the Jews, therefore, was particularly concentrated and violent. As Baron points out,

Not only did Jewish emancipation, for the bulk of the people, begin much later, but the individual Jew had a double responsibility: a readjustment of relations to his own group, and to the European world outside. From a medieval ghetto Jew, he was to be transformed into a full-fledged modern Jewish European. In a period of less than three centuries, he was to accomplish a task twice as arduous and intricate as that performed by the other Europeans in more than half a millennium.³

³Salo W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews (New York, Columbia University Press, 1937), p. 165.

As was true generally, the Jewish community also began to lose its control over the individual Jew because it was no longer essential for his adjustment to the world and for his happiness. As Kaplan analyzes the situation,

the more the abilities of the Jew find a field for expression in his new milieu, the less does he need the Jewish community and its spiritual heritage. The average Jew has come to feel that his immediate interests lie far less with the rest of Jewry than with whatever group, political, economic or cultural, enables him to achieve the salvation which is of this world. To most Jews, salvation has come to mean self-expression in industrial, commercial, artistic or social endeavor.⁴

While the state itself does not interfere with observance, many Jewish practices which vary from those of the general society become a handicap in the struggle against non-Jewish competitors. In addition, the desire for upward social mobility, so strong among modern people of the middle class, results in an imitation of the manners and way of life of the non-Jews, whose standards have to be adopted as a prelude to social rise.

Particularly hard-hit was the system of Jewish ritual observance. Jews began to abandon such fundamentals as daily prayer, the Sabbath and the festivals. Some individuals surrendered to necessity with heavy hearts, while others abandoned without compunction the practices for which their fathers would have laid down their lives. However, once discarded, few practices were resumed at a later period, even though conditions may have become more favorable.

Because ceremonial is part of the unitary structure of traditional Jewish religion, the discarding of observance is especially

⁴Kaplan, op. cit., p. 13.

significant. The changes indicated more than the dropping of a practice which seemed outworn. They meant that halakhah was losing its central place in the religion. They indicated, moreover, that the belief in the divine origin of the mitzvot, which had served as the underpinning for the entire structure of Jewish law, was disintegrating.

Judaism Attempts to Meet the Problem

Some individual Jews carried emancipation to its logical extreme. They separated themselves completely from the Jewish community and became assimilated into European society through baptism and intermarriage. The great majority of Jews affected by modern conditions, however, still believed in Judaism and desired to preserve their Jewishness at the same time that they accepted the inescapable demands of adaptation to western life and thought. From these Jews came the impulse to reexamine the Jewish tradition and to adjust it to their new outlook and way of living.

The first thoroughgoing and organized attempt at such an adaptation was made by a movement referred to in Judaism as the Reform movement.⁵ Arising among upper middle class businessmen and intellectuals in Germany during the early years of the nineteenth century, the new outlook spread to the United States, where it has attained its greatest growth. Reform accepted consciously the necessity for remolding the Jewish religion in keeping with the outlook and values of the times. The initial changes, as is characteristic in Judaism, were reforms in practice and not in theology. The movement began by westernizing the

⁵See David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism (New York, Macmillan, 1931), Beryl Harold Levy, Reform Judaism in America (New York, Banta, 1933), and Reform Judaism (Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Press, 1949).

synagogue service, whose Hebraic elements were transformed in the pattern of the Protestant church service of the environment. Changed too were the traditional forms of celebration of the Sabbath and holidays.

Since Reform had completely lost credence in the supernatural origin of biblical legislation it proceeded to abrogate the binding power of Jewish law and to remove law from its position as the foundation of Judaism. The place of halakhah was given to creed, which now was to be the central element of the Jewish religion. Reform said:

No longer shall the force of tradition and common participation in a system of ceremonial regulations be the uniting link, but those "eternal" truths, unto the validity of which the Jew shall bear witness until their final adoption by all mankind.⁶

While the Sabbath and holidays were still preserved and public worship maintained, the general attitude of disparagement of ritual could not help but discourage observance. Only gradually did there arise a new recognition of the value of ritual. This attitude was embodied in the Columbus Platform of 1937, which read, in part,

Judaism as a way of life requires in addition to its moral and spiritual demands, the preservation of the Sabbath, festivals and Holy Days, the retention and development of such customs and ceremonies as possess inspirational value . . .⁷

Nevertheless, Reform abolished completely the observance of the dietary laws and removed all restrictions upon personal activity, such as travel and business dealings, on the Sabbath and festivals. The 1937 statement, moreover, was presented only as a set of guiding principles and was not

⁶Baron, op. cit., p. 253.

⁷Central Conference of American Rabbis, Yearbook, XLVII (1937).

transformed into legislation.

The main body of the Jewish people, who still accepted the tradition, received the designation Orthodox.⁸ Inevitably, however, the advance of the emancipation began to make its impression upon this group too, and there developed within it a new philosophy, which has been termed Neo-Orthodox.

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century Samson Raphael Hirsch, appealing to Jews of Central Europe who had attained a social status equal to that of Reform,⁹ presented a reinterpretation of the Jewish religion to answer the problems raised by the modern age.¹⁰ Instead of opposing the introduction of European culture, he welcomed it and the new political and economic equality which Jews were gaining. He tried also to demonstrate that one can participate fully in western civilization, be conversant with the methods of science and historical research, and yet lead a traditional life.

The new philosophy affirmed the basic traditional belief in the supernatural origin of Jewish ritual and ethical law, which must be obeyed because it is the expression of God's will. In opposition to Reform, Neo-Orthodoxy refused to accept the spirit of the times as a valid criterion for judging the value of any aspect of Judaism. On the contrary, the leaders urged the individual to resist his environment.

⁸See Leo Jung (ed.), The Jewish Library (New York, Bloch, 1928-1939), 4 vols.

⁹Baron, op. cit., p. 256.

¹⁰See Samson Raphael Hirsch, The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uzziel (New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1899). The book was originally published in 1836.

Observance must continue, they declared, in spite of the practical difficulties involved. Never must a Jew "for the sake of gain desecrate the Sabbath."¹¹

Nevertheless, Neo-Orthodoxy also made its adjustments to modern life. It abandoned, or at least did not stress, life in the world-to-come as man's ultimate and highest goal. In addition, by welcoming the new political status of the Jews, this philosophy indicated its acceptance without protest of the abolition of Jewish courts and the abrogation of Jewish civil law. It thus acquiesced to the elimination of an extensive and important area of life from the jurisdiction of the halakhah.

Ritual nonconformity continued steadily to increase among the ranks of the Orthodox also, so that Baron could assert that there are "so many varieties of orthodox conformity that one can hardly distinguish any more the basic standards of conformity."¹² Moreover, with time the difference between the observance of the average Orthodox Jew and the average Reform Jew has gradually been decreasing.

The latest religious movement to emerge in response to emancipation is Conservative Judaism.¹³ Not until the early years of the twentieth century did Conservatism appear as a separate and conscious movement, although its philosophical basis had been prepared by men like Zechariah

¹¹Ibid., p. 153.

¹²Baron, op. cit., p. 389.

¹³See Robert Gordis, Conservative Judaism (New York, Behrman, 1945) and Moshe Davis, Yahadut Amerikah Be-Hitpathutah (New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, 1951), and "Jewish Religious Life and Institutions in America," The Jews, Louis Finkelstein (ed.), vol. 1, pp. 354-453.

Frankel in the Central Europe of the mid-nineteenth century. A little group of rabbis and historians who were dissatisfied with the radical departures of Reform from Jewish tradition were the fathers of the movement, although their influence hardly made itself felt during their lifetime.

It was only in America, when the masses of East European immigrants, and particularly their children, had attained a considerable degree of acculturation, that the movement began to take form. As Agus states, "the Conservative movement has arisen both in America and in Europe by way of secession from the camp of radical Reform. But, the congregations which constitute at present the United Synagogue [the Conservative synagogue federation] had come into the Conservative camp from the ranks of Orthodoxy."¹⁴

Rejecting the solution offered by Reform, the new movement represents a mediating approach between the requirements of Jewish tradition and the changes necessitated by the complete participation of Jews in modern economic and cultural life. Conservatism respects the authority of Jewish law and attempts to find within it the canons for adaptation to the changing conditions of modern life. Unlike Reform, Conservative Judaism accepts as binding not merely the moral but also the ceremonial laws of Judaism, which it values highly as essential to the religious way of life. The movement believes that

no amount of philosophic preaching or historical instruction
can substitute for the elaborate system of folk ways and tradi-
tional observances which has heretofore maintained the identity

¹⁴Jacob B. Agus, Guideposts in Modern Judaism (New York, Bloch, 1954), p. 89.

of this religio-ethnic group.¹⁵

Differing from modern Orthodoxy, on the other hand, the Conservative outlook does not consider the tradition as fixed and unchanging. The word of God is viewed as a living stream rather than a rigid formula which has been set for all time. Both theological concepts and religious ritual are subject to interpretation and adaptation in the light of the best thought of the age.

Changes in the Jewish religion are made possible by the Conservative rejection of the belief in the divine dictation of the Torah to Moses on Mt. Sinai. The Torah is considered rather a divinely inspired attempt by men to translate religious ideals into a way of right living.

The Conservative view of halakhah is aptly summarized by Agus:

The Conservatives accept the entire structure of Jewish Law as valid for our time, save insofar as it was modified by the practice of the people, insisting, however, that the law arose as a human response to a Divine call and that it continue to be developed in such a manner as to respond to the deepest spiritual needs of our time.¹⁶

Halachah [is] the Divinely inspired and self-imposed disciplines of the Jewish people, undertaken for the purpose of elevating the level of individual and group life to the highest rungs of the ideals of Judaism.¹⁷

Conservatism covers a wide range of individual outlook and religious practice, although the movement officially has sanctioned few departures from traditional law. Many unofficial concessions have been made to modern pressures, with the result that some congregations have

¹⁵Baron, op. cit., p. 455.

¹⁶Agus, op. cit., p. 97.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 333.

moved relatively close to Reform, at the same time that others are almost indistinguishable from the Orthodox. A similar tendency is apparent among individual Conservative Jews, who display a diversity of ceremonial observance practically as extensive as that among the Orthodox.

CHAPTER III

OTHER STUDIES OF OBSERVANCE AMONG JEWS

Little empirical research has been conducted to ascertain the extent of observance of those traditional religious practices which are the subject of this investigation. During the past thirty years there have been hardly a handful of published studies in which a major or even considerable interest has been shown in this area of religious activity.

In 1926 there appeared in the Proceedings of the American Sociological Society a summary of a Master's thesis presented by Miss Jessie Ravich at the University of Minnesota on the "Relative Rate of Change in Customs and Beliefs of American Jews."¹ Miss Ravich distributed 1200 questionnaires to the members of Jewish organizations in the city of Minneapolis. The 33 percent who responded ranged in age from 19 to 60 and presumably represented the adult Jewish community of that city.

Fifty-three percent of the Minneapolis group attended at least one Friday evening service during the year, while 47 percent did not. Passover was observed by 85 percent, who abstained from eating leavened bread. Ninety-two percent observed Yom Kippur, and 79 percent fasted on that day. On the other hand, only 23 percent stated that they observe

¹Vol. 19, pp. 171-176.

For a detailed description of the observances mentioned in this chapter, see Chapter VII.

the dietary laws outside the home.

It is regrettable that some of Miss Ravich's questions on observance were too complex to be answered adequately by a yes or no. In dietary practices outside the home, for example, the range of observance found in the American Jewish community is quite broad. In addition, attendance at Friday evening services does not present a complete picture of Sabbath observance.

Miss Ravich noted that Yom Kippur was the most strongly adhered to of all the customs and that dietary practices had changed most of all. She concluded that the relative degree of observance of customs varies inversely with the frequency with which they must be practiced and that those which interfere with economic adjustment are discarded first.

The most ambitious investigation in the field was conducted by Jacob S. Golub for a dissertation at New York University in 1928.² Golub undertook to study the extent of traditional observance among a group of almost 2,000 young people from 13 to 30, most of whom lived in New York City and were the children of foreign born parents. Detailed questionnaires were filled out by 1845 young men and women, while 97 were interviewed. Golub's purpose was to determine which practices were generally observed in Orthodox families and should therefore be included in the course of study of the afternoon Hebrew school. He estimated that the parents who sent their children to such schools represented about 20 to 30 percent of the American Jewish community. They consisted

²"Jewish Youth and Tradition" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Education, New York University, 1928).

of the most observant elements of that population and had about three times as large a proportion of synagogue membership as did the Jewish population at large.

These young people, moreover, were a select group, with a greater than average degree of group loyalty, for they were all members of clubs with a Jewish purpose--cultural, charitable or Zionist. It is no surprise, therefore, that among them there was a preponderance of adherence to tradition. On the other hand, the lesser degree of observance shown in the interviews indicates that the questionnaire results should not be accepted without reservation. The author himself pointed out that the lack of clarity and definition in some of the questions left the possibility of varying interpretations, as was recognized during the interviews. Besides, the group was heavily weighted with young people at the lower end of the age range, who were much more traditional than those who were older.

In the observance of the parents, who were almost entirely of the immigrant generation, the Sabbath was one of the weakest elements. While Friday evening candles were lit in 84 percent of the homes, only a minority of the parents refrained from many of the prohibited activities. Less than 40 percent of all the men adhered strictly to all the Sabbath regulations. The percentage of those who refrained from carrying on certain specified prohibitions on that day was as follows: work, 44; ride, 40; carry money, 38; buy, 54; write, 58; smoke, 71; and kindle light, 62.

The mothers, who lived a more sheltered life, displayed a greater loyalty to the traditional Sabbath than did their husbands. About half

were strict Sabbath observers. Among them, the percentage who refrained from similar activities was: work, 79; ride, 59; carry money, 49; buy, 60; write, 76; cook, 74; and kindle light, 70.

About half of the fathers and one-third of the mothers attended synagogue services on the Sabbath. Twenty-one percent of the men were said to attend synagogue daily, and 55 percent prayed with tefillin, either at home or in the synagogue. On festivals and the High Holydays attendance increased considerably, especially among the women, who indicated a slightly higher percentage of attendance than their husbands. For the entire group, almost 80 percent went to synagogue on the festivals, and about 87 percent on the High Holydays.

The most widespread of all observances were the following:

83 percent of the fathers and 90 percent of the mothers did not work on the festivals;

93 percent of the fathers and 97 percent of the mothers did not work on the High Holydays;

94 percent of the fathers and 93 percent of the mothers fasted on Yom Kippur; and

95 percent of the fathers and 94 percent of the mothers did not eat bread on Passover.

The vast bulk of the parents observed the dietary laws both at home and outside. Ninety-two percent had strictly kosher homes. When eating at a restaurant, only six percent ate forbidden foods, such as ham and oysters, ten percent mixed meat and dairy foods, and thirteen percent ate non-kosher meat.

Among the second generation, observance began to drop off. Those under 16 tended to be more observant than their fathers, especially in synagogue attendance. About the age of 16, however, there appeared

a weakening of the influence of the home, and the older groups departed considerably from traditional standards.

A comparison of the 110 males of 20 and older with the entire questionnaire group shows the following contrast in Sabbath observance:

19 percent, in comparison with 57 percent, did not work;

14 percent, in comparison with 34 percent, did not ride;

8 percent, in comparison with 28 percent, did not carry money; and

16 percent, in comparison with 52 percent, did not write.

Only one-quarter of all the young people were strict Sabbath observers, while among the oldest the percentage dropped to eight percent.

The synagogue attendance of the young women ranged from one percent for daily services and about one-fifth for Sabbath services, to 47 percent for festivals and 66 percent for the High Holydays. Among the males the respective figures were generally higher--11 percent, over one-half, 76 percent and 85 percent. Fifty percent stated that they prayed at least sometimes with tefillin (phylacteries), while in the interviews it appeared that only 25 percent did so regularly.

Those young people who were 20 or over again reported much reduced observance. Only a handful of the oldest group went to services on weekdays, and no more than 30 percent prayed at least sometimes with tefillin. Less than half of the general percentage attended synagogue on Saturdays. The attendance of the two groups was comparable only on the High Holydays.

In the interviews it was reported that 45 percent of the young people did not go to work or to school on festivals, and 89 percent on the High Holydays. Seventy-five percent fasted on Yom Kippur, while 76 percent did not eat any bread on the holiday of Passover.

There still remained considerable observance of the dietary laws outside the home, although only a minority remained strict. Forty-five percent did not eat non-kosher meat, 47 percent did not mix meat and dairy foods, and 75 percent refrained from eating ham or oysters. Among those over 20 years of age, the comparable percentages were reduced to 35, 44, and 70.

Among the young people who were interviewed, three-fourths asserted that they planned to join a synagogue after marriage. However, their synagogue preference differed radically from that of their parents, almost all of whom attended Orthodox synagogues. Twenty-three percent planned to join an Orthodox synagogue, 45 percent a Conservative one, and six percent a Reform temple.

Another study, from the same period but of a group at the other extreme of the traditional observance spectrum, appeared in 1931. Two thousand two hundred five members of the major Reform congregations in the 11 American cities with a Jewish population of over 50,000 completed a questionnaire sent to them by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.³ The ten percent who responded were believed to be typical of the majority of Reform synagogue members, according to Dr. Abraham N. Franzblau, the director of the survey.

³Reform Judaism in the Large Cities--a Survey (Cincinnati, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1931).

This group represented a highly acculturated element of the Jewish community. Seventy percent were American born. They were economically successful and socially mobile. Fifty-seven percent owned their own businesses, and 23 percent were in professional or semi-professional occupations. The 20 percent who worked for others held well-paying positions, and about one-fifth of them belonged to Jewish country or city clubs. Although more than two-thirds of the group were over 40 years of age, one-fourth had graduated from college or professional school. Less than half had ever studied Hebrew, and more were members of country or city clubs than of Zionist organizations. In ancestry the group was about equally divided between German and East European origin.

With the exception of synagogue attendance and fasting on Yom Kippur, the members of Reform synagogues reported much less observance of tradition than either of the groups previously mentioned. Table 1 summarizes the major observances indicated.

TABLE 1
OBSERVANCES OF 2,205 MEMBERS OF MAJOR REFORM
CONGREGATIONS IN 11 AMERICAN CITIES, 1931*

Type of Observance	Observe Regularly (Percent)	Never Observe (Percent)
Attended Sabbath Services	31	7
Attended Festival Services	24	26
Attended High Holyday Services	88	3
Lit Sabbath Candles	27	62
Remained Away From Business on Saturdays	5	90
Remained Away From Business on Holidays	43	27
Conducted a Home Seder on Passover	34	52
Fasted on Yom Kippur	43	43

*Adapted from Reform Judaism in the Large Cities--a Survey.

In this study the differences between men and women were minor, with but one exception. The Reform women had adopted the American pattern and attended Sabbath services in greater numbers than their husbands.

For more than a decade no other studies of Jewish observance appeared, until Golub returned to the field, this time in conjunction with Noah Nardi.⁴ In 1945 the two studied a group of 160 families of children enrolled in three schools meeting at a Conservative synagogue center--a Sunday School, a Hebrew School and a Jewish Day School. The group is "affirmatively Jewish to the extent that it sends its children to Jewish schools and maintains Jewish affiliations."⁵ In the opinion of the authors, "the population studied is an adequate sample" from which to draw conclusions on trends in a larger group.⁶

The great majority of these parents were of the second generation. Sixty-three percent were born in the United States, while most of the immigrants had arrived in childhood. Proof of the latter assertion was seen in the fact that over 95 percent had graduated from public school and almost 60 percent had attended college. The recent East European origin of the group was evidenced by the fact that 91 percent knew and sometimes used the Yiddish language.

Sabbath observance was not extensive among the parents, although 61 percent of the mothers lit candles regularly and about half did not cook on that day. Less than six percent of the men and ten percent of

⁴Jacob S. Golub and Noah Nardi, "A Study in Jewish Observance," The Reconstructionist, vol. 11, no. 9 (June 15, 1945), 10-16.

⁵Ibid., p. 11.

⁶Ibid., p. 10.

the women could be termed strict Sabbath observers. On the Sabbath 12 percent of the group did not work; six percent of the men and ten percent of the women did not ride; 25 percent of the men and 21 percent of the women did not shop; 16 percent of the men and 29 percent of the women did not write; and eight percent of the men and 12 percent of the women did not put on lights.

The synagogue attendance reported for the parents was less than for any of the earlier groups. Among the men, only nine percent attended services regularly on the Sabbath, 15 percent on other holidays, 72 percent on Rosh Hashanah, and 74 percent on Yom Kippur. The synagogue attendance of the women was much less frequent. Three percent went regularly on the Sabbath, ten percent on holidays, and 50 percent on the High Holydays. Seventeen percent of the parents stated that they never attended services.

The percentage of those who did not work on various holy days was: Passover, 24; Shavuoth, 15; Succoth, 5; Rosh Hashanah, 85; and Yom Kippur, 90. On Passover, 73 percent regularly had a Seder, and 88 percent ate only matzos.

One of the most widespread areas of observance was the dietary laws, which were followed in over 60 percent of all the homes. Sixty-three percent had separate dishes for meat and dairy foods. Seventy percent prepared their meat in accordance with the requirements of kashruth, while 73 percent did not serve butter with meat meals.

The observance pattern of the school children tended to be more traditional than that of their parents, although the difference was not very great. On the Sabbath, nine percent did not ride; 29 percent did

not shop; 36 percent did not write; and 12 percent did not put on lights. Sixteen percent attended synagogue regularly, while two-fifths attended synagogue sometimes.

During recent years two surveys have been conducted--one under Conservative auspices and the second by Reform--which give a suggestion of current religious observance in the two groups despite the sketchy nature of the studies and their lack of precision. In 1953, 1787 members of Conservative synagogue boards throughout the country (twenty percent of all such leaders) responded to a questionnaire sent them by their national synagogue body.⁷ In this overwhelmingly (95 percent) male group, 13 percent stated that they regularly say daily prayers. The attendance of these synagogue officers and board members at Sabbath services is as follows:

Quite regularly	35 Percent
Often	21 "
Occasionally	28 "
Hardly ever	16 "

The leaders do not differ significantly from their followers, as can be noted from the comparable statistics on the synagogue attendance of the general membership of Conservative synagogues:⁸

Regularly	30 Percent
Often	21 "
Once in a while	42 "
Never	7 "

Friday evening candles were lit in 76 percent of the homes, but

⁷National Survey on Synagogue Leadership (New York, United Synagogue of America, 1953).

⁸Ibid., p. 3. See also National Survey (New York, United Synagogue, 1950), p. 10.

only a minority adhered closely to the dietary laws. Thirty-seven percent rated their homes strictly kosher, 27 percent partially kosher, and 36 percent not kosher.

The study of Reform laymen was conducted in the same year by the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, which mailed questionnaires to 10,000 members of Reform brotherhoods.⁹ Of this eight percent sample, selected at random from membership lists, replies were received from 14 percent, or 1,418.

The synagogue attendance of this group was as follows:

Attended weekly	31 Percent
Attended monthly	31 "
Attended seldom	36 "
Attended on High Holydays only	12 "

In addition, seven percent prayed upon awakening in the morning, and two percent prayed with phylacteries.

On the Sabbath, one percent said that they did not ride, ten percent did not work, 12 percent did not keep their businesses open, and 18 percent did not smoke.

During the Passover festival, 74 percent had a Seder in their homes and 93 percent ate matza, while 59 percent ate both bread and matza. Slightly more than one-half fasted on Yom Kippur. Only eight percent asserted that they keep kashruth. Eight percent is the figure also for those who would not eat shell-fish. Twenty percent did not mix milk and meat, and 24 percent did not eat pork.

In a number of other instances, information on religious observance

⁹American Judaism, vol. 3, nos. 2 and 3 (December 1953 and January 1954).

was collected in connection with studies of Jewish communities. Typical of such are the following three studies.

In 1944 a survey was made in Duluth, Minnesota, in order to ascertain the educational and recreational needs of the Jewish population of that city.¹⁰ Incidental information was obtained on the religious observance of the almost 500 Jewish families. In this group, it was learned that 82 percent conducted a Passover Seder; 61 percent used separate dishes for meat and dairy; and 67 percent used kosher meat only.

An intensive study of changes in the cultural patterns of the 20,000 Jews residing in Minneapolis was published in 1949 by Albert I. Gordon.¹¹ In addition to his observation of community trends, Gordon conducted a survey of religious observance, using a random sample of about 170 pupils in the Minneapolis Talmud Torah, the central Hebrew School system of the city.

This student group, however, can not be considered typical of the entire Jewish community of Minneapolis, since only Orthodox and Conservative families were included and since such a large proportion (79 percent) of the parents were foreign born. Moreover, when the results of the study are compared with the author's own estimates, there appears to be some overstatement of observance on the part of the pupils. For example, an unusually high degree of kashruth in the home was declared by this group: 86 percent brought meat in a kosher meat market; 85 percent

¹⁰ Social, Recreational and Educational Survey of the Jewish Community of Duluth (Jewish Welfare Federation of Duluth, 1944).

¹¹ Albert I. Gordon, Jews in Transition (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1949).

koshered the meat before cooking; 69 percent had separate meat and milk dishes; and 70 percent ate meat meals without butter, milk or cream.

By way of contrast, Gordon's estimate of dietary law observance was much lower. From his broad knowledge of the Jewish community and of the clientele of the kosher butchers he concluded that not more than 20 percent of the families purchased kosher meat, that hardly ten percent koshered the meat, and that about ten percent ate only kosher meat outside the home. It is clear, therefore, that the general picture of religious observance would show less traditional practice than appeared on the pupil questionnaires, particularly in the above areas.

Strict observance of the Sabbath was ascribed to perhaps ten percent of the families surveyed, although Friday evening candles were lit in 71 percent of the homes regularly and in 21 percent occasionally. The percentage of the fathers who observed the Sabbath prohibitions was as follows: go to work, 14; ride, 10; shop, 38; write, 30; smoke, 25; and kindle lights, 13.

The mothers' observance slightly exceeded that of the fathers, except that the women did much more Saturday shopping than the men. Their percentage of observance was: ride, 16; shop, 14; write, 37; smoke, 34; cook, 13; and kindle lights, 12.

For the pupils, the pattern of Sabbath observance fell somewhere between those of their parents. Among the young people, ten percent did not ride; 17 percent did not shop; 37 percent did not write; and nine percent did not kindle lights.

Synagogue attendance for all members of the family was not very regular. Only 14 percent of the men and five percent of the women went

regularly to Friday evening services, while 28 percent and 41 percent respectively never attended. On Saturday morning there was even less religious activity. Eight percent of the fathers and one percent of the mothers went regularly, in contrast to 48 percent and 56 percent who never attended.

Among the young people the attendance was better, on the whole. Saturday morning was their time to go to synagogue. Forty-six percent attended regularly on that day, and only 15 percent never attended. In addition, six percent went regularly to the Friday evening service, and 62 percent went occasionally.

Information was given also on the number of fathers who did not go to work on the Jewish holidays. Each of the three festivals had a roughly similar degree of abstention from work--Sukkoth with 17 percent, Shavuoth with 18 percent, and Passover with 21 percent. Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur found the overwhelming majority remaining away from their occupations.

The most recent study of this type was made under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee in an Eastern seaboard city with a Jewish population of about 8,500.¹² Among the objectives was a comparison of Jewish identification and of the ways in which it was expressed by two generations. Interviews were conducted in 200 families, which comprised approximately half the families with children from the ages of 13 to 20. The authors believed that the attitudes indicated in this

¹²Marshall Sklare, Marc Vosk and Mark Zborowski, "Forms and Expressions of Jewish Identification," Jewish Social Studies, vol. 17, no. 3 (July 1955), 205-218.

group were "representative of those of other middle-sized Jewish communities, particularly those situated in the Eastern part of the country."¹³

The parents were mostly (68 percent) of the second generation, and the adolescents were of the third generation. Almost without exception, the entire group was of East European origin. Small business, mainly retail, was the predominant occupation, with the professions next in frequency.

A clear trend was evident in the religious institutional identification of the families. Increasing Americanization was generally accompanied by a shift away from Orthodoxy. Eighty-one percent of the grandparents were described as Orthodox, 11 percent as Conservative, and five percent as Reform. On the other hand, only 16 percent of the parents considered themselves Orthodox. Forty-three percent described themselves as Conservative and 30 percent as Reform.

In the third generation the defection from Orthodoxy continued, although there was evidence that in the future the rate would be slowing down. Only one out of every five children raised in an Orthodox home intended to remain Orthodox. In contrast, the intention of the bulk (over 60 percent) of the young people raised in Conservative homes was to remain Conservative, and of those in Reform homes to remain Reform. Some non-conformists within each group planned to switch their future institutional affiliation, but there appeared no danger to the stability of either Conservatism or Reform.

It was apparent also that the Conservative Synagogue was not

¹³Ibid., p. 206.

serving as "a temporary way-station on the road to Reform Judaism."¹⁴ Even in the parent generation, only ten percent of the Reform Jews had previously considered themselves Conservative.

Among the parents, one percent stated that they observed no Jewish customs at all. A group of ten percent, which the authors consider exaggerated, claimed that they observed all Jewish rituals.

Over 90 percent of the teen-age group attended synagogue services at one time or another, chiefly because of their own interest rather than because of the urgings of their parents.

The observances which remained widespread were those which have become so strongly identified with Jewishness that they cannot be discarded completely--the High Holydays, Bar Mitzva and Confirmation, the Passover Seder, and some form of the dietary laws. It was noted that

. . . the rituals which have special appeal are those that are joyous, involve the young, mark the transition from one stage of life to another, do not require a high degree of isolation from non-Jews, do not demand rigorous devotion and daily attention, and are acceptable to the larger community as appropriate symbols of the sacred.¹⁵

When the adolescents establish their own families, they intend to adhere rather closely to the observance patterns of their parents. Only seven percent planned to become more observant and 11 percent less observant. The boys anticipated about as much observance as the girls, while age was accompanied by changing attitudes on this subject. As many as 23 percent of those 18 and over intended to practice less ritual than their parents, while only five percent of those between 13 and 15

¹⁴Ibid., p. 208.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 210.

years of age had such intentions.

Further analysis of the deviants indicated a tendency toward greater homogeneity within the entire population. Among the children from Orthodox homes, only two percent expected to become more observant than their parents, while 18 percent stated that they will be less observant. Fifteen percent of the young people from Reform backgrounds, on the other hand, intended to practice more ritual and only three percent less ritual than their parents.

A knowledge of the Yiddish language was general among the members of the second generation. Fifty-eight percent of the parents stated that they understood conversation in Yiddish, while only five percent did not know any of the language. The Americanization of the children was so far advanced, however, that only a minority (19 percent) felt that they knew it well. Thirty-percent stated that they could not understand the tongue at all. The attitudes of the two generations toward the language ranged from nostalgia on the part of the parents to indifference among the young people.

A third source of information on traditional observance is in the investigations of attitudes among young Jews in the colleges. Marvin Nathan, for example, in his questionnaire study of 1500 Jewish students at many colleges throughout the United States and Canada, collected some figures on synagogue attendance.¹⁶ He found that about 11 percent of the students continued to have regular synagogue attendance during high

¹⁶Marvin Nathan, The Attitude of the Jewish Student in the Colleges and Universities Towards His Religion (New York, Bloch, 1932).

school and college, while ten percent retained a practice of occasional attendance. About three-fifths broke away from attending services, mostly while at the university. An increase in attendance was reported by four percent for the high school period and ten percent for college.

In a study published in 1946 on the attitudes of 74 Jewish students at Yale University toward Judaism, some information on observance was also reported.¹⁷ The students were a third generation group, stemming mainly from Eastern Europe. Forty-three percent came from Conservative homes, 31 percent from Reform homes, and only 16 percent from Orthodox homes. The other ten percent had no religious self-identification.

A few of the fundamental practices of the Jewish religion were retained by over four-fifths of the parents. Eighty-four percent observed the holiday of Passover in some way, 82 percent observed Yom Kippur, and 46 percent observed some aspects of kashruth.

The synagogue attendance of the parents ranged from 18 percent who attended weekly to 16 percent who attended rarely or never. Nineteen percent attended only on the High Holydays, while 47 percent attended somewhat more often.

Religious observance decreased in the student generation. Sixty-nine percent observed Passover, 68 percent observed Yom Kippur, and only 30 percent observed any aspect of the dietary laws.

A sharp decrease occurred also in attendance at religious services.

¹⁷Meyer Greenberg, "The Jewish Student at Yale: His Attitude toward Judaism," in Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science, vol. 1 (1946), 217-240.

Only seven percent went to synagogue every week, while 31 percent went rarely or never. Twenty percent attended only on the High Holydays, while 42 percent attended on some additional occasions as well.

