SJHSS 2019 DOI | 10.26613/sjhss/2.2.48

The Evolution of the Orthodox Jewish Community in Cleveland, Ohio, 1940 to the Present

Ira Robinson
Concordia Institute for Canadian Jewish Studies

Abstract

The article first summarizes the history of Orthodox Jewry in Cleveland from the mid-nineteenth century up to the Second World War, based on an article I wrote on that period that is published elsewhere. It begins to consider the postwar period by examining some significant issues with respect to Orthodox Holocaust survivors coming to Cleveland. It continues with a discussion of the founding of the Telshe Yeshiva and deals with its considerable significance in the postwar development of Cleveland Orthodoxy. It discusses the founding of the first Orthodox day school in Cleveland, the Hebrew Academy, in 1943, and the significance of the proliferation of day schools in the 1980s. It examines the establishment of Orthodox synagogues in the Cleveland Heights/University Heights area in the 1950s and later in Beachwood. It discusses developments in the regulation of kashrut in this era including the influence of the Cleveland Jewish Federation on local kashrut through the 1990s and the Haredization of kashrut standards at the end of the twentieth century. Postwar relations and tensions between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews in Cleveland, both institutionally and on a grassroots level, are considered. The article concludes with a survey of the Orthodox Jewish community of Cleveland in the early twenty-first century with special emphasis on its educational initiatives and the relationship between "yeshivish" and "modern" Orthodox Jews.

FOREWORD: ORTHODOX JUDAISM IN CLEVELAND 1839–1940[1]

When, in the 1840s, Cleveland Jews began to create their first synagogues, they were designed to adhere as closely as possible to the traditional synagogue models those Jews knew. Though certain "Reform" tendencies appeared in Cleveland around mid-century, both of the city's congregations remained essentially traditional for some years. By the late nineteenth century, however, the established Jewish community in Cleveland largely adhered to Reform Judaism.

When the late nineteenth and early twentieth century wave of Eastern European Jewish immigrants arrived in Cleveland, the acculturated German-Jewish establishment of Cleveland tended to look at all of them as different from themselves; "Orthodox" regardless of their level of Judaic observance. Eastern European Jews in Cleveland had perforce to establish their own synagogues as well as a variety of self-help organizations.

The proliferation of immigrant Orthodox congregations in Cleveland at the turn of the twentieth century followed patterns common to most North American Jewish centers. Synagogues formed on the basis of European place of origin. Another criterion was liturgy, with some congregations praying in the Ashkenazic liturgy prevalent in much of Eastern Europe while others prayed with the essentially Hasidic liturgy of Nusach Sfard.

Sabbath observance was another criterion. Though the Eastern European synagogues of Cleveland were themselves completely traditional, many of their members were not strict Sabbath observers because of the economic realities of America, where jobs enabling observance of the Sabbath were scarce. However, several Cleveland congregations at the turn of the century accepted only Sabbath observers as members.

Yet another issue leading to the proliferation of synagogues was internal strife. The issue of separate seating of men and women, which in particular came to define the difference between Orthodox and non-Orthodox congregations in the twentieth century, caused the breakup of several synagogues and the establishment of Orthodox breakaway congregations.

The insensitivity of Cleveland's Reform-oriented Jewish Federation to the special needs of Orthodox Jews over decades resulted in the establishment of parallel Orthodox communal organizations, including an Orthodox Old Age Home (1906) and an Orthodox Jewish Children's Home (1919). Though in 1926 Federation offered its first financial assistance to Orthodox Jewish institutions, during the lean times of the Depression it refused to financially rescue Orthodox institutions, leaving a mutual bitterness that lasted for decades.

Orthodox Jews in Cleveland sent their children to the Cleveland public school system in the prewar years. Until the 1940s, Jewish education thus meant supplementary institutions that met after school or on weekends. These included Sunday Schools, which met once weekly, and were inspired by the dominant Reform model, and afternoon Hebrew schools, meeting several times weekly, that could present a wider curriculum. Most prominent among these was the Cleveland Hebrew School. However, that school's perceived secularist bent did not sit well with more traditionalist elements who established Yeshivath Adath Bnei Israel [YABI], a school more in line with traditional Judaic education, in 1915.

In 1929, Rabbi Judah Heshel Levenberg moved to Cleveland from New Haven with a mandate to bring his Yeshiva with him. This experiment in higher Talmudic learning in Cleveland did not go well. There was internal dissension among yeshiva faculty, and the Depression made for hard financial times for the institution. The first Cleveland experiment with a yeshiva ended, in 1938, with Rabbi Levenberg's death.

Cleveland's Orthodox rabbis often fought with each other. The synagogues they served could not give them an adequate salary, so most of them depended economically on positions in the kosher meat industry. The fact that there were never enough such positions meant that rabbis found themselves in a tight economic competition and that constituted a major cause for the chaotic situation in Cleveland kashrut until the 1940s.

Another important structural reason for this situation was conflict of interest between rabbis, slaughterers, inspectors, meatpackers, wholesalers, proprietors of retail meat markets, and consumers. It was a recipe for disaster. Often the Jewish public's patience with Cleveland kashrut wore thin and the industry felt its anger. Consumer discontent was given public expression in strikes against the high price of kosher meat in 1906 and 1928.

Despite these divisive forces, the first decades of the twentieth century also saw attempts to unite Cleveland's Orthodox community and rabbinate which could not, however, withstand the powerful forces militating against unity. In the mid-1920s a Shechitah Board, headed by Rabbi Benjamin Gittelsohn was founded. Another attempt in the late 1920s was a Union of Orthodox Rabbis of Cleveland, Ohio, led by Rabbi Israel Porath. In 1930, rabbis and laymen founded a Vaad ha-Kashrut to support kashrut supervision in Cleveland. In 1932, Rabbi Levenberg attempted to unite the Orthodox rabbinate and lay leadership of Cleveland in a Federation of Orthodox Jewish Congregations [Va'ad ha-Kehillot]. However, other rabbis

organized a rival "Misrad ha-Rabbanim" of Cleveland to oppose Levenberg's venture.

The result was a Cleveland kashrut that was essentially without structure. However, the situation was changed for the better in March 1940, when a new rabbinic organization called Merkaz ha-Rabbonim [the Orthodox Rabbinical Council, ORC] was founded. This organization, in partnership with Federation, would manage managed to achieve the unity that had eluded previous Orthodox rabbinic organizations in Cleveland in the postwar period.

