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THE MISSION OF ISRAEL IN REFORM JUDAISM FROM
MENDELSSOHN TO THE PRESENT

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for
Ordination

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DIGEST OF THESIS

This thesis traces the history of the idea of Israel's mission in Reform Judaism. The body of the work is divided into two main sections. The first part analyzes the various factors of the mission idea as they were interpreted by leading German theological thinkers including David Einhorn, Samuel Holdheim, Abraham Geiger, Joseph Kahn, Ludwig Philippson, K. Wagner, L. Stein, G. Salomon, M. Hess, and Samuel Hirsch. The relative importance of the mission idea in the totality of Jewish belief is shown by reference to utterances on the subject as contained in various platforms of conferences such as Breslau, Leipzig, and Frankfurt, and its inclusion in the respective liturgies of the Union of Jewish Congregations of Westphalia, the Berlin Reform Congregation, and the Hamburg Temple.

Considered systematically, the idea of the mission is considered from the point of view of its constituent ingredients which include: the implications of the monotheistic belief; the attitude towards the dispersion; the return to Palestine; the restoration of the sacrificial cult and the state; the role of the Messianic idea; and the relation of the Jew of the Enlightenment to the land of his adoption.

The second part of the work, by and large the more extensive of the two, deals with the history of the concept as it manifested itself in the theological thinking of the American Reformers. At the outset of this section there is given an account of some of the more significant factors which were responsible for the development of American

Reform. The advantages of the democratic milieu for the full flowering of the mission idea are pointed out. In the treatment of the individuals, the impact of Zionism must be stressed. Therefore, two groups of thinkers are discussed: (1) the pre- and non-Zionists, and (2) those whose concept of the mission was in some way modified by Zionism.

PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is to present a combination, ~~an~~ historic and systematic treatment of the mission of Israel in Reform Judaism. The historic approach is important in order to give us some idea of the course the concept took in its growth, and the causal factors that have been responsible for that course. The systematic approach is indispensable if we are to gain an understanding of the idea as a comprehensive and organic whole.

Since Moses Mendelssohn is often regarded as the father of Reform Judaism, it is necessary to say a few words about him. While he exerted the strongest influence of any one individual upon the rise of Reform, it must be clearly understood that this influence of his was a completely unconscious and unintentioned one. Mendelssohn himself never ceased to be an Orthodox Jew. But since the effect he worked, however indirect, was so powerful, it is necessary to begin a discussion on any cardinal principle of Reform Judaism with reference to him. This becomes especially clear when we consider the principle with which we are to deal. For the impact he had for Reform Judaism is chiefly due to his emphasis on the rational and universal in Jewish theology, and the mission of Israel certainly partakes in very great measure of this particular theological strain. Then too, Mendelssohn through his German Torah translation and the impetus he gave to secular education among the Jews of Germany, had the effect of introducing the Jew to the language and culture of his non-Jewish surroundings, all

of which of necessity led the Jew to a much broader, more cosmopolitan religious outlook, one which embraced not only himself but his fellowmen as well, and this is just the condition required for the full flowering of such a broadly human, non-particularistic, world-embracing notion as the mission of the Jew to spread his faith to all mankind.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The idea of the Mission of Israel is implicit in the very nature of ethical monotheism, which is the distinctive characteristic of Judaism. Monotheism means that there is only one existing God, besides whom there is no other. This one and only God is not only the God of the Jew, but also the God of all mankind. However, it is to Israel alone that the Universal God originally revealed Himself. Consequently no people other than Israel had knowledge of Him. It was therefore necessary that Israel should feel the responsibility of transmitting this knowledge of the Divine to all the other peoples of the earth. For only in this way could they come to know and understand God, just as Israel knew and understood Him. Now, understanding God does not mean merely accepting His existence and regarding Him as the One and Only. It also implies accepting His moral dictates and living one's life in accordance with them. It is to the responsibility of making other men aware of these things that we refer when we speak of the election of Israel, the Chosen People.

Israel is not a master race. It does not have a favored status because of any high-born lineage. Since the God of Israel is conceived as the epitomy of morality, Israel cannot regard itself as chosen, unless it chooses God and the high life demanded by that God. The concept of the election of Israel doesn't imply that God will favor and protect His

people through thick and thin regardless of whether His people does good or evil. Israel is not a privileged nation but a group with a tremendous duty and obligation upon its shoulders. Only if it proves itself willing and able to perform the mission assigned to it can it possibly be regarded as elected or chosen in any sense of the term. As the prophet Amos put it so aptly: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities."¹ After all, if God is not only the God of Israel but of all humanity, how is it reasonable to suppose that He could love Israel more than all the rest of His children? Nay, how is it even conceivable? As it is said in Scripture: "Like as a father hath compassion upon his children, so hath the Lord compassion upon them that fear Him."² This applies whether he be Jew or Gentile. In other words, the Jewish people's election does not stem from a special dispensation. It is merely the natural corollary of its universal faith. This idea was expressed in a very striking manner by that peer among prophets, Deutero-Isaiah. Deutero-Isaiah conceived of Israel as a prophetic people, a people which taken together as a composite whole is a prophet in the same sense as any individual prophet. Only their functions are different. The individual prophet prophesies to Israel, while Israel as a prophet addresses all mankind. Both, however, are the same inasmuch as they are mouthpieces of the Divine, who do not speak merely for God but serve rather as instruments by which God Himself speaks. All of which is the same as saying/
that Israel's