Incidental information on Jewish synagogue attendance can also be culled from studies which have been made of various segments of the general American population. For example, a study of the youth of New York City was conducted under the Works Progress Administration in 1935. In a one percent sample of the young people from the ages of 16 to 24, there were 2,835 Jews, or 31 percent.¹⁸ The parents of this group were predominantly immigrants, engaged for the most part in manual occupations. Eleven percent of the boys and seven percent of the girls had attended synagogue services during the week preceding the interview. During the year before, it was reported, only 28 percent of the males and 22 percent of the females had spent any times in religious services.¹⁹ These figures seem surprisingly low, since all other studies indicate a majority of Jews attending services at least on the High Holydays.

Another investigation during the depression years was conducted in the state of Maryland, where a sampling of 13,528 youth were interviewed.²⁰ Among the 490 Jews in this group it was found that ten percent

¹⁸Nettie Pauline McGill, "Some Characteristics of Jewish Youth in New York City," Jewish Social Service Quarterly, vol. 14, no. 2 (December 1937), 251-272. For the complete report see Nettie Pauline McGill and Ellen Nathalie Matthews, The Youth of New York City (New York, Macmillan, 1940).

¹⁹McGill, op. cit., p. 253, and McGill and Matthews, op. cit., p. 241.

²⁰Howard M. Bell, Youth Tell Their Story (Washington, American Council on Education, 1938).

attended synagogue once a week, six percent once a month, 72 percent only on the holidays, and 12 percent never.

The regular series of polls taken by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver has included one on church attendance. The poll released in December of 1944 indicated that 18 percent of American Jews attended synagogue at least once a month; 50 percent attended only on High Holydays; and 32 percent attended less than once a year or never.²¹

The same poll a year later, however, indicated a greater incidence of regular synagogue going:²² nine percent attended at least once a week; 24 percent attended at least once a month; 35 percent attended only on High Holydays; and 32 percent attended seldom or never.

Material for a study of 9,064 American college graduates was collected by Time Magazine in 1947.²³ Synagogue attendance was not very frequent for the Jewish graduates. Twelve percent claimed they were regular worshippers; 45 percent of the men and 41 percent of the women went only a few times a year, while 43 percent of the men and 47 percent of the women rarely or never attended.

The various studies cited, diverse as their populations are, indicate upon analysis that the Jewish community in the United States has been moving further and further away from the traditional norms of

²¹Opinion News, IV (December 24, 1944).

²²Ibid., V, 13 (December 24, 1945).

²³Ernest Havemann and Patricia Salter West, They Went to College: The College Graduate in America Today (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1952).

Jewish religious practice. The greatest changes have occurred in the observance of the Sabbath, the festivals and the dietary laws, while the practices associated with the High Holydays and Passover have seen the least change.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD OF STUDY

The survey portion of this study was initiated and planned in the fall of 1948 and was carried out during the spring semester of 1949. The subjects were the entire group of Jewish freshmen who had entered the University of Maryland in September of 1948. By the time they were studied they had already spent most of a school year at College Park, and therefore sufficient time had elapsed to observe the initial effect of the college environment upon the students' observance of the Jewish holidays and other traditional practices.

From the office of the University Registrar the religious preference cards which are filled out by all the students upon registration were obtained. A count of these cards indicated that 975 of the 8700 students enrolled at College Park in September of 1948 were Jewish. Among the Jews, 233 were entering freshmen.¹

¹It may be asked whether the list of Jewish students is complete. Is it not possible that some Jews did not indicate religious preference because of a fear of possible discrimination or because of a desire to dissociate themselves from their Jewish background?

A survey of religious preference was made by the University Religious Life Committee that year and it discovered that 357 out of the total registration of 8700 had not submitted religious preference cards. Assuming a proportionate percentage of Jews in this group it could be anticipated that no more than 10 additional Jewish students would be added to the Jewish list. The results of the study, therefore, would not be appreciably affected by this group, even if it included a somewhat larger percentage of Jews than expected.

By the spring of 1949, when the study was conducted, only 209 of these students still remained on the campus. Twenty-four young people (ten percent) had withdrawn from the University during the intervening period. The remaining 209 students were the subjects of this analysis.

Information was gathered by means of a questionnaire and a follow-up interview. The function of the questionnaire was to obtain the facts on the background of students and parents and on their religious observance. (See Appendix A for test.) For the parents, information was requested on age, country of birth, date family immigrated to the United States, place of residence, occupation, family size, extent to which they speak Yiddish and whether any of the grandparents live with the family. Information on the students included their sex, age at last birthday, country of birth, marital status, veteran status, extent of Jewish education, ability to read Hebrew, place of residence during the school year, reasons for living there, fraternity or sorority membership, and percentage of expenses earned.

The second section of the questionnaire gave information on the observances of father and mother, of the student during the year before he came to college and during his freshman year at college. Questions were asked on how often they attended synagogue and whether the male students prayed daily with tefillin. Inquiry was made into observance of the Sabbath, when the traditional Jewish family lights candles, attends synagogue and does not work, ride, handle money, write, cook or put on lights. The students were asked whether they and their parents observe kashruth, the dietary laws--buying only kosher meat, salting and soaking the meat before cooking, keeping two separate sets of dishes for meat and

milk products, serving the two types of food only at different meals, and eating no pork products. When away from home, do they eat in non-kosher restaurants, eat pork or other non-kosher meat, and eat meat and milk products at the same meal?

On the festival of Passover does the family prepare or attend a Seder (the ceremonial holiday meal), and does the Seder follow the traditional Orthodox ceremony, either strictly or partially? Do they eat leavened bread or do they eat matza, the unleavened bread? Do they have separate sets of Passover dishes in the home? Does the student observe the dietary laws for Passover when outside the home, and does he attend classes on the holiday?

For the days of Rosh Hashanah (New Year), Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), Shavuoth (Pentecost) and Succoth (Tabernacles), the students were asked whether they attend synagogue services, ride, work, handle money or go to school. An additional question regarding Yom Kippur concerned the traditional fasting for 24 hours.

To gather all this information a rather long questionnaire was prepared which, however, could be quickly covered, since questions were answered by either a check or a word or two.

The interview was designed to obtain information which could not be gained as accurately by means of a questionnaire. These answers require more thought, need more patience, since they have to be described in greater length, and often would not be elicited without tactful and patient questioning by an interviewer.

The purpose of the interview was to learn the circumstances accompanying changes in student observance since coming to college and

to obtain the student's interpretation of the factors leading to those changes. The interviewer was guided by a schedule giving suggested questions which might stimulate the subject to talk freely on his religious experiences during the time he has been at College Park. (See Appendix B.) The student was asked, for example, to tell about the occasion when he made a change in his observance, who was with him at the time, and why he decided to act as he did. The interviewer was requested to be alert particularly for the following factors as possible influences: living away from home, away from parental control; roommates and closest friends; fraternity or sorority associations; University social and athletic functions; University regulations and procedures, as e.g. classes on Saturdays and Jewish holidays or required payment for meals in the dining hall, and the intellectual influences of instructors and books read.

The study was carried out with the assistance of a staff of 19 student volunteers, mainly upper-classmen majoring in sociology and psychology and interested in social science research. The committee assisted in the testing of the questionnaire for clarity and ease in filling out and also participated in the development of the schedule which guided the interviews. Then, after training in interviewing procedures, this group distributed and collected the questionnaires and conducted the interviews.

The student committee participated in discussions on techniques of interviewing led by the director of this study and by a professor in the Department of Psychology. The students then practiced interviewing one another in order to gain familiarity with the material and facility in conducting the interview.

Each was then assigned about ten names of freshmen, to whom he mailed an introductory letter which the head of the department of sociology had been kind enough to prepare. (See Appendix C.) In the letter he explained the scientific nature of the investigation, assured the student that the individual answers would be considered confidential, and requested cooperation.

About two or three days later, the interviewer began to phone or meet the freshmen who had been assigned to him and arranged to give each personally a copy of the questionnaire. When the questionnaire was completed, it was returned to the student staff member, who reviewed it and marked on a mimeographed check list the observances which had changed since the student came to the University. The interview was conducted later, in private, upon the basis of the interview schedule, check list, and questionnaire.

Following this procedure, 180 completed questionnaires were obtained for the rather high rate of 86 percent returns.² Toward the interview there was somewhat greater resistance, but the interviewing of 108 of the freshman group, or 52 percent, was successfully completed.

The reason for the choice of student interviewers was primarily to obtain greater frankness and honesty in responses. The presence of the director of the study at an interview would have caused many students to feel restrained, since they realize that their observance generally does not meet the standards taught by their religion, of which he is a representative. On the other hand, a student feels more at ease with a

²See Appendix D. for a discussion of the reliability of the returns.

young person who is on his own level. Conscience will then permit a freer and more honest expression of motives and influences, and the student will not tend to say what he thinks an adult would like to hear.

Aside from the questionnaire and interview, other sources of information were used in order to round out the picture of the student's socio-economic background. The United States Population Census of 1940 was consulted for information on the rental values of homes in Washington and Baltimore, where the overwhelming majority of the Jewish students reside. Upon the street maps available in the Census reports, the students' homes were located and classified in accordance with the amount of rent paid or the estimated rental value of owner-occupied homes.³

Fortunately, there was available also a study by the University Department of Psychology which classified all dwellings in Baltimore and Washington into four economic groups. On the basis of criteria developed by The Psychological Corporation of New York, student interviewers had evaluated all homes in those cities and had marked them on maps as A, B, C, or D. (See Appendix E.) Economic group A represents the top ten percent of the population, group B the next 20 percent, group C the next 40 percent and group D the lowest 30 percent. The homes of the students and their parents were again grouped in accordance with these economic classes. In order to learn something about the students' scholastic ability and academic achievement, two further items of information were obtained from the University. The scores which the students had made on

³Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940--Housing, Analytical Maps, Block Statistics--Washington, D. C. and Baltimore. Prepared under the supervision of Dr. Leon E. Truesdell.

the American Council on Education Aptitude Tests which are given by the University to all entering students were recorded. These examinations aim to be a general measure of scholastic aptitude and have two sections. The first portion tests ability to handle quantitative concepts such as those used in mathematics and the sciences, and the second tests relative verbal facility and aptitude in such areas as English, foreign languages and the social sciences.

At the end of the school year a list was obtained of the grade averages which the Jewish freshmen had received in their courses during the first two semesters at the University.

After the collection of material was completed, the information from the questionnaires and the outside sources was coded and punched on IBM cards, which were then tabulated and made the basis for much of the analysis which appears in the chapters to follow.

CHAPTER V

THE PARENT GENERATION AND ITS BACKGROUND

Country of Origin of Grandparents

Over 90 percent of the grandparents of the Jewish students at the University of Maryland were immigrants, arriving in this country generally as adults and often also as heads of families. Their origin was mainly in Eastern Europe, from which flowed about 90 percent of the total Jewish immigration to the United States during the 300 years since the first 23 Jews landed in New Amsterdam. Seventy-nine percent of the group were born in the Russian Empire, Poland or Romania, while another ten percent came here from Central Europe. (Table 2) Of the nine percent who can claim the United States as their birthplace, a considerable portion also probably had their family origin in Eastern Europe.

TABLE 2

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF PARENTS' PARENTS FOR UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Country of Birth	Father's Parents				Mother's Parents			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total*	176	100	174	100	168	100	167	100
United States	14	8	12	7	15	9	18	11
Eastern Europe	137	78	137	79	135	80	131	78
Central Europe	19	11	17	10	15	9	16	10
Other	6	3	8	4	3	2	2	1

*Data unavailable in the several categories for the total sample as indicated.

For the insignificant effect of the missing cases in this and subsequent tables, see Appendix D.

Period of Immigration to the United States

The trends of general Jewish immigration to the United States are repeated by the families of the Jewish freshmen. Although the first Jewish community in this country was established as early as 1654, the main immigration of Jews did not begin until the 1870's. From that time until the second decade of the new century the tide of immigration swelled rapidly. During the next twenty years it tapered off, and since 1930 it has been relatively minor.¹

Hardly six percent of the families of the Jewish students immigrated to this country during the years before 1880. (Table 3) The

TABLE 3

PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES OF FORBEARS OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Period	Father's Family		Mother's Family	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total*	156	100	144	100
1930 to present	6	4	6	4
1920 - 1929	17	11	19	13
1910 - 1919	33	21	30	21
1900 - 1909	52	33	46	32
1890 - 1899	28	18	22	15
1880 - 1889	10	6	12	8
1870 - 1879	5	3	5	4
1860 - 1869	1	1	2	1.5
1850 - 1859	-	-	-	-
Before 1850	4	3	2	1.5

*Data unavailable for 24 paternal families and 36 maternal families.

¹L. Hersch, "Jewish Migrations during the Last Hundred Years," in The Jewish People: Past and Present (New York, Central Yiddish Culture Organization, 1946), vol. 1.

American Jewish community then was still small and numbered only 259,000, about five percent of its current numerical strength.²

The next two decades brought a steadily increasing proportion of the group studied--seven percent and 17 percent. The peak immigration, however, came in the ten-year period from 1900 to 1909, when more of the students' families (33 percent) arrived in the United States than during the entire preceding history of the country. Twenty-one percent immigrated during the following decade, when American immigration would have reached a new record high if not for the interruption of World War I. The restrictive immigration policy which was put into effect in the 1920's cut down the flow to 12 percent for that decade. Since 1930 only a negligible proportion of the group (four percent) were admitted.

No significant differences appear between the immigration pattern of the families of the fathers and the mothers of the Jewish freshmen. The proportions of each group arriving in the United States during each decade approximate one another very closely.

Country of Birth of Parents

In the parent generation, about half were born in this country, while most of the remainder arrived here at an early age. (Table 4) Forty-three percent of the fathers and 59 percent of the mothers are native-born, and the median immigration date of their families is 1893.

²Statistics of the Jews in the United States, Compiled under the Authority of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, September, 1880. The figures given are as of 1876-78. The generally accepted estimate of the present Jewish population, 5,000,000, is found in the American Jewish Year Book, LVI (1955), 171.

On the other hand, almost half (48 percent) of the men and one-third (35 percent) of the women were born in Eastern Europe, and their median immigration date is 1913. Only six percent were born in the countries of Central Europe.

Most of the foreign-born were young when they arrived here. For the overwhelming majority of the parental group, therefore, the cultural influences from the American environment are roughly similar.

TABLE 4

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FATHER AND MOTHER OF
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN,
1949

Country of Birth	Father		Mother	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	180	100	180	100
United States	78	43	106	59
Eastern Europe (Russian Empire before 1914 and Rumania)	86	48	63	35
Central Europe (Germany, Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia)	10	6	8	4
Other	6	3	3	2

Age

The median age of the fathers of the Jewish freshmen is 49. (Table 5) The majority (52 percent) are between 40 and 49 years of age, and 78% are under 55. Only one student is a "son of old age," with a father who is over 70.

The mothers tend to be younger than the fathers. The median age of the women is 46, three years lower than the median age of their husbands.

TABLE 5
AGE OF PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Age	Father		Mother	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total*	166	100	173	100
35-39	-	-	13	7
40-44	27	16	58	34
45-49	65	39	60	35
50-54	46	28	33	19
55-59	19	11	7	4
60-64	8	5	2	1
65-69	-	-	-	-
70 and over	1	1	-	-

*Deceased: father, 12; mother, 5. Age not given: father, 2; mother, 2.

Place of Residence

The geographical distribution of the parents' homes reflects the distribution of the Jewish population of the area. Baltimore, one of the ten largest cities in the United States, has the seventh largest Jewish community, with a population estimated at 78,000. Washington and its populous suburbs include perhaps 60,000 Jews, while the nine other Maryland communities with a hundred or more Jews account for approximately 2700.³

The percentage of the Jewish student body who come from Baltimore and Washington, the main Jewish communities of the area, remains approximately the same each year. Fifty-four percent of the families reside in Baltimore, and most of the remainder (29 percent) live in

³American Jewish Year Book, LVI (1955), 178.

Washington. (Table 6) Those two cities with their suburbs account for a total of 91 percent of the group.

TABLE 6

PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Residence	Number	Percent
Total	180	100
Baltimore	97	54
Washington	52	29
Suburb of Baltimore or Washington	14	8
Other cities (over 2500 population)	11	6
Rural non-farm	4	2
Abroad	2	1

The presence of only four out-of-state students in this freshmen group is the result of a University policy of preference for Maryland and District of Columbia residents. This policy was adopted after World War II, in order to accommodate the rapidly increasing number of local students who wished to enter the University at a time when facilities were expanding at a slower rate than applications.

It is not surprising to find that none of the freshmen live on farms, since agriculture is not an occupation which attracts many Jews in this area.

Occupational Distribution

The most striking aspect of the parents' occupational structure is the small percentage of manual laborers in the group--six percent, all of whom are skilled. (Table 7) Among the Jews of the United States generally, substantial numbers of manual workers are found only in the

TABLE 7
OCCUPATION OF FATHERS OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Occupation	Number	Percent
Total*	168	100
Professionals	23	14
Proprietors: Wholesale, construction, manu- facturing, and large-scale personal service	35	21
Proprietors: Retail grocery stores	26	16
Proprietors: Other retail stores	39	23
Managers and officials	20	12
Salesmen and clerical workers	14	8
Craftsmen	9	5
Other skilled workers	2	1

*Data unavailable for 12 deceased fathers.

in the few largest cities. Surveys conducted in 14 cities since World War II indicated that no more than 25 percent, and as few as four percent, of the Jews in these areas were engaged in such occupations.⁴ On the other hand, about 62 percent of the gainfully employed in the United States in 1950 were manual laborers or farmers.⁵

Fourteen percent of all the fathers of the Maryland students are professionals, mostly doctors, pharmacists and lawyers. The majority of the entire group, however, (60 percent) are independent businessmen. Twenty-one percent are proprietors of their own establishments in the fields of wholesale business, construction, manufacturing, and large scale personal services, such as laundry and dry cleaning plants, theaters, a hotel and a newspaper. Sixteen percent own retail grocery

⁴See Ben B. Seligman, American Jewish Year Book, LI (1950), 28; LII (1951), 12; LIV (1953), 14.

⁵A. J. Jaffe and C. D. Stewart, Manpower Resources and Utilization (New York, 1951), p. 190.

stores, and 23 percent have other types of retail stores. Managers and officials make up another 12 percent, while only eight percent are salesmen and clerical workers.⁶

In a comparable group, the fathers of a national sample of 884 Jewish women who had graduated college during the four years after World War II, there was found a somewhat greater proportion of professionals and a smaller proportion of proprietors. Robert Shosteck reported that 21 percent of the fathers were in professional occupations, 51 percent were in business as proprietors, managers and officials, and five percent were skilled craftsmen, while hardly any lived on farms.⁷

Economic Status

The economic distribution of Jewish families in the United States is reflected to some extent in the distribution of the parents' homes on the economic status classification of the Psychological Corporation. (See Appendix E.) American Jews tend to concentrate in the middle economic classes, with a smaller than proportionate number in the lowest group. Among the families of the Maryland students also, only six percent live in homes rated D on the scale, although 30 percent of the general population fall into that depressed group. (Table 8) Thirty-two percent of the homes are rated C, in comparison with 40 percent in the general community. Most of the students (57 percent) come from homes in class B,

⁶The occupational classification is based upon Alba M. Edwards, "A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States," Journal of the American Statistical Association, vol. XXVIII, no. 184 (December 1933), 378.

⁷Five Thousand Women College Graduates Report (Washington, B'nai B'rith Vocational Service Bureau, 1953), pp. 8-9.

while the American average is 20 percent.

TABLE 8
ECONOMIC STATUS OF HOMES OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949*

Economic Group	Number	Percent	Percent in General Population
Total**	154	100	100
A (highest)	7	5	10
B	88	57	20
C	49	32	40
D (lowest)	10	6	30

*According to the Psychological Corporation classification.

**Data unavailable for 26 homes.

In the one exception from the tendency for the Jewish families to rank higher, only five percent of them are in the highest economic class A, as against ten percent of the general population. This low proportion may be affected by the custom among upper economic groups to send their children to private universities of higher status.

The disparity indicated here between the Jewish economic distribution and that of the entire American community can not be attributed solely to the fact that the lowest economic group, which contains a large proportion of Negroes, does not send many of its children to college. There is a mounting body of evidence that American Jews, with their strong drive for education and their long tradition as a middle class group, have been successful in their striving to move up the economic scale. The Jews of this country, who were for the most part members of the working class when they arrived as immigrants, have since become an overwhelmingly middle class group. Over three-fourths are engaged in non-manual occupations, and that proportion is increasing

rapidly with the passing of the older immigrants. By contrast, only 38 percent of the gainfully employed population of this country are engaged in non-manual work.⁸

Jews have made relatively more rapid economic progress than other immigrant groups who arrived in the United States during the past three-quarters of a century.⁹ Landing in this country without financial resources for the most part, they have, within the span of two or three generations, risen above even the average of the general American population. However, it must be noted that the Jew has not attained a position comparable to that of certain high status religious denominations such as the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians.¹⁰

Those families in the group which came to the United States before 1900 show a somewhat higher economic status on the ABCD rating than do the families which came between 1900 and 1929. While the modal group in each case is in class B, the earlier arrivals have only 26 percent and two percent in classes C and D, in comparison with 35 percent and eight percent respectively for the post-1900 immigrants.

While there is no regular correspondence between age of fathers and their economic status, it was found that the older fathers are a little lower on the economic scale than the younger members of their generation. (Table 9) Those 55 years of age and older are about equally

⁸See Nathan Glazer, "Social Characteristics of American Jews," American Jewish Year Book, LVI (1955), 25-33.

⁹See W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), pp. 61, 203.

¹⁰Glazer, op. cit., pp. 28-29, 35.

divided between classes A and B, on one hand, and C and D. Two-thirds of the fathers under 55, however, rank in the two highest groups.

TABLE 9

AGE OF FATHERS OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH
FRESHMEN BY ECONOMIC STATUS, 1949

Economic Group	Age of Father	
	Under 55	55 and Over
Total*.....	118	25
A (highest)	6	1
B	71	11
C	35	10
D (lowest)	6	3

*Data unavailable for 20 fathers under 55 years of age and 3 fathers of 55 and over.

The fathers born in Eastern Europe have not done as well economically as those who were born in this country. Of those who came from Russia and Poland, 45 percent fall into the two lowest economic categories, C and D, in comparison with only 30 percent for the American-born.

(Table 10)

TABLE 10

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FATHERS OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
JEWISH FRESHMEN BY ECONOMIC STATUS, 1949

Country of Birth of Father	Total		Economic Group							
			A		B		C		D	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
United States	67	100	4	6	43	64	17	25	3	5
Eastern Europe	76	100	3	4	39	51	27	36	7	9

*Data unavailable for 8 fathers.

Within each occupational group there are, as would be expected, variations in economic status. (Table 11) The highest average is attained by the professionals, most of whom fall in class B. The remaining six are equally divided between classes A and C. Next in rank, with major concentrations in class B, are the owners of retail businesses other than grocery stores and of proprietors in wholesale, construction and manufacturing. Almost equally divided between classes B and C are the clerical and sales workers. Lowest of all on the economic scale are the grocers, managers and officials, and craftsmen, who are concentrated mainly in class C.

TABLE 11

OCCUPATION OF FATHERS OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH
FRESHMEN BY ECONOMIC STATUS, 1949

Occupation	Total	Economic Group			
		A	B	C	D
Total*	145	7	82	46	10
Professionals	19	3	13	3	-
Proprietors: Wholesale, construction, manufacturing, etc.	32	-	26	4	2
Proprietors: Retail grocery stores	23	-	9	11	3
Proprietors: Other retail stores ..	33	4	18	7	4
Managers and officials	17	-	6	11	-
Salesmen and clerical workers	14	-	8	6	-
Craftsmen	7	-	2	4	1

*Data unavailable for 35 fathers.

The families from Washington which send their children to the University of Maryland have a somewhat higher economic status than do those from Baltimore. Twelve percent of those in the District of Columbia are classified in economic group A, while none of the Baltimoreans receive such a rating. (Table 12) At the other extreme, no Washington

resident falls into the lowest group D, but ten percent of the Baltimore families are found there.

TABLE 12
RESIDENCE OF PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH
FRESHMEN BY ECONOMIC STATUS, 1949

Residence	Total*	Economic Group							
		A		B		C		D	
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Baltimore	96	-	-	56	59	30	31	10	10
Washington	50	6	12	27	54	17	34	-	-

*Data unavailable for 3 parents.

Another measure of economic status used in this study was the rental value of the home.¹¹ This information was obtained from the United States Census of 1940, which published maps of Baltimore and Washington giving the average rent paid or the estimated rental value of the homes in each built-up block in those cities.

It was found that few of the parents reside in very poor sections. Only 13 percent live in blocks where the rent averages less than \$30 a month, while another 28 percent live in \$30 to \$49 a month areas. (Table 13) The remaining 59 percent pay, or own homes for which they would have to pay, over \$50 a month--which would be equivalent to a considerably higher amount at current purchasing power.¹²

¹¹A comparison of the two indices--the Psychological Corporation and the rental value of the home--yields a coefficient of correlation of .62, which indicates that the indices are related, even though they are not completely comparable.

¹²16th Census of the United States--Housing, Analytical Maps, Block Statistics--Washington, D. C. and Baltimore. Prepared under the supervision of Dr. Leon E. Truesdell.

TABLE 13

AVERAGE MONTHLY RENTAL VALUE OF BLOCK OF HOME OCCUPIED BY
THE PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN,
1949

Rental Value	Number	Percent
Total*	148	100
\$100 and over	14	9
\$75 - \$99	20	14
\$50 - \$74	54	36
\$40 - \$49	20	14
\$30 - \$39	21	14
\$25 - \$29	7	5
\$20 - \$24	9	6
\$15 - \$19	2	1
\$10 - \$14	-	-
Under \$10	1	1

*Data unavailable for 32 homes.

It should be noted, moreover, that the housing shortage after the war was still acute in 1948 and 1949, especially in Baltimore. As a result, some families which could afford better housing had not yet been able to move to more expensive homes and neighborhoods. Another factor tending to limit movement is the acknowledged practice of exclusion of Jews from some of the fashionable areas of Baltimore. A study of the situation a few years later, therefore, would probably show an even higher economic average for our group than is indicated here.

Family Size

The parents of the University of Maryland freshmen have an average of 2.65 children, which is approximately the current size of completed Jewish families in the United States. (Table 14) The two-child family is most common among these parents and accounts for two-fifths (41.6 percent) of the entire number of families. A considerable

proportion (25.8 percent) have three children. Next in frequency come families with one child (14.6 percent), four children (9.0 percent), and five children (5.6 percent). Two families have six children, and one each have seven, eight, nine and ten.

TABLE 14

SIZE OF FAMILIES OF PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Children Born in Family	Distribution by Size of Family	
	Number	Percent
Total*	178	100.0
Average	2.65	
1	26	14.6
2	74	41.5
3	46	25.8
4	16	9.0
5	10	5.6
6	2	1.1
7	1	.6
8	1	.6
9	1	.6
10	1	.6

*Data unavailable for 2 families.

The pattern of family size observed here is similar to that found in a study made by this author three years earlier, in the spring of 1946.¹³ The previous study covered a group of similar size--166 Jewish students, who were in various years at the University of Maryland. The average size of the students' families there was 2.56, and the largest concentration then too was in two-child families.

The mortality rate reported by the students is very low. Of the

¹³Meyer Greenberg, "The Reproduction Rate of the Families of the Jewish Students at the University of Maryland," in Jewish Social Studies, X (1948), 223-238.

472 children born to their parents only 16 have died, for a mortality of 3.4 percent, as compared with the very low rate of 3.9 percent in the previous study. Despite the likelihood of incomplete reporting in this area, these percentages indicate the results of the excellent child care which is given in American Jewish families. As was indicated in the previous study, "For the white population of the United States as a whole, using the 1930 life expectancy, we would anticipate a mortality of 10.2 percent, over twice as high as the mortality of this Jewish group, until the age of 20."¹⁴

For all practical purposes, these families may be considered completed, since only eight percent of the mothers are between 35 and 39 years of age. The expectancy of additional births by the mothers who are under 45 would be less than three and therefore could not upset these calculations.

Although the families of the Jewish freshmen average 2.65 children, they nevertheless fall short of reproducing themselves. "Unless each fertile married couple has an average of three children the group as a whole will not be able to keep its numbers stationary. Some of the female infants will die before they reach the age of marriage, about ten percent will remain single, and approximately 15 percent of those who marry will remain childless, whether voluntarily or involuntarily."¹⁵ Therefore this group, with its average of 2.65 children, falls 12 percent short of reproducing itself and has a reproduction rate of only

¹⁴Ibid., p. 224.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 225.

88 percent.

The trend indicated among the families of the University students is similar to that shown by other studies of Jewish families in the United States. This author computed a reproduction index for the Jews of Chicago and eight other cities with a total Jewish population of almost half a million.¹⁶ During the decade of the 1930's that group had a reproduction index of only 59 percent.

Although family size has shown a phenomenal increase since World War II, this change is not yet reflected in families with children of college age.

A comparison of the student families completed in recent years with those completed earlier shows that within the sample there has been a steady trend toward fewer children. (Table 15) Those parents who

TABLE 15

SIZE OF FAMILIES IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED
FOR THE PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH
FRESHMEN, 1949

Number of Years Married	All Families		Average Children per Family Number	Families with Specified Number of Children												Not Given
	Num- ber	Per- cent		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
Total	180	100.0	2.65	26	74	46	16	10	2	1	1	1	1	2		
15-19	10	5.5	2.2	3	4	2		1								
20-24	98	54.4	2.2	19	47	21	6	4						1		
25-29	48	26.7	2.7	3	18	19	6	1						1		
30-34	11))			4	3	3	1								
35-39	8)	11.7)	4.6			1	1	2	2				1	1		
40-44	2))								1	1					
Not given	3	1.7		1	1			1								

¹⁶Ibid., p. 227.

have been married for 30 years or more have an average of 4.6 children; those married from 25 to 29 years have fewer--2.7, while those married less than 25 years average only 2.2 children. In the 1946 study also there was a similar progression from 3.2 children for couples married 30 to 34 years to only 2.1 children for those married 15 to 19 years.¹⁷

The size of these families seems especially small when compared with those of the grandparents. The mothers of the students come from families averaging 5.84 children, and the fathers from families averaging 5.82. In the earlier study the comparable figures are even higher--6.3 and 6.2.¹⁸ Allowing for greater mortality in those earlier families and for some possible inaccuracy, there has been a clear-cut drop of at least half in the size of the average Jewish family. The magnitude of the social revolution which has taken place in these families in the short period of one generation is truly impressive.

Use of Yiddish

Since Yiddish was the mother tongue in most Jewish families in Eastern Europe, it is not surprising to find that a knowledge of Yiddish is widespread among the parents of the Jewish freshmen. In their childhood homes the parents probably heard Yiddish spoken most of the time, and they absorbed a speaking knowledge of the language. The 11 percent of the parents who usually speak Yiddish are mainly members of the immigrant generation. (Table 16) The 68 percent who speak Yiddish occasionally include both foreign and American-born parents, whose

¹⁷Ibid., p. 226.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 228.

knowledge of the language varies considerably. Even among the foreign-born of this group there may be a number who are not fluent in Yiddish, since they were young when their families brought them to the United States.

Only 21 percent of the parents never speak Yiddish. These are the American-born who did not have much opportunity to hear the language in the home, which is the main vehicle for its transmission. Only a meager proportion of the Jewish children in this country study at a Yiddish school, where the emphasis is upon Yiddish culture, or in one of the small number of Jewish day schools in which it is used as a language of instruction. Such schools are concentrated chiefly in New York City.

TABLE 16

EXTENT TO WHICH YIDDISH IS SPOKEN BY PARENTS OF
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Speak Yiddish	Number	Percent
Total*	179	100
Usually	19	11
Occasionally	122	68
Never	38	21

*Data unavailable for one home.

In the entire group there are 16 families, nine percent of the total, who have one or more grandparents living in the same house.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDENT GENERATION

Sex and Veteran Status

Among the Jewish freshmen there are approximately twice as many men as women--the normal ratio in the University during this post-war period. Among those who responded to the questionnaire, 117 (65 percent) were male and 63 (35 percent) were female.

If there were included the 24 students who left the University before the Spring of 1949 and the 29 students who did not cooperate, it would be found that there was a slightly higher ratio of men to women at the beginning of the school year. At that time the Jewish freshman group was 69 percent male and 31 percent female.

Of the freshman group, 18 or ten percent are veterans of the armed forces, 16 of them receiving assistance from the government under the so-called "G.I. Bill of Rights." This proportion of ten percent of the entire group and 15 percent of the males marks a decline from the peak enrollment years of 1946 and 1947.

Age, Marital Status and Country of Birth

These freshmen are a young group, most of whom (62 percent) are either 17 or 18 years of age. (Table 17) Another 32 percent are 19 or 20, while only six percent are 21 or over.