THE POSTWAR PERIOD: ORTHODOX REFUGEES ARRIVE IN CLEVELAND

One of the major issues facing Cleveland Jewry in the period of the 1940s and early 1950s was the resettling of Jewish refugees from Europe, many of whom came to Cleveland. Because the majority of the Holocaust survivors relocating in Cleveland were Orthodox (398 of 709 or 56,5%), in welcoming them to Cleveland, the Jewish community agencies involved had to take into consideration issues of kashrut with respect to supplying housing, which in postwar Cleveland was then in short supply.[2]

But kashrut was far from the only problem the orthodox refugees posed. The Cleveland Jewish community also encountered problems of resettling a "large influx of religious functionaries whose affadavits and contracts had been supplied by religious schools and congregations in an effort to rescue these people from camps,"[3] the leadership of Cleveland's Jewish Family Service Association [JFSA] met with Orthodox lay leaders in order to have them share in the task of resolving these problems, and an Orthodox advisory committee was formed.[4]

JFSA's essential problem was that its primary goal was to make the newly arrived refugees self-supporting as soon as possible whereas the "Religious functionaries" resisted this. From the JFSA's perspective, Orthodox Jews in general, and Orthodox rabbis and rabbinic students in particular, seemed to constitute obstacles to the smooth operation of its programs to help the refugees.[5] Alone, these Orthodox survivors would likely not have been able to effectively resist JFSA pressure to go to work. However, in their struggle with JFSA they had the important institutional backing of the Telshe Yeshiva.

THE TELSHE YESHIVA

In 1941, only three years after Rabbi Levenberg's New Haven Yeshiva of Cleveland ceased its struggles for existence, the Telshe Yeshiva was established in Cleveland on East 105th Street,[6] after its founders, Rabbis Elya Meir Bloch and Chaim Mordechai Katz, had investigated possibilities for locating their institution in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Detroit. The new Cleveland yeshiva began with ten students.[7]

Practically from the start the JFSA did not like the Yeshiva and the newcomers to Cleveland it attracted. As JFSA director, Rae C. Weil, stated in 1946:

> We already have a large number of extremely Orthodox people who have no opportunities in Cleveland and have not been able to make any kind of economic adjustment. . . . In most instances they have not fitted in well and have spent most of their time and energy trying to get to New York.[8]

The Cleveland agency's difficulties with the Telshe Yeshiva mirror the lack of understanding between the Americanized professionals and volunteers who controlled the community's resettlement apparatus and the yeshiva leadership.[9]

By 1947, the yeshiva had succeeded in attracting a student body of 150[10] while its leaders, Rabbi Bloch and Rabbi Mordechai Gifter, who had joined the staff in 1944, tried to obtain the funds their growing institution required. The yeshiva thus demanded maximum community support for as many students it could, and for as long as possible. As Sylvia Abrams states, "the rabbis were not interested in understanding community process and the niceties of national-local agency relationships."[11] This brought them into

sharp conflict with JFSA, which was certainly "unused to refugees responding to policy in this manner."[12] In 1948, JFSA expressed its preference not to take "Yeshiva" cases.[13]

While struggling for its existence and financial stability, the Telshe Yeshiva did two seemingly paradoxical things. At one and the same time it began a process of isolating itself geographically from the Cleveland Jewish community while also attempting, with some success, to exercise an influence on Cleveland Orthodoxy.

Separation from the community is symbolized by the Yeshiva's choice of relocation. In the 1940s and 1950s, the Jews of Cleveland, who were then largely concentrated in the Glenwood and Kinsman areas, faced the daunting prospect of relocating themselves and their institutions. For some Cleveland Jews, this was their second neighborhood relocation within a generation. In the words of Rabbi Israel Porath in 1945, "We see once again how Jewish neighborhoods are abandoned and emptied."[14] While nearly all Cleveland Jews, individually and institutionally chose to relocate from Glenville and Kinsman to the Heights area, the Telshe Yeshiva went literally in an entirely different direction. It purchased an estate in Wickliffe, Ohio, some ten miles to the Northeast of the Jewish community. The yeshiva broke ground for its new Wickliffe campus in August 1955,[15] and formally opened the new campus, consisting of "21 ultra-modern buildings on 57 acres of suburban Cleveland" in June 1957.[16] Rabbi Porath stated at that dedication:

> And here they have achieved the unbelievable. From a humble and seemingly insignificant beginning over ten years ago, this yeshiva has recaptured its old glory. It ranks again as a first class and universally recognized Tora [sic] institution of very high caliber.[17]

While physically separating itself from the Cleveland Jewish community, the Telshe leadership nonetheless made a number of efforts to exercise its influence on the Orthodox community, an effort that yielded considerable success over a period of years. Dr. Julius Weinberg of Cleveland State University, a graduate of the Telshe Yeshiva, observed in a 1965 interview that Cleveland Orthodoxy was now more Jewishly literate and had a stronger voice in the community. He attributed this development to the yeshiva and its influence.[18]

What did the yeshiva's influence mean in practice? A typical Telshe initiative was that of a yeshiva faculty member, Rabbi Aizik Ausband, who arranged for the first regular supply of milk produced under Jewish supervision [*cholov yisroel*] in Cleveland, thus showing the way toward a stricter interpretation of kashrut in Cleveland, of which more will be said below.[19]

A Telshe organizational initiative was the "Orthodox Jewish Association" created in the fall of 1950. As a contemporary report states, it was founded:

> . . . for the purpose of strengthening Jewish religious activities in Cleveland. The Association expects to have among its members all Orthodox groups, synagogues and religious institutions. It will operate within the framework of the pattern set by the Jewish Community Council.[20]

A letter dated August 19, 1997 from Rabbi Shubert Spero to Rabbi Elazar Muskin fleshes out the context of the founding of this organization. Rabbi Spero stated:

> Shortly after my arrival in Cleveland I was called to a meeting with Rabbis E.M. Bloch and C.M. Katz . . . who told me that the Roshei Yeshiva did not wish to isolate themselves from the "city" but rather saw themselves as a part of the general community and, given the sad state of Orthodoxy, felt a religious obligation to work for the ideals of Torah. They added that with the arrival of us young "spirited" rabbis, there was an opportunity to work together. . . . Towards that end it was agreed to set up a broader-based organization called "The Orthodox Jewish Association [OJA]" to which all sorts of organizations would be invited to join. This was to include educational organizations such as Telz, Hebrew Academy,

> Yeshivat Adath, service organizations such as the Mikveh Association, synagogues, and also Agudah and Mizrachi. This saved the Roshei Yeshiva (in their view) from having to 'recognize' synagogues with dubious mechitzas or rabbis with dubious smichas (which they would have had to do had this been an organization of synagogues or of rabbis . . .). Telz had no problem "affiliating" with this OJA since all it implied was that the various collectives involved wished to further Orthodoxy.[21]

