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Marcus Braude and the Making of the Future Jewish Elite in Poland

In the autumn of 1946, a Holocaust survivor and graduate of the prestigious Second Boys Gymnasium in Łódź recalled his experiences with a sense of profound pride and nostalgia: “I am one of thousands of young boys who ... envisioned new, intellectually sophisticated cadres of the Jewish youth. We were to face a great historical task. We have been ... brought up thinking about our nation.”¹ Indeed, the school championed the programme designed to train a new generation of Polish Jews fully conversant in the contemporary culture, fluent in Hebrew and committed to Jewish national causes in Poland. This novel model of secondary Jewish education for the future Jewish communal and intellectual elite was envisioned by Zionist leader, preacher and educator Marcus Braude (1869–1949).² Raised in Lvov (or Lwów – Lviv in present-day Ukraine), he belonged to the circle of young Jews pursuing secular studies and Zionist commitment, together with Ozjasz Thon and Markus Ehrenpreis.³ Braude

¹ YIVO Archive in New York (YIVO), Record Group (RG) no. 1258, Philip Friedman papers.

² Born in Brest-Litovsk in 1869, Braude received both secular and religious education in Lvov, where his maternal grandfather Tzvi Hirsh Orenstein had been the city’s rabbi. Not surprisingly, Nella Thon-Rostowa called him “the aristocrat of blood and spirit” as Braude was a scion of well-respected rabbinic families. See Nella Thon-Rostowa, *Ozjasz Thon: Wspomnienia córki* (Lwów: Cofim, 1937), 16. Despite his grandfather’s objections, he graduated from the Third State Gymnasium in Lvov. Interested in Polish and German literature due to the influence of Henryk Biegeleisen, Braude participated in proto-Zionist and Hebrew language societies. See “Dr Mordechai Braude”, in *Kovets le-zekher kehilat Lodz; hinukh ve-tarbut be-kerev Yehude Lodz’ ben shete milhamot ha-’olam uve-gefo. ha-Kovets hukhan ‘a. y. talmidot kitot 10-11 megamah pedagogit be-hadrakhat Dinah Shtekhl ve-Dalyah Horvits* (Tel Aviv: Tikhon ironi vav, 1965), 30–35; Robert Moses Shapiro, “Braude Marcus”, in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Braude_Markus [accessed 5.04.2015].

³ Braude reminisced that his friendship with Thon and Ehrenpreis dated back to their early youth: “We grew up together, we lived together in the closest connection of spirit, in

described his encounter with Thon and Ehrenpreis as formative for his life as a Jewish intellectual and leader.⁴ According to Nella Thon-Rostowa's account, Braude, Ehrenpreis and Thon became close friends because they "shared the direction in their thinking about life."⁵ Together, they became invested in the programme to revive Hebrew, academic Jewish studies and liberal Judaism.⁶

Braude pursued both Jewish and secular studies in Lvov, Berlin and Freiburg. He studied at the Orthodox Azrjel Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin, at the University of Berlin and at the University of Freiburg, where he received his doctorate in 1898.⁷ Upon his return to Austrian Galicia, he used the pulpit at the progressive synagogue in Stanisławów (Ivano-Frankivsk in today's Ukraine) as one of the first venues of his communal, political and educational activities. In 1909, he moved to Łódź, where he became the spiritual leader of the distinguished progressive Synagogue on Kościuszki Boulevard. As a preacher he encountered criticism from both the assimilationists and the orthodox community. However, he was particularly stricken by his difficulty in reaching out to the so-called progressive youth, since "[they] did not attend the synagogue."⁸ Braude served as a Senator of the Republic, a member of the Łódź City Council and a member of the Jewish community (kehillah) council. As a rabbi, educator and communal leader, how did Braude hope to mould Jewish youth on the eve of Poland's rebirth?

He became deeply concerned with the future of young people who were losing interest in Jewish causes. He saw educating this prosperous middle-class youth as a path to the future for the entire Jewish community. Therefore, Braude not only designed new curricula for Jewish primary and secondary schools in Łódź, but worked to establish a network of modern Jewish schools in Poland and participated in the Tarbut Hebrew Culture and Education Society. Furthermore, he founded the Montefiore B'nai B'rith lodge in Łódź and was among the founders of the Institute for Judaic Studies in War-

unification of emotions, goals and hopes, the decisive years of our 'Sturm und Drang', years of the initial youthful ... work in the field of national revival, years of learning, studying and struggles". Rabin Dr. Markus Braude, "Trójka", in "Ozjasz Thon we wspomnieniach swoich współczesnych", *Nowy Dziennik* no. 318, 2.

⁴ See *Zikhron Mordechai Ze'ev Broda* (Jerusalem: Ha-Sifriyah ha-Tsionit, 1960), 46–47, 76–68, 80, 109.

⁵ See Thon-Rostowa, *Ozjasz Thon*, 12.

⁶ Writing about her father, Ozjasz Thon, Nella Thon-Rostowa declared that the group "wanted to contribute much to the Jewry and to rebirth it in the Zionist idea". Thon-Rostowa, *Ozjasz Thon*, 16.

⁷ See Marcus Braude, *Die Elemente der reinen Wahrnehmung. Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnistheorie* (Lemberg: Buchdruckerei von Felix Bednarski, 1899).

⁸ *Kovets le-zekher kehilat Lodz'; hinukh ve-tarbut be-kerav Yehude Lodz' ben shete milhamot ha-'olam uve-ge'eto*, 31.

saw. In all aspects of his communal activities, he sought to provide answers for the dilemmas of the young generation of Polish Jews and created a model for the future Jewish elite in Poland. Braude's educational model was based on Jewish national consciousness and fluency in Hebrew, as well as social activism and academic excellence.