Just one student of all the 180 is married.

TABLE 17

AGE AT LAST BIRTHDAY OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Age	Number	Percent
Total	180	100
17	34	19
18	77	43
19	40	22
20	18	10
21 and over ...	11	6

Almost all the young people were born in the United States. One hundred seventy-four are native-born, and only six came to this country from abroad.

Jewish Education

The Jewish student at the University of Maryland has had more Jewish education than the average American Jew of his generation. (Table 18) A national study indicated that about 30 percent of all Jewish children received no Jewish education, but in this group only twelve percent had never received any religious education.¹

The average duration of Jewish education nationally was about two years, while the Maryland student had studied for an average of 5.1 years. Most of the local group, 55%, attended Hebrew school, while 37 percent studied at Sunday School, two percent at a Hebrew Day School,

¹See Jacob S. Golub, "Some Trends in Jewish Education," Jewish Education, vol. XIV, No. 1 (April-June, 1942), p. 36. Compare also the figures of 13 percent and 11 percent in Marvin Nathan, The Attitude of the Jewish Student in the Colleges and Universities towards his Religion (New York, Block, 1932), p. 29, and Meyer Greenberg, "The Jewish Student at Yale," Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science, vol. I (1946), 222.

and 23 percent with private teachers. The national distribution of attendance is somewhat similar--53 percent in weekday Hebrew School, 35 percent in Sunday School, and five to seven and one-half percent with private instructors.²

TABLE 18

EXTENT OF JEWISH EDUCATION OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Type of School	School Attendance		Number of Years Attended											
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Aver-age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
														or over
Total	232*	129	5.1	43	36	33	21	26	17	12	10	7	6	
Hebrew School	99	55	4.4	9	16	18	14	12	13	7	6	3	1	
Sunday School	67	37	4.3	12	12	13	4	8	3	3	4	4	5	
Hebrew Day School	3	2			1			2						
Private Instruction ...	42	23	2.3	22	7	3	3	4	1	2				
None	21	12												

*Many of the students attended more than one type of school, and therefore the number who attended is greater than the number of students.

The ability to read Hebrew with ease is necessary not only for studies in the Bible and other Hebrew literature but also in order to be able to participate effectively in a religious service at an Orthodox or Conservative synagogue. Despite the importance of facility in Hebrew reading in Jewish religious life, however, the religious schools which the Maryland freshmen attended have not been very successful in transmitting this basic skill.

Fewer than one out of five students (18 percent) have studied

²Golub, op. cit., pp. 36 and 39, and Azriel Eisenberg, "The Extent of Jewish Education in the United States," The Jewish Social Service Quarterly, vol. XVIII, No. 1 (September, 1941), 70-71.

enough Hebrew and have used it sufficiently during the preceding years to be able to read the language fluently. Almost half of the group (46 percent) can read but admit to difficulty when faced with the need for fairly rapid reading during a service. The remaining third (36 percent) can not read Hebrew at all. Those who know no Hebrew are a large group, particularly when we consider that only 12 percent have had no Jewish education at all. The remaining 24 percent either did not learn to read Hebrew at religious school or else have forgotten it in the intervening years.

Place of Residence during the School Year

Just over one-third (36 percent) of the Jewish freshmen live at home and commute to the University. (Table 19) Most of these students live in Washington and the nearby Maryland suburbs, although a few travel each day from as far as Baltimore, which is 30 miles from the campus.

TABLE 19

PLACE OF RESIDENCE DURING SCHOOL YEAR OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Place of Residence	Number	Percent
Total	180	100
At home	65	36
Dormitory	89	49
Fraternity or Sorority House	11	6
Off-campus house	14	8
With relatives	1	1

The reasons the 65 students give for living at home instead of in College Park are chiefly geographic and economic. Thirty of the students explain that they live near the University and therefore have

no difficulty commuting. Twenty-eight others give both reasons--that their houses are in the area and that they would find it too expensive to live on the campus. One student gives expense alone as his reason for living at home. Three others give religious reasons in addition to those of expense and proximity.

In all this group there are only three young people who include religious considerations, among others, as a factor in their choice of residence during the school year. The smallness of this number indicates how few students are concerned about the difficulties in observing the Sabbath and kashruth according to tradition when one lives away from home.

Two-thirds of the Jewish students (64 percent) live in College Park during the week. Most of this group (49 percent) live in a University dormitory, while a small number live either in a fraternity or a sorority house (six percent) or in a private boarding or rooming house (eight percent). At the beginning of their sophomore year many of these students will move into the houses of the fraternities and sororities into which they had been initiated. Some of those who live in an off-campus house will also move into a fraternity or sorority house, while others will move into a dormitory.

Most of the freshmen prefer to live in College Park in order to be close to the campus. Their homes are too far from the University for easy commuting, and they prefer the convenience of living within a few minutes of classrooms and other campus facilities. Only eight students give the attraction of campus social life as the main reason for living in College Park, while five more list it in addition to the factor of

convenience. There seems to be some reluctance among the students to admit that the social life of the campus is an important factor in their choice. Other reasons, such as a desire for a better education, to learn self-reliance or to get away from parental influence, are given by only five of the entire group of 115 who live in College Park during the school year.

Expenses Earned

Since most of the young people come from families that are fairly well-off, 70 percent of the students do not have to support themselves while at school. (Table 20) Only 30 percent earn any portion of their expenses, and 11 percent earn no more than an insignificant one-tenth of their needs. The number who earn a substantial portion of their expenses does not exceed six percent. Only one student is completely self-supporting, while nine others earn more than half of their expenses by their own work.

TABLE 20

PERCENTAGE OF EXPENSES EARNED BY UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Percentage of Expenses Earned	Number	Percent
Total	180	100
None	126	70
1-10	20	11
11-20	7	4
21-30	5	3
31-40	2	1
41-50	10	5.5
51-60	-	-
61-70	3)	
71-80	3)	
81-90	3)	5.5
91-100	1)	

Fraternity and Sorority Membership

In 1949 there were two Jewish social sororities and five Jewish social fraternities active on the College Park campus of the University of Maryland.³ These seven groups included on their membership rolls just 33 percent of the Jewish students, or 324 out of the total Jewish enrollment of 975. In keeping with the accepted pattern at this and at most universities, the Jewish fraternal groups include only Jews, while their non-Jewish equivalents generally exclude Jews from their membership.

Over one-third of the Jewish freshman (37 percent) were members of a fraternity or sorority. This proportion is large, since in the entire student body only 23 percent were then affiliated with Greek-letter organizations of a social nature.

Fewer of the Jewish girls remained "independent" than the boys. Just over half of the freshman girls had joined a sorority, while hardly 27 percent of the boys had joined a fraternity.

The number of Jews in fraternities and sororities has increased during the years since 1949. A new Jewish sorority was organized shortly thereafter, and the percentage of the Jewish student population who were affiliated rose in the next six years to 38 percent. During the same period, on the other hand, the number of fraternity and sorority members on the entire campus decreased to 21 percent.

Why the Jewish student is more attracted to fraternity life than his non-Jewish schoolmate may be explained partially by a somewhat higher

³The sororities are Alpha Epsilon Phi and Phi Sigma Sigma. The fraternities include Alpha Epsilon Pi, Phi Alpha, Sigma Alpha Mu, Tau Epsilon Phi and Zeta Beta Tau. All are local chapters of national groups.

economic level. With middle-class status comes the desire and ability to take advantage of the most desirable aspects of college life, which on this campus are usually interpreted to include fraternity or sorority membership. It is possible also that the Jew, as a member of a minority group, feels a greater need for security and acceptance.

Fraternity and sorority members on the whole are on a somewhat higher economic level than other Jewish students. Seventy-four percent of the former fall into the upper economic classes A and B, in comparison with 55 percent among those who do not join. (Table 21) Of all those in A and B, 42 percent join fraternities, while only 26 percent of those in the lower categories, C and D, belong.

TABLE 21

FRATERNITY AND SORORITY MEMBERSHIP AND ECONOMIC STATUS
OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Fraternity and Sorority Membership	Total		Economic Group*							
			A		B		C		D	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Members	54	35	4	7	36	67	13	24	1	2
Non-members	100	65	3	3	52	52	36	36	9	9

*26 cases not ascertainable.

Scholastic Aptitude

The Jewish students who attend the University of Maryland do not differ appreciably from the general student body in their scholastic aptitude. In the tests of general aptitude of the American Council on Education, the median score of the Jewish freshmen was in the 52nd percentile, just above the median of 50 for the entire group. Their average percentile score also was similar--52.8. While the Jewish group had only

six percent in the lowest ten percent, only eight percent of them, on the other hand, ranked among the upper ten percent.

TABLE 22

SCORES OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN ON AMERICAN
COUNCIL ON EDUCATION APTITUDE TESTS, 1948

Percentile	Number	Percent
Total*	173	100
1-10	11	6
11-20	16	9
21-30	14	8
31-40	19	11
41-50	24	14
51-60	19	11
61-70	12	7
71-80	22	13
81-90	23	13
91-100	13	8

*Seven cases not ascertainable.

Scholastic Achievement

In the University of Maryland, students receive grades of A, B, C, D and F, of which A is the highest passing mark and F is failing. For purposes of averaging marks, A is rated 4, B is 3, C is 2, D is 1, and F is 0. The numerical value of each grade received is multiplied by the number of credits for that course, and the total for all courses taken by a student is divided by the number of credits he is taking. The resulting number is his grade point average, which may range from 4.0 for a perfect A record to 0 for failure in every course.

Since regulations require a student receiving F in a majority of his credit hours to be dropped from the University, few of the Jewish students who remained in school have lower than a D average. Only three students have an average under 1.2 for their entire freshmen year, while

four students are in the highest group, with averages of from 3.61 to 4.0.

The median grade for all the Jewish freshmen is 2.3, which is approximately the same as the average for all students at the University.

TABLE 23

GRADE POINT AVERAGE FOR FRESHMAN YEAR OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Grade Point Average	Number	Percent
Total*	179	100
0.81 - 1.2	3	2
1.21 - 1.6	18	10
1.61 - 2.0	39	22
2.01 - 2.4	39	22
2.41 - 2.8	39	22
2.81 - 3.2	20	11
3.21 - 3.6	17	9
3.61 - 4.0	4	2

*One case not ascertainable.

In general the women students on this campus receive higher grades in their studies than the men, and sorority members have a higher average than the remainder of the women students. The lowest grades of any group are received by the students who are pledging fraternal organizations but have not yet been initiated into membership. For the school year 1948-1949, these groups were ranked as follows:

	<u>Grade Point Average</u>
Sorority members	2.61
All women	2.45
Fraternity members	2.21
All men	2.18
Pledges (women)	2.05
Pledges (men)	1.95

As is generally recognized, outstanding scholastic ability does not necessarily lead to outstanding grades in studies. Achievement in

school depends not only upon ability but also upon motivation, interest and application. In addition, there is an element of unavoidable inaccuracy in the scores on a scholastic ability test both because of variations in the student's cultural background and in his attitude toward the examination.

There is not a high correlation, therefore, between the A.C.E. score and the grade point average of the Jewish freshmen at the University of Maryland. The correlation of .40 indicates that there is no dependable relationship in these two areas.

However, the grades of those with high and low scores of scholastic aptitude show some difference. A comparison of the 58 students who rank in the upper 30 percent with the 41 who rank in the lowest 30 percent shows an average difference in grades between the two groups of .8, or the difference between a middle C average and a high D.

TABLE 24

COMPARISON OF SCORE ON AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION APTITUDE
TEST AND GRADE POINT AVERAGE FOR FRESHMAN YEAR
OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN,
1949

A.C.E. Score		Grade Point Average								
Per- centile	Num- ber	0.81 -1.2	1.21 -1.6	1.61 -2.0	2.01 -2.4	2.41 -2.8	2.81 -3.2	3.21 -3.6	3.61 -4.0	Not Known
Total	173	3	17	36	37	38	20	17	4	1
1-10	11		4	3	2		2			
11-20	16	1	3	4	2	3	1	1	1	
21-30	14		2	5	6	1				
31-40	19		2	6	6	4		1		
41-50	24		2	8	4	8	1	1		
51-60	19	1		4	3	5	4	1		1
61-70	12		1	3	1	3	2	2		
71-80	22	1	2	1	5	8	2	1	2	
81-90	23			2	7	2	5	6	1	
91-100	13		1		1	4	3	4		

The Students Who Did Not Respond

The 29 students who did not return their questionnaires are not radically different from the remainder of the Jewish freshman group in the factors of background for which information is available. Because of the small number, however, this group would not be expected to follow the same distribution as the larger group.

Among the 29 there is a slightly greater proportion of males--76 percent--as against 65 percent in the respondent group. Twelve live in Baltimore and ten in Washington, while in the general group the comparable numbers are 97 and 52.

The economic distribution of the two groups is roughly similar. In the non-cooperating group there is one family ranked A, 14 B, 5 C and 1 D, and among the others there are five percent in A, 57 percent in B, 32 percent in C, and six percent in D.

In the scores on the American Council on Education Aptitude Tests there is again only a slight difference. The median percentile of the non-respondents is 58 and their average 56.2, while the median of the respondents is 52 and their average 52.8.

On the basis of these factors, therefore, there appears no clear-cut distinction in background between the students who answered the questionnaire and those who did not.

CHAPTER VII

PATTERNS OF OBSERVANCE

A CLASSIFICATION OF OBSERVANCE TYPES

Introduction

It became evident after the data on religious observance of the parents and students were plotted, that there are definite groups into which the overwhelming majority naturally fitted. The combination of observances practiced by each individual is not a haphazard or chance selection from among all the traditional practices. The observance of the individual tends rather to follow certain patterns, which are repeated with minor variations by many others.

Upon classification of the observance patterns, seven categories were found into which the individuals fall. For example, some are completely unobservant and practice not even one of the observances which are studied here. Others are strictly observant and follow all of the observances, with the possible exception of one or two. Still others attend a Passover Seder and go to synagogue on the High Holydays but do nothing more.

This classification according to types of observance was found to be extremely helpful in arranging the forest of observances so that the varieties of trees which make up the forest might be seen. While it is desirable to know the total number who follow a certain practice, it is equally essential to understand what pattern of observances each

person chooses to follow and how many people are in each group. The classification also makes it possible to see more clearly the changes which students undergo with the passage of time. It is much simpler to compare the number who shift from one observance category to another when they get to college than to itemize all the changes which occur in about thirty specific practices. And finally, comparisons can be made of the more or less observant in order to discover the relative change within each group at different stages, and to relate the differing observance to various factors of background and affiliation. Only with this classification is it possible to study the correlation of the religious observance of students and their parents, of the students before college and at college, and of students or parents with economic, geographic and intellectual factors.

The classification system was first developed for the observance of the fathers of the students and was then adapted to the mothers and to the students before and at college. Minor changes were necessary because certain practices such as candle lighting and kashruth in the home are the responsibility of the mother or the parents of the family and not of the students. In a few matters the data on students and parents are not exactly similar, since only the children can absent themselves from school on holidays. However, the categories have been arranged so that they represent comparable degrees of observance for both parents and children.

Traditional Jewish religion has differences in its required practices depending upon one's sex, upon position in the family, or upon the geographic location of the home. The male over 13 prays each

morning with tefillin, while the female does not.¹ The mother is the one who lights the Sabbath candles. And the person who lives in an area which has no synagogue within walking distance is not expected to attend services regularly.

As a result of this flexibility, the standards for the various observance classes also had to be flexible. Requirements of synagogue attendance were relaxed for those among the very observant whose home is in a community without a Jewish house of worship. Synagogue attendance requirements were lowered also for the women in the two most observant groups, in keeping with the tradition that women's attendance at services is not obligatory.

It should be noted also that "Does not work" is not a clear-cut observance in the case of the woman of the family, who generally has no position outside the home from which to cease work. For the father the observance means remaining home from his business or position on the Sabbath or holiday, but for the mother the expression is open to varying interpretations. A relaxing of standards was necessary, therefore, so that this factor alone might not bar a woman from a higher observance category.

In some of the classes the omission of one or two practices was permitted, or the substitution of one or two other observances (as indicated in each case), in order that the categories might be more closely applicable to the life situation upon which they are intended to shed

¹Tefillin, or phylacteries, are leather cases containing quotations from the Pentateuch, worn by the traditional Jewish male during weekday morning prayers.

light.

Seven Categories of Traditional Observance

Class 1 - The Traditional Jew:²

Those who are included in the top observance category observe strictly all the fundamental practices of the Jewish tradition which are applicable to them. They attend synagogue at least once a week and follow all the listed practices connected with the Sabbath, kashruth, the High Holydays, and the three festivals. Only two departures from strict observance are made by some of the members of this group. At times they eat in non-kosher restaurants, although they do not eat meat there. In addition, a few turn on lights on the Sabbath.

Aside from these exceptions, however, the individuals in class 1 attend religious services on all the holidays and on the Sabbath, if not more frequently. They do not work on that day, ride, write, put on lights, or handle money. The mothers, in addition, kindle the Sabbath candles and do no cooking from sunset to sunset on the seventh day. Some of the women, however, go to the synagogue less frequently than once a month.

In the home, only kosher meat is used. After purchase, the meat is koshered by soaking and salting. Meats and dairy products are served only at different meals, upon separate sets of dishes reserved for each of these two types of food. And, of course, pork products are never used.

When he is outside his home the strictly observant person follows

²For a detailed listing of the requirements for each class, see Appendix F, Guide for Classification of Observance Types.

the same rules. He does not eat pork products, does not have meat and milk at the same meal, and may even refuse to eat in a restaurant that is not completely kosher.

On the first two evenings of Passover, the festival of freedom, the family prepares or attends a ritual meal called the Seder. All present read from the haggadah, the prayer book for the occasion, which includes a recital of the dramatic events surrounding the Exodus from Egypt. In reminder of the unleavened bread hastily baked by the Israelites in the desert, traditional Jews substitute unleavened for leavened bread during the eight days of the holiday. Care is taken to avoid other foods into which leaven may enter, and separate Passover dishes are used in the preparation and serving of food. During the first two and last two days, which are observed more strictly than the intervening portion of the holiday, observant Jews attend synagogue services and do not work, while young people do not go to school.

On the first two days of the New Year in the Jewish calendar (Rosh Hashanah) and on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), the family attend synagogue, do not go to work, and refrain from riding or handling money. As on the other holy days, the children do not go to school. On Yom Kippur, in addition, all those over the age of thirteen fast for twenty-four hours.

The other two festivals, Succoth (Tabernacles) and Shavuoth (Pentecost), are also celebrated by attending services, remaining away from work or school, and by refraining from riding or handling money.

Class 2 - The Fairly Observant Jew:

The second category consists of individuals who are somewhat less observant of tradition. Like those in the previous group, they observe strictly kashruth, Passover and the High Holydays, except that they eat food other than meat in non-kosher restaurants and attend a Seder which does not follow the traditional order in all its details. They attend synagogue less frequently--from four to eleven times a year. They differ from the strictly observant mainly in their non-observance of the Sabbath, Shavuoth and Succoth.

The mothers in class 2 light candles on Friday evening, but they go to services only on the High Holydays.

Also included in this class are borderline cases who do not observe one or two of the practices indicated here. Among the fathers, however, all observe at least one practice more than this minimum.

Class 3 - The Moderately Observant Jew:

This group observes strictly only Yom Kippur and one day of Rosh Hashanah. On Passover they attend a Seder that is only partially traditional and they eat matza, although they may also eat bread. They still retain a minimal observance of kashruth--they generally do not eat pork either in their homes or elsewhere. Their synagogue attendance is limited to two or three days a year.

This class, like class 2, does not observe the Sabbath, Shavuoth or Succoth. They differ from that group, however, in observance of only one day of Rosh Hashanah, in lesser synagogue attendance, and in their discarding of kashruth on Passover and during the year, with the exception of the prohibition against eating pork.

A substitution of no more than two other observances for two listed above was permitted for members of this group.

Class 4 - The Middle-of-the-Road Jew:

Those in class 4 do not observe any of the holidays strictly. Their observance of Yom Kippur and one day of Rosh Hashanah is limited to attending synagogue, refraining from work or school, and fasting (on Yom Kippur). Passover is celebrated with a partially traditional Seder and with matza.

This group indicates no observance of the Sabbath, Shavuoth, Succoth or kashruth, except that they do not serve pork in their homes. They differ from the previous category chiefly in that they ride and handle money on the High Holydays and that they eat pork when in restaurants.

Those who omitted one of the required practices but added another were also included in class 4.

Class 5 - The High Holyday Jew:

This category observes what might be termed the hard core, or the irreducible minimum, of Jewish practice--the High Holydays and Passover. They attend synagogue on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur and celebrate Passover by eating matza and attending a festive meal without the features of the traditional Seder. Otherwise they are unobservant.

The difference between them and class 4 is that they work on the High Holydays, do not fast on Yom Kippur and follow none of the traditional Seder ritual.

For one of the few practices observed by this group there was a

substitution of another item in several cases.

Class 6 - The Vestigial Jew:

These individuals do not show any consistent pattern of related observance. They observe one, two or three scattered practices, usually related to the High Holydays or Passover. Occasionally there are a greater number of observances, but they are so haphazard that they fall short of the four needed to qualify for class 5.

Class 7 - The Peripheral Jew:

The few who practice no Jewish observance at all but still consider themselves Jews make up this last category. Although they may participate in Jewish philanthropic activities, they stand on the periphery of Jewish religious life.

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE IN THE FIRST AND SECOND GENERATIONS

Within the families of the University of Maryland students there are reflected the stages of religious development through which the entire East European Jewish immigration passed. In Chapter V it was shown that at least 80 percent of the families which are studied here had their antecedents in Eastern Europe and that most of the grandparent generation were immigrants to the United States. What is generally known about the Jewish immigrant group, therefore, can be applied to the great majority of the grandparents of these students.

For most of the East European immigrant generation the turning point in their observance of Jewish tradition occurred when they left the shtetl, the Jewish "community within a community" of the towns of Poland and Russia, and landed in New York or in Baltimore.¹ What they left behind them was more than the dust of a land of inequality and oppression, where Jews were subjected to political, economic and social disabilities. The immigrants removed themselves also from a tightly knit Jewish community which exercised strong social control over the standards and activities of its members. While that community, at the turn of the century, was beginning to feel the effect of modern conditions,

¹For a description of the shtetl see Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog, Life Is With People (New York, International Universities Press, 1952).

since the curtain of medievalism was beginning to lift, the majority of East European Jews still lived as their forebears had for centuries.

Although the enlightenment had only recently begun to reach into the shtetl, the belief in the immutability of Jewish law and the Jewish way of life had already been shaken in the minds of many. The foundation of that belief--faith in the divinely revealed character of Judaism--had been undermined, and the religious institutions of Eastern Jewry had been unable to develop effective counter-measures.

Despite the desire which some Jews may already have felt to discard observances, few were able to carry out such intentions because they were still subject to the control of the community. The overwhelming majority, therefore, continued to adhere strictly to traditional religious practices.

By the time the immigrant from Russia or Poland first set eyes upon the Statue of Liberty or Fort McHenry, however, a change had taken place within him. He had prepared himself to make his adjustment to America, the land of opportunity and of irreligion (Jewishly), and to accept much of what he knew would be demanded of him. From that point on, the religious development of the new arrival can be interpreted as a process of continuous competitive struggle between social conditions and his weakened faith.

On the one side was the general American community, with its Sunday Sabbath and its strongly competitive economic system, which allowed little room for non-conforming religious practices. The opportunities for upward social mobility which characterized that society were contingent, moreover, upon conformity to its standards and practices.

On the other side was the Jewish religious community which, through its synagogues and its rabbis, pressed for continuing observance of the tradition. Aiding them was the still powerful allegiance to Judaism and the desire to be loyal to its requirements.

The impact of leaving the shtetl upon religious observance was particularly severe because emigration meant not only moving to a new world but also

. . . from one stage in emancipation to another stage . . . forcing [the emigrants] to skip many generations of evolution. From members of a solid Jewish community, they had to become free individuals, and at the same time be integrated into a society even stranger than the previous near-by Gentile milieu.²

Changes in Jewish observance were not slow in appearing. Some immigrants had already tossed their tefillin overboard or had "forgotten" them on the ship before landing. The Sabbath immediately felt the effects of modern economic conditions. Obtaining a job and advancing financially were eased if one discarded the limitations imposed by the strict discipline of the Sabbath. Within a relatively short time the majority of the newcomers began to work on Saturday and to discard its entire complex of related observances, such as the prohibition of riding, handling money and turning on lights. The observance of the three festivals gradually gave way to the same pressures, and synagogue attendance also began to decrease.

While the dietary laws remained strong in the home they weakened rapidly outside the home, where one conformed to a great extent to the practices of the general community. The "floor" below which observance

²Baron, op. cit., p. 261.

generally did not drop was reached with the High Holydays and the Passover Seder, which were observed faithfully and with fervor, as if to serve as a substitute for all that was discarded.

Among the adult immigrants as a group it may be estimated that perhaps one in ten remained intensely loyal and strictly observant of Jewish tradition. From such individuals came many of the prime movers in the creation of the religious and educational institutions with the greatest influence upon the development of American Judaism.

In a comparison of the observance of the three generations in this study, the greatest relative change seems to have occurred among the grandparents, during the early period of their adjustment to the United States. Since that time the process of discarding tradition has proceeded at a slower, though continuous, pace among both immigrants and their descendants.

In the second generation, the fathers of the freshmen, the small percentage who strictly observed the Sabbath and festivals found their numbers further depleted. Only three or four percent of the parents of the Maryland students can now be included in that category. Kashruth also was weakened, so that only half observed it at home and one-third outside the home.

Two areas of observance, however, still stood firm with an adherence by over 85 percent of the fathers--the High Holydays and the preparation of a Seder on Passover. It is true that there was some weakening of the traditional forms of those observances, that many Jews discarded the second day of Rosh Hashanah, and that the Seder service tended to become attenuated, losing some of its Hebrew character. Nevertheless,

those two observances still attracted the loyalty of the overwhelming majority of professing Jews.

Among the fathers of the students, 11 percent attend synagogue at least once a week, usually on the Sabbath. (Table 25) Slightly more, 14 percent, attend from one to three times a month. The largest group, 40 percent, attend less than once a month but more than three times a year. A considerable group, 23 percent, attend only on the High Holydays--Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. The remaining 11 percent--as many as are in the most observant group--attend rarely or never.

TABLE 25

SYNAGOGUE ATTENDANCE OF PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Relation- ship	Total*		At least once a week		At least once a month		4-11 times a year		On Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur Only		Rarely or Never	
			Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Father	168	100	19	11	23	14	68	41	39	23	19	11
Mother	177	100	6	3	12	7	79	45	55	31	25	14

*Deceased or no information: 12 fathers and three mothers.

The mothers of the students attend synagogue less frequently than do the fathers. Only three percent, as against 11 percent, attend once a week. Only seven percent, or half as many as among the fathers, attend at least once a month. Slightly more of the mothers, 45 percent as against 40 percent, attend from four to eleven times a year. Considerably more of the mothers, 31 percent in comparison with 23 percent, attend only on the High Holydays, and 14 percent rarely or never attend, while among the fathers the equivalent figure is 11 percent.

The two categories of most frequent attendance comprise 25 percent of the fathers, but only ten percent of the mothers. The two categories of least frequent attendance comprise 34 percent of the fathers and 45 percent of the mothers.

The explanation of this difference does not lie in any greater degree of religious observance among the fathers. As a matter of fact, the women rank slightly higher than the men on the religious observance score.

In the traditional Jewish family in Europe, the women generally attended synagogue less frequently than the men. The large size of the family, with the attendant household responsibilities of the mother, prevented her from leaving her home each Sabbath for the synagogue. Only when her children were fully grown would the woman be able to attend services with any regularity, except on the important holidays throughout the year. This tradition that women are not expected to attend Sabbath services regularly has not died out altogether in the more observant families, despite the changed circumstances of the modern Jewish home in America, with its smaller number of children and greater leisure for the mother.

Sabbath Observance

The Sabbath, which was traditionally the keystone of the structure of Jewish observance, is now observed by only a small minority of the parents. Hardly 15 percent of the fathers still heed the Biblical injunction, "The seventh day is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any manner of work . . ."³ (Table 26) About the same

³Deuteronomy 5:14.

percentage--fourteen--attend synagogue more or less regularly on that day. Half of these observant men, or eight percent, do not write on the Sabbath. Seven percent will not ride in an auto or any other vehicle, while four percent will not handle money or do any shopping. And only three percent do not put on lights or use electrical appliances.

TABLE 26

SABBATH OBSERVANCE OF PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Sabbath Observance	Relationship			
	Father		Mother	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total*	168	-	175	-
Do not work	25	15	48	27
Attend synagogue regularly	23	14	11	6
Do not write	13	8	25	14
Do not ride	11	7	12	7
Do not handle money	6	4	7	4
Do not put on lights	5	3	5	3
Light candles	-	-	108	62
Do not cook	-	-	42	24

*Data unavailable for 12 fathers and five mothers.

The mothers of the students do not differ radically from the fathers in the small part which the Sabbath plays in their lives. The women can not say, as do some men, that the necessity of earning a living forces them to work and do other things on the Sabbath, yet they observe little more than their husbands. Twenty-seven percent do not work on the Sabbath, but since they generally do not hold positions outside the home we can not consider this figure comparable to that of the men. Only six percent attend synagogue more or less regularly on Saturday. A larger percentage than the fathers, 14 percent, do not write. Those who do not ride, handle money or put on lights comprise the same percentage

as among the fathers--seven, four and three.

The only ritual observed by a majority of the mothers is the lighting of candles on Friday eve, which is a special function of the woman. Sixty-two percent still usher in the Sabbath with candles, and a considerable group--24 percent--do not cook on the seventh day.

Kashruth (Dietary Laws)

Kashruth, or the observance of the ritual laws for the preparation and serving of food, may be divided into two main areas--kashruth in the home and kashruth outside the home. In the parent group, as seems to be true generally, there is greater observance of kashruth in the home, where one can control what is purchased and how it is prepared, than outside the home, where one's choice is limited by the small number of kosher restaurants.

Just half of the parents observe the dietary laws strictly in their homes. (Table 27) Fifty percent have two separate sets of dishes for meat and dairy foods, buy only ritually slaughtered meat, kosher the meat by salting and soaking, serve meat and dairy foods only at separate meals, and do not use pork products in the home. Although anything less than the observance of all these can not be considered kosher, there are nevertheless many homes which follow some of the regulations only. While 50 percent have two separate sets of dishes, 54 percent kosher their meat, and 56 percent buy kosher meat. It would seem that most of those who buy kosher meat are consistent in both the preparation and serving of the meat according to the requirements of kashruth. In addition there are some who do not observe these practices but do separate meat and milk (61 percent), and an even larger number who refrain from eating

pork (71 percent).

TABLE 27

OBSERVANCE OF KASHRUTH BY PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949*

Observance of Kashruth	In the Home		Outside the Home	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do not eat pork products	127	71	97	54
Do not eat meat with milk	110	61	85	47
Buy only kosher meat	100	56		
Do not eat non-kosher meat			56	31
Kosher the meat	97	54		
Do not eat in non-kosher restaurants			30	16
Have two sets of dishes	90	50		

*One not reporting.

Outside the home the observance of kashruth is substantially less. Only 16 percent are strict and eat only in kosher restaurants. An additional fifteen percent are fairly strict and will not eat non-kosher meat, although they will eat other foods, cooked or uncooked, in non-kosher restaurants. Further aspects of kashruth are practiced by other parents. Sixteen percent more do not mix meat with milk, while 23 percent do not eat pork products.

The distinction between kashruth in the home and outside the home is made by a sizable percentage of the group. While 71 percent do not eat pork in the home, 54 percent will eat it elsewhere. Sixty-one percent separate meat and milk at home, but hardly 47 percent do so outside the home. Fifty-four percent serve only kosher meat at home, but

only 31 percent will refrain from eating meat in a restaurant. In summary, it may be said that about half observe kashruth strictly at home, while between 16 percent and 31 percent observe it more or less strictly outside the home.

Passover

Attendance at the Passover Seder, the ceremonial meal on the first two evenings (for Reform Jews on the first evening only) of the festival, is probably the most widespread observance in modern Jewish life. This observance is even more widespread than attendance at synagogue on Yom Kippur, which is considered the holiest day of the Jewish calendar. Eighty-eight percent of the families usually prepare a Seder or attend one at the home of relatives or friends, while 86 percent of the fathers attend services on Yom Kippur and 84 percent on Rosh Hashanah. (Table 28)

These results agree with the findings of several other studies which show Seder attendance in the same category with attendance at High Holyday services.⁴

Not every Seder, however, follows the same pattern. Only 41 percent of those who attend a Seder would consider it strictly traditional, i.e. one in which the ceremony and prayers follow the order set down in the haggadah, the book of prayer used on the occasion. For 57 percent, the Seder consists of a festive meal with only portions of the traditional procedure. Some of these families read from a revised

⁴See Golub and Nardi, op. cit., pp. 11-12, and the Social, Recreational and Educational Survey of the Jewish Community of Duluth, p. 13.

version of the haggadah, but in most cases the traditional book is used, with omissions according to individual inclination. The remaining two percent (four families) participate in a family gathering which may be called a Seder for nostalgic reasons but which retains no elements whatsoever of the traditional religious ceremony.