ORTHODOX DAY SCHOOLS

Perhaps the most important of all the Telshe initiatives was the October 1943 founding of the Hebrew Academy of Cleveland (HA). HA was the first day school in the city and among the first to open outside the greater New York area. Cleveland Jewry, including its Orthodox community, had hitherto not embraced the day school concept. Thus the project of creating HA was by all accounts guided by the rabbis of the Telshe Yeshiva whose ideals, as an account of the Academy's twenty-fifth anniversary states "reflected only the earnest desires of a few leaders."[22] It is of some significance to note that HA opened on the initiative of the Telshe leadership and did not grow out of YABI, which was a community educational institution that remained resolutely Orthodox but no less resolutely committed to the previously regnant model of supplementary Jewish education. HA opened, somewhat ironically, in the basement of the Conservative Cleveland Jewish Center on East 105th Street with eleven students in kindergarten and grade one,[23] though in its later literature HA enshrined the number of twenty-four original students.[24] The institution has grown in its seven decades of development to over 900 students as of September 2014 with a staff of over 200.[25]

A most important step in the development of HA and indeed in the development of the relations between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews in Cleveland was that it was supported financially by the Cleveland Jewish Federation starting in 1948, long before such support became customary in other American Jewish Federations.[26] A 1948 HA report, perhaps created because of the demands of the Federation for information, shows that the Hebrew Academy then educated 155 children from kindergarten to grade seven (opened that year) while it also housed an afternoon school teaching an additional ninety-four children on a budget of $70,000 for HA and $11,000 for the afternoon school.[27]

Since it was the only day school in Cleveland, HA initially served all segments of the traditional community. Thus, Rabbi Spero remarked in 1963: ". . . you have children of penniless refugees sitting next to children of truly affluent parents. You have a Chasidic child with earlocks next to the child of a Conservative rabbi."[28] By 1961, though, Telshe created its own high school whose curriculum offered, in Rabbi Spero's words, "a bare minimum" with respect to secular studies,[29] and two teachers colleges—one for men and one for women.[30]

The situation in which HA was the only elementary day school in the city would not last beyond the 1970s. Pressure was brought to bear on HA from opposite sides of the Orthodox ideological spectrum. Many HA parents whose interpretation of Orthodoxy was more "Modern" than that of the Telshe Yeshiva or who were more pro-Israel than the yeshiva leadership, were restive as early as the 1960s. Thus, in a 1963 letter to Rabbi Shubert Spero, a Cleveland couple expressed their desire for a new day school in the following way:

> Were the Hebrew Academy not under the dominance of anti-Israel religious zealots of the Telshe yeshiva . . . many members of this community might not feel so pressing a need for an additional Hebrew day school.[31]

Indeed, one of the ways the Telshe leadership exercised its influence on HA was through

de-emphasizing the importance of the State of Israel. Rabbi Elazar Muskin gives an example:

> I vividly recall how in 1964, while I was in fourth grade [in HA], I was dismissed from my class by the teacher when I, asked to list Jewish holidays, included *Yom ha-Azma'ut* [Israel Independence Day] as one of them. My father . . . upset over this reaction, insisted that the teacher apologize to me and my father, which she was forced to do in front of the then principal of the school, Rabbi N. W. Dessler.

In this connection, Muskin also states:

> It is interesting to note that a year later the Hebrew Academy of Cleveland ran a *Yom ha-Azma'ut* program in the school and featured it in a newsletter called "Inside the Hebrew Academy" vol. 1, no. 3, May, 1965. . . . The school never celebrated *Yom ha-Azma'ut* as a religious holiday; rather they recognized it as they did Thanksgiving, which also had its own assembly and performance.[32]

Muskin observes that within Cleveland's Orthodox community during this period there were "tremendous tensions" between the Telshe Yeshiva and the HA, which it practically controlled, and the religious Zionist community. Israel Independence Day was not celebrated at the Telshe Yeshiva, and the Judaic Studies teachers at HA expressed negativity towards religious Zionism and its youth movement B'nai Akiva, echoing the Yeshiva's attitude toward the co-ed religious Zionist group.[33]

By 1975, dissatisfaction with the Hebrew Academy by parents who espoused Religious Zionism resulted in a petition to the school asking that:

> the religious validity of the State of Israel should be recognized by all members of the Jewish studies Department. Youngsters belonging to religious community youth groups under the supervision of Orthodox community rabbis should not be discriminated against or made to feel that they are less religiously committed than other students.[34]

The HA administration, despite numerous meetings, was unable to come up with a formula that would satisfy the pro-Zionist element in the school. Summing up the situation in 1987, Rabbi Aharon Hersh Fried,[35] then the principal of the HA, admitted "that at the HA over the years the issue [of the meaning of the State of Israel and Zionism] has been skirted."[36]

But it was not only Zionism and Israel that upset the HA parent body in the 1970s. In that period the administration of the girls high school, Yavne, issued a notice in which it stated its strong opposition to its students wearing slacks not merely in school but also during afterschool hours and on weekends, as well as attending social events like birthday parties where boys would be present.[37]

Differing approaches to the issues of the relationship of Torah and science also provoked dissent in the 1970s. In those years, the HA confronted differing reactions among its parent body to the school's curricula in the earth and life sciences in which the school policy was that "any unit whose theme was against Torah values is omitted". There were parents espousing right-wing Orthodox views who agreed with this policy and felt that "non-Torah" value systems "poison the child's mind," while other parents felt that "even to downplay (and certainly to ignore) such issues . . . is grossly irresponsible."[38] The parents of the "Yeshiva element" also opposed their children watching Educational TV and a proposed compromise according to which "Yeshiva" children would be excused from watching Educational TV programs stirred up other parents who were concerned that "an eventual two track system . . . based . . . solely upon "religious sensitivity" would effectively destroy the "communal" character of the Hebrew Academy worse than if the Yeshiva element were permitted to leave HA and make a school of their own.[39]

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, all of this dissatisfaction with HA culminated in the creation of two additional Orthodox day schools in

Cleveland, one to the ideological "right" of the HA and the other to its "left". The right-wing school, Mosdos Ohr ha-Torah, was founded in 1978 and perhaps reflected the concern of its parent body that the "modern Orthodox" children at the HA might negatively influence their children's beliefs. Beyond that, Mosdos parents desired an education for their children that more strongly emphasized the study of Judaic texts.[40] A few years later, in 1982, Beit Sefer Mizrachi, now known as Fuchs Mizrachi, was founded as "a Modern Orthodox, Zionist, college-preparatory day school."[41]

In the supplementary school sector, YABI strongly held on to its Orthodox identity. In the 1950s, YABI was allowed to retain its independent status as an afternoon Hebrew school, even though a 1954 study urged its merger with the Cleveland Hebrew Schools on the grounds of greater efficiency and economy, only because of "intense opposition" by the Orthodox community.[42] In the early 1960s, there was similar pressure on the part of Federation to merge YABI with a non-Orthodox supplementary Hebrew school.[43] The ultimate withdrawal of Federation support to YABI did not come until the 1990s and was, at that time, a sign that YABI had almost completely lost its Orthodox student base in competition with the day schools.[44]