Working for "Our Youth and Our Schools"

Braude hoped to reach out to children of acculturated, prosperous Jewish families increasingly estranged from Jewish culture and tradition while conversant in Polish language and culture. For these children, he created schools that appealed to their intellectual sensibilities and promoted their commitment to Jewish national causes. At first, he attempted to introduce Zionist ideas in the already-existing Jarociński vocational school in Łódź. Unable to change the curriculum there, in 1912 he set up the Society of Jewish Secondary Schools (*Towarzystwo Żydowskich Szkół Średnich*). The Society established the first Boys' Gymnasium, and then in 1916 established the Girls' Gymnasium at 6 Piramowicza Street as well. In 1921, the second Boys' Gymnasium opened under the auspices of the Association. In 1924, some 1,200 students attended the three gymnasiums.⁹ Braude's schools attracted mainly children of prosperous and acculturated families, who were the primary focus of his attempts to counter the tide of assimilation among Jewish youth.¹⁰ An educational innovator, Braude developed textbooks and curricula. He paid close attention to strengthening his students' Jewish identity with the study of Jewish history and Hebrew. One of the graduates described his experiences in the gymnasium in Łódź: "Though the word 'Zionism' hardly appeared in our curriculum, the culture was Zionist."¹¹ Braude rejected, however, the idea of creating secondary schools using only Hebrew, as he feared such schools would not attract a broad spectrum of Jewish students.¹²

⁹ In October 1932, the organisation changed its name to the Society for Jewish Schools. The boys' gymnasiums were located at 21 and 22 Magistracka Street (today Aleksandra Kamińskiego). Moreover, a Jewish kindergarten was established as well, located at 26 Sienkiewicza Street. See Paweł Spodenkiewicz, *Zaginiona dzielnica: Łódź żydowska – ludzie i miejsca* (Łódź: Księgarnia Niezależna, 1998), 42. For the English version, see idem, *The Missing District: People and Places of Jewish Łódź* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Hobo, 2007), 48.

¹⁰ Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 47.

¹¹ Szymon Rogoziński, *My Fortunate Life* (Melbourne: self-published, 2000), 19.

¹² *Kovets le-zekher kehilat Lodz*, 32–33.

His schools were acutely in tune with the times and his students' interests, offering students a window into a variety of academic subjects: mathematics, biology, chemistry, and a choice of French or German literature, in addition to the intensive study of Polish and Polish literature, to name just a few.¹³ In order to graduate from Braude's schools, students had to pass rigorous oral and written examinations conducted in Polish for general studies and in Hebrew for Jewish studies. Students who failed the senior examinations in Jewish studies were not permitted to take the Polish examinations for the secondary school certificate (*matura*).¹⁴

The curriculum included discussions of Jewish art and literature, Jewish folklore, sociology and music. For example, Y. Rapaport, who came to the gymnasium from a yeshiva in Warsaw, favoured chemistry and mathematics.¹⁵ Moreover, Braude hired highly qualified, university-trained teachers, the majority of whom came from Galicia.¹⁶ Many graduates remembered their teacher of Jewish history, Filip Friedman, whom one of them affectionately called "unzer groyser gelernter" ("our great scholar").¹⁷ Apart from Friedman, Braude

¹³ Efraim Shmueli, *Ba-dor ha-Yehudi ha-aharon be-Polin* (Tel Aviv: Alef, 1986), 170.

¹⁴ I wish to thank Prof. Robert M. Shapiro for sharing with me the recollections of Nina Rochelson-Iwry (1916–2011), who came from a Gerer Hasidic family and attended the Braude gymnasium in Łódź. She then earned her degree at Warsaw University in journalism in 1937.

¹⁵ Harav Dr. Y. Rapaport, "A neshamalikh farn tzvaytn yidishn gimnazyum in Lodzh (A bin-tele zikhrones fun 1929–1931)" ("A Memorial Candle for the Second High School in Łódź"), *Yiddish Lodz: Yizkor Bukh* (Jewish Łódź: A Yiskor Book) (Melbourne: Lodzer Center, 1974), 66–67.

¹⁶ As Spodenkiewicz rightly concluded: "In the independent Poland that emerged after the First World War, Jews from Galicia ... joined the conglomeration of Jewish communities in Łódź. Although the Galician Jews made up a relatively small group, their impact would soon prove to be profound." Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 14–15.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 68. See the chapter devoted to Friedman by Shmueli, *idem*, *Ba-dor ha-Yehudi ha-aharon be-Polin*, 147–152. Filip Friedman (1901–1960) – Polish Jewish historian born and educated in Lvov. He studied at the University of Vienna and at the Jewish Paedagogium. Earned his doctorate in 1925 with his dissertation titled *Die galizischen Juden im Kampfe um ihre Gleichberechtigung (1848–1868)* ("The Jews of Galicia and Their Struggle for Legal Equality [1848–1868]"), which was published in Frankfurt in 1929. Upon his return to Poland, Friedman taught at secondary school in Łódź, at YIVO in Wilno, and at the Institute of Jewish Studies in Warsaw. He also published *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi* ("The History of the Jews in Łódź"; 1935). He edited the scholarly journal published by the Friends of YIVO *Lodzer Visenshaftlikhe Shriftn*, and co-wrote a monograph of the Old Jewish Cemetery in Łódź. On the eve of World War II, he was writing a comprehensive history of the Jews of Poland from the earliest beginnings through the twentieth century. See Antony Polonsky, "Philip Friedman", in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Friedman_Filip. Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 116–117; Roni Stauber, *Laying the Foundations for Holocaust Research: The Impact of the Historian Philip Friedman* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009); Natalia Aleksium, "Philip Friedman and the emergence of Holocaust scholarship: a reappraisal", *Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts* 11(2012): 333–346.

attracted such faculty members as Natan Eck,¹⁸ Zygmunt Ellenberg,¹⁹ Rudolf Taubenschlag,²⁰ Michał Brandstaetter,²¹ Zygmunt Bromberg-Bytkowski,²² Chaim Ormian,²³ Wilhelm Fallek,²⁴ and Aryeh Tartakower.²⁵

Braude sought ways to influence Jewish secondary education beyond Łódź, and indeed his gymnasiums served as a model for Jewish secondary educa-

¹⁸ Natan Eck (1896–1981) a Jewish educator, Zionist activist and historian of the Holocaust. He was born in Janów near Lvov. He graduated from a gymnasium in Vienna, where he studied at the university and earned his doctoral degree in law. Also studied history at Warsaw University, before working as a teacher in Łódź, where he taught the Bible and Hebrew literature. With the outbreak of the war, he left the city for Warsaw, later escaping to Częstochowa and Zagłębie. Transferred to the Vittel camp, he jumped from the train to Auschwitz. He survived the Holocaust and emigrated to Israel in 1948. See Rapaport, *A neshamalikht farn tzvaytn yidishn gimnazyum in Lodz*, 67.