TABLE 28

FAMILY PASSOVER OBSERVANCE OF PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Family Passover Observance	Number	Percent
Prepare or attend a Seder	159	88
Consider Seder traditional - strictly	65	41
Consider Seder traditional - partially	90	57
Consider Seder traditional - not at all	4	2
Eat matza only	138	77
Eat bread only	2	1
Eat both	39	22
Use special Passover dishes	111	62

During the festival of Passover 77 percent of the families refrain from eating bread and eat only matza, the unleavened bread. Only two families do not use matza at all for the holiday. The other 22 percent have matza in the home but also eat bread.

The use of separate sets of dishes for Passover is also quite widespread. Sixty-two percent of the families change dishes for the holiday, in comparison with the 50 percent who use separate meat and dairy dishes during the year. It would seem that about 12 percent of the group have separate Passover dishes even though they do not observe this aspect of kashruth at other times.

Passover, with its colorful ceremonies and its special foods, still has a strong hold upon American Jews. Practically every family eats matza during the holiday, while 77 percent are strict and will not

have any bread in the house. A very large group, 88 percent, attend a Seder, which in almost half the cases (41 percent) is strictly traditional. And a surprisingly large group--61 percent--even change their dishes in keeping with traditional regulations.

The broad range of individual variation in observance is especially evident in connection with the celebration of Passover. Some interesting cases are described by the students during the interviews:

I attend a Seder, if you can call it that. All the family goes to my aunt's house. We have wine and matzas, but do not actually have any religious readings.

Why do we eat matza? We eat it because it's there on the table--as a delicacy.

My mother tries to have only matza in the house on Passover, but the family wanted bread to go with their steak, and therefore she bought it.

We used to conduct the Seder in Hebrew until the kids rebelled, because they didn't understand Hebrew. Last year we changed to English.

We had a Seder up to last year, but no more. Now we're modernized.

The High Holydays

Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, the New Year and the Day of Atone-ment, are the days of greatest synagogue attendance, when most Jewish houses of worship are filled to capacity. If there is one act which can be considered the public affirmation of one's Jewishness, it is attending synagogue on the High Holydays. A deep-rooted though sometimes tenuous sense of loyalty to the Jewish people and vague stirrings of religious conscience impell most Jews to join their fellow Jews at this season for prayer, instruction and (perhaps) inspiration.

There is a very close similarity between the fathers' and the

mothers' observance of the New Year, Rosh Hashanah. Two-thirds of each observe two days, in keeping with Orthodox and Conservative practice, while 29 percent and 28 percent observe one day, as in Reform practice. (Table 29) Only five percent say that they do not observe the occasion at all.

Eighty-five percent of the fathers and 81 percent of the mothers attend synagogue services. Seventy-nine percent and 80 percent do not work. We can see that a small number among those who go to synagogue also attend to their business or do other work when not in synagogue.

Other traditional observances are not as widespread as those above. Only 43 percent of the parents refrain from riding on Rosh Hashanah, and about the same number will not handle money.

TABLE 29

OBSERVANCE OF ROSH HASHANAH BY PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Rosh Hashanah Observance	Relationship			
	Father		Mother	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Observe 2 days	111	66	116	67
Observe 1 day	48	29	49	28
Observe none	9	5	9	5
Attend synagogue	142	85	141	81
Do not work	133	79	140	80
Do not ride	73	43	76	43
Do not handle money	73	43	78	45

The pattern of Yom Kippur observance runs very similar to that of Rosh Hashanah, with a slight tendency toward stricter traditional observance. Eighty-six percent of the fathers and 83 percent of the mothers go to the synagogue, while 83 percent and 87 percent do not work. (Table 30) Fifty-four percent and 55 percent do not ride, and 54 percent and

61 percent do not handle money. An additional practice on Yom Kippur--fasting from sunset to sunset--is observed by 74 percent and 76 percent.

TABLE 30

OBSERVANCE OF YOM KIPPUR BY PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Yom Kippur Observance	Relationship			
	Father		Mother	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Attend synagogue	145	86	145	83
Do not work	141	83	152	87
Fast	125	74	133	76
Do not ride	91	54	95	55
Do not handle money	90	54	104	61

Comparison of the observance of the two occasions shows that on Yom Kippur three more fathers and four more mothers go to synagogue than on Rosh Hashanah. An additional four percent and seven percent respectively do not work on the Day of Atonement; 14 percent and 15 percent more do not ride, and 11 percent and 16 percent more do not handle money.

Shavuoth and Succoth

The least observed of all the holidays are Shavuoth and Succoth, which, together with Passover, make up the three Biblical festivals of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. No more than seven percent of the fathers and 12 percent of the mothers could be said to observe these holidays strictly in the traditional sense. (Table 31)

About a third of the parents attend synagogue--36 percent among the men and 33 percent among the women. Fifteen percent of the fathers and 32 percent of the mothers do not work. Ten percent and 17 percent respectively do not ride, while only seven percent and 12 percent do not

handle money.

TABLE 31

OBSERVANCE OF SHAVUOTH AND SUCCOTH BY THE PARENTS
OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Shavuoth and Succoth Observance	Relationship			
	Father		Mother	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total*	168		174	
Usually attend synagogue	60	36	57	33
Do not work	26	15	55	32
Do not ride	16	10	29	17
Do not handle money	11	7	21	12

*Data unavailable for 12 fathers and six mothers.

Although the women's observance of these festivals is not very great, it is nevertheless somewhat more extensive than that of their working husbands, with the sole exception of synagogue attendance. Here again the tradition exempting women from regular attendance at services seems to be operating. In addition, it is well known that many men leave their work for a time during the morning in order to be present at Yizkor, that portion of the service which includes prayers in remembrance of one's departed relatives.

Only on the Sabbath is there less observance than on these two holidays. During Shavuoth and Succoth 36 percent of the men go to synagogue, while only 14 percent do so on the Sabbath. Ten percent do not ride, and seven percent do not handle money, in comparison with seven percent and four percent for the Sabbath. The only observance in which there is similarity is refraining from work, on which we have 15 percent in both cases.

As might be expected, those fathers who observe the Sabbath strictly are generally observant of the festivals also. But possibly because the holidays are less frequent than the Sabbath a number of additional parents find the possibility and the desire to observe them.

Summary of Parents' Observance

Synagogue Attendance:

The largest group among both fathers and mothers attend synagogue on the High Holydays and on a few other occasions during the year, but less often than once a month.

The mothers attend less frequently than the fathers.

Only 11 percent attend as often as once a week.

Sabbath:

Very few observe the Sabbath strictly. From three percent to seven percent do so with any degree of strictness.

The mothers observe to about the same extent as the fathers, except for less frequent synagogue attendance.

The only practice observed by a majority of the families is candle lighting on Friday evening, which is done by the women.

Kashruth:

Half the parents observe kashruth strictly in their homes. Almost three-fourths do not serve pork products.

Outside the home less than one-third observe the dietary laws with any strictness. Half will not eat pork products.

Passover:

Eighty-eight percent attend a Seder--more than practice any other observance among those studied here. Of this large group, however, only two out of five families follow the completely traditional Seder service.

More observe kashruth during Passover than during the rest of the year. Two-thirds eat only matza. Almost all of the rest eat matza in addition to bread.

Rosh Hashanah:

Two-thirds observe two days of the holiday.

Eighty-three percent attend synagogue.

Fewer mothers than fathers attend synagogue. Otherwise their observance is the same.

Almost half observe the other traditional practices and refrain from riding or handling money.

Yom Kippur:

Observance is similar to that of Rosh Hashanah but a little more traditional.

Eighty-five percent attend services.

Three-fourths fast.

Over half follow the other observances.

The observance of father and mother is similar.

Shavuoth and Succoth:

One-third of the parents attend synagogue.

Other observances are less frequent, from seven percent to 17 percent.

The women are somewhat more observant than their husbands.

These holidays are observed a little more extensively than is the Sabbath.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE IN THE THIRD GENERATION

Synagogue Attendance

In the student generation the process of acculturation to American life continues. Observance of the traditions diminishes further, although the rate of change becomes somewhat slower.

Attendance at synagogue services begins to drop off during the high school period. In the first year of college an even greater change occurs than in the previous years since childhood, especially among the most observant students.

Eleven percent of the fathers attend services at least once a week, but only eight percent of the students before college and two percent at college remain in this category. (Table 32) Among those with frequent attendance--at least once a month--there are 14 percent of the fathers, seven percent of the students before college and six percent in college. The total number in these two most observant categories shows a sharp drop--from 25 percent among the fathers, to 15 percent among the students before college, and eight percent among the students while at college.

At the other extreme, among those who attend rarely or never, there has been only a slight increase--from 11 percent of the fathers to 13 percent of the children before college and 16 percent at college. The next category, those who attend only on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur,

shows an increase from 23 percent among the fathers to 31 percent before college and 39 percent at college. Many of the students who show a decrease in observance have dropped into this class. Very few drop further to become completely unobservant.

TABLE 32

SYNAGOGUE ATTENDANCE OF 180 UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Synagogue Attendance	Student Status			
	Before College		At College	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total	178	100	180	100
At least once a week	15	8	4	2
At least once a month	13	7	10	6
Four to 11 times a year	71	40	68	38
On Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur only	56	32	70	39
Rarely or Never	23	13	28	15

The middle group--those who go to synagogue more often than these but less than once a month--remains large, with 40 percent in the father's generation, 40 percent before college and 38 percent at college. However, the median, which is in this class for fathers and for students before college, shifts during college into the next lower class.

Daily Prayer

Daily morning prayer with tefillin (phylacteries) is a practice observed by a small minority of Orthodox and Conservative males, beginning at the time of bar mitzvah, at the age of thirteen. In the student group this is the least observed of all the traditional practices which a young Jew can observe. Out of 115 boys, only two pray with tefillin regularly, while 12 state that they do so occasionally.

Sabbath Observance

During the period that the students were in high school there was only a slight decrease in their observance of the Sabbath. Since their parents do not observe very much, there was little left to discard. Fourteen percent of the fathers attend synagogue regularly, but only nine percent of the students. (Table 33) Eight percent of the fathers do not write, and seven percent of their children. Though seven percent of the fathers do not ride, the corresponding figure for the students is three percent. Four percent of each do not handle money and three percent do not put on lights.

TABLE 33

SABBATH OBSERVANCE OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Sabbath Observance	Student Status					
	Before College		Since Entering College--When in Home Town		Since Entering College--When in College Park	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	180		179		155	
Do not work	30	17	35	20	14	9
Attend synagogue						
regularly	16	9	8	4	0	0
Do not write	13	7	11	6	3	2
Do not ride	6	3	5	3	2	1
Do not handle money	7	4	4	2	1	1
Do not put on lights	5	3	4	2	3	2

After the student enters college there is further decrease in his Sabbath observance. While nine percent previously attended synagogue regularly, now only four percent do so. The decrease in those who do not write is from seven percent to six percent. Among those who do not ride there is one student less, or a drop of less than one percent.

Those who do not handle money and do not put on lights also diminish from four percent and three percent respectively to two percent each.

Kashruth

Even before college there was a sharp decrease in the observance of the dietary laws. Among the parents there is considerable observance, and half of the homes can be considered kosher. About 31 percent of the parents are fairly strict in kashruth when eating outside the home, but only 11 percent of the children remained in that category by the end of their high school years. (Table 34)

In college there is a continued decrease, although not as sharp as that which occurred previously. The number of the strictly observant now drops to six percent, and there are fewer than before in each category of kashruth observance.

TABLE 34

OBSERVANCE OF KASHRUTH BY 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Kashruth Observance	Student Status			
	Before College		At College	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total	180		180	
Do not eat pork products	57	32	51	28
Do not eat meat with milk	39	22	30	17
Do not eat non-kosher meat	19	11	10	6
Do not eat in non-kosher places			0	0

Fifty-four percent of the parents do not eat pork products. Thirty-two percent of the students followed this practice before college and 28 percent in college. Among the parents 47 percent do not mix meat and milk at the same meal, while among their children the figure drops

more than half--to 22 percent before college and 17 percent in college. The basic practice of refraining from eating any non-kosher meat is followed by 31 percent of the parents, 11 percent of the students before college and only six percent in college. Here we have the sharpest break with traditional dietary practices. Among the parents possibly 16 percent do not eat meals in non-kosher restaurants, while it is doubtful whether any of their children now follow their example. It is significant, however, that 28 percent of the students, a substantial group, still accept the basic prohibition against the eating of pork products.¹

Passover

Passover has a strong hold upon the young people, as well as upon their parents. Eighty-six percent of the students usually attend a Seder, while the comparable figure for the parents is 88 percent. Even at college 31 percent state that they intend to observe the dietary laws strictly, although only six percent do so during the rest of the year.²

During the high school period the students observed the Passover dietary practices almost to the same extent as their parents. At college some decrease occurs, although observance still remains substantial.

The students were quite observant before college, when 67 percent refrained from eating bread on Passover. In 77 percent of their homes only matza was served during the holiday. In college there are still a

¹A study at Brooklyn College indicated that not more than 20 percent of 391 Jewish students at that institution abstained from eating pork outside the home. Seymour Fromer and Isaac Rabinowitz, "Jewish Attitudes of Jewish College Youth," The Jewish Center, vol. 23, no. 3 (September 1945).

² Since the questionnaires were distributed before Passover, it was necessary to inquire about the students' intended rather than actual observance.

very substantial group--53 percent--who indicate that they will eat only matza. Twenty-nine percent expect to eat bread only, while 18 percent will eat both leavened and unleavened bread. In their parents' homes, by comparison, only one percent did not use matza, and 22 percent served both bread and matza.

Among Jewish high school students large numbers absent themselves from school on Passover. In the group studied here, 79 percent did not attend on the first day of the festival, 63 percent on the second, 50 percent on the seventh, and 52 percent on the last day.

In college there is much greater pressure to attend classes, and therefore fewer students absent themselves on Passover. Forty-seven percent intend to stay at home on the first day, 20 percent on the seventh day and 17 percent on the eighth.³

The High Holydays

When the students were still in high school their observance of Rosh Hashanah resembled very closely that of their parents. Of the fathers, 66 percent observe two days, 29 percent one day, and five percent none. The comparable figures for the students were 69 percent, 23 percent and seven percent. (Table 35) Attendance at synagogue on this occasion is indicated for 85 percent of the fathers and 84 percent of their children. Seventy-nine percent of the fathers do not work on the holiday, while 87 percent of the children remained at home from school. Forty-three percent of the fathers do not ride or handle money,

³The second day of the holiday coincided with a university vacation period.

while for the students the figures were 40 percent and 44 percent.

TABLE 35

OBSERVANCE OF ROSH HASHANAH BY 180 UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Rosh Hashanah Observance	Student Status			
	Before College		At College	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Observe two days	123	69	106	59
Observe one day	42	23	52	29
Observe none	13	7	21	12
Attend synagogue	148	84	141	79
Remain home from school	154	87	131	73
Do not ride	71	40	65	37
Do not handle money	77	44	73	41

The student at college shows a slight decrease in observance. Twelve percent do not observe the holiday at all, as against seven percent earlier. Twenty-nine percent observe one day only, while 23 percent did so before college. Synagogue attendance drops from 84 percent to 79 percent. There is a decrease of 14 percent from the 87 percent who used to remain home from school. Thirty-seven percent and 41 percent respectively do not ride and handle money, as compared with 40 percent and 44 percent before college. Generally, however, there is a very substantial observance of Rosh Hashanah, and the decrease from parents to children is comparatively minor.

As with the parents, the student observance of Yom Kippur is more traditional than that of Rosh Hashanah, particularly while at college. Eighty-seven percent remain home from school on the Day of Atonement, while 73 percent do so on the New Year. (Table 36) Eighty-two percent attend synagogue services, as against 79 percent. Those who do not ride and do not handle money now constitute 52 percent and

56 percent, in comparison with 37 percent and 41 percent.

The differences between the Yom Kippur observance of the two generations are minor and inconsequential. Eighty-six percent of the fathers attend synagogue, 84 percent of the students did so before college, and 82 percent attend in college. While 83 percent of the fathers do not work, 89 percent of the students were absent from classes when in high school and 87 percent in college. Seventy-four percent of the fathers fast, while 76 percent of the students did so before college and 75 percent in college. Among the fathers, those who do not ride constitute 54 percent, as against 52 percent of the children both before and in college. Those who do not handle money are 54 percent of the fathers, 54 percent of the students before college and 56 percent in college. The fairly strict observance by the parents of this holy day remains intact among their children.

TABLE 36

OBSERVANCE OF YOM KIPPUR BY 180 UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Yom Kippur Observance	Student Status			
	Before College		At College	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Attend synagogue	151	84	147	82
Remain home from school	160	89	156	87
Fast	136	76	134	75
Do not ride	93	52	93	52
Do not handle money	98	54	100	56

Shavuoth and Succoth

During the time the student was still in high school, he observed certain aspects of the festivals of Shavuoth and Succoth somewhat more

than did his parents. Among the fathers, 36 percent attend synagogue regularly on those days, while only 12 percent of the children attended regularly and 37 percent at least once. (Table 37) Fifteen percent of the fathers do not work, while 42 percent of the students did not attend school. As against ten percent of the fathers who do not ride and seven percent who do not handle money, the comparable figures for the students before college were 12 percent and 11 percent.

TABLE 37

OBSERVANCE OF SHAVUOTH AND SUCCOTH BY 180
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN
1949

Shavuoth and Succoth Observance	Student Status			
	Before College		At College	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Attend synagogue regularly	22	12	6	3
Attend synagogue once	66	37	29	16
Attend synagogue none	92	51	144	80
Remain home from school	75	42	16	9
Do not ride	22	12	12	7
Do not handle money	19	11	6	3

The increased observance of the children, however, is completely wiped out when they come to the University and are drawn into the swim of college life. Because of the pressure to attend classes, they go to school on the festivals and remain away from the synagogue. Before college 12 percent attended synagogue regularly, but now only three percent do so. Previously 37 percent attended at least once, but only 16 percent do so in college. The greatest drop occurs in the number who do not attend classes--from 42 percent to nine percent. Observance of the prohibition of riding and handling money also decreases--from 12 percent and 11 percent respectively to seven percent and three percent.

Those who remain observant on these two holidays are chiefly the intensely devout Jews, who are also strict Sabbath observers.

Summary of Students' Religious Observance

Synagogue Attendance:

A considerable drop occurs in the frequency of synagogue attendance before college, especially among the most observant.

There is a further decrease in college, when the median group consists of those who attend only on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Barely two percent attend once a week or more often.

Daily Prayer:

Only two boys pray daily with tefillin, while twelve do so occasionally.

Sabbath:

In high school the observance was similar to and slightly less than that of the parents. From three percent to seven percent were fairly strict observers.

In college there is a further decrease, and from two percent to six percent remain very observant.

Kashruth:

There was a sharp decrease in observance before college. The extent of student observance was from one-third to one-half that of their parents. Only 11 percent remained fairly strict, while 32 percent did not eat pork.

In college there is a further decline. Only six percent remain

fairly strict, and 28 percent do not eat pork.

Passover:

Passover is very extensively observed, and 86 percent attend a Seder.

Many more observe kashruth on Passover than during the rest of the year. Most eat only matza and no bread.

In high school a majority did not attend classes. Two-thirds ate no bread, and the dietary observance was generally similar to that of the parents.

In college there is some decrease in observance. Anticipated absence from classes range from 17 percent to 47 percent for the various days of the holiday. Thirty-one percent expect to observe the dietary laws strictly, while 53 percent plan to eat only matza.

Rosh Hashanah:

Observance was similar to the parents' while in high school. Five-sixths attended synagogue, while 40 percent were strictly observant.

At college there is a slight decrease.

Yom Kippur:

Observance of Yom Kippur was very traditional during the high school years and changes little in college. The strictness of observance exceeds that on Rosh Hashanah. In college over half of the students are strictly observant.

Shavuoth and Succoth:

While in high school the student observed these holidays slightly

more than did his father. Only about 11 percent were strictly observant but a large number of students remained away from school. More of the mothers than the fathers observed strictly.

In college there is a very sharp drop in observance. Only three percent to seven percent remain more or less strictly observant.

CHAPTER X

CHANGING OBSERVANCE

A Comparison of the Observance of Fathers, Students Before College, and Students at College

A young child usually follows the same pattern of observance as his parents. The child of observant parents is himself generally observant, while one raised in an unobservant home will also conform to the practice of his family. Only in exceptional cases, particularly when the child is taken out of his home environment, is there any radical difference between him and his parents in this respect. Differences between the religious practices of parents and their high school youngsters, therefore, generally indicate that the children have changed their observance some time during the previous few years.

The teen years are a time of change in the life of a young person, a time when greater independence of thought and of action are developed. During that period he tends to conform less than previously to the practices and standards of his home and somewhat more to those of the outside groups with which he associates. This incipient freedom from parental authority, however, is only partial. There still remains a very strong influence upon his practice from his parents--an influence due not only to example and training but also to parental control.

Analysis of University of Maryland student sample indicates that the home is still the greatest influence upon the students' religious

observance. The correlation between the observance of the fathers and that of their children before they go to college is .77, which is quite high. Even when the students are finishing their freshman year the correlation with their fathers' observance is still considerable--.69.

Along with this strong similarity between parents and children, however, a change has been occurring. Gradually the students seem to be moving away from their parents in religious observance. This change began in the years before college but became much more pronounced in college. Most of the young people live away from home during the week and are no longer under the direct surveillance and control of their parents. In addition, the students are subject to new influences-- friends, classmates and associates, fellow fraternity or sorority members, the faculty, university regulations and atmosphere, and closer association with non-Jews. All these influences combine to bring a clearly recognizable diminution of the students' observance of traditional Jewish religious practices.

A difference can also be observed between the changes among the men and the women students. The men tend to drop in observance before college and then to drop even more when they are in college. Among the women, on the other hand, there is relatively minor change before college from the practices of their parents. When they get to college, however, they also drop in observance, although their observance pattern still resembles that of their parents more closely than is the case for the boys.

The female students also seem to change somewhat less than the males in college. Among the girls the correlation of their observance

scores before college and at college is .80, while for the boys the correlation is .75.

The average observance score of the fathers is 3.73 (arithmetic mean), while the students before college average 3.97, or a drop of 6.4 percent. In college the young people drop further to 4.38, for a further decrease of 10.3 percent in observance scores. Computation of the total change from father to college student shows an average decrease of 17.4 percent in observance over the years.

The Pre-College Period:

By the year before college there had already been considerable change in observance scores. One out of every three students observed less than his father, while only one out of six had increased his observance. (Table 38) The other half of the group had the same scores as their fathers.

TABLE 38

OBSERVANCE SCORES OF FATHER AND STUDENT BEFORE COLLEGE
FOR 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Score Comparison	Number	Percent
Total	169	100
Same	89	53
Student higher	29	17
Student lower	51	30

Where an increase in observance had occurred, it seems to be due to some extent to the influence of the mother and of her observance. In nine of the 29 cases, the mother is more observant than the father, and the student merely patterned his observance after that of his mother. The increase in observance in these cases, therefore, can hardly be

considered very significant.

Most of the decreased observance occurred among the children of the very observant. Three-fifths of the cases were found among those whose parents are in the two most observant categories. It is to be expected that those who start with the greatest observance have the most to lose, while those from less observant families have less to discard.

The increase in observance, on the other hand, comes chiefly when the parents are comparatively unobservant. Of the 29 students who became more observant in high school, 19 have fathers in classes 5 and 6, while another five have fathers in class 4. Only five children of parents in the upper categories have increased their observance.

Not only do a greater number of students become less rather than more observant but the average amount of drop is greater than the average increase. The decrease averages 1.5 classes, while the rise averages 1.2.

The Freshman Year:

In the first year of college only a few students report an increase in observance, while a very large part of the group give up some of their previous practices. In this one year there is more decrease in observance than there was during the entire high school period.

Hardly half of the students remain as observant as they were before college. (Table 39) Almost two out of every five drop in observance, while only eight percent, or one out of twelve, increase their observance. Unlike the high school period, however, the average amount of decrease (1.3 classes) is about the same as the average increase.

TABLE 39

OBSERVANCE SCORES OF STUDENTS BEFORE AND AT COLLEGE FOR
180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Score Comparison	Number	Percent
Total	169	100
Same	89	53
Higher at college	14	8
Lower	66	39

The Father and His College Student:

A comparison of the fathers with their children at college shows a wider gap than existed when the students were still in high school. Only a minority, 37 percent, now have the same observance scores. (Table 40) Half of the children have lower scores, while only 12 percent are higher than their parents. Moreover, the gains toward increased observance made by 17 percent of the students before college are now partially wiped out.

TABLE 40

OBSERVANCE SCORES OF FATHERS AND STUDENTS AT COLLEGE
FOR 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Score Comparison	Number	Percent
Total	169	100
Same	62	37
Student higher	21	12
Student lower	86	51

Not only have more students decreased in observance but the extent of their drop exceeds the extent of the rise among the small group who have risen higher than their fathers. While 51 percent of the

college students are less observant than their fathers, as against only 12 percent who are more observant, the average decrease is 1.5 classes, in comparison with an average increase of 1.0. Sixty-two percent of the 86 students have dropped one class, 27 percent have dropped two classes, seven percent have dropped three, and five percent have made a sharp drop of four classes.

Almost all of the freshmen who are more observant than their fathers were already more observant while in high school. Only six of the 169 students for whom we have data became more observant than their fathers after coming to college. Two of these six, however, came from homes with no observance, and the only increase in observance is their intention to eat matza on Passover.

What effect did college have upon those students who became more observant than their fathers while in high school? Analysis shows that this group became considerably less observant in college. Not even one of the 29 became more observant than he was before college. Sixteen dropped to a lower category than before, while only 13 remained the same. (See Appendix G.)

A comparison of their scores at college with those of their fathers reveals that only 15, or half of these students, have remained more observant than their fathers. Nine now have the same scores, and five are lower.

Despite the decreased observance, however, this group provides the largest portion of those whose observance while at college is greater than that of their fathers. Fifteen of the 21 more observant students began to practice more than their fathers in earlier years. Those who

came to college with the same score as their fathers provide only four who rose to a higher classification than their fathers. And those who dropped before college have only two who are now higher.

What happened to the students whose observance diminished before college? Their scores did not change much in college. Of the 51, twenty-six remained in the same class, ten had a higher rank, and 15 dropped even lower. (See Appendix H.)

The students who followed the same observance patterns as their fathers during high school years experienced the greatest decrease in college. Thirty-five dropped to lower categories, 50 remained the same, and only four became more observant than their fathers. (See Appendix I.)

In which families does an increase in observance appear? What was the home observance of the 21 students whose score at college is higher than that of their fathers? With but one exception, these young people come from families with little or average observance. Their fathers are either in the middle category--four--or lower. The exception is a young man in class 1 whose father is in class 2. The student explains that his father wants to observe the Sabbath but is unable to do so because of business.

The extent of increase in observance among this group of young people is one category only, except in the case of one student who rose from class 5 to class 3.

A Summary of Observance Changes

What happened to the children of observant families? (See Appendix J.)

Class 1:

There are four fathers with observance scores in class 1. During high school two of their children dropped out of that category into class 2. When they arrived at college one of them fell further, into class 3, while one of the two who had still been in class 1 now dropped into class 2. Only one of the original four remained extremely observant.

The son of one father in class 2 rose into class 1 before college and remained there even during college, to make two students in that class.

Class 2:

The greatest decrease was made by young people whose families are in class 2. These youths showed a very considerable drop even in their high school years. At that time 57 percent (29 students) decreased in observance, 37 percent (19 students) remained the same as their fathers, and only six percent (three students) rose to higher observance--class 1.

When these students came to college there was a further decrease. Of the three who had risen into class 1, only one remained, the others dropping into classes 2 and 3. Of the 19 who had the same score as their fathers, 13 now dropped lower, mostly into class 3. Only six remained in class 2. Those who had dropped before college changed only a little now, although they also showed some tendency toward lower scores. Twelve of the 29 remained the same as before, six rose higher, and 11 dropped lower still. Only two of this group now remained in class 2.

When the 51 fathers of class 2 are compared with their children, the extent of the change becomes evident. Only nine of the children are now in that same class. One has risen to class 1, but 41 have gone lower.

Of the latter, 22 dropped one class, nine dropped two classes, six dropped three classes, and four dropped four classes each, into the almost non-observant class 6.

Class 3:

Those who began in class 3 also lost ground. While in high school, seven of the 18 students dropped to lower categories than their fathers, half remained the same, and two were higher. In college, there was a considerable further decrease in observance, and another seven dropped from this category. Only four of the 18 now remained in class 3. Not one was higher than his father, while 14 were lower. Five of them fell into class 4, and nine into class 5.

What happened to the students from families of lesser observance?

Class 4:

Little change occurred in class 4 families before college. Thirty of the 39 young people remained in the same category as before, four were lower, and five were higher.

However, when those students arrived at college they underwent a decrease in observance scores. About half, or 20, remained in class 4, five were higher, and 14 were now lower.

The only groups among whom any tendency toward increased observance appears are those with scores of 5, 6 and 7.

Class 5:

In class 5 there was a rise in observance during high school years. Twelve students scored higher than their fathers, six were lower, and

16 remained the same. College, however, turned the trend downward, so that 12 were now lower, only seven higher, and 15 remained the same.

Class 6:

This group also showed some upward trend before college. While half of the 20 students had the same scores as their fathers, seven rose higher, and only three dropped into the lower category. There was practically no further change at college, where six remained higher and two were lower than their fathers.

Class 7:

The small group of three students who come from homes with no observance at all did not change during high school. In college, however, we find that two have adopted some observance and are now classified in group 6. The two students indicate one minor observance--they intend to eat matza on Passover.

Comparison of Observances of Men and Women Students

During their high school years the girls tended generally to be more observant than the boys. Although the males had more in the two very observant groups, the females had more in the three most observant classes. (Tables 41 and 42) The girls also have more among the moderately observant and considerably fewer among the least observant.

When the students come to college the relative observance pattern is the same. Boys and girls both discard a considerable number of practices, but the girls still remain more traditional. Although more of the small group of the very observant are boys, there are about the same percentage of male and female in the three classes of greatest

observance. A greater portion of the girls are in the middle group, and considerably fewer are in the groups of least observance.

TABLE 41

OBSERVANCE SCORES BEFORE AND AT COLLEGE OF 180 UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949, BY SEX

Observance Class	Men Students		Women Students	
	Before College	At College	Before College	At College
	Number	Number	Number	Number
Total	117	117	63	63
1	3	1	2	1
2	18	9	5	2
3	19	21	18	14
4	30	19	26	24
5	25	39	6	12
6	18	26	3	8
7	4	2	3	2

TABLE 42

OBSERVANCE SCORES BEFORE AND AT COLLEGE OF 180
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949
BY CLASSES OF OBSERVANCE AND SEX

Classes of Observance	Men Students		Women Students	
	Before College	At College	Before College	At College
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1 and 2	18	9	11	5
1, 2 and 3	34	27	40	27
4	26	16	41	38
6 and 7	19	24	10	16
6, 7 and 8	40	57	19	35

In which practices are the women students more traditional than the men?

There seem to be no appreciable and consistent differences between the sexes in their synagogue attendance or their observance of the Sabbath, kashruth, Shavuoth and Succoth. The girls, however, are somewhat more

observant of Passover, Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, with the exception of one practice. Fewer girls than boys observe the traditional prohibition of riding on the High Holydays and the festivals.

In their observance of Passover the women students are more traditional with regard to all the practices for which data are available. This distinction is true both before and in college. (Tables 43 and 44)

TABLE 43

PASSOVER OBSERVANCE BEFORE COLLEGE OF 180 UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949, BY SEX

Observance	Male	Female
	Percent	Percent
Ate no bread	62	75
Absent from school 1st day ..	76	84
Absent on 2nd day	58	74
Attends Seder	85	89

TABLE 44

PASSOVER OBSERVANCE AT COLLEGE OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF
MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949, BY SEX

Observance	Male	Female
	Percent	Percent
Eats matza	67	79
Eats no bread	47	63
Strict dietary observance	27	37
Absent from school 1st day ...	38	63
Absent on 7th day	16	27
Absent on 8th day	16	19

On Rosh Hashanah most of the girls observe two days and go to synagogue, stay out of school, and do not handle money. (Table 45)

This difference also remains during college as well as before.