SYNAGOGUES

In the 1940s, the Jewish community that had been created around East 105th Street and in the Kinsman Road district found itself pressured to move once again. In the words of Rabbi Israel Porath in 1945, "We see once again how Jewish neighborhoods are abandoned and emptied." Rabbi Porath saw the situation both as a crisis and as an opportunity. He wrote that there was an urgent need for Cleveland Orthodox Jewry to take stock of itself in this transitional period. In particular, Rabbi Porath urged the synagogues not to repeat the previous mistake of rebuilding all existing synagogues separately in their new neighborhoods. Synagogues should try to combine their forces and establish an Orthodox bloc to influence the Jewish Community Council.[45] And indeed in the spirit of Rabbi Porath's pleas, the Jewish Community Council and Federation met with all the Orthodox synagogues to help them plan their eventual move to the Heights area.[46] Influence was exerted to effect synagogue mergers so as to establish large conglomerate congregations, like the Taylor Road Synagogue, which in this era was officially named "Temple Beth Sholom,"[47] the Heights Jewish Center, and the Warrensville Center Synagogue with a higher membership base. As a result of this planning, Taylor Road became in the 1950s a street central to the Orthodox community which included the Hebrew Academy, several synagogues, kosher bakeries and food stores.[48]

The example of the Warrensville Center Synagogue, dedicated in April 1959, will illustrate the process. It encompassed the Tetiever Ahavas Achim Anshe Sfard, Bnai Jacob Kol Israel (Kinsman Jewish Center) and N'vai Zedek with a combined membership of over 1,000 families.[49] As Rabbi Porath stated at the new synagogue's dedication:

> The shifting of population from the city to the suburbs has changed the whole structure of our local Orthodox Jewry. Old and long-established congregations which had existed for many scores of years in the old neighborhoods had to be reshaped through mergers.[50]

More recent decades have seen the mid-century trend toward fewer and larger synagogues somewhat reversed due to a desire for smaller, more intimate prayer services. Cleveland Rabbi Lawrence Zierler observed this trend, known as "shtiebelization", as early as the 1990s, particularly along the Taylor Road corridor.[51]

KASHRUT

The establishment of the ORC in 1940 enabled the Cleveland Orthodox leadership to establish an historic partnership with the

Cleveland Jewish Federation. This created a stable and largely trustworthy basis for kashrut in Cleveland that lasted for several decades. In 1945, when Cleveland had sixty-seven kosher butchers,[52] the delicate and complex negotiations began. As described by a Cleveland Federation official writing in 1975:

> Two years were spent in establishing the institution, convincing all sections of the community of its validity and the need for a communal underpinning, and convincing the butchers and the slaughterers and the shochtim that they could trust communal mashgichim under the joint supervision of the Orthodox Rabbinical Council and our Federation.[53]

The result in 1947 was a Kashruth Board, administered by Cleveland's Jewish Community Council and the ORC.[54] The system basically worked, though it was certainly far from foolproof. In 1963, Rabbi Shubert Spero counted thirty-seven kosher butchers in Cleveland of whom ten, in his opinion, were personally Sabbath observant [*Shomer Shabbat*] and thus absolutely reliable. He reported in a letter to a rabbi in Toronto that while:

> . . . the system [of kashrut] is effective . . . it is not foolproof. Should a butcher deliberately set out to sell traifa [non-kosher meat], I believe he could get away with it, for a time at least. To be on the safe side, all of "our" people and the public institutions (hospitals and the JCC) are instructed to buy from the Shomer Shabbos butchers.[55]

The alliance between the ORC and the Cleveland Jewish Federation, established in 1947, stabilized the supervision of kashrut in the city for several decades, while the creation of the Kashruth Board alongside significant Federation support for the two Orthodox schools, the Hebrew Academy and Yeshivath Adath, was also greatly helpful in breaching the wall of misunderstanding and mistrust that had historically separated the Orthodox community from the Federation.[56]

In 1986, the co-chairs of the ORC, Rabbis Jacob Muskin and Isidore Pickholz could report that "Cleveland is one of few cities where all Orthodox rabbis have joined together in consensus," that the Merkaz was working together with Kashruth Board of the Jewish Community Federation, and that its Beth Din was recognized by Israel Chief Rabbinate.[57]

But stable kashrut supervision was not enough to prevent new consumer marketing forces, numerous financially marginal butcher shops, and the passing of an immigrant generation that had automatically purchased kosher meat, from effecting a gradual diminution of the number of kosher butchers in Cleveland. In 1947, at the formal inception of the Kashruth Board, there were sixty-three kosher butchers in Cleveland. This number declined to thirty-seven in 1963, to twelve in 1975, and to three by the first decade of the twenty-first century.[58]

More significantly, in the late 1970s the structure of Cleveland kashrut came under pressure from the more strictly observant part of the Orthodox community that looked to institutions like the Telshe Yeshiva for guidance and that desired the new "gold standard" of kashrut supervision—constant onsite supervision, in contrast with the in-and-out inspection of two itinerant *mashgiḥim* that was the Kashruth Board's norm.[59] As Rabbi Abraham Berger stated in a 1978 letter to the *Cleveland Jewish News* [CJN]: "To put it bluntly, the Orthodox community does not have confidence in the present mode of supervision."[60] The forces within the Orthodox community, which by the 1970s constituted the core consumer group for kosher meat, eroded confidence in kosher butcher shops that continued to adhere to kashrut standards that had hitherto been considered adequate. This process culminated in 1990 when Irving's Meat Market closed. Irving's had been one of the last of the old-style kosher meat markets that had non-*Shomer Shabbat* ownership and had resisted the more stringent kashrut regulations including glatt kosher, the soaking and salting

of all meat, and the installation of a permanent supervisor [*mashgiaḥ*] on site.[61]

In 1993, Cleveland Jews witnessed the founding of the Vaad ha-Kashrut of Cleveland (VKC). VKC constituted a joint venture of the ORC and the Jewish Community Federation. But, unlike the previous rabbinic-Federation partnership that had underpinned the Kashruth Board, VKC was the result of Federation's desire to phase out its nearly half a century of support of the structure of kashrut in Cleveland. VKC's end came in 1998, almost simultaneously with the end of Federation funding. The demise of VKC was accompanied by the effective end of ORC as well.[62] Replacing VKC were no less than three kashrut organizations: Cleveland Kosher led by Rabbi Naftali Burnstein of the Young Israel Synagogue, Reliable Kashrut, led by the last head of the ORC, Rabbi Doniel Schur, and the Vaad ha-Rabbonim ha-Chareidim led by Rabbi Yehuda Blum.[63]