election for its mission is necessarily implied in the very nature of its religion. For just as a prophet when overwhelmed by a Divine message is thereby placed at the complete service of God so that he needs must perform His will, in the same way does the very notion of a universal deity impel and compel those who entertain it to strive perforce to propagate it and to propagandize for the world-wide acceptance of their belief and everything for which that belief stands.

This idea that Israel has been chosen to perform this high and lofty mission is a most vital one in Judaism and bears within itself possible consequences of the greatest significance. As we said above, the Jewish idea of God is that of the perfect moral being obedience to whose will consists in doing righteousness in accordance with the moral law. It is thus clearly evident that should Israel's mission ever reach its final consummation (which prophetic thought envisioned as taking place "in the end of days", i. e., in the never-ending future) the world would be transformed into a veritable paradise on earth. If the entire human family would accept and dedicate itself to ethical monotheism with all its heart and soul, this would lead to a complete cessation of all the wickedness and evil of which man is capable. For since the God of ethical monotheism is a God of absolute goodness, the only way in which He can be accepted and worshipped in the true sense of the term is by leading a life of utter blamelessness and of the highest moral excellence. And surely there could be no life as paradisiacal as

a life in which all men would direct their conduct along thoroughly good and ethical lines. Indeed, if such a happy state of affairs would ever be realized we would feel ourselves to be in a heaven on earth, or in other words in a "Kingdom of God", in a world in which God the Father would reign supreme as the world's sole ruler and human beings, His children, would live together as brothers. Or to put it in a different way, if all men would come to be genuinely God-fearing and ethically-minded individuals, they would effect a world order in which peace and good will would reign triumphant to the utter exclusion of all hatred and war. Such is the final and ultimate goal of Israel's mission.

At this point the question arises: what are the ways and means by which such a mission can be fulfilled? This question is not a difficult one to answer. First of all, it is readily apparent that fulfillment of the mission is dependent upon the preservation of the Jewish people as an entity separate and distinct from all the other peoples of the world. Though this is only a means in a passive sense, nevertheless it is the most basic and fundamental one of all, since if the people were to disintegrate as a group apart, then obviously Israel as God's agent in spreading the faith would no longer exist, and the mission would naturally cease to be. That is why it is so necessary that the Jew observe certain ceremonial acts in order to insure his identity and to prevent his being totally assimilated to the Gentile environment in the midst of which he dwells. The vital ele-

ments , which form the core of his religion, namely the doctrinal and the ethical, and to which it is his duty to convert his fellowmen, are so universalistic in character that if the Jew did not have certain strictly particularistic elements in the form of ritual observances, it would be difficult indeed for the Jewish group to maintain its integrity as a group.

How potent a force is the very existence of Israel in advancing the goal of its mission can be clearly seen by considering the tremendous influence that its religious ideas have had upon the world. If it had not been for this people and that great Book of Books, the Bible, which it produced, the world today might still be sunk in the corruption of idolatry. As it is, half of the world, that of Christianity and Mohammedanism, where the Bible's import has been felt, has adopted by and large Judaism's great message for humanity. Hence, ^{though} these two daughter-religions of Judaism didn't come into being as the result of any deliberate intention on the part of the Jew, they must still be regarded as part of the fulfillment of his world task.

However, if Israel depends merely upon its passive influence, despite the tremendous power of such influence, it will not be fully availing itself of all of its opportunities for advancing its purpose. In order to make the most of his possibilities, the Jew must also function in an active sense. There are two ways in which he can function in such a sense. One is by acting in the role of a missionary for the sake of gaining proselytes and the other is by setting a

shining example of the good life to the rest of mankind.

The latter is by all means the most important. Just how important it is can easily be discerned by reflecting upon the fact that while many^{men} have learned of the One and Only God, ... (they) have not^{yet}/drawn the conclusion of the one united humanity. They know well that 'we all have One Father' but still 'they deal treacherously one with another.'"

As far as proselytizing activity is concerned, although Judaism⁴ was the first religion in history to organize missions, they never occupied as prominent a place in Judaism as they have in Christianity and Mohammedanism. Nor has the Jewish missionary effort been a continuous and sustained one. In fact there is no organized Jewish proselytizing activity whatsoever, but it cannot be overlooked that during those periods of history when the missionary zeal in Israel flourished, it succeeded in winning a substantial number of adherents for its faith. Furthermore, "it was Jewish propaganda which prepared the ground for the⁵ diffusion of Christianity", which religion, as we have seen, can be viewed as having helped spread the knowledge of Israel's God.