TABLE 45

OBSERVANCE OF ROSH HASHANAH BY 180 UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949, BY SEX

Observance Class	Men Students		Women Students	
	Before College	At College	Before College	At College
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Observes two days	61	52	84	71
Observes one day	30	34	11	21
Observes none	9	14	5	8
Attends synagogue	82	77	87	84
Absent from school	82	66	95	86
Does not handle money	40	37	49	48
Does not ride	42	37	38	35

Yom Kippur is quite similar to Rosh Hashanah except for somewhat greater observance, but the relative positions of the two sexes remain unchanged. (Table 46)

TABLE 46

OBSERVANCE OF YOM KIPPUR BY 180 UNIVERSITY OF
MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949, BY SEX

Observance	Before College		At College	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Percent			
Attends synagogue	83	87	80	86
Absent from school	85	95	82	95
Fasts	69	87	69	86
Does not handle money ..	50	62	47	62
Does not ride	53	49	53	49

Since there is little difference on the average between the observance scores of the fathers of the men and of the women students, the greater observance of the women can not be ascribed to a different type of home environment. The men's fathers have a slightly greater percentage in the three most observant groups, but they constitute a larger portion of the three least observant groups as well. (Tables 47 and 48) More of the girls' fathers tend to the center group, class 4.

TABLE 47

OBSERVANCE SCORES OF FATHERS OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
JEWISH MEN AND WOMEN FRESHMEN, 1949

Sex of Student	Total	Fathers' Observance Score						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Male	111	3	36	11	20	25	14	2
Female	58	1	15	7	19	9	6	1

TABLE 48

OBSERVANCE SCORES OF FATHERS OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949, BY CLASS OF FATHERS' OBSERVANCE AND SEX OF STUDENT

Fathers' Observance Scores (In Classes)	Of Male Students		Of Female Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1 and 2	39	35	16	28
1, 2 and 3	50	45	23	40
4	20	18	19	33
6 and 7	16	14	7	12
5, 6 and 7	41	37	16	27

Only in one practice do we find a constant, though small, difference. As indicated below, the fathers of the girls, like their daughters, refrain slightly more from riding on the festivals, High Holydays and the Sabbath:

<u>Observance</u>	<u>Fathers of</u>	
	<u>Male Students</u>	<u>Female Students</u>
	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Do not ride on Sabbath	8	3
Rosh Hashanah	44	41
Yom Kippur	56	50
Shavuoth and Succoth	12	5

CHAPTER XI

ORTHODOX, CONSERVATIVE AND REFORM

Introduction

The Jewish religious community in the United States, as has been noted, is not a homogeneous group organized under a single leadership and with a unified point of view. The great body of American Jews may be said, for the most part, to share the heritage of the Jewish past, to accept a general view on God and the Messiah which distinguishes them from Christians, to share the same major holidays, to be bound by a common fate, and to express a sense of mutual responsibility through their concern for the life and welfare of their fellow Jews in this country and abroad. However, the Jews of this country, like their fellows throughout the Western World, evince a considerable variety of religious expression. Each of the three main interpretations of the Jewish religion, moreover, is now organized as a separate movement with its own distinctive philosophy and with synagogues, theological schools and other institutions embodying its point of view.

Norms of Observance

In the area of religious observance, Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Judaism share the Sabbath and the major holydays and festivals of the Jewish calendar. They part company to some extent on their approach to the particular practices associated with these occasions. Orthodoxy

accepts in toto the forms of observance which were developed during more than three millenia and which were codified in the Shulhan Arukh of Rabbi Joseph Karo during the sixteenth century. The Conservative group generally accepts the traditional code of observance but makes certain adaptations in conformity with its belief in the continuous religious evolution of Judaism. Reform Judaism departs more radically from the tradition, primarily by removing the restrictions upon personal activity on the Sabbath and holidays and upon diet.

Within certain broad areas it is possible to state the standards of observance which each of the three groups sets up for its adherents. An Orthodox Jew is expected to adhere strictly to the Shulhan Arukh and to observe without exception all the practices with which our study is concerned.

Conservative Judaism also teaches the observance of the complete tradition, but individual rabbis and groups permit certain deviations from the code. For example, most will permit the use of electricity on the Sabbath or eating in non-kosher restaurants as long as meat products are avoided. A minority also allows those who live beyond convenient walking distance from a synagogue to ride to services on the Sabbath and holidays. With these exceptions, however, Conservative Judaism desires the observance of all the practices described in these pages.

Reform Judaism, on the other hand, does not consider itself bound by traditional Jewish law. It expects of its adherents mainly the observance of the Sabbath and holidays by attendance at synagogue and through some home ritual, such as the Passover Seder. It places no restrictions upon riding, handling money or using electricity, nor does

it require observance of the dietary laws, although it urges the eating of matza on Passover and fasting on the Day of Atonement.

In terms of the observance classification which is used in this study, an Orthodox Jew is expected to meet the requirements of the strictly observant class 1. A Conservative Jew is also required to be in class 1, with the exception, possibly, that he may ride to synagogue. One who is Reform is expected to meet the standards of class 4 and in addition to attend services on the Sabbath and the festivals. These are the norms which the groups themselves set up for their members.

Problems of Definition

One of the paradoxes in Jewish religious life in the United States is the fluidity of the terms Orthodox, Conservative and Reform when applied to individuals. Although each group has its own standards for religious observance--clearly defined in the case of Orthodoxy and allowing more leeway in the case of the others--we find that these designations often give us little of the information about a person which such a classification could be expected to convey if it were used with consistency.

It is difficult to know, for example, whether an individual who considers himself Orthodox and belongs to an Orthodox synagogue lives in accordance with the code of the Shulhan Arukh or whether he observes little or none of the practices which Orthodoxy holds essential. Another may be Conservative and observe less of the tradition than some Reform Jews--or more than some who are Orthodox. And even though one may identify himself as a Reform Jew, he may still attend a Conservative synagogue--or none at all.

It is evident that the three categories do not mark three sharply

defined and homogeneous groups with clearly different observance of the traditions. There is a great deal of overlapping, and many within a group depart very radically from the standards of religious behavior taught by that group. It may be fairly simple, for example, to answer the question--What observance is expected of an Orthodox Jew?--but we can not tell with any certainty which pattern of religious practices an individual Orthodox Jew will follow.

Any attempt to divide Jews according to the categories Orthodox, Conservative and Reform will meet with difficulty because of the varying ways in which the terms are applied. Sometimes they are used to denote organizational affiliation, i.e. membership in a synagogue allied with one of the three movements. Sometimes the type of synagogue attended is the criterion used for classification. At other times, however, the designation indicates a general self-identification with the outlook of the group, despite non-affiliation, or even membership in another type of synagogue.

In the popular mind, a person may identify himself as Conservative or Reform as a means of justifying varying degrees of non-observance rather than to describe in positive terms his philosophy and way of life. The designation Reform, in particular, is adopted by some Jews who are unobservant and unaffiliated but wish to fit into a religious grouping, because to do so is considered socially desirable in American society.¹

¹The difficulties facing anyone attempting to develop a workable definition are highlighted by the example of one investigator who worked out the simple but inexact definition of Orthodoxy as "observance of the dietary laws in the home, attendance at the synagogue on the High Holy Days, religious instruction for boys." See Eli Ginzberg and Associates, The Unemployed (New York, Harper, 1943), p. 30.

Membership affiliation and attendance at the services of a particular type of synagogue can not be adequate criteria for religious identification because the choice of synagogue is often influenced by such factors as convenience of location, deference to the wishes of parents, social acceptability, financial considerations and habit. With rare exceptions, American synagogues have set up no objective religious requirements for either membership affiliation or attendance. A person can belong to more than one type of synagogue simultaneously and even attend occasional services in each. The non-theological basis upon which synagogue affiliation is generally based is pointed out by Sklare, who attributes the choice to "loyalty to a given institution, a similar background, a given class level, a more or less similar type of social adjustment, as well as a common amount and kind of acculturation."²

The use of synagogue affiliation as a criterion is not adequate, moreover, because it does not apply to enough of the Jewish population. A considerable percentage of American Jews, particularly in the large cities, are not enrolled in the membership of any synagogue, even though most will attend services on the High Holydays. Besides, the choice of synagogue for affiliation is made by the parents and not by the young people, since membership is generally for adults and family units only. A classification based upon membership, therefore, would not be applicable to the students of this study, who usually go to the same house of

²Marshall Sklare, Conservative Judaism, an American Religious Movement (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1955), p. 212.

worship as their parents.³

Another possible criterion for classification is the objective one of extent of observance. A person can be identified with a religious group, according to this logical view, only if he practices the way of life taught by it. An individual would have to fit into class 1 in the observance classification, for example, in order to be considered Orthodox, while a Conservative person would have to meet those same standards with only slight modification. A Reform individual would have to be in class 4 and in addition would have to attend synagogue regularly. Anyone who did not meet these requirements would be ruled outside the religious fold.

The application of these criteria would result in the virtual liquidation of the Orthodox and Conservative in the group under study. Only four fathers and two students could then be considered Orthodox or Conservative. About three-fifths of the parents would have to be considered Reform and one-third outside the religious community. Among the students, about half would fall into the Reform group and the other half into no group at all. Such results would not only be unrealistic in terms of current usage but would, moreover, not throw any additional light upon the group. This method of classification was therefore discarded.

For the purposes of this analysis a subjective classification based upon the group with which each person prefers to identify himself proves to be the most useful. Such an individual decision, freely made,

³In this group, only 13 of 180 students attend a different type of synagogue from that of their parents.

implies that the person feels most at home with the members of that group and that he presumably accepts some tie of conscience to its standards and requirements. In addition, the choice indicates that he has a preference for the forms of observance practiced by the movement and that when he feels the need for some religious ceremony he would want it performed in accordance with the ritual of that particular group.

This classification, which is based upon self-identification, is similar to that employed by the United States Armed Forces, universities and other institutions when they inquiry into religious preference. Application of this procedure results in groupings unified by internal factors and therefore gives an opportunity for more meaningful comparisons than could be made with any other method of classification.

At the present time there exist no reliable statistics on the numerical strength of the three movements. It has been estimated that 500,000 American Jews are affiliated with Reform temples and the same number with Conservative synagogues. Approximately 2,400,000 are believed either to be members of Orthodox synagogues to attend them on the holy-days.

The announced number of congregations in the national synagogue unions approaches 500 for each of the Reform and Conservative groups, and 720 for the Orthodox. In addition, there are said to be approximately 50 Reform, 100 Conservative, and 1300 Orthodox congregations which are unaffiliated with any national body.⁴

The number of adherents (in contradistinction to affiliated

⁴Morris N. Kertzer, "Religion," American Jewish Year Book, LVI (1955), 230-232.

members) of the three religious groupings, has been judged to be roughly similar.⁵ Such an estimate, however, must be considered a very rough approximation, since it has no statistical basis.

Religious Identification in the Three Generations

Practically all of the immigrants from Eastern Europe were Orthodox when they came to the United States. They knew little about Reform, toward which they bore a strong antagonism because of its association in their eyes with German assimilation. The Conservative movement was still in its infancy and was hardly known in the "ghetto" neighborhoods in which the newcomers clustered.

The synagogues which they attended and in which they felt at home were Orthodox. Despite the falling away in observance, only a small proportion did not consider themselves Orthodox. While some became secularist Jews who did not retain any of the traditional practices, a considerable number earned for themselves the designation of "non-observant Orthodox Jew."⁶ With the passage of time, only a small percentage of the more acculturated and mobile affiliated with the Conservative movement, and an even smaller number with Reform.

In the second generation, a change occurs. There appears a tendency in the direction of Conservatism, and a weaker one toward Reform. Although the majority are still considered Orthodox, the solid

⁵Herbert Parzen, "Religion," American Jewish Year Book, LII (1951), 86-87.

⁶Such a person is one who does not observe the main body of Orthodox traditions but turns to the Orthodox synagogue when he wishes to have a religious ceremony performed or to attend a service.

bloc has been split.

In Sklare's study of Conservative Judaism, the change in religious identification among East European Jews is analyzed in terms of geographic and social mobility.⁷ The immigrant usually settled near his fellow Jews in a "ghetto," a slum section located near the commercial center of the modern American city. As his economic position improved and higher social status beckoned, the Jew moved out of this "area of first settlement" to adjacent sections with better homes. The "area of third settlement," near or outside the city limits, attracted the more successful of the second and third generations, and "symbolizes the attainment of solid middle-class position or better, and is indicative of a relatively high level of acculturation."

The exact number of Orthodox Jews in the sample parental group depends upon the definition which is used. If Orthodox Jews are defined as those who attend an Orthodox synagogue, 108 fathers out of a group of 166 for whom information is available would be so classified. (Table 49) A definition based upon what they consider themselves, on the other hand, results in only 82 Orthodox men. The reverse of this picture holds true for the Conservative group. Thirty-two of the fathers attend Conservative synagogues, but 56, almost twice as many, consider themselves Conservative. A smaller number of men, 26, attend Reform synagogues, while 32 consider themselves Reform Jews.⁸

⁷Marshall Sklare, op. cit., pp. 43 ff.

⁸Information on the type of synagogue attended is available for 166 fathers, while religious preference is known for 170.

TABLE 49

TYPE OF SYNAGOGUE ATTENDED AND RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION
FOR THE FATHERS OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Synagogue Attended by Father	Total		Father Considers Himself					
			Orthodox		Conservative		Reform	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total	180*	100*	82	46	56	31	32	18
Orthodox	108	60	79	44	24	13	6	3
Conservative	32	18	1	1	30	17	1	1
Reform	26	14			1	.6	25	14
None	13	7	2	1	1	.6		
Not given	1	1						

*Ten cases were not classified according to father's religious identification.

Sixty percent of the fathers attend Orthodox synagogues, but only 43 percent consider themselves Orthodox. Of the 17 percent who attend but do not consider themselves Orthodox, 14 percent identify themselves with the Conservative movement, and the few remaining with Reform.

There is considerable consistency among those who consider themselves Orthodox and Reform in the choice of a synagogue. Of the 82 Orthodox fathers, almost all (79) attend an Orthodox synagogue. One attends a Conservative synagogue, and two attend none. Twenty-five of the 32 Reform fathers attend Reform synagogues. One attends a Conservative synagogue, and six do not attend any.

Wide diversity exists, on the other hand, among the Conservative fathers. Twenty-four of the 56 attend Orthodox synagogues, one attends a Reform synagogue, and one does not attend synagogue at all. Thirty, or hardly half of these fathers, attend a Conservative synagogue.

Even greater than the change in observance from the parent to the student generation is the change in religious identification. Almost

half of the children of Orthodox parents no longer consider themselves Orthodox. Twenty-one consider themselves Conservative, nine Reform and six unidentified. (Table 50) Only 45 (55 percent) of the 82 are still Orthodox. In the entire student group the Orthodox are now a minority of only 25 percent. This decrease in the size of the Orthodox group during the space of one generation is even more striking when one considers that 60 percent of the parents and 55 percent of the students still attend Orthodox synagogues.

Among the 56 Conservative fathers, 40 (71 percent) have children who still consider themselves Conservative. Thirteen (23 percent) identify themselves with the Reform movement, while three (five percent) have no identification with any of the three trends.

The children of Reform fathers identify themselves much more closely with their fathers' religious group than do the children of either of the others. Twenty-nine of the 32 still consider themselves Reform, while three do not indicate any self-identification.

TABLE 50

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF PARENTS AND OF 180 UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Parents Consider Themselves	Students Consider Themselves											
	Total		Orthodox		Conserva- tive		Reform		None		Not Given	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total	180	100	45	25	63	35	51	28	18	10	3	2
Orthodox	82	46	45	55	21	26	9	11	6	7	1	1
Conservative	56	31			40	71	13	23	3	5		
Reform	32	18					29	91	2	6	1	3
None	6	3							6	100		
Not given	4	2			2				1		1	

A comparison of the children of the three groups discloses that 91 percent of those with Reform parents identify themselves with their parents' group, in comparison with 71 percent for the Conservative and 55 percent for the Orthodox.

By the time they have reached their freshmen year, one-third of the students have decided to break away from their parents' group. Without exception the direction of the change is from Orthodoxy to Conservatism, and from Conservatism to Reform. Orthodoxy loses 37 adherents and gains none. Conservatism adds 23 to its numbers but loses 16 in turn. The Reform group has 22 accessions and only three losses.

In the great majority of the families, moreover, the change is gradual. Not many jump from the Orthodox to the Reform group within the span of one generation. The usual pattern is a one-step shift, from Orthodoxy to Conservatism, or from Conservatism to Reform.

From the second to the third generation, the relative size of the three groups changes. Among the parents, the Orthodox are most numerous, with 82 adherents as compared with 56 for the Conservative and 32 for the Reform. Among the children, however, 63 consider themselves Conservative, 51 Reform, and only 45 Orthodox.

The explanations which students give for their choice of religious affiliation are rarely in terms of ideology or theology. It is the atmosphere in the synagogue, the form of the service, and the language of prayer which loom foremost in the thinking of the college generation (as it probably does among their parents as well). Another important consideration, expressed less frequently but significant nevertheless, is the synagogue choice of one's friends, which involves aspects of

social status.

Among the students who wish to leave the ranks of Orthodoxy, dissatisfaction is expressed with the synagogue service. One student says:

I would like to leave the Orthodox Shul (synagogue) and join a Conservative one because there the services are more understandable, and the family can sit together.

A girl describes her reaction in these words:

Neither I nor my friends went to Hebrew school, but we attended an Orthodox synagogue. They went just as I went. We went in just to say hello to relatives, but we didn't understand what was going on. It was a chore attending synagogue because we didn't understand the ritual. Now I attend a Conservative synagogue on the High Holydays and enjoy it more because of the English.

Below the surface resistance to parental pressure is evident in these statements:

I attend an Orthodox Shul because my parents do. I intend to join a Conservative Shul later.

I attend an Orthodox synagogue because my parents desire it.

The family of the latter student is typical of those cases in which decreased religious observance in the home leads a young person in search of consistency to change his own religious identification to Conservative. He continues:

Our family has been gradually getting away from observance. Our home used to be kosher, but it isn't any longer.

Yet he retains an appreciation for Orthodoxy and speculates,

If I had been brought up in real Orthodox style I might have remained so.

On the other hand, one who has remained Orthodox states,

I have gotten certain satisfactions from my observance that others of my friends do not feel.

When he looks about him at his associates he notes:

I find few who are Orthodox in any real sense of the word.

Another Orthodox student analyzes the attraction which the synagogue service holds for him:

The Orthodox Shul is interesting in the aspect of the mysterious. It appeals to the aesthetic senses.

This young man, nevertheless, has stopped observing the Sabbath when he is in College Park and has begun attending classes on the festivals. When he is at home he still does not work, write, ride or handle money on the Sabbath.

Since I did not do so in pre-college days, I find it the natural thing not to do so now.

A freshman who used to attend Saturday morning services regularly with his father expresses dissatisfaction with some aspects of the Orthodox service but appreciates others. He declares:

Orthodox services are too lengthy. I don't understand what's going on. More English would interest me. However, when I went to a Reform service a few months ago it felt like a church, not a Shul. I felt I was watching other people perform, not the way I do in Shul. There I feel my sins are forgiven and get an elated feeling. I feel in the presence of God.

In some cases Conservatism attracts those who are anxious for Jewish identification but have nowhere else to go where they will feel at home. "I am not actually Reform, but I am not Orthodox," is the manner in which this viewpoint is expressed by one of the students. As was noted by Sklare, "alienation from . . . Orthodoxy . . . and the unacceptable character of some of the practices common to Reform, have served as the propelling forces."⁹

⁹Sklare, loc. cit.

The change in affiliation from Orthodox to Conservative, however, is not necessarily the result of a lack of "at-homeness" elsewhere. An example of positive attraction is given by one young man:

Father changed from an Orthodox to a Conservative synagogue shortly before I entered college, and the entire family became more observant. The rabbi was so wonderful that I just didn't want to miss him. His sermons are so wonderful that I always go to hear him.

One of the few who make the leap from Orthodoxy to Reform says:

I went to visit various Shuls and decided on Reform because the English helps me to understand and because I like the atmosphere of less noise and commercialism.

The influence of friends and of the social position of members of the Reform synagogue is evident in this instance of change from Conservatism to Reform by both parents and the student:

My parents joined a Conservative synagogue when they first came to the city. Their friends did too. Since then most of their friends have joined the Reform Temple. About three years ago my parents thought of changing, but the Temple was crowded and they never got around to it. We dropped out of the Conservative synagogue because the class of people dropped. They got a loud crowd, the grocery store type who had made money and like to show off. The Temple has a nice class of people.

The Conservative rituals don't mean anything to me. There is too much in Hebrew that I don't understand. I consider myself and my parents Reform because we don't participate in Conservative religious rituals.

Among a few of the children of Reform parents, however, there is a nostalgia for Orthodoxy. An attraction to both groups is admitted by one freshman.

I've sort of had a liking for Orthodoxy, sometimes because of Shul and sometimes because of observances. It's true that I conform to Reform observances, but in the back of my mind I sometimes feel wrong about being Reform. If I had been brought up in an Orthodox home I would have liked it, I think. But I don't want to breakaway from Reform. I do have a lot of faith in Reform Judaism.

A student who has given up all religious affiliation as well as observance explains his position in these words:

Reform is a retreat and Orthodoxy is too strict. I can not sincerely belong to any group. I observed when I was younger only because it seemed the natural thing to do. Everyone went to synagogue and so I went along too. I have had a change in religious belief in the past year and a half. I believe that observances are not necessary and that a person doesn't need an institution for worship.

At the time of the survey in 1949, the great majority of the synagogues in both the Washington and Baltimore areas were Orthodox. During the seven years which followed, however, there was a change, particularly in the area of Washington. The Washington Jewish population underwent a relatively rapid movement to the suburbs, where there sprang up a number of large new congregations.¹⁰ Within the city limits of Washington there are, in 1956, ten Orthodox congregations, two on the borderline between Orthodox and Conservative, six Conservative and two Reform. Only two small recently organized Orthodox synagogues are even close to the borders of the District of Columbia, although three others are planning to move there.

In the suburban areas, Conservatism gained considerable strength within a short period of time and has become by far the dominant group, with Reform the next in size. Of the ten congregations in the Washington suburbs, eight are Conservative and two are Reform.

The centrifugal movement of population has made the Conservative group the largest in the entire area. It has been reliably estimated that the current membership of the Conservative synagogues is now about

¹⁰For a description of the postwar expansion of the synagogue, see Will Herberg's "The Postwar Revival of the Synagogue," Commentary, vol. IX, no. 4 (April 1950) and Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology (New York, Doubleday, 1955).

6,000 families, while the membership of the Orthodox and Reform congregations is less than half that figure.¹¹

In Baltimore, on the other hand, the religious picture is still very strongly Orthodox. In the entire area there are only three Conservative and five Reform synagogues, as compared with about 44 that are considered Orthodox.¹² While Baltimore has had a considerable movement of Jewish population toward the outskirts of the city, the shift to the suburbs has not been as pronounced as in Washington. Not more than ten percent of the Jewish population of the Baltimore area is believed to be outside the city limits, in contrast to almost 50 percent for Washington. As a result, the gains made by the non-Orthodox groups in Baltimore have not been relatively as great as in the capital area, although similar tendencies are apparent.

The two young congregations outside the city are Reform and Conservative. Two of the three century-old Reform congregations have recently moved to the outskirts of the city, where they have been joined by another, newly organized Reform synagogue. The two Conservative synagogues within the city are now in the process of moving--one into a suburban area and the other to the outskirts. Within a short time there will remain only one non-Orthodox congregation in the "areas of second settlement."

Baltimore Orthodoxy too has been on the move, and several of its

¹¹This estimate is based upon figures obtained from the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington.

¹²The information on Baltimore was obtained from the Baltimore Jewish Council and the Board of Jewish Education.

synagogues have already located in the outlying portions of the city. The Orthodox group, therefore, is in a relatively stronger position than in most other cities in the United States.

Even though Orthodox synagogues have a smaller average membership than the non-Orthodox, the great majority of Baltimore synagogue membership is still within the Orthodox fold. An informed estimate gives the Orthodox congregations a total membership of approximately 9,000 families, the Reform 3,000, and the Conservative 2,000.

The religious composition of the Jewish community of the area in 1949 was reflected among the families of the Jewish freshmen. As was true generally, the majority of the students' parents also went to services in Orthodox synagogues. Of the 180 families, 108 attended an Orthodox synagogue, 32 a Conservative synagogue, 26 a Reform temple, and 13 none.

The preference of the students, however, for non-Orthodox, and especially Conservative, synagogue affiliation foreshadowed the trend of actual events in the Jewish community, particularly in and about Washington. The radical shift in religious alignment which that area has experienced in recent years has actually removed Orthodoxy from a position as the majority movement to that of a minority.

Among the students, only 56 of the 108 who attended Orthodox services preferred them, while 28 expressed a preference for Conservative services, 18 for Reform, and five for none. Among those who attended Conservative synagogues, 24 were satisfied, but six preferred Reform and two preferred none. Of the 23 who went to Reform services, only one would rather attend the Conservative synagogue, while two preferred none.

There appeared a slight reversal among the nine young people whose parents did not attend synagogue. Three of these preferred the Reform and one preferred the Conservative synagogue.

The trend evidenced among the student families--a major drift from Orthodoxy to Conservatism, and a slower movement from Conservatism to Reform--has its parallels not only in Washington but also in many other Jewish communities throughout the United States. In the main, the synagogues organized in the suburban areas of American cities during the years since World War II have been Conservative or Reform, with the former appearing in greater frequency. Only a small percentage are affiliated with Orthodoxy, and those are found mostly in the New York area.

Characteristics of Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Families

There is no significant difference in the ages of the fathers who consider themselves Orthodox, Conservative and Reform. The fathers of each group average about 50 years of age.

The country of birth, however, reveals a recognizable difference between the three groups. While almost two-thirds (62 percent) of the Reform fathers were born in the United States, less than half of the other fathers are native-born. (Table 51) Forty-five percent of the Conservative fathers and only 33 percent of the Orthodox fathers were born in this country.

About two out of three Orthodox fathers (65 percent) were born in Eastern Europe. Only 39 percent of the Conservative and 22 percent of the Reform fathers, on the other hand, were born in Russia and Poland.

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TABLE 51

COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FATHERS
OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Country of Birth of Father	Orthodox		Conservative		Reform	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	82	100	56	100	32	100
United States	27	33	25	45	20	62
Eastern Europe	53	65	22	39	7	22
Other	2	2	9	16	5	16

Of those whose country of birth was in Central Europe or elsewhere, only 13 percent are Orthodox, 31 percent are Reform, and the majority, 56 percent, are Conservative.

There is little difference in the period of immigration of the families of Orthodox and Conservative fathers. The mean date of arrival for both groups is about 1910. Seventy-six percent of the Orthodox and 69 percent of the Conservative immigrated during the period from 1900 to 1929. The Reform group, by contrast, arrived in the United States much earlier. Their mean year of immigration is 1897, and only 38 percent of them came during the years between 1900 and 1929.

Orthodox and Conservative fathers come generally from the same type of family. The distinguishing factor causing some individuals to leave Orthodoxy seems to be the extent of acculturation, as indicated by country of birth. For example, the families of those fathers who are Orthodox and those who are Conservative came to the United States about the same period. Within those families, however, the strongest tendency toward the Conservative movement is found among the American-born. Twenty-five of them are Conservative and 27 Orthodox. In the smaller group of 16 who came from Central Europe and other countries,

only a minority of two are Orthodox. Among those born in Eastern Europe, in contrast, only 22 have become Conservative, while 53 remain Orthodox.

Those parents who are Reform seem to be a separate group, since the overwhelming majority are American-born, and their families immigrated at an earlier period.

There is a slight difference in the percentage distribution of Orthodox, Conservative and Reform among those families which live in Baltimore and those in Washington. In the former city, 53 percent of the families are Orthodox, 28 percent Conservative, and 19 percent Reform. (Table 52) The Orthodox group from Washington is slightly smaller, 47 percent, the Conservative more numerous, 38 percent, and the Reform fewer, 15 percent.

TABLE 52

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF PARENTS
OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Parents Consider Themselves	Place of Residence					
	Baltimore		Washington		Elsewhere	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	94	100	47	100	29	100
Orthodox	50	53	22	47	10	35
Conservative	26	28	18	38	12	41
Reform	18	19	7	15	7	24

In the suburbs and other areas the Conservative group is the largest, with 12 out of 29 families. The difference between the size of the groups there is much less than in the two large cities. The Conservative families are 41 percent, the Orthodox 35 percent, and the Reform 24 percent of the total.

Differences between parents belonging to the three religious

groupings are evident also in occupational distribution. The higher level of general education among the fathers identified with Reform is reflected in a greater percentage of professionals--27 percent, as compared with eight percent for the Orthodox and 12 percent for the Conservative. (Table 53) On the other hand, the greatest concentration of the Orthodox fathers, 24 percent, is in retail grocery stores, in which are engaged 16 percent of the Conservative and none of the Reform. Of the nine craftsmen in the entire group, seven are Orthodox, and the other two are divided.

TABLE 53

OCCUPATION AND RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FATHERS OF
180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Occupation	Total		Orthodox		Conservative		Reform	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total	166*	100	75	100	51	100	30	100
Professionals	23	14	6	8	6	12	8	27
Proprietors: wholesale construction, manu- facturing, etc.	35	21	14	19	10	19	7	23
Proprietors: retail grocery stores	26	16	18	24	8	16		
Proprietors: other retail stores	39	24	15	20	16	31	7	23
Managers and officials ..	20	12	8	11	7	14	4	14
Salesmen and clerical workers	14	8	7	9	3	6	3	10
Craftsmen	9	5	7	9	1	2	1	3

*Data unavailable or unclassified for 14 fathers.

On the basis of the indices of economic status used in this study, the Reform families have attained an economic position which is considerably superior to that of the other groups. Eighty-three percent of the Reform families fall into the upper categories (A and B) on the Psychological

Corporation classification, as against only 55 percent for the other religious groups. (Table 54)

TABLE 54

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF PARENTS
OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Parents Consider Themselves	Total	Economic Group			
		A	B	C	D
Total	148	7	81	50	10
Orthodox	76	3	39	29	5
Conservative	49	2	25	18	4
Reform	23	2	17	3	1

On average monthly rental value of homes, the Reform families again rank highest. Thirty-five percent live in homes whose rental value is \$75 and over, in comparison with 25 percent of the Conservative and only 14 percent of the Orthodox. (Table 55) Only one Reform family is located in an under \$30 rental area, while Conservative and Orthodox have about the same percentage in this bracket--16 and 15. Only a slight economic advantage of Conservative over Orthodox families is indicated here.

TABLE 55

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION AND AVERAGE MONTHLY RENTAL VALUE
OF BLOCK OF HOME OF PARENTS OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Parents Consider Themselves	Total	Rental Value of Home					
		\$75 and over		\$30 - \$74		Under \$30	
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total	140	29		92		19	
Orthodox	73	10	14	52	71	11	15
Conservative	44	11	25	26	59	7	16
Reform	23	8	35	14	61	1	4

The differences in acculturation and economic status between the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform of this study are reflected to some degree in the size of their families. The Reform, who have been the longest in the United States and have made the greatest economic progress, have the smallest families, averaging 2.1 children, while the Conservative and the Orthodox each have 2.8 children on the average. (Table 56) No Reform family has more than four children, but 16 of the other families are larger, ranging from five to ten children.

TABLE 56

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION AND SIZE OF FAMILY OF FATHERS
OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Religious Identification of Father	Total	Average Number of Children	Number of Children									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Orthodox	82	2.8	5	38	19	11	6	1	1	1		
Conservative	56	2.8	9	22	15	3	4	1			1	1
Reform	31	2.1	8	14	7	2						

Because they are furthest removed from the immigrant generation, the Reform parents have the least knowledge of the Yiddish language. None of them speak it regularly in the home, while 56 percent never use the language. Forty-four percent speak Yiddish occasionally.

Among Orthodox families, on the other hand, there are only ten percent who never use Yiddish. Seventy-nine percent are occasional users, while 11 percent speak the language regularly.

In Conservative families, the knowledge of Yiddish is only slightly less than among the Orthodox. The 16 percent who never use the language are equaled by those who speak it regularly. The majority, 68 percent, are among those who speak Yiddish occasionally.

The parents who are most interested in giving their children an intensive Jewish education are the Orthodox. Among them 67 percent of the children attend Hebrew school, as against 55 percent for the Conservative and 31 percent for the Reform. (Table 57) Moreover, the average duration of Hebrew school education in Orthodox families is greater, averaging 5.0 years, in comparison with 3.4 among the Conservative and 3.3 among the Reform.