RELATIONS BETWEEN ORTHODOX AND NON-ORTHODOX JEWS

In the early postwar period, the involvement of the Cleveland Jewish Federation in the organization of kashrut and in the financing of HA was designed to facilitate a rapprochement between the Orthodox community in Cleveland and those non-Orthodox elements that supported Federation. However, some of the negative attitudes on the part of the non-Orthodox did not inevitably change. JFSA in the 1950s, for instance, tended to view the largely Orthodox Holocaust survivors in Cleveland with more than a bit of condescension and an official expressed the opinion that many of those presently sending their children to the Orthodox day school would likely change their minds "as soon as they have moved into better neighborhoods."[64] Moreover, by the 1950s the growing political and societal power of the Ultra-Orthodox, not merely in Israel but also in the United States, was becoming apparent to prominent Cleveland Reform Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver. When, in a 1958 sermon, Silver criticized the American ultra-Orthodox leadership that avoided cooperation with other streams of Judaism, he was likely thinking of the local Orthodox community as well.[65]

Orthodox leaders at times publicly advocated political positions that were the opposite of those taken by the Federation leadership. Thus, in 1961 Cleveland Orthodox rabbis spoke out in favor of federal aid to parochial schools, despite the fact that, as Federation executive Sidney Vincent stated, "the Federation overwhelmingly repeated its traditional support of the separation [between church and state] principle."[66] In the same year, the Orthodox rabbinate also expressed its dissatisfaction at the proposal that the newly built Jewish Community Center in Cleveland Heights would be open on Saturdays.[67]

There was also a persisting discomfort on the part of Jews who identified with Federation with Orthodoxy's negative views toward non-Orthodox Judaism. In this vein, a Federation executive wrote Rabbi Shubert Spero on January 17, 1963:

> I consider Orthodoxy a valuable and noble expression of Jewish life. . . . Does Orthodoxy reciprocate the respect? Can it, when it has such profound reservations about Reform and Conservatism as to create problems every time we plan so simple an event as an annual meeting at a Conservative synagogue?[68]

Federation official Sidney Vincent, trying to be somewhat even handed, stated that:

> Federations often feel that the Orthodox community is needlessly difficult and has not yet pulled its weight in attaining crucial communal goals. The Orthodox community often thinks it is treated as a kind of communal stepchild, whose needs are viewed as nuisances to be accommodated as cheaply as possible.[69]

It remains a fact that through the 1970s only two Cleveland Federation Agencies: The Bureau of Jewish Education and JFSA had an Orthodox president.[70]

In the 1980s, the Orthodox community had a veritable public relations problem on its hands concerning its initiative to create a community eruv, which aimed to ease some Sabbath restrictions through physically demarcating a "boundary."[71] The initiative drew opposition from the rest of the community as evidenced by a correspondent, who identified himself as a Conservative Jew, who wrote to Rabbi Spero in 1982, combining the eruv issue with other perceived Orthodox irritants:

> I differ with you and object strongly to your proposal to create an Eruv in my community. I disapprove of mezuzah inspections, mitzvoth vans, and prostelization [sic] in attempts to get me to follow your standards of observance.[72]

This feeling of alienation from Orthodoxy on the part of Cleveland's non-Orthodox Jews in the 1990s was hardly assuaged when the Lee Road Mikveh in Cleveland Heights, which had been available for non-Orthodox conversions to Judaism, was closed and its replacement was not receptive to these conversions. This meant that non-Orthodox conversions were forced, at least temporarily, to utilize a mikveh in Youngstown, OH.[73] Tensions really came to a head in the late 1990s when several Orthodox institutions, including the Young Israel Synagogue, the Yavne High School of the HA, and Chabad, wanted to relocate on a stretch of South Green Road in Beachwood where the Green Road Synagogue was already located. The bitterly contested fight over the municipal zoning variation needed to make this project a reality, which pitted the non-Orthodox and the Orthodox Jews against each other, has been described in detail by Samuel G. Freedman.[74] In this connection I will note only that even Reform Rabbi Joshua Aaronson, who ultimately supported the zoning variance that would make it possible for the Orthodox institutions to locate on Green Road, prefaced his support of this plan in a key high holidays sermon with the words:

> In truth the behavior of the Orthodox has been unseemly at best. The Orthodox supporters of the Green Road campus have been unwilling to compromise and have engaged in scare tactics.[75]

THE ORTHODOX COMMUNITY IN CLEVELAND IN THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The Orthodox Jewish community in Cleveland at the beginning of the twenty-first century is an increasingly important part of the Jewish community as a whole. The Cleveland Jewish population has remained relatively stable over the last number of years, according to the 2011 Greater Cleveland Jewish Population Study. The study found some 80,800 Jews living in the greater Cleveland area, down slightly from 81,500 in 1996. This means that in the past two decades the Jewish population of Cleveland has remained essentially stagnant. In contrast, the study found that the Orthodox community grew during that period by 2,200.[76] This means that Orthodox Jews now constitute 18% of Cleveland Jewry, as opposed to 14% in 1996 and 8.9% in 1980, and, significantly, they constitute fully 33% of young adults (18–34), though only 10% of the sample of those of all ages who self-identified with a religious denomination.[77] The increasing demographic importance of the Orthodox community within Cleveland Jewry means that anyone at all interested in the present and future of the Cleveland Jewish community must attempt to understand the Orthodox community.

We have an important tool with which to begin our thinking about Cleveland Orthodoxy at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The Cleveland Mikveh has been issuing an annual directory for approximately the past two decades. In 1994, this Mikveh Association publication listed 1174 Orthodox households in Cleveland.[78] A decade later, in 2004, the Directory listed 1445 families, as well as 177 businesses of various sorts,[79] fully substantiating the Cleveland Jewish population survey's findings of a substantial increase in the Orthodox community.

The following observations are based on a detailed examination of the 2004 *Directory*,

which is concerned with much more than rabbis[80] and synagogues.[81] The first thing that seems noteworthy is the emphasis placed in the *Directory* on Torah study. Thus, the *Directory* lists not merely "schools"[82] but also Torah "Learning Opportunities,"[83] and fully four pages of "Shiurim/Classes" listing them by time from 6:00 A.M. on Sunday to 9:00 P.M. on Saturday night, including as well a small number (15) designated "Women's Classes."[84] Insofar as the Orthodox community's reality approaches the image of it in the *Directory*, it is a community that thrives on schools and other educational opportunities for Jews of all ages.