The utter lack of Jewish missionary endeavor at present is largely a carry-over from the long, dark centuries of medieval oppression during which the Jews were compelled to live a completely segregated existence from the non-Jewish world behind the tightly-barred gates of the ghetto and were thereby deprived of the contacts necessary for gaining con-

verts . And even if an opportunity for conversion would have arisen during this period of Jewish history, the Jews would have been prevented from taking advantage of it by the persecuting zeal of the ruling Christian powers.

But the medieval Jew not only found himself robbed of any chance to advance God's Kingdom through proselytism. He also was no longer in a position, by reason of his enforced isolation and the inimical attitude of the Christian populace, to achieve a great deal even by means of exemplary conduct, which we have set forth as the other of the two active ways for achieving the ends of the mission. As a matter of fact, the Jewish people had been reduced to such a status, that it could bear little or no fruit even as a merely passive agent. All that the people could do was to continue to preserve its identity with the hope that some day it might be set free, once again to resume its mission to the nations.

It was at this time that the belief in a personal Messiah and the hope for his coming waxed exceedingly strong, --stronger than in any other period of the long life experience of the Jew. This faith in the miraculous appearance of a deliverer in the person of a descendant of the royal house of David, who one day would suddenly be sent by God to redeem the people from all its woes, was an element in Judaism which had been given birth to and was always accentuated in periods of dire oppression. What more natural therefore than that the Messianic yearning should have reached its highest pitch during the longest of the periods of suffering and torture. In the helpless state in which the ghetto Jew found himself such an expect-

tation of miraculous intervention by God was essential to the maintenance of Jewish sanity and thus to prevent the Jew from committing suicide. Since there was not any prospect of salvation arising by natural means from within, it was necessary to have recourse to a belief in a supernatural source of salvation from without. Only when this salvation would come, would Israel find itself in such circumstances as would enable it to continue to serve as God's prophet to mankind.

However, simply to say that the Jew looked forward expectantly to a personal saviour to rescue him out of his straits does not express the total Jewish concept of the Messiah. Salvation to the Jew meant more than liberation from suffering. It meant also the restoration of the people as a national entity on the soil of Palestine, his native land. Without such a restoration, the Jew thought, salvation could never be. Why was this? Why was the national element so integral a part of his concept of salvation? This is due to the fact that the Jew had never fully outgrown his primitive origins. In the earlier years of its history, Israel's religion was a thoroughly tribalistic, non-universalistic religion. Israel's God at this time was his God alone whose dominion was confined solely to the territory which Israel inhabited. In other words, Israel's God, who was known by the name of Yahweh, was only a local deity among a host of other local deities who were worshipped by a host of other tribes. This primitive, narrow, completely national-centered form of religion naturally left its traces on the later more advanced stages of the religion's development. It did this through the imprint which it left on

the Bible, which upon its completion came to be regarded as the very word of God Himself. The prime example of this primitive influence of which we are speaking and the one that exerted the greatest force in preserving the national element in Judaism, is that of the sacrificial Temple worship which according to the Bible God ordained had to be centered exclusively in the city of Jerusalem, originally the sole dwelling place of Israel's God. For since God through the Bible had prescribed this form of worship for Israel according to the view of the Jew, he could only look upon himself as being completely faithful to his God by following this form of worship as commanded by Him. However, living in exile from Palestine and thus not being able to reach Jerusalem, the post-exilic Jew obviously could not engage in this type of worship. It was therefore only logical for the Jew to look forward to the day when, living once again in his ancient homeland, he would be able to resume the particular form of ritual service which his Torah set down.

Moreover, in view of this strong, primitive, national strain in his religious outlook, the Jew could interpret his exile in no other way than as a punishment inflicted upon him by God for the sins committed by him while living in Palestine. Why else would God have cast him forth out of his land after ordaining that it was in that land that Israel was to worship Him? For, this action on the part of God could only be the result of His displeasure with His people and this displeasure, in view of God's character being the

acme of absolute morality, could be caused by nothing other than Israel's turning aside from the path of goodness into the path of wickedness.