TABLE 57

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF CHILDREN
FOR PARENTS OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN
1949

Parents Consider Themselves	Total	Hebrew School			Sunday School			Private Teacher		
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Average Duration	Num- ber	Per- cent	Average Duration	Num- ber	Per- cent	Average Duration
Orthodox	82	55	67	5.0	21	26	3.0	18	22	2.8
Conservative	56	31	55	3.4	24	43	3.5	16	29	1.9
Reform	32	10	31	3.3	19	59	6.2	5	16	1.0

In Sunday school education, with its shorter hours of instruction, we find Reform the leading group. Fifty-nine percent of their children attend the Sunday school, while the percentages for Conservative and Orthodox are 43 percent and 26 percent. Children of Reform parents attend for an average of 6.2 years, children of Conservative parents 3.5 years, and children of Orthodox parents 3.0 years.

Only 39 parents have given their children private religious instruction. Of that number, 18 are Orthodox, and the average duration of instruction is 2.8 years. Sixteen Conservative parents have retained private teachers, for an average of 1.9 years, while the remaining five parents are Reform, with an average of one year each.

Among the students who consider themselves Orthodox, Conservative

and Reform there is little difference in age. The arithmetic mean of their ages ranges from 18.8 to 19.0 years. However, the small group of 18 young people who do not identify themselves with any of the three groups are somewhat older, averaging 19 years and 10 months.

Inquiry into which students join fraternities and sororities shows that most of the young people from Reform families become members, but that fewer join from the other two groups. (Table 58) Fifty-six percent of the former join, as compared with 41 percent of the Conservative and only 24 percent of the Orthodox.

TABLE 58

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF PARENTS AND STUDENTS' MEMBERSHIP
IN FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES FOR 180 UNIVERSITY OF
MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Parents Consider Themselves	Total	Total		Male Students				Female Students			
		Members		Members		Non-Members		Members		Non-Members	
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total	170	61	24	30		80		31		29	
Orthodox	82	20	24	9	16	47	84	11	42	15	58
Conservative ..	56	23	41	9	28	23	72	14	58	10	42
Reform	32	18	56	12	55	10	45	6	60	4	40

In general the boys are much less likely to belong to social fraternities than the girls. Only 27 percent of the male freshmen join Greek-letter societies, while among the girls more than half join. Fifty-five percent of the boys from Reform homes have been accepted into membership, as compared with 28 percent from those from Conservative homes and only sixteen percent of those from Orthodox homes. Among the girls, all have a more equal opportunity. Over half of those from Reform and Conservative homes and even 42 percent of those from Orthodox homes join

sororities.

As noted earlier, many students prefer to identify themselves with a different Jewish religious group than that of their fathers. This trend is somewhat stronger among the fraternity and sorority members than it is in the general student body.

For example, among those who remained "independent," 40 percent of the children of Orthodox fathers no longer consider themselves Orthodox. Of the 20 from Orthodox homes who joined a fraternity or sorority, 11, or 55 percent, no longer call themselves Orthodox. (Table 59) As a result of the changed religious identification of the students, only 18 percent of the Orthodox are members of a fraternal group as compared with 41 percent of the Conservative, and 53 percent of the Reform.

TABLE 59

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION AND MEMBERSHIP IN
FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES OF 180
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH
FRESHMEN, 1949

Student Considers Himself	Total	Fraternity or Sorority Member	
		Number	Percent
Orthodox	45	8	18
Conservative	63	26	41
Reform	51	27	53

A Comparison of Observance

As might be expected, there is a clearly recognizable difference between the observance scores of fathers identified with each of the three branches of Judaism. The Orthodox have their largest concentration in class 2, the Conservative in class 4, and the Reform in class 5. (Table 60) Orthodox fathers have the highest average score on traditional

observance--2.7. (Table 61) Fathers who consider themselves Conservative are much less observant and average 4.0, while Reform fathers score 5.1.

TABLE 60

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE SCORES OF ORTHODOX, CONSERVATIVE AND
REFORM FATHERS FOR 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH
FRESHMEN, 1949

Parents Consider Themselves	Total	Religious Observance Category of Father						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total	165	4	51	18	37	33	19	3
Orthodox	75	4	45	8	10	4	3	1
Conservative	53		5	10	21	12	5	
Reform	31				6	16	9	
None	6		1			1	2	2

TABLE 61

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE SCORES OF ORTHODOX, CONSERVATIVE AND
REFORM FOR THE FAMILIES OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Parents Consider Themselves	Average Score of Fathers	Average Score of Students Before College	Average Score of Students at College
Orthodox	2.7	3.4	3.8
Conservative	4.0	4.0	4.6
Reform	5.1	5.1	5.1
None	5.5	5.2	5.7

All these scores are far removed from the standards of observance taught by each of the three movements to which the fathers nominally adhere. As was noted above, the norms of observance of both Orthodoxy and Conservatism fall in class 1 (with only one or two exemptions), while that of Reform requires additional practices beyond the minimum needed for class 4. Orthodox fathers are required to observe strictly all the traditional practices. Those who are Conservative are expected

to be almost as observant, although they may eat in a non-kosher restaurant, and they may put on lights and ride to synagogue on the Sabbath. Reform Judaism asks of its followers that they observe the Sabbath and holidays by attending synagogue, that they eat matza and attend a Seder on Passover and that they fast on Yom Kippur.

The children of these families move even further toward decreased observance. While Orthodox fathers score 2.7, their children drop sharply to 3.4 before college and then decrease to 3.8 in college. Children of Conservative parents have the same average score before college as their fathers--4.0--and they also drop considerably in college, to 4.6. Those who come from Reform families show no perceptible change. Scores of both fathers and children remain at 5.1.

The effect of time is not only to diminish observance in each group but also to narrow the difference in observance scores between the two extreme groups. The difference of 2.4 classes between Orthodox and Reform fathers is narrowed by the students to 1.7 before college and 1.3 in college. The tendency is toward a greater similarity in the observance of all three religious groups.

The children of Orthodox parents tend to be considerably more observant before entering college than the youth of non-Orthodox families. Among the students of Orthodox parentage, moreover, those who also consider themselves Orthodox have the highest religious observance classification, averaging 3.0. (Table 62) Those who call themselves Conservative are less observant, with 3.4, and those who are Reform average 4.0. It seems here that the tendency to break away from the religious designation of the parents is greatest among those who have become less observant,

probably because they seek greater consistency between their practice and their religious identification.

TABLE 62

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE SCORES OF FATHERS AND STUDENTS ACCORDING
TO RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF BOTH FOR 180 UNIVERSITY OF
MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Fathers		Students			
Consider Themselves	Average Observance Score	Consider Themselves	Num- ber	Average Score Before College	Average Score at College
Orthodox	2.7	Orthodox	45	3.0	3.3
		Conserva- tive	21	3.4	3.8
		Reform	9	4.0	4.8
		None	6	5.5	
Conserva- tive	4.0	Conserva- tive	40	4.0	4.7
		Reform	13	3.8	4.3
Reform	5.1	Reform	29	5.0	5.0

The influence of a more observant home upon the student's observance is evident when we compare the students who consider themselves Conservative. Those from Orthodox homes average 3.4, while those from Conservative homes score only 4.0. Reform students coming from Orthodox and Conservative homes average 4.0 and 3.8, in contrast to those from Reform homes, who score 5.0.

There is little difference between children of Conservative parents. Those who also call themselves Conservative score 4.0, while the smaller number who are Reform average 3.8.

The new adherents to Conservatism and Reform who have come from the ranks of Orthodoxy and Conservatism help also to raise the average observance scores of those groups. Some influence from the home is still

at work to make these students more observant than the group with which they now identify themselves.

The fathers of the students who consider themselves Orthodox are considerably more observant than the other fathers. In other words, the student who remains Orthodox is not only more observant himself but also comes from a home that practices more of the traditions than does the home of the student who changes his identification. The average observance score of the fathers of the Orthodox students is 2.6, that of the fathers of the Conservative students is 3.6, of the Reform 4.2, and of the unaffiliated 5.4. (Table 63)

TABLE 63

FATHER AND STUDENT OBSERVANCE SCORES ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF STUDENT FOR 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH STUDENTS, 1949

Student Considers Himself	Fathers		Student Before College		Student At College	
	Average Score	Differ- ence	Average Score	Differ- ence	Average Score	Differ- ence
Orthodox	2.6		2.9		3.3	
		1.0		.9		1.0
Conservative	3.6		3.8		4.3	
		.6		.7		.5
Reform	4.2		4.5		4.8	
		1.2		1.1		1.0
None	5.4		5.6		5.8	

Table 63 shows also that there is a progressive decrease in observance from the fathers to their children at college for each of the groups, with the high school period serving as an intermediate stage. The Orthodox students undergo a moderate decrease in observance before college--from their fathers' average of 2.6 to 2.9. In college they drop further, to 3.3. Those freshmen who are Conservative experience a similar

change--from 3.6 to 3.8 and to 4.3 in college. Among the Reform students the trend is again the same--from 4.2 for the fathers to 4.5 before college and 4.8 in college.

The total amount of change for Orthodox students is .7, for Conservative students .7, and for Reform .6. Each group decreased its observance by approximately the same extent in terms of observance categories during the period covered by the study.

CHAPTER XII

FACTORS RELATED TO FATHERS' RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE

Among the background factors in this study, there is none which bears a simple, straight-line relationship to traditional observance. The correlation coefficient of the fathers' observance scores and the length of time their families have been in the United States is only $-.22$. Age of father and his religious observance also give a negative correlation of $-.13$. Economic status of the home and father's observance result in a correlation coefficient of $-.14$, while rental value of home gives a correlation of $-.30$. On the basis of these figures, consequently, there is no justification for concluding that an invariable relationship exists between religious observance and any of these factors.

Nevertheless, some relationships do appear upon further analysis of the parent group. Greater acculturation to American society results in a tendency to discard traditional religious observance. For example, the fathers who were born in the United States have a mean observance score of 4.1, as compared with an average of 3.2 for the fathers born in Eastern Europe. (Table 64)

TABLE 64

COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE SCORE OF FATHERS
OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Country of Birth	Total	Average Score	Religious Observance Category						
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
United States	75	4.1	1	14	5	21	22	11	1
Eastern Europe	79	3.2	3	34	12	14	9	5	2

Differences between the East European and the American born are greatest among the fathers who consider themselves Orthodox. The average observance score of the American born Orthodox father is 3.0, in contrast to 2.3 for those who came from the countries of Eastern Europe. (Table 65) Among Conservative and Reform parents the scores are more similar--4.2 and 3.9 for the former, and 5.2 and 4.8 for the latter.

TABLE 65

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION, COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND RELIGIOUS
OBSERVANCE SCORES OF FATHERS OF 180 UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Country of Birth of Father	Orthodox		Conservative		Reform	
	Num- ber	Average Score	Num- ber	Average Score	Num- ber	Average Score
United States	25	3.0	24	4.2	20	5.2
Eastern Europe	48	2.3	21	3.9	6	4.8

The earlier arrivals to the United States tend to be somewhat less observant on the average than more recent immigrants. Those who came before 1900 have a mean score of 4.0, while the ones who came from 1900 to 1929 have a higher observance score of 3.3. (Based upon Table 66.)

TABLE 66

OBSERVANCE SCORE AND PERIOD FAMILY IMMIGRATED TO THE UNITED
STATES FOR FATHERS OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Father's Observance Score	Total	Period Father's Family Came to the United States								
		1930 -1949	1920 -1929	1910 -1919	1900 -1909	1890 -1899	1880 -1889	1870 -1879	1860 -1869	Before 1860
Total	146	5	16	32	48	26	10	4	1	4
1	4			1	3					
2	47	3	6	15	14	6	3			
3	17		2	3	7	3	1		1	
4	35	1	5	6	11	7	4			1
5	24	1	1	3	7	4	2	4		2
6	16		2	2	5	6				1
7	3			2	1					

Among the Orthodox fathers also there is a tendency for those who have been in this country a longer time to be less observant of Jewish traditions. Members of Orthodox families which came to the United States between 1900 and 1929 average 2.6 in observance scores, in comparison with 3.4 for those whose families arrived before 1900.

One measure of acculturation in immigrant families is the extent to which English replaces the former native tongue. Among the fathers of the University of Maryland freshmen, the least acculturated are probably those who usually speak Yiddish. In this group the average observance score is 2.7, which is fairly high. (Table 67) The fathers who never use Yiddish, in contrast, are much less observant, averaging 4.6.

TABLE 67

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE AND USE OF YIDDISH BY FATHERS OF 180
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Father's Use of Yiddish	Total	Average	Religious Observance Score						
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Usual	19	2.7	1	11	2	3	2		
Never	38	4.6		5	2	8	14	8	1

Filial piety plays a part in slowing down the effects of acculturation upon the observance of the parent generation. Some Jews continue to observe kashruth in their homes out of deference to their parents and attend synagogue services more often on their account. In the presence of the grandparents, also, they will tend to avoid actions on the Sabbath which would be contrary to the teaching and example of the older people.

In the University of Maryland sample, the 16 families (nine per cent) which have one or more grandparents living with them are slightly

more traditional than the remainder of the parent group. These 16 fathers have an average observance score of 3.25, in comparison with 3.73 for the entire group of fathers.

Whenever grandparents are mentioned in an interview, their influence is always in the direction of greater observance. This influence is relatively stronger when the grandparent lives in the student's home, but is felt also when a grandparent resides in the vicinity. Conversely, when the grandparents die or the family moves away, there is generally evident greater freedom in religious practice.

The observances relating to the Sabbath and to food are of particular concern to the older generation. One family, for example, "Kept the Sabbath when grandmother was around." A second student says, "When we lived with my grandparents we kept the dietary laws. When we moved to Washington we began eating non-kosher meat and broke the dietary laws." A third student explains:

We stopped keeping a kosher home when grandmother moved away four years ago. We still keep kosher dishes for her when she visits. The family used to obey her wishes as far as not lighting the oven and cooking on the Sabbath are concerned. Her wishes never changed the family observance on other matters.

One boy attended synagogue services only when visiting his grandparents. A girl used to refrain from riding on the High Holydays out of respect for her grandmother. In one home, "Jewish tradition was stronger when my grandfather lived. Since he died, observance has slackened a little." And in a family which has retained only a few peripheral practices, "the observances we keep are because grandmother desires it."

Sometimes, however, the influence of the grandparents is only nominal and not real. For example, one student asserts, "we used to go

to see my Orthodox grandmother on Saturday and park the car a couple of blocks away from her house." Another student, who gave up the dietary laws upon entering college, has kept the change a secret from his grandparents, although his parents are aware of his actions.

There is some indication that families which are on a higher economic level tend to be slightly less observant than the families which are poorer. Comparison of the most observant group, classes 1 and 2, with the middle group, classes 3, 4 and 5, and the unobservant classes 6 and 7, shows a steadily rising economic status. The first group has only 55 percent who fall into economic groups A and B; the second group has 65 percent in the higher economic brackets, and the last group has 74 percent. (Based upon Table 68.)

TABLE 68

OBSERVANCE AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF FATHERS OF 180 UNIVERSITY
OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Father's Observance Score	Total	Economic Status of Home			
		A	B	C	D
Total	147	7	85	45	10
1	4		4		
2	45	1	22	17	5
3	15	1	5	8	1
4	37	3	26	7	1
5	27		16	8	3
6	17	2	10	5	
7	2		2		

Similar results were obtained when the parents were divided into three groups on the basis of the rental value of their homes--\$75 and over, \$30 to \$74, and below \$30. Of those living in the most expensive homes, only 12 percent are in the top observance classes (1 and 2). (Based upon Table 69.) Twenty-eight percent of the middle rental group

are very observant, while the low rental group includes 33 percent. Conversely, among the unobservant Jews (classes 6 and 7) the percentages who fall into those three rental groups are 23 percent, eight percent and six percent respectively. Here also, there appears a tendency for the more observant Jews to be less endowed with worldly goods.

TABLE 69

OBSERVANCE AND RENTAL VALUE OF HOME OF FATHERS OF 180
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Father's Observance Score	Total	Monthly Rental Value of Home								
		\$100 and over	\$75 -99	\$50 -74	\$40 -49	\$30 -39	\$25 -29	\$20 -24	\$15 -19	Under \$15
Total	141	14	19	49	18	21	7	8	2	3
1	4			1		1	1			1
2	44	1	5	9	7	13	2	4	2	1
3	13	1	1	5	2	2	1	1		
4	34	6	5	15	5	1		2		
5	28	3	5	13	2	1	3	1		
6	15	3	2	5	2	3				
7	3		1	1						1

The tendency just observed is very clear among the Orthodox. Eighty-three percent of the poorer Orthodox families, i.e. those living in rental areas under \$50, are very observant, while only 45 percent of the families whose homes rent for over \$50 fall into observance classes 1 and 2. (Table 70) Only 11 percent of the poorer families are found in the middle three observance classes, in comparison with 48 percent for the wealthier families. In Conservative and Reform families, on the other hand, there is no correspondence between lower economic status and greater observance.

TABLE 70

OBSERVANCE AND RENTAL VALUE OF HOME OF 77 ORTHODOX FATHERS
OF UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Monthly Rental Value of Home	Total	Religious Observance Categories					
		1 - 2		3 - 5		6 - 7	
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
\$50 and over	31	14	45	15	48	2	7
Under \$50	36	30	83	4	11	2	6

Among the various occupational groups, the grocers appear to be the most traditional, with an average observance score of 3.2. In order of lesser observance there follow the proprietors of other retail stores and the salesmen and clerical workers, each with 3.5; the managers and officials, and the proprietors of wholesale, construction and manufacturing business, with 4.1, and lastly the professionals, with 4.3.

The type of Jewish community in which a family lives also seems to have an influence upon religious observance. As was noted in the previous chapter, the Jews of Baltimore are concentrated residentially in the "areas of second settlement," in contrast to the situation in Washington, where a much larger proportion live scattered in the suburbs and in the outskirts of the city. The traditional religious institutions in Baltimore are stronger and more effective than in Washington, with its large percentage of newcomers from many cities throughout the United States.

These differences between the two cities are reflected in the religious practices of the families with children at the University of Maryland. The Baltimore parents, on the average, are considerably more observant than those of Washington. Three of the Baltimore fathers,

for example, fall into the strictly observant class 1, but none of the Washingtonians. (Table 71) Forty-two percent of the former are included in classes 1 and 2, in contrast to only 17 percent of the latter.

TABLE 71

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE SCORES OF FATHERS OF 140 JEWISH
FRESHMEN WHO RESIDE IN WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE, 1949

Religious Observance Category	Residence			
	Baltimore		Washington	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total	93		47	
Average score	3.4		4.3	
1	3	3	0	0
2	36	39	8	17
3	10	11	3	7
4	19	20	15	32
5	18	19	10	21
6	6	7	10	21
7	1	1	1	2

At the other extreme, the residents of the District of Columbia have more in the two least observant categories--23 percent, as against only eight percent. The average observance score of the two groups differs by almost an entire class--3.4 for Baltimore and 4.3 for Washington.

The difference in observance between the two cities is due to two factors--the slightly greater percentage of Orthodox families in the Baltimore community and (more important) the higher degree of observance found among them than among the adherents to Orthodoxy in Washington. In Baltimore, 53 percent consider themselves Orthodox as compared with 47 percent in the latter city. The Conservative movement claims 28 percent of the Baltimore families and 38 percent of the Washingtonians,

while Reform has 19 percent and 15 percent respectively.

The Reform and Conservative Jews who reside in the Maryland metropolis vary little in observance from their counterparts in the national capital. Among Orthodox Jews, however, there is a considerable difference. The Baltimore fathers have an average score of 2.4, while those in Washington average only 3.7. (Table 72) The higher observance level shown here for Baltimore Orthodoxy is altogether in keeping with the reputation of Baltimore Jewry as one of the most traditional Jewish communities in the United States.

TABLE 72

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION, PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND OBSERVANCE
SCORES FOR FATHERS OF 132 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH
FRESHMEN, 1949

Father Considers Himself	Baltimore		Washington	
	Number	Average Observance Score	Number	Average Observance Score
Orthodox	48	2.4	18	3.7
Conservative	24	3.9	18	4.2
Reform	18	5.1	6	5.2

CHAPTER XIII

INFLUENCES UPON STUDENT OBSERVANCE

Introduction

The further weakening of the traditional Jewish way of life in the student generation is reflected in the interviews with the Maryland freshman even more than in the questionnaires. The latter has shown the drifting away from traditional observance which has taken place in the course of this generation. But the more serious weakness in the ideological underpinnings, in the motivations which impel observance, comes to light only in the personal interview with the student. At that time there is an opportunity to probe for the values which influence his decisions and guide his actions. Only in this way can the researcher begin to understand the "why" in addition to the "what."

Upon reading the interviews one is immediately struck by the infrequent appearance of strong faith.¹ In most cases there cannot be found the powerful internal motivation to practice the traditions which Jews had in previous generations. The students' forebears believed that observance is the will of God and that every Jew is duty-bound to conduct his life in accordance with that will, as concretized in traditional

¹A similar tendency, although not so marked, is seen in other studies of college students. Among a sample of post-war students at Harvard and Radcliffe, for example, it was observed that half of the students who, in some sense, led religious lives did so without firm doctrinal convictions. Gordon W. Allport, James M. Gillespie, and Jacqueline Young, "The Religion of the Post-War College Student," The Journal of Psychology, vol. 25 (1948), 24.

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Upon reading the interviews one is immediately struck by the infrequent appearance of strong faith.¹ In most cases there cannot be found the powerful internal motivation to practice the traditions which Jews had in previous generations. The students' forebears believed that observance is the will of God and that every Jew is duty-bound to conduct his life in accordance with that will, as concretized in traditional

¹A similar tendency, although not so marked, is seen in other studies of college students. Among a sample of post-war students at Harvard and Radcliffe, for example, it was observed that half of the students who, in some sense, led religious lives did so without firm doctrinal convictions. Gordon W. Allport, James M. Gillespie, and Jacqueline Young, "The Religion of the Post-War College Student," The Journal of Psychology, vol. 25 (1948), 24.

Jewish law. In our time most Jews, whether Reform or nominally Conservative or Orthodox, do not accept in practice the binding quality of that law. While the two latter groups officially uphold Jewish law, only a minority of their followers pattern their lives in accordance with its dictates.

Nor have the modern interpretations of Jewish religion been effective in supplying an adequate motivating force for intensive observance and in arousing enthusiasm for ritual. Despite the current growth in synagogue membership and activity, the process of deterioration in the structure of Jewish observance shows no signs of being reversed.

If a person's values may be judged by the choices he makes from among alternative courses of action, there is justification in measuring the intensity of a Jew's faith by the sacrifices he is willing to make for it. In the freshman group it is evident that the belief in the values which underlie traditional observance has been weakened, since few of the students are willing to make sacrifices in order to continue wide areas of that observance. No longer also does there exist the strongly knit Jewish community which, as in Eastern Europe, used to exert its unseen social pressure upon every individual member to conform to its norms of religious expression. As a result, the traditions of the Sabbath, daily prayer, kashruth, and the three festivals have given ground before the pressures and attractions of the non-Jewish community in which American Jews live.

At this period in the student's religious development there are three main influences affecting his religious faith and observance--the university, friends and parents. While his father and mother are the

most important external factors in shaping religious observance in the long run, a young person's entrance into college frequently marks the opening of a competitive struggle among those three forces.

Parents

Most of the credit for what the young people continue to observe is due to the parents. As was noted in Chapter X, the student's observance pattern continues to resemble that of his parents, despite the modifications which time, experience and changing environment bring with them. The correlation of freshman religious observance scores with those of their fathers gives a figure of .69, which is a higher correlation than with any other factor in this study. When the student was still in high school and not yet subject to the influences of the University, the correlation was even greater--.77. In terms of the popular saying, "The apple does not fall far from the tree."²

Parental influence is evident also when students who reside at home and those who live in College Park are compared. Forty-one percent of those who live in the University community drop into a lesser observance class during their freshman year, as compared with only thirty-one percent of the commuters. Moreover, those who are away from their families tend to discard relatively more practices than do the others.

There are numerous indications in the interviews that home influence and parental pressure are responsible for a great portion of the

²"Students trained in religion," say Allport, Gillespie and Young, "find that they need religion more often than do others. . . . early training is likely to be the principal [but not decisive] psychological influence upon an individual's later religious life." *Ibid.*, 11.

students' observance. As one student puts it, "Most young people attend synagogue because their parents want them to." Other students state:

My father always wanted me to go to synagogue with him every week, and I decided to do it once in a while."

I keep Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur out of respect for my father.

I don't do some things because my mother forbids them."

At home I don't smoke on the Sabbath out of respect for my parents. I have always smoked outside. On Yom Kippur I don't handle money or ride out of respect for my folks.

I keep Passover because my parents request it.

The observances I keep are done from habit and tradition rather than from real religious motives. They were carried on by my grandmother and mother, and I'll do them, too.

When I was a child my parents asked me to go to services on Saturday in order to be able to go to the movies in the afternoon.

I attend synagogue when my father puts the pressure on me, but it doesn't mean anything to me. I can take it or leave it.

If I were far away from home I might be less religious, but I am still close to home and can maintain home ties. Here at Maryland the majority of the students are close enough to home to retain their home standards.

When the family changes its observance the young person generally changes also. One interviewee states it thus:

The family was more religious until two years ago. Since then our observance of the holidays has been much less. When my father, who is quite an old man, retired and stopped attending Shul, I did too. What really decided me was my parents' not attending. We observed Passover until two years ago. There was sickness in the family and we didn't hold a Seder. We never seemed to continue it again.

In addition to direct parental influence, some students credit their religious standards to their effective upbringing. One young man asserts:

I don't feel that anything can or will change my observance very much. If I were going to change I would have done so already. My pattern of upbringing and beliefs is very strong.

Sometimes the fear of parental objection causes young people to keep their changed observances a secret. One girl says, "I felt funny about writing on the Sabbath. I knew my father would object and so I didn't tell him."

On occasion students may hesitate temporarily before committing what their parents would consider a violation of Jewish law.

My violations of Shabbos and kashruth started about the age of 14. I felt a little guilty at first and hesitated because of my training.

I ate pork before college. I have no objection, but my father wouldn't want me to eat it. I try to avoid it when I eat in a drug store but will eat it if nothing else is available.

The influence of parents may cause a postponement of desired changes in observance. There are cases, for example, in which the change in college is the result of changes in attitude and belief which occurred earlier. It is the removal from parental presence and control which gives the student an opportunity at that time to discard some of the observances he no longer wishes to keep. When father and mother are not in evidence to remind, urge or disapprove, it is easier for the child to give up religious practices, particularly synagogue attendance and staying out of school on the holidays.

Some of the explanations clearly reflect this situation:

College gave me a chance to act under no compulsion, parental or otherwise. It gave me a chance to act as I wanted. My actions may even have been a rebellion against parental influence. There has been a sharp decline in my observance.

In high school I used to stay home on every holiday because of my parents' influence.

At home I stayed away from school because my mother is religious.

My observance is slightly less because I am away from home.

Through a lack of parental influence Jewish students tend to be more lax in college.

When at home I would not turn on lights on Shabbos because my parents would not allow it.

Quite frequently, however, we find parents giving at least tacit approval to changed observance, especially when it occurs away from home. Following are some typical comments:

My father did not try to stop me.

My parents let me do what I want.

My father said it was up to me and I should do what I thought was right.

My going to classes on Saturday had no effect on my parents or grandparents because they are 'hepped up' about my pre-dental studies.

My parents did not discourage me from going to dances on Friday night although they do not go out then.

My parents didn't like my eating pork, but they realized it was necessary.

I kept Passover as long as possible. Mother realizes I cannot do it at college. Mother also said it was all right to go to classes on the second day of Rosh Hashanah.

In many of the above cases the parents' belief in the necessity and importance of observance, no less than that of their children, is weak and unable to withstand pressure. The parents themselves, moreover, show a willingness to surrender to "necessity", at times without even a struggle. Although many parents, for example, prefer and encourage the students to stay out of school on the three festivals, only 15 percent of the fathers themselves do not go to work on those

days. As a result, parental influence is weakened further by parental example.

That children generally do not long remain more observant than their parents is shown in these illustrations:

Dad had to work on Saturday. Since my sixteenth birthday I have gradually gotten out of the habit of going to Shul and laying tefillin because I went to work.

I now handle money and write on Saturday because I started working in my parents' store.

The Jewish Religious Community

It has become generally accepted in Jewish life that observance of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur is the irreducible minimum for those who retain any vestige of loyalty to the Jewish religion. Even many who consider themselves irreligious feel impelled to attend synagogue and to fast on the Day of Atonement. As one student explains:

I keep these holidays to make myself a better Jew. I fast on Yom Kippur because I feel it's the least I can do when I don't keep other holidays. The Day of Atonement was meant to be kept not only by pious Jews but by irreligious ones too.

Of all observances covered in this study, the influence of the Jewish religious community reaches its peak in relation to the High Holydays. Only in this area is the community able to exert social pressure effectively enough to reach the great majority of Jewish families. Among the fathers of the Maryland freshmen, for example, 85 percent go to the synagogue on Rosh Hashanah, 86 percent attend on Yom Kippur, and 74 percent observe the fast. Moreover, the parents do not go alone. Mothers and fathers go to synagogue together with their children, or else the young people go with their friends.

Both the important place of these holy days and the force of community pressure are indicated in student comments:

I fast on Yom Kippur because it seems that all Jews do. It's only one day a year. There's no reason why I can't do it too.

I fast on Yom Kippur. I feel that I should. I feel that it is the most important day of all.

My family stays away from school because 'you are supposed to.'

We stayed away from school because 'you are supposed to', but I can't give any rational reason.

My friends and I always went to synagogue.

I didn't ride because the other girls didn't ride. I fasted because others did.

During the years of high school these influences remain firm, and there is little falling away from observance. In that period only 1 percent of the students give up attendance at synagogue on Rosh Hashanah and 2 percent on Yom Kippur. An additional 2 percent do not observe the occasion at all. In fasting, on the other hand, there is an increase of 2 percent over the figure for the fathers, while 3 percent observe two days when their fathers observe only one.

As soon as the student goes to college, however, there is some weakening of the influence of the community.

Rosh Hashanah seems to suffer more in this respect than Yom Kippur, which is surrounded by an atmosphere of relatively greater sanctity. As one freshman comments, "I feel that Yom Kippur is more important than Rosh Hashanah."

Six percent of the students drop the observance of one day of Rosh Hashanah, usually the second, while they continue to observe the other. In the comments the motives are quite clear:

I find it more difficult to stay away from school. Now I go to Shul only on the most important day. On the second day I went to class. All my friends went too.

I didn't want to miss classes, mostly labs. The classwork would be difficult to make up.

I attend classes on the second day except for unimportant sessions.

A lot of people observed only one day, so Mother said it was all right to go to classes on the second day.

I went to an important class one day but went home the second day and attended synagogue. I did not attend classes on Yom Kippur.

In some cases, however, the changed environment away from home is sufficient to undermine the basis for observance of all types. Five percent of the freshmen discard all observance of the New Year as soon as they find themselves in the University, so that now there are 12 percent in this category. One student argues:

I went to classes on Rosh Hashanah because I can't afford to miss them. Every day I miss in college is detrimental. I didn't see the sense of going back to Baltimore and wasting all that time. Also, I couldn't see the sense of breaking one law to observe another.

Changes occur in the observance of Yom Kippur also, but they are relatively minor. Eighty-seven percent remain home from school in comparison with 89 percent before college. There is a 2 percent decrease in synagogue attendance also, which now accounts for 82 percent, while 1 percent give up fasting. The students say:

I attended synagogue on Yom Kippur in high school but not now. My friends don't go now.

I used to be strict on the High Holydays except for money. Now I only fast on Yom Kippur. I went to school because I think it more important.

In high school I didn't ride because the other girls didn't ride. It wasn't because of my own beliefs. After I came to college I didn't fast. I didn't want to be hypocritical. I saw no reason for fasting.

I went to classes on Yom Kippur but said Yizkor (memorial prayer for the dead) here, alone. No one else was here. I thought about it and felt bad. But I couldn't afford to miss classes.

The Religious School

The religious school, which most of the students attended until they were about thirteen years of age, often has an influence in the direction of increased observance, particularly in synagogue attendance and holiday observance. However, only an insignificant percentage of Jewish young people continue their Jewish education throughout the high school years, so that the influence of the Hebrew school and its teachers no longer is felt by the beginning of the college career.

We haven't kept Succoth for some years, although I used to go to Shul when I went to Hebrew school.

Until we moved away from our old neighborhood things were fine. My Sunday School teachers influenced me. I used to keep the Sabbath and holidays. Then we moved. And now I have put it away. Sometimes I wish I hadn't. I have forgotten how to pray.