The contemporary Cleveland Orthodox community has embraced the idea that a day school education is a "must" for living a fully Orthodox life. Supplementary Jewish education backgrounds as well as the presence of not fully observant Jews in Orthodox life seems to be a waning phenomenon in Cleveland as in most North American Orthodox communities.[85] This Orthodox reliance on day school education has been partially supported and enabled by the Cleveland Jewish Federation which, in its 2014 allocation, gave $474,791 to the Fuchs-Mizrachi School and $1,216,269 to the HA.[86]

It is noteworthy that a significant portion of the Cleveland Orthodox community derives its employment from Jewish education. In 2014, HA had a staff of 212 for some 900 students, Mosdos Ohr Hatorah had ninety-eight staff for 487 students and Fuchs Mizrachi listed ninety-three staff for 461 students.[87] This works out to over 400 staff among the three Orthodox day schools, or a fairly consistent ratio of students to staff of less than five to one. To the number of Cleveland Orthodox Jews engaged in Jewish education must be added the staff at the Telshe Yeshiva which has experienced a declining enrollment, claiming in 2013 about 130 students (including approximately eighty in the high school), down from approximately 400 in 1967.[88] The number also does not count Orthodox community educational outreach institutions like the kollelim.

Adam Ferziger has examined two of the most important educational outreach kollels in the Cleveland Orthodox community. One of them, headed by Rabbi Yaakov Zev Katz, began in the 1980s as a "*kollel meḥankhim*" [a kollel for teachers] in Cleveland Heights. Male Orthodox day school teachers were invited to study Torah for two hours daily and received a small stipend to supplement their often inadequate salaries. In the 1990s, Rabbi Katz transformed his institution into a full-time community kollel, moving it to Beachwood and University Heights so as not to compete with an existing Ḥaredi community kollel in Cleveland Heights. Katz kollel members received a fellowship of $22,000 a year for studying Talmudic texts during the day and sharing their learning with community members in the evening. These activities, as well as the kollel's more popular lectures, have as their ultimate goal to strengthen the "yeshivish" element in the University Heights/Beachwood Orthodox community.[89]

Cleveland's Torat Tzion Kollel, presents an alternate, more Israel-centered vision of Orthodoxy, aiming at the local modern Orthodox community. It began in 1994 through the efforts of Bob Stark, who provided some $250,000 annually to bring rabbis as well as students from a prominent Israeli yeshiva, Har Etzion. The kollel established a study hall within the Fuchs Mizrachi School as a base for advancing the members' own Talmudic erudition as well as for a wide variety of formal and informal educational activities with the student body of the school. In addition, this kollel created another study hall in Beachwood's Young Israel Synagogue to offer opportunities for Torah learning to the larger Orthodox community in the evenings and on weekends. This kollel seems to have filled a need in Cleveland's modern Orthodox community.[90]

Ferziger notes that:

> While the Haredi world's activities emanate from increased strength and self-confidence, the development of the Israeli kollels is part of

> Modern Orthodoxy's response to a "crisis" that it has experienced since the 1980s. Many products of Modern Orthodox homes and schools have found the Haredi approach far more attractive and fulfilling than their parent's version. Conversely, others have responded to their uninspiring upbringings by abandoning religious observance altogether. The Israeli Religious-Zionist community as such – with its "battle-hardened" Sabra Torah students – has been drafted as one possible cure to the ideological malaise and lack of passionate role models that has become endemic to this sector of American Orthodoxy.[91]

While the Torat Tzion Kollel marked an attempt to counter the "yeshivish" tone of Cleveland orthodox life, the public face of the community, as portrayed in its publications like the Mikveh Directory and by a website entitled "Local Jewish News: News for the Cleveland Orthodox Jewish Community,"[92] maintains a quite distinct "yeshivish" atmosphere. Characteristic of this is the network of communal self-help organizations known collectively as "gemach."[93] The current Cleveland gemach list is a nine-page document that lists dozens of different types of goods and services available to the community at little or no cost. These gemachs range from food, to clothing to medical equipment and much more.[94]

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Orthodox Jewish community in Cleveland seems to be thriving and is reportedly attracting Orthodox Jews to move to Cleveland from other North American localities. Its main current challenge, however, must be considered with great seriousness. It is a growing community in the mid of a larger Jewish community that is demographically stagnant. Historically, the institutions of the Cleveland Orthodox community have existed and thrived because they were supported not merely by the committed Orthodox but by the larger community. Synagogues, kosher stores, and Hebrew book shops alike often depend at least partially on general community patronage. The large number and variety of institutions that support Orthodox Jewish life in Cleveland would not be there in the same way without a wider patronage. What will become of that wider patronage in a community where the non-Orthodox sector is shrinking?

Because it is a community in which the ideal of Torah study means that a significant portion of the community is either not gainfully employed or underemployed, its institutions even now find it hard to make ends meet. Thus, for example, HA had a 2014/5 budget of over $8 million and over 70% of the student body on full or partial scholarships. Even factoring in a $1.2 million Federation subsidy that year, HA needed to raise over $2 million to close its budgetary gap.[95] Mosdos Ohr Hatorah was forced by a debt burden of $14 million into receivership in 2015 and was replaced by a school with the same ideological perspective called Yeshiva Derech ha-Torah.[96] Will HA and its sister institutions of the Cleveland Orthodox community find the economic resources they require to survive and thrive in the twenty-first century? Will the larger Jewish community of Cleveland support local Orthodox institutions to the same degree? Like all good questions pertaining to the future, this one yields no clear and unambiguous answer.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJYB *American Jewish Year Book*
CJN Cleveland *Jewish News*
HA Hebrew Academy
JFSA Jewish Family Service Association
JTA Jewish Telegraphic Agency
JW 'Idishe *Velt/Jewish World* (Cleveland)
OJA Orthodox Jewish Association
ORC Merkaz ha-Rabbanim
VKC Vaad ha-Kashrut of Cleveland
WRHS Western Reserve Historical Society Library
YABI Yeshivat Adath Bnei Israel