And so we see that the Jew of medieval times could not think of his mission to save the world except in terms of his own national salvation being prior and necessary to universal salvation. Two factors necessitated such a position on his part. First, so long as he was "despised and rejected of men", so long as his freedom was denied him, he was incapacitated for serving as God's emissary to the nations. Secondly, since he interpreted both his diasporic existence and the misery, struggle and deprivation which he was forced to endure in that existence as a deserved penalty for his past sinfulness, there could be no genuine freedom for him anywhere except in his own land to which God would bring him back in his own good time when he had fully atoned for his evil ways. Only then would he be in a position to influence the rest of the world to rally around his banner, as it is said in Scripture:

And it shall come to pass in the end of days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many peoples shall go and say: 'Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths.' For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. ⁶

The Messiah concept which we have been describing was destined to undergo a radical change because it was based

on a supposition which the history of post-medieval times proved to be untenable. The supposition was that so long as the Jew remained in the Diaspora the oppressive conditions to which the peoples of the world subjected him would never be alleviated, or at least never permanently alleviated, and hence he would never be emancipated from the shackles which bound him so that he would be free to perform his world task. It is easy to see how the Jew could have fallen into such a pessimistic attitude. When we reflect upon the long, hard centuries of dreary persecution and martyrdom, broken only by occasional and brief rays of light, it is difficult to see how the Jew's attitude could possibly have been different. But contrary to his expectations, these stray rays of light finally burst forth into blazing sunlight; and a new day dawned which was to spell emancipation for him --an emancipation which was effected not by his restitution to national glory, under the leadership of a Messiah, but by his admission into the society of the Diaspora, in the wake of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Where formerly he had been denied the rights of citizenship, he now became by degrees a full-fledged member of the body politic. Where he had been ostracized socially, he was gradually being accepted more or less as a social equal. Where beforetime he had been kept out of the vast majority of honorable trades and professions, he was more and more being granted entry into them. Where he had once been a political, social and economic pariah, he was now in the process of being made

an integral part of the national life of the country in which he happened to be dwelling.

There is another factor which caused the old personal Messiah idea to become outmoded. The scientific and humanistic spirit of the culture of the new age was totally opposed to belief in things miraculous. Anything that smacked of the unreasonable and unnatural tended to become discarded. The belief in the Messiah's coming, belonging obviously to this category, had to be dropped.

However, this did not mean that the entire Messianic notion had to go. After all the outcome to which the people's redemption by a Messiah was to give rise was synonymous with the ultimate goal of Israel's mission. For the age of the Messiah was envisioned as leading to nothing other than the inauguration of a never-ending era of peace and happiness, or in other words, to the ushering in of the Kingdom of God. Therefore, while the principle of the age of the personal Messiah was no longer found to be tenable, the principle of an impersonal Messianic age was substituted for it --an age which was not to result from the miraculous efforts of a single individual especially appointed by God for the purpose, but was to eventuate from the strivings for moral perfection of the Jewish people working in cooperation with all mankind.

However, despite the fact that the personal Messiah concept was no longer compatible with the conditions of Jewish life resultant from the emancipation, the vast majority of the Jews insisted on clinging tenaciously to this concept

rather than ^{re-}fashion this belief in accordance with the new life. Of these stubborn ones a few no doubt sincerely espoused this belief, but most of them could hardly have done so. The latter number probably paid mere lip service to it by retaining reference to it in the prayers of their liturgy. But the group of Jews known as Reform, whose attitude toward the Messianic question it is the purpose, in part, of these pages to discuss, recognized most willingly and unequivocally, at least for the most part, that the old Messiah conception was no longer admissible. Indeed it will become clear to us as our thesis progresses that the new non-personal Messianic notion which began to take root in the people's minds became one of the foremost of all the doctrines of Reform Judaism.

That Messianism stripped of its personal element came to occupy such a prominent place in the mind of the Reform Jew can be explained by the fact that it comported so well with the entire spirit and outlook of the new age. The moving force in the process of the Enlightenment, as we have already noted, was reason, and the use of reason led to the tearing down of the bulwarks erected by superstition and out-worn authority on the one hand, and to the advancing of the cause of human progress on the other. Indeed, so long had the waters of progress been dammed up by the forces of benighted authoritarianism, that once the walls of the dam broke, the waters rushed forth in a mighty, overwhelming stream which lifted the mind and heart to the heights of intoxicating

optimism. It began to appear that "all was within the scope of the human spirit or potentially within its ken. The great physical mysteries of the universe were fairly well in hand; the mathematical developments proceeding from Newton's law of gravity had practically reached the terminus of their purpose. The dogmas of Darwinian and social evolutionism forced men to accept a fate of inevitable progress and change for the better and the evils of the day were sloughed off as some of the cruder aspects of the 'survival of the fittest' process, aspects which men will leave far behind as he travels on the road of evolution. The biological, sociological, and philosophical formulations of the day largely presupposed the inevitability of constant change for the better. Hegel's onrushing movement of the world spirit, Spenser's sociological development, Darwin's evolution of body and mind, even Marx's materialistic dialectic --all painted resplendent visions of human destiny." ⁷ And this was just the goal posited by Jewish Messianism, that of a golden era/^{of} universal happiness and well-being.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MISSION IN GERMAN REFORM

Although the influence of the Emancipation permeated the lives of all European Jews eventually, when the Enlightenment first broke over Europe, its effect was limited to the western nations of that continent. And notwithstanding the fact that it penetrated the life of all western Jews, particularly those of Germany, Holland, France and England, it is only with the first of these countries that this thesis will concern itself so far as Europe is concerned, because only there did Reform Judaism take firm root, for reasons which it is not within the scope of this paper to investigate.