On the other hand, a reaction against the old-fashioned Hebrew school (the Cheder) is expressed in some of the comments.

I had an autocratic seven years in Cheder. I wouldn't want my kids to go there. I still feel bad when going to Shul because of Cheder memories. When I was bar mitzvah I just quit most Shul activities.

Some of the Orthodox and Conservative religious schools influence their older male students to pray daily with tefillin. In such schools the aim is achieved through the means of a tefillin club, which

meets to pray together on Sunday mornings. However, after a year or two the influence of the club and the school usually wanes, and the practice is discarded. In few cases is there either the paternal example or the strong internal motivation which are necessary to counteract the influence of inertia and the attraction of other methods of spending those precious minutes in the early morning.

One boy tells us, "I used to lay tefillin until a half year after bar mitzvah. I gave it up gradually because it seemed like too much trouble and interfered with morning classes in school." Another continued until a year before college but stopped because of "early morning classes in high school. He adds, "I have no time now either, but I plan to go back to tefillin when I have time." A third young man prayed with tefillin each morning even at college, but then "got 8:00 A.M. classes. It was too hard to get up an extra half-hour earlier."

The B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation

Although no question was asked on the subject, a number of students mention the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation as a force helping to conserve religious observance. The Foundation presents Sabbath and holiday services, the Kosher Supper Club, kosher Passover meals and a variety of programs intended to convey to the students an understanding and appreciation of their Jewish heritage. In addition, the Hillel Director teaches the accredited Hebrew courses at the University.

One girl states:

I have really come to the point where I enjoy services at Hillel. I am now able to follow them better because I am studying Hebrew at the University.

Others offer a variety of comments:

Hillel services are good because they offer students a chance to have some contact with religion.

Hillel helps in that it tends to remind the student of his Jewishness.

I attend services on Friday evening at Hillel when my fraternity sponsors them.

I would like to attend services at Hillel but it's too inconvenient. I have no one to go down the hill with.

One good thing is Hillel, which keeps the Jewish students together.

I think that being around Rabbi G. might affect me in the direction of more observance.

A talk with Rabbi G. did change some of my opinions on Judaism.

On the other hand, several students say:

I eat in the University cafeteria because the Hillel House is too far to walk.

I would have eaten at the Hillel House on Passover, but I didn't know about it until too late.

I do not attend Hillel services because I don't care for services using both Hebrew and English. I like them just in Hebrew.

The only students who succeed in maintaining kashruth are those who eat their main meal either at home or at the Hillel Kosher Supper Club. The Supper Club, which is operated on a non-profit basis as a religious service to the Jewish students, serves kosher meals each weekday evening throughout the school year.

Several students testify:

A boy who eats at the Supper Club remains religious. I went to supper with one of them, and he took me to a kosher restaurant.

I ate in the dining hall with girl friends on the first day of school. But I do not eat meat there. I tried to get excused from the dining hall but could not. I have my suppers at the Hillel Supper Club.

The Hillel Supper Club is good for the real religious boys.

The University

The most frequent change since the student entered the University, one which is discussed in 47 of the interviews, is in attendance at classes on Jewish holidays. In the last year of high school, as many as 42 percent of the Jewish students had absented themselves from classes on Succoth, but during the freshman year at college only 9 percent did not attend classes. On Passover 50 percent used to stay out of school for the entire holiday, while only 17 percent do so now. As many as one-third of the freshmen, on the average, have discarded this observance, and now only a small number continue to remain out of school on the festivals.

In college the students tend to stress academic achievement more than they did previously. They feel the pressure for regular attendance which is exerted by the University through its limit upon unexcused absences and the greater difficulty in making up work that is missed. As a consequence, young people generally consider attending classes and preparing assignments more important than the observance of the three festivals.

On this subject student agreement is overwhelming and is often expressed in similar language:

I think that college is more important than the observance of Passover.

School and tests are more important than attending synagogue on the lesser holidays.

I do not consider the holiday important.

Getting through my pre-dental course with good marks is most important now.

I couldn't afford to miss classes.

I didn't think that I could miss the work.

The classwork would be too difficult to make up. I didn't hesitate because there was nothing I could do about it.

The importance of attending classes, due to the fear of falling behind, overshadows religious observance, in spite of previous practice.

I had no alternative.

It's difficult to make up the work. College doesn't make allowances for differences in religion.

School comes before religion.

To some extent this evaluation of the relative importance of the Jewish holidays in comparison with college work is applied to Rosh Hashanah also. Some students now observe only the first day and go to school on the second, while others go to school on both days. This year a total of 27 percent attended classes, in comparison with only 13 percent the year before.

The students say frankly:

I figured I was going to the University for a purpose and didn't want to miss six hours of class. I felt I would get more out of school than Shul.

I felt it very important not to miss one class in which I was not doing well. I was afraid that I would miss something I would need later on. Then I went to all my classes. Why be hypocritical? If I went to one, I might as well go to all.

A few young people have applied the same reasoning even to Yom Kippur, which they no longer observe in accordance with tradition.

I went to class on Yom Kippur because of an examination. I couldn't help myself.

Observance doesn't mean anything if it will do me damage.

In high school there was a much less serious attitude toward studies and regular attendance. The students comment:

In high school everybody stayed out on Passover.

There you get out of going to classes any way you can.

In high school I took off from school because I could get away with it.

Only six of the 47 students with whom this change was discussed showed serious concern or overt guilt feelings. They state:

I did feel somewhat funny because I had broken with the past.

I feel guilty at times for breaking past traditions by going to school on the holidays.

I was troubled because it was the first time I went to school on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

I did feel guilty. I felt I was doing something against what I was brought up in.

The things I do are the result of pressure by teachers.

I had qualms due to a feeling of disloyalty to my religion. But I decided that school work was more important. Once I made the break it was easy to continue further by going out and doing other things.

On the basis of the evidence presented thus far, the University appears as the dominant factor in the students' decision to cease observing the three festivals. It is clear also that this area of observance rests upon weak ideological underpinnings and is not supported by as strong parental and social pressure as are, for example, the High Holydays.

Another area of observance upon which the University exerts a clear-cut influence is the Jewish dietary laws. University regulations require all students who live in the permanent dormitories to pay for their meals at the dining hall. No one is excused from purchasing a dining hall card for any reason, religious or medical.

Those young people who wish to observe kashruth may do so by eating at the Kosher Supper Club conducted by the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation. Those dormitory residents who eat there, however, have an additional financial burden imposed upon them, since they also have to pay the University for meals which they do not eat. The only alternatives are to room in a house off the campus or in one of the University's temporary men's dormitories, which are converted barracks. Such living arrangements, however, are not generally considered convenient, comfortable or socially desirable.

The observant student who decides to live in a dormitory is confronted with a strong social pressure toward conformity. It appears to the freshman that everyone else eats in the dining hall, and he does not wish to be considered different. He fears that he might have to explain to roommates or friends why he does not do as they do and eat as they eat. It may also seem to be too much trouble to seek out the Hillel House, and so he allows conformity and inertia to score another victory over tradition.

As a result of these varied difficulties, financial and social, a number of students who have been accustomed to kashruth at home and who would prefer to continue the observance find themselves eating non-kosher food along with the non-Jewish majority at the University.

College life makes comparatively great inroads upon the small group who have withstood the temptations of their high school years.

In the earlier period, a minority of 32 percent did not eat pork products, 22 percent did not mix meat and milk, and 11 percent refrained from eating any non-kosher meat. During the freshman year there is a falling away in those observances of 4 percent, 5 percent and 5 percent respectively. As a result, the strictly observant are reduced by almost half.

Most of the lapses in dietary law observance occur as soon as the student begins to eat in the University Dining Hall.

I moved into the dormitory and was forced to buy a dining hall card. Since then I've eaten non-kosher meat. I have never done this before and felt guilty. I felt I was forced to do it, although I didn't like the idea.

I eat in the dining hall because I can't help myself, but I don't partake of pork products.

The reason I eat pork now is availability. It was offered and so I ate it.

I eat pork products because they are served in the dining hall. I didn't like it because of biological reasons--fear of disease. I ate because I had to eat lunch. Friends were with me. I did not feel guilty because I had eaten other non-kosher meat, though not pork, before.

Some students attempt to combine kashruth observance and eating all their meals at the dining hall, but they succumb in a short time.

At first I didn't eat meat and milk together, but then I got hungry and couldn't take it.

The first time I ate meat with milk was about the third week of school. I was in the dining hall with my roommate. I hesitated because I wasn't used to it.

Eating with groups in places other than the dining hall has also served to weaken the hold of the dietary laws.

Before college I did not eat non-kosher meat. I started as soon as I came out to college because I lived in a boarding house. The other girls in the house were with me, but they did nothing to encourage me to change. I felt no qualms and was not troubled about my parents. I still do not eat pork products.

I began eating in non-kosher places and eating non-kosher meat, milk with meat, and pork when I received an athletic scholarship which included meals. It would have meant an added expense to eat out. Also, there was no place nearby to eat three kosher meals a day. I ate with the fellow members of the track team, who are all non-Jews. It felt strange at first because I had never eaten non-kosher food before. My grandparents don't think I eat 'trafe'. My parents take it for granted.

In one case there was a growth of interest in the dietary laws at college, but that interest was short-lived. A young man who was unobservant says, "When I found out about kashruth I became interested. Later I decided that bacon was too good to give up."

The small number of freshmen who observed the Sabbath before they came to College Park feel keenly the effect of the University and its atmosphere. The 6 percent who did not write on the Sabbath are now 2 percent. The 3 percent who did not ride have become 1 percent, and the 2 percent who did not handle money are now 1 percent. Regular weekly attendance at synagogue services also drops from 8 percent to 2 percent.

The students describe their experiences:

I started working, writing, handling money and riding at the opening of the college year because school demands it. I do not work when I am at home. Since I did not do so in pre-college days I find it the natural thing not to work now. I feel no compunction. The changes are inevitable.

The first time I handled money on Shabbos was when I stayed over on Friday night and bought breakfast. Breakfast is served early in the dining hall, but I didn't want to get up that early. I had to eat, and so I bought breakfast. My girl friend was with me. It didn't seem like Sabbath. I forgot about it.

The first time I wrote on Shabbos was when I took a final exam. I felt funny.

I go to athletic contests on Friday night and Saturday as long as I don't have to ride or handle money.

Because of classes on Friday and Saturday I was unable to attend services regularly. When I am home I do not turn on lights on Shabbos as my parents would not allow it.

I had a final on Saturday. When I had to study on Friday night it didn't seem like Shabbos. I am used to seeing candles on Friday night or going to Hillel services.

Since coming to college all the days, including the Sabbath, seem alike.

During the first semester I had Saturday classes and could not go to Shul. Since then I've drifted away.

I used to go to synagogue a little more often with my father. Now I don't have much time to go. Usually I go about once a month--to the Hillel services or in the city.

Occasionally there is an instance which is in opposition to the trend, as in the case of the student who says, "I go to Friday night services at college, although I didn't go before college." The number of such freshmen, however, is not sufficient to reverse the trend.

The effect of the University is clear also in diminishing the observance of Passover. In high school, 67 percent of the young people did not eat bread during the holiday, while at college that figure is reduced by 14 percent. One-half of the students used to remain out of school for all eight days, but now hardly one out of every five does not attend classes.

The explanations of the freshmen are similar in tenor to those given by them in connection with other observances which are affected by college life:

I ate no matza here this year, only when I went home. Why? You can't get matza in the dining hall.

I ate bread on the last day. I could have bought matza but I didn't think of it. I would rather have kept Pesach, but I didn't feel bad about it. I attended classes because I couldn't afford to miss them.

At school I ate what was served to me. There is no need to keep Passover because it is very hard to, even though arrangements were made by Hillel.

I ate bread at my frat house and at a restaurant. I would have eaten at the Hillel House but didn't know about it until too late. I also attended school because I had exams. It was up to me. My parents let me do what I want.

At home I used to observe strictly but then I didn't eat in a cafeteria on Passover. Here I eat everything. It's too much trouble to observe when you're here alone without parental guidance. Even if you wanted to there wouldn't be an opportunity.

I kept Passover until I came to the University. Then I ate in the dining hall. It was more convenient to eat there than at Hillel. Also, it didn't make that much difference to me.

I go to the family Seder if I have nothing better to do.

The students generally are of the opinion that the influence of the University upon their observance has been negative. Statistically only 8 percent have a higher observance score in college as against 39 percent whose scores were lower. Only two young people feel that the effect of the University environment has been favorable.

They assert:

I think I've become more stubborn in my religious attitudes since I came to school. I haven't changed my beliefs. Maybe it's because I've seen others slip, and it's a reaction on my part.

At college I've developed a broader outlook. I have come to realize that religion is important. It makes you believe you're here for a purpose. What we feel in our hearts is important. But tradition keeps religions going and I want religion.

Some freshmen point to beneficial effects of college upon other aspects of their Jewishness.

I became more interested in the culture of the Jews and the meaning of the holidays. I developed a quest for knowledge and for a broadening of my views. I wondered what it means to be a Jew.

I've come to realize that I want close Jewish friends and I go out with them all the time.

The larger number, however, look upon the University as a combination of forces which act to break down religious observance:

I became less observant because I was not in my home surroundings and it was not possible to carry out the customs.

Coming to college has made me less observant. I now think that attending synagogue is less important than I did before. The environment here at college has caused me to think that all religious activity is less important.

College decreased my observance. I am not as strict as before. The reasons are school work, 'hitting the books', and fraternity influence, because of social functions on Friday night. I enjoyed going to Shul before college but now I have gotten away from it. School is too much on my mind. If I had a chance I would go. I think that Jewish students lose a lot of religious feeling upon coming to college.

As already noted, going off to the University gives some students an opportunity to act as they wish, without parental restraint. As one young man states, "College has given me a chance to act as I wanted. There has been a sharp decline in my observance."

Sometimes such actions are the continuation of a process of change which began in an earlier period.

My religious observance has been constantly undergoing change.

Changes started about three years ago. I gradually drifted away.

It came as a gradual change without my thinking about it.

I have had a change in religious beliefs during the past year and a half.

Changes in mental attitude are mentioned by many. In some cases, also, an attempt is made to analyze the influences causing the changes.

My interest has lessened as a result of college. The mere idea of ceremony or tradition seems a farce to me. I don't know of any specific influences which would account for it.

College leads to free-thinking rather than ritual observance.

I have had a change in religious belief during the past year and a half. I believe a person should worship as he sees fit. He does not need an institution.

A student who has dropped many observances states:

My philosophy of religion has changed. I have studied other religions and have broadened my outlook. My roommates are gentile and I have been to their church. Before coming to college I had an unshaken faith in the superiority of the Jewish religion. I still believe it best, but not as firmly.

The scientific ideas about religion presented in classes make one question.

My instructors in English have influenced me in the way I feel. Books I've read have also influenced me.

Now I have a new attitude toward religion. I've become irreligious, though not atheistic. It's due to talking to schoolmates a little older than I.

Five of the students express regret that they have departed from their earlier standards and express the hope of returning to observance after college, when circumstances might be more amenable.

I feel I've gotten away from religion. If I had more time or a more conducive environment I would be closer to religion. When college is over I will go back to my old practice of praying every morning and following the rituals, as that is the only contact I have with religion.

I feel less religious because of giving up the dietary laws and attending school on the holidays. After I graduate I hope to resume all the rituals I observed before entering.

It's possible that when I get a little older and a little more conservative I might get more religious.

I feel that I would be more religious if the situation around me were more conducive. It is very good to lead a religious life. Sometimes when I'm with friends who are very religious, I have a sense of guilt. I had the training to be religious but just don't observe.

Among the Jewish students there is apparent also a tendency either to deny that any change in observance has taken place or to term the change minor and insignificant. For example, 14 freshmen state during their interviews that they have not changed in college, despite the evidence of the questionnaires to the contrary. In one case, a student reports, "I don't think there has been much of a change," when in fact the student now works on the Sabbath, eats meat with milk, and goes to classes on the festivals. Such reactions give reason to believe that some young people harbor feelings of guilt, while others look upon the practices which they have discarded as inconsequential.

Although young Jews have less occasion for intimate living with non-Jews during their high school years and relatively fewer contacts with the working world, nevertheless the general non-Jewish environment has already exerted a destructive influence upon the religious observance of many students by the time they reach the University.

Most changes in my life occurred about the time I was 14½, when I held my first job. I was hungry at lunch and saw nothing I liked on the menu that was kosher. It troubled me at first, but after a few times it didn't bother me.

I felt that I was independent and could do what I wanted. Then I didn't see any reason why I shouldn't eat things I want. I also worked with all gentile people, and they influenced me some. When they went to a restaurant I felt I had to go along with the crowd.

My parents didn't know what was happening then, just as I didn't tell them when I started smoking. My mother was more

aware than my father. She said it was up to me. My father was more hurt by it. He was brought up in a more religious atmosphere than my mother.

I observed the Sabbath before I started to work. I played at dances. Religion did not enter into my decisions.

I never ate pork until I was in high school. I had qualms because I never had it at home. I ate in a cafeteria and only certain kinds of sandwiches were available. You ate them or you didn't eat anything. There was only one other Jew in a high school of 900 students.

Before I started working at the age of 13 I used to attend Shul on Saturday. When I did change it was a matter of convenience.

One young man, however, who went to school where he associated only with non-Jews says, "In military school I began to appreciate religion." Nevertheless, he did not become any more observant.

During a young person's high school years, American culture encourages him to think for himself. One result is a reaction, at least partial, against parental authority and a rebellion against some of the beliefs of the parents. In the Harvard-Radcliffe study, the median age for such rebellion was reported as $15\frac{1}{2}$ years for the men and $14\frac{1}{2}$ years for the women.³

Scholastic Aptitude and Achievement

This study does not indicate any clear relationship between intelligence and religious observance. The alleged aloofness of the more intelligent from organized religious life and expression is not evident in the Maryland freshman group. The correlation coefficient of the students' religious observance before college with their scores on

³Ibid., 16.

the American Council on Education Scholastic Aptitude Test is only .06, and at college it is only .04.

Comparison of the students in the upper 30 percent on the Scholastic Aptitude Test with those in the lowest 30 percent shows a negligible difference between the two groups. (Table 73) During their

TABLE 73

SCORES ON SCHOLASTIC APTITUDE TEST AND RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE
OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND JEWISH STUDENTS, 1949

Scores on Scholastic Aptitude Test	Percentage in observance categories			
	Before College		At College	
	1-3	5-7	1-3	5-7
Upper 30 percent	38	31	22	52
Lowest 30 percent	37	26	27	46

last year in high school the students with higher scholastic aptitude had 38 percent within the three most observant categories, as against 37 percent for those at the bottom of the aptitude scale. In the three least observant classes the former group comprised 31 percent and the latter 26 percent. When they come to college the difference between the two groups of students increases slightly. Those with higher aptitude scores have only 22 percent who are in the more observant categories, as against 27 percent, and they have 52 percent who fall in the least observant group against 46 percent for those with lesser scholastic ability.

An inquiry was also made into the relationship of observance and grades received in college. Here, too, no significant correlation appears, the coefficient being .02 before college and .09 at college.

A comparison was then made of the students whose marks for the freshman year averaged over 2.8 and those with grades of 2.0 or lower. (Table 74) It was found that the better students did not vary radically

TABLE 74

GRADE POINT AVERAGE IN FRESHMAN YEAR AND RELIGIOUS
OBSERVANCE OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
JEWISH FRESHMEN, 1949

Grade Point Average in Freshman Year	Percentage in Observance Categories			
	Before College		At College	
	1-3	5-7	1-3	5-7
Over 2.8	34	22	20	51
2.0 and lower	38	37	30	48

from the others when in high school. Thirty-four percent of those with high marks were in the upper three observance categories, as compared with 38 percent of the weaker students. On the other hand, only 22 percent of the first group fell within the three least observant categories, as against 37 percent of the latter group.

When the students come to college a change occurs. There only 20 percent of the better students are among the most observant, as against 30 percent of those with low grades. A smaller difference appears in the three categories of least observance, which include 51 percent of the better students and 48 percent of the weaker ones.

At the University the freshman who receive the highest grades tend to slacken in their observance more than other students. Among them 14 percent dropped out of the most observant group, as compared with 8 percent of the poorer students. At the other end of the scale,

many more of the better students dropped into the least observant group-29 percent, as against only 11 percent.

There seems to be evidence here of the influence of the University, which is stronger upon those who strive for success in their studies. They are regular in their attendance at classes, but become less regular in synagogue attendance.

Friends and Fraternities

The Maryland freshmen do not attribute to their friends very much direct influence upon their religious observance. Nevertheless, friends and roommates are mentioned in 35 interviews, frequently as the ones in whose company changes in practice were first made.

In only three cases are friends credited as the immediate cause of an increase, however slight, in observance. One young lady who lives in a small town which has no synagogue reports, "I went to Shul in Baltimore this Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. My roommate asked me if I wanted to go and I did. I enjoy going to Shul. I learned more of the ritual and became more interested in my religion."

A boy from a small town says, "Before entering college I did not go out with a Jewish crowd, but now I am in a fraternity and go out with Jews. I attended Shul on Rosh Hashanah in Baltimore where I hadn't before."

Another young man, who commutes daily, tells us, "I belong to B'nai B'rith Young Men, and as a result I occasionally go to Sabbath services on Friday night."

The removal of the influence of friends also has had an effect upon two students, and both of them have ceased attending synagogue on the High Holydays. They state:

Before coming to college, the friends I had influenced me to attend synagogue at least four times a year. In college that stimulus is lacking.

I observed when I was younger because it was the natural thing to do. Everyone went to synagogue and so I went along too. There was no pressure at home.

Another young woman gave up all observances connected with the High Holydays except for attendance at the synagogue. She explains, "I broke away from my old crowd when I came to college."

A few students assert that they became less observant despite the influence of friends. We learn:

No other friends changed.

I still have observant friends and date observant boys.

Most of my friends didn't attend school on Passover and Succos.

In at least 23 cases of decreased observance, however, the breach was made together with friends. Their presence, or similar action on their part, served as encouragement to the freshmen. One student observes:

I have seen group changes rather than individual break-away. Fellows in groups join frats, attend classes on holidays, etc. The idea to break away is implanted by seeing other fellows do it. There is an attitude of 'I can if they can.' One encourages the other.

Ten of these changes were in lessened observance of the three festivals. Typical comments are:

My friends also went to school.

Out here other students generally go to classes on the holidays. Most of my friends went to classes. I was not troubled.

My friends influenced me somewhat against observance.

Everyone else was going to classes.

Four students mention their friends in connection with observance of the High Holydays. Some of the comments are:

My friend attended school and so did I.

I was with my roommate. I ate and handled money. Most of my good friends are Reform and did attend classes. Some of those who didn't were at the University doing something else.

Changes in Sabbath observance were made in the company of friends by three of the freshmen.

I used to keep it while at Sunday School, but when away from my teachers my friends influenced me.

I went to dances and on dates on Friday night with friends.

I got lonesome and went to the movies with the other boys in the fraternity.

Kashruth is a type of observance which is particularly susceptible to social pressure, since dating and "going out" with friends usually involve eating in restaurants. Decreases in kashruth practices under such circumstances are described in the interviews:

I am strictly kosher at home but I now eat out. My gang eats at non-kosher places. Social reasons make it easier and better to conform.

I was eating with friends and a date. It didn't seem to bother me at first. Then I had a funny feeling for a while.

Friends and "gang" emerge as potent factors also in many of the changes which occurred before college in the observance of the Sabbath and dietary laws.

There was no change in college but there was in the last years of high school. I began to eat non-kosher food when I went out with friends that hung around the neighborhood.

Until I was seven or eight I stayed home and observed the Sabbath to some extent. Then I got in with a gang, went out with them, and gave it up. I started eating non-kosher food at the age of 14, also with the gang. I felt guilty because it was against the way I was taught and generally used to.

My parents are kosher at home. My mother lights candles and doesn't cook on Shabbos, but if she wants lights lit she asks me to light them. Business reasons kept them from carrying out the Orthodox tradition fully.

Although most of the changes occurred in the presence of friends or roommates, their influence is exerted by their presence and not by their words. The friends do not have to persuade or convince one to eat what is served.

I now eat non-kosher meat but not pork. It first happened at the start of school. I was with a crowd. They didn't say anything in so many words, but the group presence was encouraging. I hesitated somewhat and was a little troubled about the consequences because of past training. But I decided it would have to happen sooner or later. It was 'eat or starve.'

I started to eat all non-kosher food on the first day of school when I was with a roommate. I didn't like eating pork or milk and meat products together. It was like a physical sickness. My parents also didn't like it, but they realized it was necessary.

Before college I always ate at home. When I came to college I started eating non-kosher meat. It was with friends, but they said nothing to encourage it. I didn't feel right about it, but I didn't see any Jewish restaurants, and there were no eggs on the menu.

When I was in high school, the fellows used to go to Shul on Friday nights and then to dances. I was a member of the -- club. I first ate non-kosher food when the older boys in the club took me to Chinese places. They encouraged me to eat chow mein. I hesitated at first, but the other boys ate it and I ate it too. It didn't hurt, and so I continued. I used to keep Succoth too in my younger days, but as I grew up and saw that the other boys didn't observe it I stopped going.

I started going to dances on Friday evening about a year and a half ago. I decided to go because of the pressure of a school dance which everybody had to go to.

While the Jewish fraternities and sororities attend Hillel Sabbath services on occasion, it could hardly be claimed that they tend to increase a student's observance of Jewish traditions. None of the groups observe kashruth, and many of their social functions are held on the Sabbath.

One student first ate bread on Passover in his fraternity house. Others gave up kashruth completely as soon as they started living with the fraternity. Some began going to movie theaters, bowling alleys, athletic events and dances on Friday evening and Saturday as a result of the influence of their fraternity or sorority. A young man observes, "I have seen boys who had never done so before violate the Sabbath for a fraternity initiation and date non-Jewish girls."

Another states:

I first ate meat and milk at the same meal when I was at a fraternity dinner with my fraternity brothers. I felt a little funny about it, but that's all. I was hungry, and since everybody else was eating milk and meat together I did too. That's the first time I've done that in my life.

Maturation

Among the factors to be considered is that of maturation. With increasing age and experience it is to be anticipated that some change will occur in a young person's observance, whether he goes to college or not.

The measure of correlation between the student's age and his observance score before he reaches the University gives a result of only .24. A more effective method of evaluating the effects of maturation is to compare two groups about equal in size---those who are 17 years of age and those of 20 and over. Among the younger students, 21 percent are in the two most observant groups, but only 10 percent of the older students. (Table 75) Six percent of the 17 year-olds are in the two unobservant categories, in comparison with 34 percent among the more mature students.

TABLE 75

OBSERVANCE SCORES OF 180 UNIVERSITY OF
MARYLAND JEWISH FRESHMEN BY AGE, 1949

Student's Age	Total	Observance Score before College						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total	180	5	23	37	57	31	20	7
17	34	1	6	10	12	3	1	1
18	77	2	12	13	30	11	8	1
19	40	1	3	7	10	13	5	1
20	18	1	2	5	4	1	3	2
21 and over	11			2	1	3	3	2

The Armed Forces

Serving in the armed forces makes it almost impossible for a young man to continue his Jewish observance in the same manner as in civilian life. It is to be expected, therefore, that none of the seven veterans who were interviewed became more observant during that period.⁴

One young man had been strictly observant before entering the army, where he gave up almost every practice, except synagogue attendance. Since he came to the University he has returned only partially to his former observance, despite the influence of parents and friends.

I was extremely religious before entering the army, in large part due to parental influence. I was brought up with the idea that you should keep religion as strictly as possible. In high school I was strict in everything connected with the Sabbath. I was as kosher as it is possible for the 'kosherest' person in this country to be. I attended synagogue regularly and observed all the holidays religiously. Perhaps I did it out of habit and perhaps because of parental influence.

⁴Veterans appeared to be from 10 to 15 percent less religious than non-veterans in the study of Allport, Gillespie and Young, op. cit., 11.

In the army I got away from Shabbos observance and religion. I didn't even have a rabbi in my camp. I didn't keep any of Shabbos except for going to services. I broke all the dietary laws except for eating pork, ham or bacon. I just could not bring myself to eat pork products. On Passover I attended two Seders in camp. On Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur I went to synagogue and fasted. I did not keep the other holidays.

I did not have a deep sense of guilt and did not hesitate to change. I couldn't do anything about my break with religion. I just had to accept it.

At the University I have been in a little closer contact with Jewish people than in the army, but I don't think I'll ever get back as strict as I used to be. My friends did not take me away from religion because I have resumed some of my former close contacts.

I don't keep Shabbos at all because I have classes. If I didn't, I think I would keep it. In college I have gone back to my old observance of kashruth, with the exception of eating in non-kosher places. I can't attend synagogue, as I have classes on Saturday. I have gone back to keeping Passover. I observed one day of Rosh Hashanah strictly, and I observed Yom Kippur strictly. Now I do not keep Succoth.

Other veterans also describe the effect of years in the service:

The change really took place in the army. There I ate everything given me and I didn't keep kosher or keep the Sabbath.

My observance of the holidays changed in the armed forces. But in the service overseas I did not go to services, because I felt it bound me to my parents.

College is a continuation of my attitude in the service, when I observed less than before. There was a gradual carryover from service life of laxity and freer observance.

One young man who considers himself an agnostic and was completely unobservant previously did not change while in the navy. His only Jewish experience during those years was to attend a Passover Seder, which did not interest him. The only instance of a positive effect of the armed forces is reported by a young man who "wants to be more religious" but finds that he is "just not the religious type, I guess."

It should be noted in conclusion, however, that the long-range tendency is not as negative as might appear from this chapter. As Allport, Gillespie and Young state:

There is considerable reason to suppose that the early twenties is in fact the least religious period of life. It is then that the reaction against parental codes has become complete. At this time, too, the youth feels hopeful about the adequacy of his own power to face life. He has not suffered the shock that comes to nearly all adults when they realize that, after all, their accomplishments in vocation and in marriage are not likely to equal their expectations. In the early twenties the young male has not yet married a wife who, by the law of averages, will be more religious than he and thus influence him. Most important of all, the young person has not yet undertaken the rearing of children. When he does so, he frequently wants them to have the benefit of the religion that lies in the child's cultural heritage. Young parents often grow more respectful of the codes and practices of their own parents, and decide that maybe the old folks, all things considered, had a reasonable worldview after all. For all these various reasons, given time, the strength of belief of our subjects will in some cases come to⁵ equal or exceed the strength of their parents' beliefs.

With the University of Maryland student group also it would seem that despite the serious defection from traditional standards there remains a residue, vague and inarticulate though it may be, of faith in the Jewish religion. Among the majority there still appears on important occasions a deeply rooted sense of loyalty to Judaism.

⁵Ibid., 15-16.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSIONS

The mass migration of East European Jews to the United States during the past century has resulted in major changes in the observance of traditional religious practices. The relatively abrupt transition from the close-knit community of the Polish or Russian village to the individualistic and competitive society of the American metropolitan center seriously weakened the control of the Jewish community over the religious activities of its members. The rapid social mobility which in the span of a generation or two transformed the majority of the Jews from the lower to the middle class helped to accelerate this process by encouraging the acculturation of the immigrant. The acceptance of modern society's striving for economic advancement under highly competitive conditions led to a readiness to discard whatever might serve as a handicap. Religion was not exempt from the operation of this drive.

Even before he arrived in this country, the newcomer had come to a realization that he must accept American standards if he was to make a successful adjustment to the new world. To some extent it may have been true also that those who chose to migrate were those whose religious faith had already been weakened and who were therefore most predisposed to compromise their religious principles and practices. Such changes could not easily be made in the European shtetl because of the pressure for observance exerted through personal, face-to-face contacts by parents and community. In America the newcomer found himself in an

impersonal environment, where he did not have to account for his actions. This anonymity facilitated the breaking down of traditional controls.

The Jew found himself in a society which encouraged him to conform to a secularist way of life, strongly influenced by its patterns of economic and leisure time activities. Traditional observance of the Sabbath and festivals, as well as the dietary laws, was difficult in this environment. The result was a widespread dropping of those basic Jewish observances, in what might be termed a process of individual deculturation, since the practices were not replaced by those of other religions.

The greatest relative change occurred in the immigrant generation. The majority of its members discarded the strict observance of the Sabbath and festivals, of daily prayer, and of the dietary laws when away from home. In the second generation the rate of change was slower, although in the same direction. The third generation continued to move away from tradition, especially when under the influence of the college environment.