¹⁹ Zygmunt Ellenberg (1896–1965) – historian, chairman of the first Haszomer Hacair Council, and editor of the publication *Miesięcznik Żydowski* (“Jewish Monthly”). Born in Komyja, he moved to Łódź, where he taught at the Jewish Gymnasium.

²⁰ Rudolf Taubenschlag (1889–1943?), a Jewish educator. Born in Tarnów, he studied philosophy in Vienna and Krakow. He received his doctoral degree in philosophy from the Jagiellonian University in Krakow in 1915. In 1918, he gained doctoral degrees in law and political science in Prague. Beginning in 1920, he taught history in Jewish gymnasiums in Łódź. In 1932, he moved to Warsaw to run a boarding school at the Gymnasium of the Merchants’ Guild (*Zgromadzenie Kupców miasta stołecznego Warszawy*). The same year, he published *Samorząd uczniowski jako czynnik wychowania społecznego*. See Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 49.

²¹ Michał Brandstaetter (1882–1943), a distinguished Jewish philologist and teacher. Born in Tarnów, where he graduated from a gymnasium, he studied philology at the University of Vienna and in Lvov. He specialised in Latin, Greek, German and Polish. His talent recognised by the director of the Sixth Gymnasium in Lvov, Brandstaetter became a schoolteacher before completing the necessary exams. He continued working at the Jewish gymnasium in Lvov and at the state school. Pressured by the objections of the education authorities, who dictated that Jewish teachers could not work in both places at the same time, Brandstaetter decided to quit the state gymnasium. In 1921, Markus Braude persuaded Brandstaetter to come to Łódź, where he became director of the Second Men’s Gymnasium. Two years later, after Zygmunt Bromberg-Bytkowski’s resignation, he was named director of the Women’s Gymnasium. Brandstaetter held that title until 1939. Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 91–92.

²² Zygmunt Bromberg-Bytkowski (1866–1923), a journalist, poet and Zionist activist. Born in Stryj, he attended a gymnasium in Tarnów, where, influenced by Polish romantic poetry, from 1897 he made an attempt at colonisation in land purchased from Rothschild; after 1902 returned to Galicia, returned to studies of law and philosophy in Lvov and Vienna, 1908 completed his teaching exams and started working at the Second Gymnasium in Lvov, 1917 moved to Łódź and became the director of the Women’s Gymnasium of the Society of Jewish Secondary Schools, active with the Hazomir Literary and Musical Society, published *Tel Awiv* (1919–1921). See Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 105–107.

²³ Chaim Ormian (1901–1982), pedagogue and scholar in the field of Jewish education. Born in Tarnow, he received traditional Jewish and general education. Active in the Hashomer Hatzair, he belonged to its leadership in Galicia. Having earned his doctoral degree in psychology at the University in Vienna, Ormian returned to Poland and taught at the Hebrew gymnasium in Łódź from 1925 to 1936. He published books on pedagogy and psychology

tion in the Second Polish Republic.²⁶ In 1928, Friedman argued on the pages of the journal published by the students of Braude schools, *Nasze życie* (“Our Life”), that the only path to the much-needed rebirth of the Jewish nation was “the youth, the maturing generation of the future.”²⁷ In order to ensure that future, the schools offered a bilingual approach, integrating the two cultures while still preserving a strong sense of Jewish identity. Students visited Polish historical sites and read Polish historical sources.²⁸ Szymon Rogoziński, who attended the First Boys’ Gymnasium in Łódź, remembered that “Our school’s Zionism did not conflict at all with its stated goal of molding pupils into loyal and patriotic Polish citizens. We celebrated every national holiday.”²⁹ Braude’s schools embraced a Polish and European education while nurturing among their students a feeling of Jewish national solidarity. “At home we spoke Polish ...” – said Rogoziński of his cultural identity. He continued to stress that “I knew I was a Pole, but for me Poland was a »Commonwealth of many nations ... of Poles and Jews, Germans and Ukrainians and Whiterussians.«”³⁰ Therefore, as one historian argued, this approach “equipped a child with the moral strength to live as a proud member of a national minority in Poland.”³¹

Braude aimed at raising socially active future leaders of the community, and expected of them “enthusiasm and activism.”³² Arnold Mostowicz, who attended the Gymnasium in Łódź, stressed that his teachers applied “novel pedagogical methods.”³³ These included a student government, student

and contributed to such newspapers as *Lodzer tageblatt*, *Dos Kind* and *YIVO Bleter*. In 1936, he emigrated to Israel.

²⁴ Wilhelm (Wolf) Fallek (1887–1941), literary scholar, theater reviewer and teacher. Born in Krakow, passed gymnasium exams at the prestigious St. Ann’s Gymnasium in Krakow and studied law at the Jagiellonian University. See Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 114–115.

²⁵ Arieh Tartakower (1897–1982) a sociologist, demographer, community leader and a Zionist activist. Tartakower was born in Brody and attended the University in Vienna. He lectured on the sociology of the Jews at the Institute of Jewish Sciences in Warsaw. Served as a member of the city council in Łódź, and was founder and chairman of Hitahadut, the Labour Zionist organisation in Poland, and a member of the World Zionist Actions Committee from 1927. In 1939, he immigrated to the United States. During World War II, he directed the Department of Relief and Rehabilitation of the World Jewish Congress during World War II. In 1946, he settled in Palestine and lectured on Jewish sociology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

²⁶ See Robert M. Shapiro, *Jewish Self-government in Poland: Łódź 1914–1939*, doctoral dissertation submitted at Columbia University, 1987.

²⁷ Filip Friedman, “Ruch młodzieży”, *Nasze życie* (December 1, 1928): 4.

²⁸ Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 116.

²⁹ Rogoziński, *My Fortunate Life*, 25.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

³¹ Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 49.

³² “O dalszą drogę”, *Nasze życie. Pismo młodzieży* (October II (1), 1929): 1.