Therefore, having analyzed the causes responsible for Reform's modification of the mission doctrine, we must now proceed to ask ourselves: What was the essence of the mission as conceived by the German Reformers?

At the outset it was contended that Judaism in its very nature was imbued with the impulse to offer its blessings as the religion of humanity. Such a characteristic was the exalting strain resounding from all prophets.¹ With the divine spirit fanned into flame within it, Judaism intended to proclaim a new faith and make it victorious throughout the world.² Judaism had come into existence for the benefit of the whole world, in order that it might be comprised within its fold. Moreover, every religion which is convinced of its truth, not only for a limited circle, but for all mankind,

must exert itself to spread over the whole human race. If it would address itself only to those born to it, it ceases to be a religion; it becomes a mere sect. Therefore, Judaism was the first to speak of proselytism and break down the barriers of nationality.³ The goal of the mission was to redeem the spirit from the petrified forms and thus introduce Judaism to human activity. In the striving after this goal Israel had no need of missionaries, however. Its adherents themselves went out as God's messenger to plant its faith in men's hearts by martyrdom rather than "weak-sounding words". The Jewish mission was to be that of preaching to the world and emphasizing the universality of the Mosaic faith. Such a faith has as its basis the belief in one God and one fellowship of man. So strong was this belief that it was maintained by some as the only permanent element in Judaism.⁴ In the light of such an assertion, the Jew must therefore be able to appreciate the ideas of all ages and conditions of all places and hence must not be limited by any temporal institution. On the contrary, he must bear within himself the possibility of unlimited development. The final attainment of such development would result in a future golden age.⁵ The prophets had proclaimed such an age as contrasted with the heathen poets who sang of the past.⁶ The belief that freedom and virtue were spreading was interpreted as a step in this direction. It was contended that the ever-nearer approach of the Kingdom of God through mankind's strivings was being witnessed at present.⁷ This caused the Jew to adopt an optimistic attitude toward the emancipation. The latter

was interpreted as the usheringⁱⁿ of the Geullah.⁸

The mission idea, as we have already seen in Chapter One, entails the element of Israel's choice.⁹ This element received unequivocal expression from Einhorn. The belief in Israel's election, he maintained, contained nothing that was repugnant. On the contrary, it should be retained by the modern Jew as an expression of the claim of our privilege, as it engenders a feeling in the Jew of "reassuring¹⁰ self-consciousness¹⁰ over against the ruling church." Likewise the election of Israel was fully accepted by the ritual committee of the Berlin Reform Congregation in 1845. It laid stress on Israel's election to bring monotheism to all mankind.¹¹ The Leipzig liturgical conference in 1869 also looked upon the concept with favor, but held that the election was to be expressed in a positive manner and in a way that would not offend the brethren of other faiths.¹² Geiger too seems to have been friendly toward the idea, but he emphatically asserted that it was irreligious to think that Israel was better than others because of his election by God. Such choice entails responsibility and not privilege. Israel has the obligation to become more worthy by exemplary conduct in view of his chosen status.¹³ Holdheim, on the other hand, felt that the belief was merely a political doctrine which lost significance with the cessation of Israel's autonomous political existence.¹⁴ He also stated that the doctrine that all men are created in God's image is of higher poetic worth than Israel's election and that belief in an all-inclusive covenant with man as man has a more sanctifying effect than that in an exclusive covenant between God and his first-born

son Israel.¹⁵ Joseph Kahn, in an attempt which looks like a compromise, declared that "the prayer Attah Vehartonu (expressing the doctrine of the election of Israel) may be retained as historically significant, but not such passages as emphasize a still existing difference between Israel and other nations (Hamavdil bayn Yisroel l'amim)."¹⁶ In effect what Kahn seems to be saying is that while the Chosen People concept had meaning for the Jew of a past day, it is an outmoded notion to entertain in the enlightened present.

Quite naturally the mission idea in the thoroughly universalistic form that it assumed in the hands of Reform was to work a profound effect upon Reform's attitude to Palestine. An instance of this is to be found in the principles drawn up by the Frankfort Society of the Friends of Reform. As part of the their declaration of faith, it was declared that a Messiah who would lead the Jews to Palestine was no longer hoped for. In an attempt to show the German people that they were true patriots, they proclaimed that they regarded the country to which they belonged either by birth¹⁷ or citizenship as their only fatherland.