The process of discarding ritual practice has been a selective one. Those observances which involved serious economic sacrifice, such as the Sabbath, were the earliest to be dropped. Most Jews were employed at first either in the garment industry or in retail trade, where the six day week was general. Many of those who resisted, especially among the self-employed, succumbed in time to the pressure of competition. The problem was not eased by the gradual movement of the majority of the Jewish employed into retail trade, so that a larger percentage of

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Jews than non-Jews are now involved in their occupations on Saturday.¹

Other observances, such as daily prayer, were discarded because they differed very widely from prevailing American practice. They were felt to be inconvenient since they required a considerable amount of time and were frequent. Daily prayer, in addition, is an act performed in privacy, and therefore it lacks the presence of a group to ensure its observance. Kashruth outside the home also weakened because of its inconvenience and its strangeness to American ways.

A minimum observance level has been reached in the evolution of Jewish religious life. Attending synagogue and fasting on the High Holydays and participating in a Passover Seder are still observed by the overwhelming majority of American Jews. These observances are strong because of a combination of religious faith and community influence. Such acts have come to be considered the basic and irreducible expressions of a Jew's faith. These areas of observance, moreover, are practiced in the company of the family, friends and the entire Jewish community, and they do not involve much sacrifice because of their infrequency.

The lighting of Sabbath candles, which is easy to perform and involves no conflict in interpersonal relations, is also generally observed.

Some tenacity, too, is exhibited by the practice of kashruth in the home, supported as it frequently is by family pressure. However,

¹See Nathan Goldberg, "Economic Aspects of Sabbath Observance," Orthodox Jewish Life, vol. 17, no. 3 (February 1950), p. 17.

kashruth generally is losing ground as Jews become more acculturated and participate to a greater extent in social life and recreational activities outside the home.

In the terms of the observance classification used in this study, it can be estimated that the immigrants fell for the most part in class 2 or 3. The majority observed the High Holydays, Passover, and kashruth in the home, although they did not observe the dietary laws strictly when away from home. While many attended synagogue on the Sabbath, most probably attended less often than once a month.

Among the parents, who are of the second generation, the average observance is only slightly higher than class 4. They attend synagogue less often than once a month and have only a minute percentage of Sabbath observers. Half of the families observe kashruth in their homes, but only one-third do so outside. Most observe the High Holydays, although not as strictly as did their fathers. While the majority eat matza on Passover, the Seder service which they attend is not completely traditional.

In the student generation there is a further and steady drop in observance to an average score of 4.4. Most of the young people attend synagogue only on the High Holydays, and their observance of those days is less traditional than that of their parents. The majority do not observe Passover strictly, while only a small number continue to observe kashruth.

A comparatively rapid change in the relative strength of Orthodoxy, Conservatism and Reform is also evident from this study. A falling away from Orthodoxy in the second and third generation seems to

portend a loss of its majority position, in point of numbers of synagogues, congregants and schools. The recent growth in numbers and in organizational activity of the Conservative movement, as well as the indications of student preference, seem to presage a future dominance of American Jewish life by that religious movement.

A number of questions, however, are also raised about the future composition of the Jewish religious community in the United States. Will the Conservative group serve chiefly as a stopping point for a generation or two, making easier the path from Orthodoxy to Reform? Will the majority of American Jews, who have departed from many of the practices considered essential by both Orthodoxy and Conservatism, find themselves most at home in the ranks of Reform and ultimately make that the largest religious grouping? Or does the identification with Reform too serve as only a temporary stage, before individuals leave organized Jewish religious life and swell the numbers of the unaffiliated? On the other extreme, will Orthodoxy be able to stage a comeback as the helm is increasingly taken over by more acculturated, American born lay leaders and rabbis? And lastly, how will the trend be affected by the dynamic factors operating within each group--religious adaptation to changed circumstances, pressures from congregants for modification of ideas and practices, the impact of religious revivalist groups among recent immigrants, and the use of more effective methods of implementing organizational goals, both through educational institutions and through increased activity by national and local bodies?

The years since World War II have witnessed a tremendous growth of new synagogues and a rapid increase in synagogue membership. In the

heart of the third generation Jew who has settled with his young family in the suburbs there is a strong desire to be a Jew and to affiliate with a Jewish religious organization.

How the trend toward Jewish affiliation will express itself religiously is not yet clear. This generation will probably not return in toto to the religious forms which guided the lives of its ancestors. The Jew of tomorrow may move far from the Jewish law of the past, or he may perhaps work out for himself a modified halakhah. Whichever direction the choice will take, it will be the result of the striving for a reconciliation between two sets of values--those great religious truths taught by tradition and the worthwhile insights of modern thought.

Studies to chart and analyze these trends would be highly desirable. In particular it would be valuable to do a follow-up study of this college group in another decade in order to discover the nature of its Jewish identification and the extent to which its members may be returning to Jewish religion and observance when they are married and beginning to raise families.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Department of Sociology
University of Maryland

Questionnaire on Religious Observance

To the Student:

This questionnaire is for research purposes only and will be kept confidential throughout the tabulation and analysis. It will be identified only by a code number which will be known only to the director of the study and the student who interviews you.

Please answer every question, if at all possible.

Most questions can be answered with a check (✓).

You may write your comments in the margin.

1. Male..... Female.....
2. Age last birthday.....
3. Married..... Single.....
4. Country of birth.....
5. Are you a member (or pledge) of a fraternity or sorority? Yes...No...
6. If you are, please name the group.....
7. Where do you live during the school year?
 - a. At home.....
 - b. Dorm or barracks.....
 - c. Fraternity or sorority house.....
 - d. Off-campus house.....
 - e. Other (Name it).....

8. If you live at home:
- A. Why do you live at home rather than at school?
-
9. B. Check any of the following reasons which apply in your case:
- a. Nearness of home to college.....
- b. Expense of living away from home.....
- c. Religious reasons.....
- d. Other (Name it).....
10. C. In the above listing, mark those reasons which you checked in the order of their importance (1, 2, 3, etc.)
11. If you do not live at home during the school year:
- A. What are your reasons for living away from home?
-
12. B. Please give the names of your roommates
-
13. C. When do you usually go home?
- a. Every Friday?.....
- b. Every Saturday?.....
- c. Less frequently (How often?).....
14. Do you earn any money during the school year? Yes..... No.....
15. If you do, what percentage of your total living expenses do you earn?
-%
16. Are you a veteran? Yes..... No.....
17. Are you on the G.I. Bill? Yes..... No.....
18. What is the country of birth of your a. father.....
19. b. mother.....
20. c. father's father.....
21. d. father's mother.....

22. e. mother's father.....
23. f. mother's mother.....
24. In approximately what year did your father's family immigrate to the United States?
25. In approximately what year did your mother's family immigrate to the United States?
26. Number of brothers and sisters ever born.....
27. Number now living.....
28. Number of brothers and sisters of father ever born.....
29. Number of brothers and sisters of mother ever born.....
30. Age of father.....
31. Age of mother.....
32. In what year did your parents marry?
33. Occupation of father (Give type of work and his specific position; e.g., grocery store owner or clerk, wholesale drug dealer, etc.).....
34. Is he an employee? self-employed? employer?
35. If he is an employer, how many people does he employ?
36. Occupation of mother, if any (other than housewife)
37. Occupation of mother prior to marriage
38. Place of residence of parents
39. Do they have a television set? Yes..... No.....
40. Do your parents speak Yiddish in the home?
Usually..... Occasionally..... Never.....
41. Extent of your Jewish education:

<u>Type of School</u>	<u>Number of Years Attended</u>
a. Sunday school	_____
b. Hebrew school	_____
c. All-day school	_____
d. Private instruction	_____
e. None	_____

42. Can you read Hebrew? Fluently..... With difficulty..... No.....
43. Name your two best friends at school: _____
44. Type of synagogue usually attended by parents:
Orthodox..... Conservative..... Reform..... None.....
45. Type of synagogue usually attended by student:
Orthodox..... Conservative..... Reform..... None.....
46. Which type would you prefer to attend?
Orthodox..... Conservative..... Reform..... None.....
47. Do your parents consider themselves
Orthodox..... Conservative..... Reform..... None.....
48. Do you consider yourself
Orthodox..... Conservative..... Reform..... None.....

FREQUENCY OF SYNAGOGUE ATTENDANCE (at Synagogue or Temple)

	at least once a week	at least once a month	4 to 11 times a year	On New Year & Day of Atone- ment only	Rarely or never
49. You yourself since enter- ing college					
50. Your father					
51. Your mother					
52. You during the last year before coming to college					

53. (To be answered only by males) Do you pray with Tefillin?
Yes..... No..... If so, how often?.....

SABBATH OBSERVANCE (Please check either Do or Does Not for every item.)

<u>Parents Sabbath Observance: Father</u>			<u>Mother</u>	
		Does		Does
54. Work at occupation	Does.....	not.....	Does.....	not.....
		Does		Does
55. Ride on the Sabbath	Does.....	not.....	Does.....	not.....
		Does		Does
56. Handle money	Does.....	not.....	Does.....	not.....
		Does		Does
57. Put on lights	Does.....	not.....	Does.....	not.....
		Does		Does
58. Write	Does.....	not.....	Does.....	not.....
		Does		Does
59. Go to synagogue reg.	Does.....	not.....	Does.....	not.....
		Does		Does
60. Light candles Friday	Does.....	not.....	Does.....	not.....
		Does		Does
61. Cook	Does.....	not.....	Does.....	not.....

Sabbath observance of student when in College Park on the Sabbath

62. A. Do..... Do not..... Work
63. B. Do..... Do not..... Ride
64. C. Do..... Do not..... Handle money
65. D. Do..... Do not..... Put on lights
66. E. Do..... Do not..... Write
67. F. Do..... Do not..... Go to synagogue regularly

Sabbath observance of student when in home town since entering college:

68. A. Do..... Do not..... Work
69. B. Do..... Do not..... Ride
70. C. Do..... Do not..... Handle money
71. D. Do..... Do not..... Put on lights
72. E. Do..... Do not..... Write
73. F. Do..... Do not..... Go to synagogue regularly

Sabbath observance of student during last year before coming to college:

74. A. Did..... Did not..... Work
75. B. Did..... Did not..... Ride
76. C. Did..... Did not..... Handle money

77. D. Did..... Did not..... Put on lights
78. E. Did..... Did not..... Write
79. F. Did..... Did not..... Go to synagogue regularly.

DIETARY LAWS

Parents' Observance:

Do your parents

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 80. A. Buy only kosher meat for their home? | Yes.... No.... |
| 81. B. Kosher the meat before cooking? | Yes.... No.... |
| 82. C. Keep two sets of dishes - for meat and milk? | Yes.... No.... |
| 83. D. Eat meat and milk products at the same meal? | Yes.... No.... |
| 84. E. Eat pork products in the home? | Yes.... No.... |
| 85. F. Eat pork products outside the home? | Yes.... No.... |
| 86. G. Eat in non-kosher restaurants? | Yes.... No.... |
| 87. H. Eat non-kosher meat in restaurants? | Yes.... No.... |
| 88. I. Eat meat and milk products at the same meal
when in restaurants? | Yes.... No.... |

Student's observance when at college:

Do you eat

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 89. A. Only in a place which has separate dishes for
meat and milk? | Yes.... No.... |
| 90. B. In a non-kosher eating place? | Yes.... No.... |
| 91. C. Meat and milk products at the same meal? | Yes.... No.... |
| 92. D. Non-kosher meat? | Yes.... No.... |
| 93. E. Pork products? | Yes.... No.... |

Student's observance during last year before coming to college:

Did you

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 94. A. Eat only in a place which had separate dishes
for meat and milk? | Yes.... No.... |
|--|----------------|

95. B. At times eat in non-kosher eating places? Yes.... No....
96. C. At times eat meat and milk products at the
same meal? Yes.... No....
97. D. At times eat non-kosher meat? Yes.... No....
98. E. At times eat pork products? Yes.... No....

HOLIDAY OBSERVANCE

PASSOVER

99. Does your family usually prepare or attend a Seder? Yes.... No....
100. Does the Seder your family attends follow the
traditional orthodox ceremony?
Strictly..... Partially..... Not at all.....
101. Do you usually attend the Seder? Yes.... No....
In your home on Passover, does your family
102. A. Eat only matzo? Yes.... No....
103. B. Eat matzo and bread? Yes.... No....
104. C. Eat bread only? Yes.... No....
105. D. Use special sets of Passover dishes? Yes.... No....
106. Before coming to college, when you were outside your home on Passover,
did you eat bread? Yes.... No....
During the last year before coming to college, did you attend school
during Passover
107. A. On the first day? Yes.... No....
108. B. On the second day? Yes.... No....
109. C. On the seventh day? Yes.... No....
110. D. On the eighth day? Yes.... No....
While away at college, do you expect on Passover
111. A. To eat matzo? Yes.... No....
112. B. To eat bread? Yes.... No....

113. C. To observe the dietary laws strictly? Yes.... No....
114. D. To attend classes 1. on the first day? Yes.... No....
115. 2. on the seventh day? Yes.... No....
116. 3. on the eighth day? Yes.... No....

ROSH HASHANAH (New Year)

<u>Does your family</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
117. A. Observe:	one day..... two days.....	one day..... two days.....
118. B. Usually attend synagogue?	Yes.... No....	Yes.... No....
119. C. Ride?	Yes.... No....	Yes.... No....
120. D. Work?	Yes.... No....	Yes.... No....
121. E. Handle money?	Yes.... No....	Yes.... No....

Last Rosh Hashanah (1948) did you

122. A. Observe:	one day.....	two days.....
123. B. Attend synagogue?		Yes.... No....
124. C. Go to any classes?		Yes.... No....
125. D. Ride?		Yes.... No....
126. E. Handle money?		Yes.... No....

During the last year before you came to college, did you

127. A. Observe:	one day.....	two days.....
128. B. Attend synagogue?		Yes.... No....
129. C. Go to school?		Yes.... No....
130. D. Ride?		Yes.... No....
131. E. Handle money?		Yes.... No....

YOM KIPPUR (Day of Atonement)

<u>Does your family</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
132. A. Attend synagogue?	Yes.... No....	Yes.... No....
133. B. Go to classes?	Yes.... No....	Yes.... No....

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 134. C. Ride? | Yes.... No.... | Yes.... No.... |
| 135. D. Handle money? | Yes.... No.... | Yes.... No.... |
| 136. E. Work at occupation? | Yes.... No.... | Yes.... No.... |

Last Yom Kippur (1948) did you

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| 137. A. Attend synagogue? | Yes.... No.... |
| 138. B. Go to classes? | Yes.... No.... |
| 139. C. Fast all day? | Yes.... No.... |
| 140. D. Ride? | Yes.... No.... |
| 141. E. Handle money? | Yes.... No.... |

During the last year before you came to college, did you

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| 142. A. Attend synagogue? | Yes.... No.... |
| 143. B. Go to school? | Yes.... No.... |
| 144. C. Fast all day? | Yes.... No.... |
| 145. D. Ride? | Yes.... No.... |
| 146. E. Handle money? | Yes.... No.... |

SHAVUOS AND SUCCOS

Does your family

- | | <u>Father</u> | <u>Mother</u> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 147. A. Usually attend synagogue? | Yes.... No.... | Yes.... No.... |
| 148. B. Work at occupation? | Yes.... No.... | Yes.... No.... |
| 149. C. Ride? | Yes.... No.... | Yes.... No.... |
| 150. D. Handle money? | Yes.... No.... | Yes.... No.... |

While at college during the past year, did you on Succos

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 151. A. Attend synagogue? | Regularly..... Once.... No.... |
| 152. B. Go to classes? | Yes.... No.... |
| 153. C. Ride? | Yes.... No.... |
| 154. D. Handle money? | Yes.... No.... |

APPENDIX B

SCHEDULE FOR PERSONAL INTERVIEW

Instructions: At the interview, have in front of you (a) this schedule form, (b) the check-list, (c) the completed questionnaire, and (d) blank paper for additional notes.

Try to get the interviewee talking about his experiences. Jot them down as he speaks. You do not have to follow the order in the schedule, nor are you limited to this outline, either as to space or to wording of questions.

If he talks freely, only an occasional question will be needed to get him to cover all the topics in which we are interested. Be sure to check up to see whether he has explained all the changes which you have marked previously on the check-list.

Date of interview.....Name of interviewer.....

I. Suggested introductory questions.

Now that you've been in college for half a year I suppose you can look back and see how college has made some changes in your religious observance. Would you tell me about some of the ways in which you've changed?

When did some of those changes take place?

Would you tell me what happened to make you change?

Suppose you tell me about the first time you made some particular change in observance since you came to college.

II. Dances on Friday night.

Before you came to college, did you ever go to dances on Friday night?

Since coming to college, have you attended any dances on Friday night?

(If there has been a change:) Would you describe the first time you went to a dance on Friday night?

Whose idea was it to go? (Find out whether it was suggested by a friend, roommate, date, or his own idea.)

With whom did you go? (Same as above.)

Did you hesitate at all about going the first time? Why?

What made you decide to go?

Athletic contests (football and basketball games, etc.) on Friday night and Saturday. (Ask the same questions as above.)

III. Sabbath. (Ask the same set of questions for each specific observance.)

I notice from your questionnaire that you started....(riding on Saturday, or putting on lights, etc.) when you came to college.

Would you tell me about the first time you ... (rode, etc.).

(Or) - About when did it first happen?

Who was with you at the time? (friends, roommate, date, no one)

(If someone was with him) - Did he (they) say anything that encouraged you to ... (ride, etc.)?

Did you hesitate at all about ... (riding, etc.)? Why?

(If necessary, ask:) Were you troubled about the consequences?
Were you troubled about its effect on your parents or grandparents?
What made you decide to ... (ride, etc.)?

IV. Dietary laws. (Ask the same set of questions, if necessary, for each specific change in observance.)

I notice from your questionnaire that you started eating ...
(non-kosher meat, pork, etc.) when you came to college.

Would you tell me about the first time you ate ...

(Or:) About when did it happen?

Who was with you at the time? (friends, roommate, date, no one)

(If someone was with him:) Did he (or they) say anything that encouraged you to eat it?

Did you hesitate at all about eating it? Why?

(If necessary, ask:) Were you troubled about the consequences?
Were you troubled about its effect on your parents or grandparents?
What made you decide to eat it?

V. Synagogue attendance.

I notice from your questionnaire ...

Would you tell me how you came to give up ... (attending services regularly, or laying tefillin)?

Did you change gradually or all at once?

Did you hesitate at all about changing? Why?

What made you decide to change?

VI. Passover.

I notice from your questionnaire ...

Would you tell me how you decided to change? Why?

VII. Rosh Hashanah.

I notice from your questionnaire ...

Would you tell me how you came to the decision to ... (go to classes, ride, etc.)

(If he did not go to synagogue:) What did you do instead?

With whom?

(If he attended classes:) Did your roommates or close friends also attend classes? (all, roommates and friends, most, few, none)

Were you troubled about the consequences?

What made you decide to change?

VIII. Yom Kippur.

In your questionnaire you indicate that ...

Would you tell me how you came to make the decision to ...

(If he did not go to synagogue:) What did you do instead?

With whom?

(If he attended classes:) Did your roommates or close friends also attend classes? (all of them, most, a few, none)

Did you hesitate at all about ...

What made you decide to do it?

IX. Succos.

In your questionnaire you indicate ...

Would you tell me how you came to make the decision to ...

(If he attended classes:) Did your roommates or close friends also attend classes? (all, most, a few, none)

(If he did not go to synagogue:) What did you do instead?

With whom?

Did you hesitate at all about doing it?

What made you decide to do it?

X. Other.

Are there any other changes in your religious observance which have occurred since you came to college?

(If there are:) Tell me how you came to make those changes.

What would you say is the general effect of coming to college upon your observance?

APPENDIX C

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

Department of Sociology
University of Maryland
College Park, Md.

February 7, 1949

With the cooperation of the Department of Sociology of the University, Rabbi Meyer Greenberg is conducting a research project concerning the Jewish students who entered the University in September, 1949. The survey will try to discover to what extent traditional Jewish religious observances are practiced by this group, which includes about 230 students.

The study is one of a series in which the Hillel Foundation is interested. A previous study investigated the size of the families from which the students came and other related items. Your participation in the present study will greatly aid in carrying forward the scientific analysis of this group.

Your answers will, of course, be held in strict confidence.

Within a short time you will be contacted by a student member of Rabbi Greenberg's research staff, who will give you a questionnaire and arrange a date for an interview. I would appreciate your giving him your fullest cooperation.

Cordially yours,

Harold Hoffsommer, Head
Department of Sociology

APPENDIX D

ADEQUACY OF RETURNS

The absence of responses from 14 per cent of the total population of Jewish freshmen is not believed to affect significantly the percentage of responses in the various distributions. Knowledge of these cases indicates that they are not concentrated in any particular segment of the distribution of traditional observance.

The lack of complete information regarding all of the 180 respondent families is not due to a lack of cooperation on the part of the students. Very few of the freshmen refused to give requested information on any subject. In some cases students did not know such facts as the date their forebears immigrated to the United States. Other types of information, as for example, the economic status of the home, were available only for the residents of Baltimore and Washington. The reliability of the results, therefore, should not be affected by such omissions.

APPENDIX E

PSYCHOLOGICAL CORPORATION CRITERIA FOR ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION

The criteria used for judging economic groups in accordance with the Psychological Corporation classification are as follows:

Economic group A includes large one-family homes, where the family head is generally an executive or a successful professional.

Homes rated in group B are mainly moderate size one-family houses, some of the best two-family houses and moderately expensive apartments. The head of the family is an average professional, a successful retail store owner, or a better-paid white collar worker, while in a few cases he may be a highly paid skilled mechanic or craftsman.

Group C homes are small one-family houses in fairly good repair, two-family houses, and older and cheaper apartments. The occupation of the family head is that of skilled worker in a trade or a factory, policeman or fireman, truck driver, poorly-paid white collar worker, or small retail store manager or owner.

The lowest economic group, D, includes run-down one-family houses and poor two-family houses and tenements. Their occupants are the poorest of all workers and are unskilled laborers, the unemployed, and janitors. Group D includes most portions of Negro sections.

Other criteria taken into consideration in this classification are ownership of automobiles, automatic refrigerators and telephones.

APPENDIX F

GUIDE FOR CLASSIFICATION OF OBSERVANCE TYPES

1. Observances of Parents Included in Questionnaire

Area of Observance	Number on Questionnaire	Observance
Synagogue Attendance	50 and 51	1. At least once a week 2. At least once a month 3. 4 to 11 times a year 4. On High Holydays only 5. Rarely or never
	54	Do not work at occupation
	55	Do not ride
	56	Do not handle money
	57	Do not put on lights
Sabbath	58	Do not write
	59	Go to synagogue regularly
	60 (Mother)	Light candles on Friday evening
	61 (Mother)	Do not cook
Kashruth	80	Buy only kosher meat
	81	Kosher the meat before cooking
	82	Have separate sets dishes meat and milk
	83	Do not eat meat, milk products same meal
	84	Do not eat pork products in the home
	85	Do not eat pork products outside home
	86	Do not eat in non-kosher restaurants
	87	Do not eat non-kosher meat in restaurants
	88	Do not eat meat and milk products at the same meal in restaurants
Passover	99	Family usually prepares or attends Seder
	100	The Seder is strictly traditional
	102 (or 103)	Family eats only matza (bread and matza)
	105	Family uses special sets Passover dishes
Rosh Hashanah	117	Observe two days
	118	Attend synagogue
	119	Do not ride
	120	Do not work
	121	Do not handle money
Yom Kippur	132	Attend synagogue
	133	Fast allday
	134	Do not ride
	135	Do not handle money
	136	Do not work at occupation
Shavuoth and Succoth	147	Attend synagogue
	148	Do not work at occupation
	149	Do not ride
	150	Do not handle money

2. Guide to the Observance Classification of Parents

Class	Required Observances (numbered according to questionnaire))	Total number of Observances Required*
1	50 (once a week), 54-59, 80-88, 99, 100, 102, 105, 117-121, 132-136, 147-150. Mothers: 51 (4 to 11 times a year) instead of 50. Also numbers 60, 61.	33 (-2) 35 (-2)
2	50 (4 to 11 times a year), 80-85, 87, 88, 99, 100 (partially traditional), 102, 105, 117- 121, 132-136. Mothers: 51 (High Holydays only) instead of 50. Also number 60.	 22 (-2 +1) 23 (-2)
3	50 or 51 (High Holydays only), 84, 85, 99, 100 (partially), 102 or 103, 118-121, 132-136	14 (-2 +2)
4	50 or 51 (High Holydays only), 84, 99, 100 (partially), 102 or 103, 118, 120, 132, 133, 136.	9 (-1 +1)
5	50 or 51 (High Holydays only), 99, 102 or 103, 118, 132.	4 (-1 +1)
6	Any one observance	1
7	No observances	0
*Numbers 50 and 51 are not included in the totals because they overlap other items.		

3. Observances of Students before College

Area of Observance	Number on Questionnaire	Observance
Synagogue Attendance	52	Frequency of synagogue attendance
Sabbath	74	Did not work
	75	Did not ride
	76	Did not handle money
	77	Did not put on lights
	78	Did not write
	79	Went to synagogue regularly
Kashruth	95	Did not eat in non-kosher restaurants
	96	Did not eat meat and milk at same meal
	97	Did not eat non-kosher meat
	98	Did not eat pork products
Passover	101	Usually attends a Seder
	106	Did not eat bread outside home
	107	Did not attend school on first day
	108	Did not attend school on second day
	109	Did not attend school on seventh day
	110	Did not attend school on eighth day
Rosh Hashanah	127	Observed two days
	128	Attended synagogue
	129	Did not go to school
	130	Did not ride
	131	Did not handle money
Yom Kippur	142	Attended synagogue
	143	Did not go to school
	144	Fasted all day
	145	Did not ride
	146	Did not handle money
Shavuoth and Succoth	155	Attended synagogue regularly (or occasionally)
	156	Did not go to school
	157	Did not ride
	158	Did not handle money

4. Guide to the Observance Classification
of Students before College

Class	Required Observances (numbered according to questionnaire)	Total number of Observances Required*
1	52 (at least once a week--except if home is far from synagogue), 74-79, 95-98, 101, 106-110, 127-131, 142-146, 155-158.	30 (-2)
2	52 (4 to 11 times a year), 96-98, 101, 106-110, 128-131, 142-146.	18 (-2)
3	52 (High Holydays only), 98, 101, 107, 128-131, 142-146.	12 (-2 +2)
4	52 (High Holydays only), 98, 101, 107, 128, 129, 142-144.	8 (-1 +1)
5	52 (High Holydays only), 101, 128, 142.	3
6	Any one observance	1
7	No observances	0

*Number 52 is not included in the totals because it overlaps other items.

5. Observances of Students at College

Area of Observance	Number on Questionnaire	Observance
Synagogue attendance	49	Frequency of synagogue attendance
Daily Prayer with Tefillin	53	Does regularly (for males only)
Sabbath-- When in College Park	62	Does not work
	63	Does not ride
	64	Does not handle money
	65	Does not put on lights
	66	Does not write
	67	Goes to synagogue regularly
Sabbath-- When in Home Town	68	Does not work
	69	Does not ride
	70	Does not handle money
	71	Does not put on lights
	72	Does not write
	73	Goes to synagogue regularly
Kashruth	89 (and 90)	Does not eat in non-kosher restaurants
	91	Does not eat meat, milk at same meal
	92	Does not eat non-kosher meat
	93	Does not eat pork products
Passover	101	Usually attends a Seder
	111	Expects to eat matza
	112	Expects to eat no bread
	113	Expects to observe kashruth strictly
	114	Expects to stay out school first day
	115	Expects to stay out school seventh day
Rosh Hashanah	116	Expects to stay out school eighth day
	122	Observed two days
	123	Attended synagogue
	124	Did not go to school
	125	Did not ride
Yom Kippur	126	Did not handle money
	137	Attended synagogue
	138	Did not go to school
	139	Fasted all day
	140	Did not ride
Succoth	141	Did not handle money
	151	Attended synagogue regularly (or once)
	152	Did not go to school
	153	Did not ride
	154	Did not handle money

6. Guide to the Observance Classification
of Students at College

Class	Required Observances (numbered according to questionnaire)	Total number of Observances Required*
1	49 (at least once a week except for female student), 53 (for male only), 62-67 (If student is never in College Park on Saturday substitute 68-73), 89, 91-93, 101, 111-116, 122-126, 137-141, 151-154.	32 (-2) 31 (-2) for female
2	49 (4 to 11 times a year), 91-93, 101, 111-116, 123-126, 137-141.	19 (-2)
3	49 (High Holydays only), 93, 101, 111, 114, 123-126, 137-141.	13 (-2 +2)
4	49 (High Holydays only), 93, 101, 111, 114, 123, 124, 137-139.	9 (-1 +1)
5	49 (High Holydays only), 101, 111, 123, 137	4
6	Any one observance	1
7	No observances	0

*Number 49 is not included in the totals because it overlaps other items.

APPENDIX G

CHANCES IN OBSERVANCE OF STUDENTS WITH SCORES HIGHER THAN FATHER'S BEFORE COLLEGE

Father's score	Student before College			Student at College					
	Class	Number	Total	Class	Number	Higher	Same	Lower	
2	1	3	3	1	1				
				2	1		1	2	
				3	1				
3	2	2	2	3	1			2	
				4	1				
4	3	5	5	3	3		3	2	
				4	2				
5	3	3	12	5	1			3	
				6	2				
	4	9		4	5		5	4	
				5	3				
				6	1				
6	4	2	7	5	2			2	
	5	5		5	4		4	1	
				6	1				
Total		29	29			0	13	16	

Comparison of Father's Score with Student's Score at College

Father's Score in Class	<u>Student's Score</u>		
	Higher	Same	Lower
2	1	1	1
3		1	1
4	3	2	
5	5	4	3
6	6	1	
Total	15	9	5

Comparison of Score in College with Score before College

Number with higher score	0
Number with same score	13
Number with lower score	16

APPENDIX H

CHANGES IN OBSERVANCE OF STUDENTS WITH SCORES LOWER THAN FATHER'S BEFORE COLLEGE

Father's Score	Student before College			Student at College				
	Class	Number	Total Number	Class	Number	Higher	Same	Lower
1	2	2	2	2	1		1	1
				3	1			
				2	2			
	3	10		3	8	2	8	8
				4	5			
2			29	5	2			
				3	1			
	4	6		4	2	1	2	3
				5	2			
				6	1			
	5	2		3	1	2		
				4	1			
	6	3		5	1	1	2	
				6	2			
3	4	4	7	4	2		2	2
	5	3		5	3		3	
4	5	3	4	5	3		3	
	6	1		3	1	1		
5	6	5	6	4	1			
				6	3	1	3	1
	7	1		7	1			
6			3	6	1			
	7	3		7	2			
Total			51			10	26	15

Comparison of Father's Score with Student's Score at College

Father's Score in Class	Student's Score		
	Higher	Same	Lower
1			2
2		2	27
3			7
4	1		3
5	1		5
6		1	2
Total	2	3	46

Comparison of Score in College with Score before College

Number with higher score	10
Number with same score	26
Number with lower score	15

APPENDIX I

CHANGES IN OBSERVANCE OF STUDENTS WITH SCORES SAME AS FATHER'S BEFORE COLLEGE

Score	Number of Students	Student at College				
		Class	Number	Higher	Same	Lower
1	2	1	1		1	1
		2	1			
2	19	2	6		6	13
		3	11			
		4	1			
		6	1			
3	9	3	3		3	6
		4	2			
		5	4			
4	30	3	1	1	18	11
		4	18			
		5	8			
		6	3			
5	16	3	1	1	11	4
		4	0			
		5	11			
		6	4			
6	10	6	10		10	
7	3	6	2	2	1	
		7	1			
Total	89			4	50	35

Comparison of Father's Score with Student's Score at College

Father's Score in Class	Student's Score		
	Higher	Same	Lower
1		1	1
2		6	13
3		3	6
4	1	18	11
5	1	11	4
6		10	
7	2	1	
Total	4	50	35

APPENDIX J

COMPARISON OF FATHER'S SCORE WITH STUDENT'S SCORE AT COLLEGE

Father's Score	Student at College				Number of Classes Lower				Number of Classes Higher		
	Class	Number	Higher	Same	Lower	1	2	3	4	1	2
1	1	1									
	2	2		1	3	2	1				
	3	1									
2	1	1									
	2	9	1	9	41	22	9	6	4	1	
	3	22									
	4	9									
	5	6									
	6	4									
3	3	4									
	4	5		4	14	5	9				
	5	9									
4	3	5									
	4	20	5	20	14	11	3			5	
	5	11									
	6	3									
5	3	1									
	4	6									
	5	15	7	15	12	11	1			6	1
	6	11									
	7	1									
6	5	6									
	6	12	6	12	2	2				6	
	7	2									
7	6	2	2	1						2	
	7	1									
Total			21	62	86	53	23	6	4	20	1
Percent			12	37	51	62	27	7	5		

Average decrease - 1.5 classes
Average increase - 1.0 classes

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