³³ Spodenkiewicz, *Zaginiona dzielnica*, 44.

newspapers such as *Ogniwa* (“Links”) and the bilingual Polish-Hebrew *Nasze życie/Hayeynu* (“Our Lives”), school choirs and orchestras.³⁴ Rogoziński expressed his appreciation for having been “imbued with the basics necessary both for professional and for communal life,”³⁵ According to its graduates, the school “raised people who were socially responsible. I don’t know anybody from my class who remained a passive observer of life.”³⁶ Braude gymnasium graduates practiced this activism in both Poland and Palestine, as they were prepared for both.³⁷

Braude insisted that Polish as the language of instruction was not an obstacle to the national Jewish character of the schools. In his open letter to Jakub Wygodzki (1856–1941), a Zionist activist in Wilno and a member of the Jewish caucus in the Polish Parliament, Braude criticised the vision of Jewish schools with Hebrew or Yiddish as the language of instruction being the only national Jewish schools in Poland: “There are many schools in Poland with Polish as their language of instruction, which were established by nationally sensitive circles with the goal of turning these schools into centres of national upbringing and a wellspring for the broadly defined Jewish studies for the Jewish youth, for our youth.”³⁸ Efraim Shmueli, who attended the Second Gymnasium in Łódź, characterised the schooling offered there as “modern Jewish education.”³⁹

Braude’s approach to Jewish studies challenged students coming from families described as “assimilated.” Friedman based his lectures on primary sources and combined general history with Jewish history.⁴⁰ For the students with orthodox or even Hasidic background, the programme offered a challenging new approach to Jewish studies. With regard to Jewish studies, Rapaport found the secular approach (“*der veltlekher zugang*”) difficult to adopt.⁴¹ When studying the Bible, male students and teachers covered their heads, but they sat bare-headed when they studied Jewish history or Hebrew literature. While many of his teachers were quite traditional, they were not expected to strengthen religiosity among their students.⁴²

³⁴ See Efraim Shmueli, *Ba-dor ha-Yehudi ha-aharon be-Polin* (Tel Aviv: Alef, 1986), 170.

³⁵ Rogoziński, *My Fortunate Life*, 19.

³⁶ Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 49.

³⁷ See Shmueli, *Ba-dor ha-Yehudi*, 171. See also his telling description of the class taught by Shmuel Rieger in “Contemporary Poland”, 165–169.

³⁸ Marcus Braude, “Język wykładowy, a narodowy charakter szkoły żydowskiej. List otwarty sen.[atora] Braudego do pos.[ła] Wygodzkiego”, *Nowy Dziennik* no. 37 (February 15, 1926): 7.

³⁹ Shmueli, *Ba-dor ha-Yehudi*, 170.

⁴⁰ See Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 116.

⁴¹ Harav Dr. Y. Rapaport, *A neshamalikhht farn tzvaytn yidishn gimnazyum in Lodz*, 66–67.

⁴² *Ibid.*

Indeed, Braude saw the programme of Jewish studies, the link with the Jewish past and Jewish culture, as crucial to the school's national character. He took pride in the Jewish secondary schools, and especially in the 21 schools affiliated with the Union of Social Associations Supporting Jewish Secondary Schools in Poland (*Związek zrzeszeń społecznych utrzymujących szkoły średnie w Polsce*), with "the spirit of national awareness, in which Jewish studies are being taught in such a wide scope that they can lay to a lesser and greater extent durable foundations for the system of our national upbringing."⁴³ In particular, he took pride in the ten weekly hours of Jewish studies taught in Hebrew.⁴⁴ By contrast, he insisted that these schools had the right to call themselves Jewish schools "more than, for example, schools with Yiddish as their language of instruction, managed by our home-grown 'Bundists,'⁴⁵ which systematically murder in children any positive Jewish thought and any sense of connection with our national tradition and our national history."⁴⁶ In the context of the majority of Jewish children attending Polish state schools, Braude declared:

Regardless of our struggle for creation by the State of an appropriate number of schools with Hebrew or Yiddish as the language of instruction, our work ought to be directed as well in the direction for introduction into schools with Polish as the language of instruction of an appropriate programme of Jewish studies and turning these schools away from any tendencies of denationalising our children.⁴⁷

Braude contended with official resistance to granting accreditation to schools whose goal was to produce students equally adept in Polish and Hebrew.

All students at Braude schools in Łódź spoke Polish. In the account of one of the graduates: "One [student] spoke better with a pure accent, another one spoke worse—with a foreign accent. But one spoke Polish. Polish was spoken in class, on the street, at home and while playing sport."⁴⁸ While Polish

⁴³ Braude, *Język wykładowy, a narodowy charakter szkoły żydowskiej*, 7.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ The Bund – a socialist Jewish party founded in 1897 in Wilno as *Der Algemeyner Yidisher Arbeter Bund in Lite, Poyln, un Rusland* (The General Union of Jewish Workers in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia). In the Second Polish Republic, the party opposed Zionism and based its programme on the concept of *doikayt* (hereness). It portrayed itself as the guardian of secular Yiddish Jewish culture. The Bund played a central role in organising Jewish trade unions and campaigned for the national rights of the workers.

⁴⁶ Braude, *Język wykładowy, a narodowy charakter szkoły żydowskiej*, 7.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Harav Dr. Y. Rapaport, *A neshamalikhht farn tzvaytn yidishn gimnazyum in Lodz*, 66. Rabbi Rapaport arrived in Łódź to attend the gymnasium and was proudly wearing the blue cap instead of his Hassidic hat. He had previously been a student at Mesivta-Yeshiva in War-

was the language of everyday life at school, Hebrew occupied an important place as well. On the other hand, it was not only the Bible that was studied in Hebrew, but also Jewish history and Hebrew literature. Students carried out discussions in Hebrew and wrote assignments in Hebrew.⁴⁹