In the light of this new status, the Jew had to reorient his attitude toward Palestine. He had to give it its proper setting in the over-all picture of the mission idea. In most instances the attitude was negative. Holdheim clearly envisioned the problem at hand. He saw that if the Jew continued to believe in the restoration of the state, he could not be in earnest about the separation of the religious and political elements and its corollary of true loyalty to the

Fatherland. Thus the principle of the declaration of the Frankfort Reform Society would be defeated. Therefore, any petition for a return to Palestine was inadmissible. It is only if the Jew surrenders all particularistic national conceptions, can he be attached to his fatherland. In line with this thought the nationalistic conceptions of Israel must give way to universalism. All prayers for the restitution of the Jewish state should be eliminated. Instead, there should be substituted a prayer for the realization of the brotherhood of man. No other alternative was possible because Israel could no longer be conceived of as a nation in the hearts and wishes of the present generation. The establishment of the nation could not constitute Israel's mission. If this had been so, it would have ceased to live like most nations when it became disintegrated from its
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commonwealth.

Einhorn felt that Judaism's national form would serve as an "armor of protection" among the nations. This would last until Israel would have fulfilled its mission. Therefore, Israel's political overthrow cannot be viewed as a misfortune but a blessing. Judaism should not nourish in itself any hope for a return to Palestine, but it should
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strengthen the bonds of brotherhood.

Likewise Ludwig Philippson neither yearned for nor believed in the ultimate restoration of Zion. In a sermon on the Ninth of Ab, 1842, he said:

We are no longer confined in the limits of
a small land. We belong to the whole world.
We have the word of God no longer for our-

selves alone, but to give it to bear witness to it before all the nations. For that purpose Jerusalem fell, for that purpose we have been dispersed.²⁰

However, Philippson argued for the retention of the term nation by Judaism due to the fact of descent, although it was not to be understood as entailing political striving for a realm of its own.²¹

Geiger summarized the relative importance of the national factor. Arguing from an historical basis, he realized that the establishment of the nationality did not constitute the essence of the mission. In contrast to Israel, world history had commissioned certain other nations with the task of preserving only temporary commonwealths in order to do their allotted share in the world's work. Then, they ceased to live as soon as they were disengaged from their commonwealth. However, in regard to Israel, nationality is only a means for a higher object. The former must temporarily gather its forces until that propitious historical moment is reached, when the religious idea may become fully manifest.²²

Jews had accomplished the unique feat of establishing a second commonwealth, because they were more than a nation. They were a community united by a bond of an idea. Therefore, its vigor did not vanish when removed from its soil. Hence its nationality could be repeated again. However, even in this case, the nation was but a temporal hull, a necessary means for modifying the belief that Israel was essentially a religious community and not a national entity.²³

The Frankfort Conference of 1845 advocated the view

that the loss of political independence was no misfortune but in reality was a sign of progress entailing not cramping, but expansion of the religious spirit, bringing Israel nearer to the fulfillment of its mission.²⁴ Therefore, it urged the elimination of petitions for the restoration of political independence. Holdheim, at this conference, held that the petition for the return to Palestine for those who still suffer oppression was superfluous and inadmissible. It was superfluous "because both those who are oppressed, as well as the rest of us, would be helped only by the removal of oppression. Hence, we should petition for this; on the other hand, it is inadmissible because it makes of the Messianic expectation, not a religious, but a purely material hope, which is cheerfully surrendered wherever the political status is satisfactory."²⁵

On the other hand, K. Wagner favored the mentioning of Zion's rebuilding in prayers as a tribute of piety to the holy city.²⁶ Similarly L. Stein held the same view. It was his belief that in the Messianic time the Temple will arise in Jerusalem where all peoples will worship together as a visible symbol of spiritual union, inasmuch as all religions²⁷ founded on the Bible look to Jerusalem as the holy city. Therefore, although he admitted that we have become a great religious community dispersed throughout the world, he felt that the national element would never be entirely eliminated²⁸ from Judaism.

To Maier political restoration had been repudiated by the majority of German Jews. If attendants at services are

not to be guilty of mental reservations when petitions for the Jewish state are uttered, we must remove them from our liturgy and give expression only to the universal and spiritual interpretation of the Messianic doctrine.²⁹

According to Auerbach, nationalism is not really divorced from religion in Judaism, but the latter is rather a development out of the former; the purely religious element³⁰ is the flower of Jewish nationalism.

An interesting position on the national question was taken by G. Salomon in connection with his defense of the Hamburg Temple Prayerbook against those who criticized it for its inconsistency in eliminating certain prayers with regard to the Palestinean restoration while retaining others. In this defense he declared that the Hamburg congregation did believe in the restoration, but did not believe that "the restoration is conditioned by the bodily personal presence of each and every Israelite in the land of Palestine. We can desire with all our hearts the reestablishment of an unfortunate fatherland, can even make supplication to God for this, and become enthusiastic for the idea; and together with this we can remain in the land wherein Divine Providence has placed us, continue to live there and obey, serve, and give allegiance to its ruling powers."³¹

A corollary to the concept of the restoration of Palestine is naturally the belief in the restoration of the cult and Temple, and the role that the Messiah would play in such a restoration. In analyzing these two elements, many inconsistencies will be found in the views of the German Reformers.