REFERENCES

1. This foreword is a summary of my article, "A Link in the Great American Chain": the Evolution of an Orthodox Jewish Community in Cleveland, Ohio to 1945" which is to appear in the following volume: Sean Martin, ed. *Cleveland Jews and the Making of a Midwestern Community,* Rutgers University Press, 2020.
2. Helen L. Glassman, *Adjustment in Freedom: a Follow-Up Study of One Hundred Jewish Displaced Families* (Cleveland, United HIAS Service and Jewish Family Service Association, 1956), 33–34, 83.
3. Sylvia Bernice Fleck Abrams, "Searching for a Policy: Attitudes and Policies of Non-Governmental Agencies Toward the Adjustment of Jewish Immigrants of the Holocaust Era, 1933-1953, as Reflected in Cleveland, Ohio", doctoral dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1988, 192.
4. Abrams, "Searching for a Policy," 229–30.
5. Abrams, "Searching for a Policy," 210.
6. Lloyd Gartner, *History of the Jews of Cleveland*, 318; On the Telshe Yeshiva see Mordechai Gifter, "Yeshivat Telz", in Samuel K. Mirsky (ed.), *Mosdot ha-Torah be-Eiropah be-Vinyanam u-ve-Hurbanam* (New York: Ha-Histadrut ha-Ivrit ba-America, 1956), 169–88. Cited in Adam S. Ferziger, "Centered on Study: Typologies of the American Community Kollel," Research and Position Papers of the Rappaport Center The Rappaport Center for Assimilation Research and Strengthening Jewish Vitality number 18, Faculty of Jewish Studies Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel 2009, 22.
7. "A Different Kind of School", CJN December 23, 1966, 19.
8. Abrams, "Searching for a Policy," 331.
9. Abrams, "Searching for a Policy," 213.
10. Sidney Z. Vincent and Judah Rubenstein, Merging Traditions—Jewish Life in Cleveland: a Contemporary Narrative, 1945-1975; a Pictorial Record, 1839-1975, 224.
11. Abrams, "Searching for a Policy," 214–15.
12. Abrams, "Searching for a Policy," 216–18.
13. Abrams, "Searching for a Policy,". 223.
14. Rabbi Israel Porath, "'The Second Destruction of Cleveland Orthodox Synagogues'": Rabbi Israel Porath and Cleveland Jewry at the Crossroads, 1945," *American Jewish Archives Journal* 71, no. 1 (2019). On Rabbi Porath, see Israel Porath, *Mishkaotekha Yisrael* (Jerusalem, Porath, 2017), introduction.
15. http://www.jta.org/1955/08/30/archive/gov-lausche-dedicates-new-campus-of-telshe-yeshiva-college Accessed January 26, 2015.
16. http://www.jta.org/1957/06/20/archive/four-day-festival-marks-opening-of-new-campus-of-telshe-yeshiva Accessed January 26, 2015.
17. Undated, Rabbi Israel Porath Papers WRHS MSS 4753, folder 8.
18. Bernice Green "A Historian's View of Cleveland Jewry Today," CJN December 31, 1965.
19. "Telshe yeshiva leader Rabbi Ausband dead at 96," CJN May 13, 2012, 50.
20. http://www.jta.org/1950/10/31/archive/cleveland-orthodox-groups-form-association-to-operate-within-jewish-community-council Accessed January 26, 2015.
21. Elazar Muskin, "When Unity Reigned: Yom ha-Azma'ut 1954" *Ḥakira* 13 (2012), 51–52. Accessed February 26, 2015. URL: http://www.hakirah.org/Vol13Muskin.pdf
22. "Hebrew Academy marks 25 years of dynamic community service," CJN February 7, 1969, 21.
23. "Hebrew Academy of Cleveland—'the Mayflower of the Torah World'," CJN March 8, 2013, 1.
24. Samuel G. Freedman, *Jew vs. Jew: the Struggle for the Soul of American Jewry*, (New York, Simon and Schuster, 2000), 305.
25. Ed Wittenberg, "Hebrew Academy to buy Oakwood Country Club," CJN September 12, 2014, 1; Sue Hoffman, "Most Jewish Day Schools See Growth Pattern", CJN, February 14, 2014, 21.
26. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 8: October 20, 1975; Vincent and Rubenstein, *Merging Traditions—Jewish Life in Cleveland*, 54.
27. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 26: November 10, 1948.
28. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 2: January 16, 1963.
29. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 2: June 19, 1962.
30. Samuel G. Freedman, *Jew vs. Jew*, 305.
31. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 3: November 15, 1963.
32. Muskin, "When Unity Reigned: Yom ha-Azma'ut 1954," 53.
33. Muskin, "When Unity Reigned: Yom ha-Azma'ut 1954," 52–53.
34. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 26: January 30, 1975.

35. On Rabbi Fried, see https://www.torahinmotion.org/users/rabbi-dr-aharon-hersch-fried Accessed February 26, 2018.
36. "Orthodox Day Schools: Why Have Three?", CJN May 29, 1987, 5.
37. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 8: October 28, 1975, December 6, 1978.
38. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 25: June 13, 1977, 2. For historical perspective on American Orthodox attitudes toward these issues, see Ira Robinson, "American Jewish Views of Evolution and Intelligent Design", *Modern Judaism* 27 (2007), 173–92; *idem*., "'Practically I Am a Fundamentalist': Twentieth Century Orthodox Jews Contend With Evolution and Its Implications", in Geoffrey Cantor and Marc Swetlitz, eds., *Jewish Tradition and the Challenge of Darwinism* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2006), 71–88.
39. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 25: undated document.
40. "Orthodox Day Schools: Why Have Three?" CJN May 29, 1987, 5.
41. Sue Hoffman, "Fuchs Mizrachi celebrates second year in new home" CJN January 13, 2012
42. Sidney Vincent, "Summary of Jewish Education Study in Cleveland, Ohio," AJYB 57 (1956), 228; Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 8: October 20, 1975; Sidney Z. Vincent and Judah Rubenstein, *Merging Traditions—Jewish Life in Cleveland*, 58.
43. Frank Rabinsky to Israel Porath, Rabbi Israel Porath papers, WRHS MSS 4526, folder 3; Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 1: March 15, 1960.
44. Marcy Oster, "Federation plans to withdraw YABI funding", CJN June 11, 1993, 16.
45. Rabbi Israel Porath, Der Tzveyter Hurbn fun Klivlander Orthodoksishe Shuln, JW March 28, 1945, 2.
46. Sidney Z. Vincent, *Personal and Professional: Memoirs of a Life in Community Service* (Cleveland, Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland, 1982), 180.
47. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 2: July 25, 1962.
48. Sidney Z. Vincent and Judah Rubenstein, Merging Traditions—Jewish Life in Cleveland: a Contemporary Narrative, 1945-1975; a Pictorial Record, 1839-1975, 20.
49. http://www.jta.org/1959/04/22/archive/three-cleveland-orthodox-congregations-announce-merger Accessed January 26, 2015.
50. Rabbi Israel Porath Papers MSS 4753, WRHS, folder 8.
51. CJN, October 18, 1996, 20. On this trend in contemporary Orthodox Judaism, see Simcha Fishbane, The *Shtiebelization of Modern Jewry: Studies in Custom and Ritual in the Judaic Tradition: Social-Anthropological Perspectives* (Boston, Academic Studies Press, 2011).
52. Freedman, *Jew vs. Jew*, 291.
53. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 8: October 20, 1975.
54. Sidney Z. Vincent and Judah Rubenstein, *Merging Traditions—Jewish Life in Cleveland*, 57.
55. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 2: January 28, 1963.
56. Sidney Z. Vincent, *Personal and Professional,* 109–10.
57. CJN March 7, 1986, 9.
58. Vincent and Rubenstein, *Merging Traditions—Jewish Life in Cleveland*, p. 8; Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 2: letter of January 28, 1963; *The Cleveland Jewish Community's Personal and Business Directory* (Cleveland Heights, Heights Community Mikveh, 2004), 106.
59. "Report says consumers get fair value in kosher meat", CJN October 8, 1976, 10.
60. Abraham Berger, "Time to improve kashrut picture", CJN September 15, 1978, 55.
61. Bernice Green, "Irving's Meat Market Inc. yields kashrut certification under rabbinical pressure", CJN April 13, 1990, 3.
62. Marcy Oster, "Single kashrut standard is not attainable here, VKC steps aside as sole kashrut supervisory authority", CJN July 3, 1998, 3. Cf. "New Kashrut Board for new era in kashrut" CJN December 31, 1993, 13; Marcy Oster, "Some Merchants Reluctant to join local kashrut group", CJN December 2, 1994, 3.
63. March Oster, "Kashrut organizations spring up in Cleveland", CJN June 25, 1999, 22.
64. Glassman, Adjustment in Freedom, 57–58.
65. Ofer Shiff, *The Downfall of Abba Hillel Silver and the Foundation of* Israel (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 2014), 46–47. It is noteworthy in this connection that Rabbi Silver donated $500.00 toward the publication of Rabbi Porath's book. Abba Hillel Silver to Israel Porath, November 17, 1954. Israel Porath Papers, WRHS 1, folder 2.
66. Sidney Vincent, "Cleveland: City Without Jews" in Sally H. Wertheim and Alan D. Bennett, eds. *Remembering: Cleveland's Jewish Voices* (Kent, Kent State University Press, 2011), 74
67. Shubert Spero Papers MSS 3988 WRHS, folder 32: August 9 and August 29, 1961.

68. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 2: January 17, 1963.
69. Vincent, Personal and Professional, 274; Vincent and Rubenstein, Merging Traditions—Jewish Life in Cleveland, 58.
70. Vincent and Rubenstein, Merging Traditions—Jewish Life in Cleveland, 58
71. An eruv is a symbolic demarcation of a boundary that allows Orthodox Jews to carry objects on the Sabbath. On a divisive eruv controversy in the community of Outremont, Quebec, see Valerie Stoker, "Drawing the Line: Hasidic Jews, Eruvim, and the Public Space of Outremont, Quebec," History of Religions 43, no. 1 (August, 2003), 18–49.
72. Rabbi Shubert Spero Papers, WRHS MSS 3988 folder 9: October 21, 1982.
73. Samuel G. Freedman, *Jew vs. Jew*, 317. Cf. Marcy Oster, "Last towel in place for new community mikveh" CJN May 27, 1994, 27; *idem*., "Lee road Mikveh to remain closed—roof collapsed" CJN January 17, 1997, 4.
74. Samuel G. Freedman, *Jew vs. Jew,* 284–337.
75. Samuel G. Freedman, *Jew vs. Jew,* 324.
76. http://www.jta.org/2012/01/25/news-opinion/united-states/survey-of-cleveland-jewry-finds-stable-population Accessed January 26, 2015.
77. http://issuu.com/jcfcleve/docs/5818_population_study_feb7/1 Accessed February 23, 2015. Cf. "Distribution of Jewish Population—1970 and 1980", Shubert Spero Papers Mss. 3988 WRHS, folder 23.
78. Marcy Oster, "Last Towel in place for new community mikveh" CJN May 27, 1994, 21.
79. The Cleveland Jewish Community's Personal and Business Directory (Cleveland Heights, Heights Community Mikveh, 2004).
80. Fifteen rabbis are listed. The Cleveland Jewish Community's Personal and Business Directory, 3
81. Twenty-one synagogues are listed. The Cleveland Jewish Community's Personal and Business Directory, 4.
82. The only non-Orthodox institution listed is the [former] Siegal College of Judaic Studies. *The Cleveland Jewish Community's Personal and Business Directory,* 13.
83. Ten institutions are listed. The Cleveland Jewish Community's Personal and Business Directory, 13.
84. The Cleveland Jewish Community's Personal and Business Directory, 16–19.
85. Jeffrey Gurock addresses this phenomenon in his article "The Winnowing of American Orthodoxy" in *American Jewish Orthodoxy in Historical Perspective* (New Jersey, 1996), 299–312.
86. http://issuu.com/jcfcleve/docs/1312_web_version_alloc-story/0 Accessed February 23, 2015.
87. Sue Hoffman, "Most day schools see growth patterns" CJN February 14, 2014, 21; Ed Wittenberg, "HA to buy Oakwood Country Club" CJN September 12, 2014, 1.
88. Ed Wittenberg, "Telshe Yeshiva hidden gem in Lake County" CJN August 23, 2013.
89. Ferziger, "Centered on Study: Typologies of the American Community Kollel" 22–24.
90. Ferziger, "Centered on Study: Typologies of the American Community Kollel" 51–52. Cf. Freedman, *Jew vs. Jew,* 324.
91. Ferziger "Centered on Study: Typologies of the American Community Kollel" 53.
92. http://www.localjewishnews.com/ Accessed February 25, 2015.
93. This is a Hebrew acronym for "*gemilut hasadim*-"works of kindness."
94. http://www.localjewishnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Cleveland-Gemach-List-v-2.0.pdf Accessed February 25, 2015.
95. Hebrew Academy fundraising letter, January 18, 2015. Copy in the possession of the author.
96. Ed Wittenberg, "Mosdos Ohr Hatorah $14 million in debt: Orthodox Jewish day school seeks judicial dissolution, sale of assets," CJN August 6, 2015. https://www.clevelandjewishnews.com/features/special_sections/education/mosdos-ohr-hatorah-million-in-debt/article_f2a792b2-3b76-11e5-bd0e-b7338392ea9f.html; *idem*., "New charity aims to save Mosdos Ohr Hatorah: New charity aims to save troubled Orthodox school," CJN August 21, 2015. https://www.clevelandjewishnews.com/news/local_news/new-charity-aims-to-save-mosdos-ohr-hatorah/article_19c59fd6-4682-11e5-ba5f-8fb8e68333b0.html; *idem*., "Mosdos Ohr HaTorah acquired, renamed Yeshiva Derech HaTorah," CJN December 21, 2015. https://www.clevelandjewishnews.com/news/local_news/mosdos-ohr-hatorah-acquired-renamed-yeshiva-derech-hatorah/article_dbb5f74c-a818-11e5-bf17-770ebe1765b1.html Accessed February 26, 2018.