The Society supervised bilingual Polish-Hebrew schools in Poland under the auspices of the aforementioned umbrella organisation, the Union of Social Associations Supporting Jewish Secondary Schools in Poland, with Arje Tartakower as its secretary.⁵⁰ In his 1926 interview with the Krakow Jewish daily *Nowy Dziennik* (“New Daily”), Braude took pride in “over forty Jewish secondary schools (gymnasiums and seminaries) with Hebrew as the language of instruction, and the bilingual schools in which Judaic subjects are taught in Hebrew, which take a substantial place in the programme of instruction.”⁵¹ As early as 1918, Braude initiated the creation of a Jewish Teachers Seminar in Łódź.⁵² In 1926, he argued that Jewish secondary schools with Hebrew as a language of instruction or with a programme of Jewish studies taught in Hebrew required “a cohort of seasoned pedagogues with expert higher Judaic training.”⁵³ In order to educate such teachers, Braude envisioned the idea of creating an academic centre for training Polish Jewish scholars in the field of Jewish studies.⁵⁴

saw. He was a grandson of the esteemed rabbi of Łódź, Rabbi Yisahar Beer Radoshitzer, who passed away in 1920. His family did not welcome him when he came to Łódź to study at the Hebrew gymnasium on Magistracka Street. Rapaport was able to speak and write Polish, having graduated from a state school in his hometown. Before coming to Łódź to enrol at the gymnasium, he never used the language in his daily life except for occasional clients of his parents and their Gentile employees (“*shabbes goy*”). *Ibid.*, 65–66.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 66. Rapaport complained that, of 30 students in his grade, only two spoke Hebrew on principle: one was a member of the “Gordonia” Zionist youth organisation and the other was the son of a Hebrew teacher. Rapaport felt culturally estranged not only with Polish being the daily language of communication among his fellow students but also with the complete removal of Yiddish – the language he had used until then at home, among friends, at the study house (*beit medresh*) and in the *yeshiva* – from his life at the gymnasium. While replacing Yiddish with Polish, he felt that with not using Yiddish “his own feathers were plucked off him and he was cold while the foreign ones [languages] gave him no particular warmth”. *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Spodenkiewicz, *Zaginiona dzielnica*, 42.

⁵¹ “Akademia dla Nauk Judaistycznych w Polsce. Wywiad z Senatorem Drem Braudem (od naszego korespondenta łódzkiego)”, *Nowy Dziennik* no. 23 (January 29, 1926): 5.

⁵² See Central Zionist Archives (CZA), Z3/173, p. 264, Protocol dated 5 June, 1918. I would like to thank Prof. Marcos Silber for sharing this document with me.

⁵³ *Akademia dla Nauk Judaistycznych w Polsce*, 5.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Institute of Jewish Studies in Warsaw

In January 1926, Braude was chosen as chair of the board of the Society for the Advancement of Judaic Studies in Poland (*Towarzystwo Krzewienia Nauk Judaistycznych w Polsce*).⁵⁵ Commenting on this choice, *Nowy Dziennik* described Braude as “the founder of Jewish secondary education in Poland,” and assured its readers that he was “the main initiator of the Association and with tireless energy for a long time he had been working on founding this new, so important institution and for realising its goals.”⁵⁶ According to its chair, the association was to “create a centre for deepening and cultivating Jewish studies in the widest possible sense and to establish an institute of university character to prepare cadres of people with university degrees willing to commit to teaching Jewish studies in Jewish secondary school.”⁵⁷

The Institute opened in Warsaw in 1927, at a time when Jewish studies were largely absent from Polish universities, thanks to the efforts and lobbying of the Society for the Advancement of Judaic Studies in Poland of which Braude was an active member, and operated with financial backing from B'nai B'rith.⁵⁸ The new institution claimed to represent the entire Polish Jewish community: a non-partisan, apolitical institution where Polish Jews came together to engage in research.⁵⁹ The founders of the Institute described its opening as an important development “for the glory of Polish Jewry,”⁶⁰ need-

⁵⁵ “Z Towarzystwa Krzewienia Nauk Judaistycznych w Polsce”, *Nowy Dziennik* (January 15, 1926): 11.

⁵⁶ *Akademia dla Nauk Judaistycznych w Polsce*, 5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem (CAHJP), Gelber Collection P83, G560, *Statut Towarzystwa Krzewienia Nauk Judaistycznych w Polsce*, 6. Izrael M. Biderman, *Mayer Balaban: Historian of Polish Jewry: His Influence on the Younger Generation of Jewish Historians* (New York: Dr. I. M. Biderman Book Committee, 1976), 76. On the role of the Institute see Marua Dotzen-Dold, “‘A Matter of National and Civic Honor’: Majer Balaban and the Institute of Jewish Studies in Warsaw”, *East European Jewish Affairs*, Winter, no. 2 (2004): 55–72; Natalia Aleksium, “Training a generation of Jewish historians: Majer Balaban’s seminar on the history of Polish Jews”, in *Zwischen Graetz und Dubnow; jüdische Historiographie in Ostmitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. François Guesnet (Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 2009), 147–176. For the budget of the Institute, see the budgets in *Archiwum Akt Nowych* (AAN), B’nei B’rith, files 8 and 9.

⁵⁹ Prof. Dr. Moshe Schorr, “Di Yidishe Visenshaft un dos yidish bukh in Poylen”, in *Haynt: Haint Yubilei Bukh 1908-1928: Yubilei Numer*, 96.

⁶⁰ Moshe Schorr, “Stan i potrzeby wiedzy żydowskiej w dobie dzisiejszej; inaugural lecture given at the opening of the Institute, February 19, 1928”, in *Sprawozdanie Instytutu 1927/28–1928/29*, XXI.

ing its own centre of scholarship as “a matter of national and civic honour.”⁶¹ Braude argued that the Institute “fulfils a vital mission vis-à-vis Jewish scholarship and Polish Jewry.”⁶²

The Institute brought together a number of important scholars in the field of Jewish studies: Mojżesz Schorr,⁶³ Majer Bałaban,⁶⁴ Edmund (Menachem) Stein,⁶⁵ Izrael Ostersetzer⁶⁶ and Abraham Weiss,⁶⁷ among others. Most shared not only Galician roots, but also an intellectual background, combining “in their minds the knowledge acquired later with that brought from their homes

⁶¹ Inaugural speech by Dr Markus Braude delivered at the opening of the Institute on February 19, 1928, quoted in “Otwarcie Instytutu Nauk Judaistycznych”, in *Sprawozdanie Instytutu 1927/28–1928/29*, IX. Markus Braude described creating Polish Jewry’s own Institute of Jewish Studies as a “national and civic honour”, *ibid.*

⁶² Markus Braude, Mayer Bałaban, “Sprawozdanie kuratorium”, in *Księga Jubileuszowa Braudego*, 7 (v).