For example, Philippson, though retaining prayers for the sacrificial cult, did not intend them to be taken literally. This was amply expressed when he said: "In the Messianic Era the ceremonial laws will no longer be binding, as the Midrash tells us, leatid haba kol hakorbanot betelin."³²

Another example of inconsistency was expressed by Mannheimer. Though believing in a personal Messiah and national restoration, he yet agreed with the Hamburg Prayerbook in omitting the prayers for reinstituting the sacrifices.³³

On the other hand, L. Stein would retain the prayers for the Temple, but urged the excision of petitions for the return to Palestine because they were not from our hearts and therefore untrue.³⁴

There were others, however, who held a very consistent view on the matter. Holdheim, replying to the radicals of Arad, Hungary, in 1848, stated that all significance to laws dealing with the Temple and sacrificial service as well as the dietary laws was lost. A further basis for his argument was that these laws had grown out of the conception of Israel as a chosen people possessed of a peculiar theocratical sanctity. However, such an outlook was now changed according to which God loves all men as His children.³⁵ Holdheim, seeing that the priesthood of a specific family, the Aaronides, was bound up with a theocratic conception of Palestine, considered the abolition of sacrifices as a forward step. Judaism must give way under a universalistic interpretation to the idea of the priesthood of the community.³⁶ He asserted further that our houses of worship are on an

equal footing with the Temple. And he contended that our present day services with their devotional inwardness are of higher character than sacrificial service. The former displaced the latter for the whole future .³⁷

Einhorn in his Report on the Dietary Laws as chairman of a committee at the Breslau Conference in 1846 tried to prove the obsolescence of the dietary laws insofar as they had formed part of the Levitical priestly laws. He pointed out that the law forbidding unclean meat formed part of the system of priestly purity and impurity that could only be observed in connection with the priestly cult, but not at a time and place where such cult no longer exists. Therefore, dietary laws were considered no longer to have any binding character, since Jews no longer live in a theocratic state. All the more should they be abrogated since they interfere with our high mission as a priest-³⁸people.

As head of the Jewish Directorate (Oberrath), Einhorn said that such prayers as express hope for the restoration of the sacrificial cult on Palestinian soil no longer would voice the sentiment of the large majority of Jews in "civil" countries. In its place, hope is cherished for a time when the Messianic mission will find full realization in equal recognition and mutual esteem of all men before God. He also demonstrated that the Talmudists made a distinction between the Temple and the synagogue because they considered the offering of sacrifices necessary for full divine service.³⁹

Formstecher interpreted the mention of sacrifices not as

a petition for restitution but as thanks that we have substituted prayer for sacrifices in accordance with the prophets.⁴⁰

In accordance with the Hamburg Temple Prayerbook, Second Edition, 1841, Mannheimer defended the omission of passages referring to the sacrifices' reinstitution as having nothing to do with national restoration, though he espoused the cause of the latter.⁴¹

At the Frankfort Conference in 1845 it was particularly the Musaph Service which became the subject of revision. Those parts of this service which dealt with sacrifices were held to be particularly inadmissible because the priestly cult had become outgrown. A compromise program was adopted. It was unanimous on the removing of petitions for the sacrificial cult. By majority vote the Conference voted in favor of reading Torah passages commanding sacrifices if read in Hebrew.⁴²

The Berlin Reform Congregation went to the extent of having the priestly blessing pronounced by the preacher in place of the Aaronides. Thus, the Berliners severed the only link that bound the synagogue service to the sacrificial-priestly polity of the Temple, thus repudiating in practice as well as in thought the expectation of the Temple's restoration. For to the sacrificial system, the Aaronic priesthood, the Palestinian state, and the personal Messiah Reform opposed the service of prayer, priesthood of the whole people, the countries of the world as their father-lands, and the Messianic Era.⁴³

Likewise ⁱⁿ the prayerbook of the Union of the Jewish Con-

gregations of Westphalia, 1894, there was a revision of the service for the Ninth of Ab. After reminiscing about Zion and Jerusalem, the new ideal of universalism was proclaimed. Such revision was not to go unchallenged. In answer to a protest by five hundred rabbis against the modified liturgy, it was declared that no restoration of sacrificial service was hoped for, since the prophets had thundered against these very elements.⁴⁴

Having examined the ideas of the German Reformers for their attitude toward the restoration of the sacrificial service, let us now proceed to see what they had to say about the Messiah who was to bring this restoration about.