⁶³ Moshe Schorr (1874–1941), historian, Semitic-language scholar, and rabbi. Born in Przemyśl, he studied philosophy and history at the University of Vienna and then at the University of Lvov, where he received his PhD in history in 1898. Two years later he was ordained as a rabbi in Vienna. A founder of Polish Jewish historiography, Schorr’s scholarly research focused on the pre-partition organisation of Jewish self-government and the history of the Jews of Przemyśl. See Natalia Aleksion, “Schorr Moshe”, in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Schorr_Mojzesz [accessed 5.04.2015].

⁶⁴ Majer Bałaban (1877–1942), Polish Jewish historian and educator. Born in Lvov, Bałaban studied law but decided to transfer to history. He completed his doctoral dissertation in 1904, on Jews in Lvov at the turn of the seventeenth century. From 1920 to 1930, he directed secular studies at the newly founded Mizraḥi rabbinical school, Taḥkemoni, in Warsaw and in 1928 began lecturing on Jewish history at the University of Warsaw. See Robert Moses Shapiro, “Bałaban Majer”, in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Ba%C5%82aban_Majer [accessed 01.09. 2014].

⁶⁵ Edmund Stein (ca. 1893–1943), a scholar in the field of Jewish studies, Hebrew translator and writer. Born in Eastern Galicia, he continued his traditional education at a gymnasium in Borysław and at the universities in Krakow and Berlin. In Berlin, he also studied at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums. He was appointed inspector of Hebrew studies for bilingual secondary schools based in Łódź. See Nathan Cohen, “Stein Edmund”, in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Stein_Edmund [accessed 01.09. 2014].

⁶⁶ Izrael Ostersetzer (1904–1942), a Talmud scholar. Born in Kolomyja, he studied with Rabbi Meir Szapira (1887–1934) but also graduated from the highschool in his town as an extern. He continued his studies at the Universities of Krakow and Warsaw. In 1927, he received a doctorate at Warsaw University in history and classical philology. At the Institute of Jewish Studies he taught Talmud and Hebrew medieval literature.

⁶⁷ Abraham Weiss (1895–1970), a scholar of Talmud and Jewish history. Born in Podhajce, he received ordination from David Horowitz in Stanisławów. In 1921, he completed a Ph.D. in History and Classical Philology at the University of Vienna. He also studied with Rabbi Apowitzter, from whom he received an additional certificate of ordination in 1922. He moved to Warsaw in order to teach Talmud at the State Seminary for the Teachers of Mosaic Faith since 1923. In 1928, he joined the faculty of the Institute of Jewish Studies in Warsaw. In 1940, he emigrated to the United States, where he taught at the Yeshiva University in New York.

and the ghetto, i.e., secular with Judaic knowledge, and in this way they laid the foundations for the exquisite development of the knowledge about Jewishness, the study of our past, and above all the revival of the Hebrew language.”⁶⁸

The faculty, which included Stein, Ostersetzer and Weiss, and in several academic years also Itzhak Schiper⁶⁹ and Filip Friedman, wanted this centre of Jewish scholarship to achieve a status comparable to that of a university.⁷⁰ Students took classes in ancient, medieval, early modern and economic history, along with the Bible, Talmud, and Talmudic literature, Jewish legal codes and response, Midrash, philosophy, Hebrew and Aramaic grammar, literature, pedagogy, apologetics, homiletics, linguistics, and Eretz Israel studies (*palestynografia*).⁷¹ Jewish political, cultural and economic history formed the core of the Institute’s programme of study for future rabbis, teachers and social workers.⁷² The Institute sought to educate teachers of Mosaic faith (Judaism), Hebrew language and literature for secondary schools, and to train rabbis conversant with the methods of modern research.⁷³ In fact, it was to prepare educators to enlighten and transform Polish Jews: it sought to edu-

⁶⁸ *Księga Jubileuszowa ku czci Prof. Dr. Mojżesza Schorra*, 9.

⁶⁹ Itzhak (Ignacy) Schiper (1884–1943), a historian and Jewish political activist. He was born in Tarnów, and educated both at the cheder and at the Polish secondary school. Continued his studies at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow and at the University of Vienna, where he received his doctoral degree. He became a pioneer in Jewish economic history.

⁷⁰ Eden, “Ha-Machon”, 330; I. Ostersetzer, “Instytut Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie. Z cyklu: ‘Wyższe Żyd. Instytuty Naukowe w Polsce’”, *Miesięcznik Żydowski* 1 (1931): 273. See also Dold, *Matter of National*, 56.

⁷¹ See “Wykaz obowiązkowych wykładów i ćwiczeń seminaryjnych: II do egzaminu końcowego and Wykaz obowiązkowych wykładów i ćwiczeń seminaryjnych: I do egzaminu przejściowego, LXIII”, in *Sprawozdanie Instytutu 1927/28–1928/29*, LXIII–LXIV.

⁷² The curriculum designed for all students at the Institute discussed in detail the knowledge expected of its graduates. Before the final oral exams, while rabbinical candidates and future teachers of Mosaic faith could choose history as the topic for one of their essays, future teachers of Judaic subjects were obliged to write an essay in Jewish history. See “Porządek studiów w Instytucie Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie”, in *Sprawozdanie Instytutu 1927/28–1928/29*, LVIII. See also the subjects for the final oral examinations of rabbis and teachers, social workers: *ibid.*, LIX–LXI.

⁷³ Majer Bałaban, “Wiedza żydowska i jej uczelnie w Polsce”, in *Instytut Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 1927): 35. See also the assessment of the field of Polish Jewish history in the inaugural lecture delivered by Schorr on February 19, 1928 – Mojżesz Schorr, “Stan i potrzeby wiedzy żydowskiej w dobie obecnej”, in *Sprawozdanie Instytutu Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie za lata 1927/28–1928/29*, XX. About other goals of the Institute see also the speech delivered by Dr Markus Braude at the opening of the Institute, in *Sprawozdanie Instytutu 1927/28–1928/29*, VIII–X. In 1932, the Ministry of Religion and Education organised an Examination Commission at the Institute which was assigned the task of examining teachers of Mosaic Faith for high schools, headed by Schorr, with Majer Bałaban as the vice president. See “Sprawozdanie za lata akademickie 1931/32, 1932/33, 1933/34”, in *Księga Jubile-*

cate secondary school teachers of the Mosaic faith, Hebrew language and literature, and from the 1929–1930 academic year onwards to train progressive rabbis.⁷⁴ Braude seems at first to have been hesitant about this last development. In 1926, he still described the idea of opening a “modern theological seminary [in Poland] as lacking a practical basis” due to its divisive character and the negative attitudes of the Orthodox.⁷⁵ However, he soon became a supporter of the initiative. During the first two years only future social workers were trained.⁷⁶ The 1929 report on the Institute’s activities stated that “Jewish society in Poland lacks an institution for educating academically-trained rabbis, which would enable progressive circles of Jewish society to appoint for rabbinical posts people with deep religious and secular knowledge.” Such rabbis needed to be trained in Poland to best serve their community.⁷⁷ According to the Institute’s charter, approved by the Ministry of Education and Religion in 1925 and confirmed in 1929, “the rabbinical faculty has the goal to educate and certify by examinations ... rabbis and to train teachers of Jewish religion in high schools.”⁷⁸ It is no surprise that the leaders of the Institute called it “Braude’s labour of love.”⁷⁹

It is likely that Braude’s position as a rabbi of the progressive Synagogue on Kościuszki Boulevard complemented the vision implemented by his three gymnasiums and led to his involvement in the training of enlightened rabbis in Warsaw. This progressive synagogue was attended not only by Jewish

uszowa ku czci Prof. Dr. Mojżesza Schorra, *Pisma Instytutu Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 1935): 6, III–IV; Eden, *Ha-Machon*, 325.

⁷⁴ See the speech delivered by Dr Markus Braude at the opening of the Institute, in “Sprawozdanie Instytutu Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie za lata akademickie 1927/28–1928/29”, published together with Majer Bałaban, “Zabytki historyczne Żydów w Polsce (z 48 rycinami na 16 tablicach)”, in *Pisma Instytutu Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 1929), VIII–X.

⁷⁵ *Akademia dla nauk judaistycznych w Polsce*. On the influence of progressive Judaism in Poland see Michał Galas, “The influence of progressive Judaism in Poland: an outline”, *Shofar* 29.3 (2011): 55–67.

⁷⁶ See Eden, *Ha-Machon*, 326. The section for social workers closed down to financial difficulties of the Institute during the 1931/32 academic year. See also “Rozbudowa Instytutu”, in *Sprawozdanie Instytutu Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie za lata akademickie 1927/28–1928/29*, XXIV. The report was dated July 1929 and signed by Dr Markus Braude, Prof. Majer Bałaban and Prof. Mojżesz Schorr.

⁷⁷ “Rozbudowa Instytutu”, in *Sprawozdanie Instytutu Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie za lata akademickie 1927/28–1928/29*, XXIV.

⁷⁸ “Status Instytutu Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie”, in *Sprawozdanie Instytutu Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie za lata akademickie 1927/28–1928/29*, XXIX.

⁷⁹ *Księga Jubileuszowa ku czci Dr. Marka Braudego* (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Krzewienia Nauk Judaistycznych w Polsce, 1931), 3.

bourgeoisie, but also by Jewish gymnasium students, who went there on state holidays.⁸⁰ Henryk Francuz remembered one such encounter with Braude:

I heard him only once. He gave a sermon at the synagogue after Piłsudski's death. There were students of the Jewish gymnasium, but also students from other schools, including mine. What was so extraordinary about this speech was that it was delivered in excellent Polish.⁸¹

In his understanding of Jewish religious communities, Braude combined Eastern and Western European models. In 1924, Braude affirmed the wide definition of the *kehillah* prerogatives: "Such an understanding of the Jewish *kehillah* is in fact in harmony with the tradition of the Polish State. Independent Poland never saw it only as a religious community, but treated it always as a basic organisational form of Polish Jewry." The notion of limiting the *kehillah* (*gmina żydowska*) to fulfilling only religious needs, argued Braude, was new and imported from Western Europe.⁸² In 1937, Braude was also the founding president of the Association of Rabbis with Higher Education, representing a Western model of rabbinic training that was unusual in Poland.

Montefiore Lodge of B'nai B'rith

In 1926, Braude played a leading role in the founding of and served as mentor for the Łódź chapter of B'nai B'rith Montefiore Humanitarian Society.⁸³ According to Braude's vision of a venue for the Jewish elite, B'nai B'rith allowed for "concentrated organising of the Jews who thanks to their education and their social standing are predestined to become Jewish leaders."⁸⁴ Indeed, the Montefiore lodge played a major role in the social sphere of Jewish Łódź as a place in which two very different Jewish communities were brought together: the powerful Jewish bourgeoisie and the city's Zionist intelligentsia.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 84 and 95.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *The 70th session of the Senate* (July 28, 1924): 2.

⁸³ See Przemysław Waingertner, "Stowarzyszenie humanitarne 'Montefiore - B'nei B'rith' w Łodzi (1926-1938)", in *Polacy - Niemcy - Żydzi w Łodzi w XIX i XX wieku. Sąsiedzi dalecy i bliscy*, ed. Paweł Samuś (Kunowice, 1997), 402-410.

⁸⁴ Ozjasz Thon, "Nasz Cel", *Bnai Brith. Organ Związku Stowarzyszeń Humanitarnych Bnai Brith w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, R. 1, no. 1 (November, 1928): 4.0

⁸⁵ Its first chairman was the legendary factory owner, Oskar Kon, who was also associated with B'nai B'rith through his son, Maks, who married the daughter of Mojżesz Schorr, a Warsaw branch activist and a distinguished scholar. Among members were Borys Ejtingon, Mark-

For the business elite that made up much its membership, B'nai B'rith was a unique opportunity to learn more about Jewish culture and Jewish issues. Among the lecturers invited to the lodge were renowned teachers from the Society of Jewish Secondary Schools: Jeremiasz Frenkiel, Michał Brandstatter, Arie Tartakower, Abraham Perelman, and Wilhelm Fallek.⁸⁶ The local Jewish elite was able to use a rich Jewish library with books in Jewish history, literature and culture. B'nai B'rith also set up the annual Braude Scholarship, 300 zlotys. Furthermore, Braude was able to mobilise his fellow members to support numerous projects, including the monthly *Miesięcznik Żydowski* edited by Zygmunt Ellenberg and the founding of the Warsaw-based Institute of Judaic Studies in Warsaw.⁸⁷

Conclusions

Braude developed his concepts through his educational initiatives: at the bilingual Polish-Hebrew gymnasiums in Łódź, at the Institute of Jewish Studies in Warsaw and at the Łódź lodge of *B'nai B'rith*. What was the response to Braude's vision and his educational efforts? He complained in 1931 that "our appeal to other Jewish communities in Poland was completely disappointing," ascribing it to the apparent "lack of understanding of the significant mission which the Institute fulfils vis-à-vis Jewish science and Polish Jewry."⁸⁸ The Jewish school system in interwar Poland remained a complex maze of independent private institutions as well as those linked to various religious, cultural and political movements.⁸⁹ In addition to Braude's schools, private Jewish schools included other educational movements, with and without government recognition: the *Tsisho* (Central Jewish School Organisation) committed to secular Yiddish education, created at a 1921 conference in Warsaw; the Hebrew-language *Tarbut* schools, and Yiddish-Hebrew (*Shul-Kult*) schools. Mizrahi created its own school organisation, *Yavne*, while Aguda developed a chain of *Khoyrev* schools for boys and *Beys Yankev* estab-

us Braude and executives included: Samuel Józef Schweig, Filip Friedman and Saul Rieger. See Spodenkiewicz, *The Missing District*, 76–77.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁸⁷ In addition to financial support, the society provided the magazine with office space. *Ibid.*, 116, 78.

⁸⁸ M. Braude, M. Bałaban, "Sprawozdanie kuratorium", in *Księga Jubileuszowa Braudego* 8 (v).

⁸⁹ See Dr Arje Tartakower, "Problem szkolnictwa żydowskiego w Polsce", in *Almanach Szkolnictwa Żydowskiego w Polsce, Trzeci zeszyt okazowy*, ed. J. Zineman (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo "Renesans", 1937), 7–12.

ishments for girls.⁹⁰ Despite the variety of ideological choices, the majority of Jewish pupils – about 60% of those attending primary schools – enrolled at free state institutions, including schools set up for Jewish children, the so-called “szabasówki” (because there were no classes on *shabbat* or Saturdays). In addition, Jewish students attended private schools operated by entrepreneurs and lacking a clear ideological direction.⁹¹ Last but not least, the leaders of B’nai B’rith complained of their limited influence and a slow pace of growth in attracting new members. Two years after its founding, the chapter in Łódź numbered only 28 members.

Students who graduated from Braude secondary schools and graduates of the Institute of Jewish Studies at Warsaw University formed a significant group involved in the closely intertwined fields of education, pedagogy and teacher training in the nascent state of Israel, involved and engaged in the country’s life beyond the confines of a university. With some similarities to resurrected Poland after the First World War, their experiences and attitudes, formed in Poland, were necessarily called upon in their new positions and the new tasks and challenges of the national project in Israel, ostensibly adjusted to the Israeli context. This raises a question for future research: in what ways did the interwar notions of history – engaged and national – affect the teaching of history in Israel and the attitudes of the younger generation?⁹² To name but a few, Mahler, Handel and Ziv (active in the Braude network of schools in Łódź) wrote textbooks widely used in Israeli schools. In all of the aspects of his communal activities, Braude was deeply concerned with the

⁹⁰ See Jakub Zineman, ed., *Almanach szkolnictwa żydowskiego w Polsce* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo “Renesans”, 1938); Miriam Eisenstein, *Jewish Schools in Poland, 1919–39: Their Philosophy and Development* (New York: Columbia University, King’s Crown Press, 1950).

⁹¹ Around 1935, more than 350,000 Jewish students attended state schools, and another 100,000 officially recognised private institutions, almost all of them Jewish institutions (only some 5,000 of these were enrolled in non-Jewish private establishments). Probably as many as another 100,000 children were part of institutions and establishments without such official state recognition. About 2,200 Jewish teachers taught at Khorev schools and 500 at *Jawne*. Tarbut 1300 teachers, *Ciszo* more than 700, The Zionist Hebrew-oriented *Tarbut* ran 269 institutions with 37,000 students. The Yiddishist *Ciszo* had 215 institutions, 754 teachers and 23,000 students. The association to support Jewish secondary schools (*Związek Zrzeszeń Społecznych Utrzymujących Szkoły Średnie w Polsce*) administered bilingual Polish and Hebrew schools and ran 41 institutions – mainly secondary schools – 230 teachers and 4700 students. *Szul-kult*, meanwhile, had only 18 institutions, 65 teachers, and 2065 students. See Dr Arje Tartakower, “Problem szkolnictwa żydowskiego w Polsce”, in *Almanach Szkolnictwa Żydowskiego w Polsce*, 9–10; Kazdan, *Di geshikhte fun yidishn shulvezn*, 550–551.

⁹² Many can be counted among this group. See for example the lists of students in Eden, and in Weiss and Weiss. Many became teachers. Eden, Feldman and many others worked in the Israeli Ministry of Education as supervisors and were involved in preparing national teaching programs. Mahler, Handel and Ziv (active in the Braude network of schools in Łódź) wrote textbooks widely used in Israeli schools.

future of Jewish youth that was losing interest in Jewish causes. To respond to their dilemmas, he created a model for the future Jewish elite in Poland. It was based on Jewish national consciousness and fluency in Hebrew, as well as social activism and academic excellence.