M. Hess felt that it was naturally quite logical to assert that we should not petition for what we no longer believe in, viz. the personal Messiah.⁴⁵

Samuel Hirsch accounted for the picturing of the Messianic time in terms of a prosperous Jewish state by stating that such an idealistic picture was due to the prophets' limitations and teaching in terms of their own age. Hirsch, in contrast to their national conception, posited a universal notion of the Messianic age, in which he envisioned a prosperous world for all men, not just a prosperous state for the Jewish people. Moreover, he imagined that his Messianic doctrine was fulfilling itself rapidly.⁴⁶

G. Salomon recognized that since the intelligent section of Jewry in his day repudiated the belief in a personal Messiah, and since even many who thought of themselves as pious restricted the belief to prayers in the synagogue, it was ab-

solutely necessary , unless religion was to be made sport of, to frame the expression of the Messianic doctrine in purely spiritual terms.⁴⁷

Joseph Kahn pointed out that a personal Messiah was not required by the Bible. He took the position that all prophets agreed as to the Messianic era, but^{not} as regards a personal⁴⁸ Messiah.

L. Stein, on the other hand, believed in a personal Messiah inasmuch as all great events, he contended, were accomplished by great personalities.⁴⁹ Ludwig Philippson too expressed opposition to the elimination of prayers expressive of the hope for the coming of the Messiah. Yet he, unlike Stein, did not regard the belief in a personal Messiah essential. He justified his stand against elimination of reference to the Messiah with the statement that just "as Revelation is the foundation, so the Messianic idea is the roof of Judaism."⁵⁰ What he seems to be saying is that since the Messianic doctrine is so vital and central a principle in Jewish tradition, it is sacrilegious to tamper with it in its original form, even though it may be necessary to modify our interpretation of it.

Naturally the Messianic idea as modified by Reform necessarily impelled the adoption of a positive attitude toward the dispersion. This must logically follow because the twin doctrine of the personal Messiah and the return through his agency of the Jews to Palestine was rejected by Reform. L. Stein clearly accounted for the changed attitude toward the dispersion in the emancipation period. The pre-emanci-

pation Jew because of his oppression was compelled to consider the dispersion as a curse and punishment for sin. However, under present conditions, the Diaspora must be interpreted in terms of blessing, both because of the radically changed political and social status of the Jew and because of the opportunity that the dispersion offers for the fulfillment of Israel's mission among the nations.⁵¹ Likewise L. Philippson said that Jerusalem's fall and the dispersion⁵² serve the purpose of enabling Israel to perform its mission. In this connection Geiger defined the conflagration which destroyed Jerusalem as a fire of purification for Israel and humanity. Israel was to examine its way, remove all the dross, and illuminate mankind with the light of its teaching.⁵³

Having concluded our discussion of the mission in all its phases in German Reform, it behooves us to consider what the German thinkers held to be the position of the mission in relation to the larger totality. Superficially, one might say that the mission has been largely fulfilled in view of the fact that the majority of the world has now accepted monotheism. Then what justification is there for a continuance of Israel's task? Ludwig Philippson asserted that Judaism must continue alongside Christianity and Islam until human or pagan ideas will be completely overcome by religious ideas and the latter will be realized in the life of all humanity.⁵⁴ Abraham Geiger viewed Judaism as still having a mission because of the necessity of its opposing the baser elements in Christianity with those in itself which are superior.⁵⁵ Moreover, despite oppression, Judaism has preserved

its spiritual freshness which has resulted in a power
of resistance that knows how to continue to preserve and
create in the domain of the spirit.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MISSION IN AMERICAN REFORM

While Germany was the birth-place of the Reform movement, America was the nation where liberal Judaism reached its fullest maturity. It is therefore to America that we must look for an expression of Reform on the subject of the mission in its most developed form. It was quite logical that Reform Judaism should have received a hearty reception in the United States. The full implications of liberalism inherent in Reform could hardly be realized under the conditions of tyranny in Europe. It was rather in the United States with its democratic institutions and opportunities for freedom of expression that its full implications came to be realized..

The ideas of the Jeffersonian Statute of 1786, the idea of the utmost exercise of religious freedom advocated by Roger Williams, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights nourished the soil in which the growing plant of Reform was to be nurtured.

The soil was further fertilized by the untold economic expansion of America throughout the nineteenth century. Unobtrusively individual Jews through their ability and industry were gradually achieving for themselves a place in this economy. Jewish peddlers became merchants; artisans became manufacturers; Jewish teachers and editors, and indeed all sorts of Jewish business and professional men, began to appear on the American scene. This unprecedented assimilation

of the Jew to the non-Jewish environment in which he lived involved a weakening of his uniform, orthodox congregational structure, the waning of traditional synagogue authority, and the inception of Reform to a greater extent than ever before in any other country of the earth.

With the death of the hope of freedom in Europe after Napoleon's defeat, the temporary set-back there caused a surge of immigration to the United States. Another far greater flood of immigration took place following the year 1848, which sounded the death-knell of German liberalism and thereby marked the destruction of the Reform advance in Germany. As a result of these two immigration streams, the sowing of the seeds of American Reform was given new impetus.

Having accounted for the factors responsible for the full development of American Reform, we are now ready to embark upon the most important part of this thesis. This is to discuss in full detail the mission idea as it took form in the minds of American Reform thinkers. For it is only by dealing with our idea as it developed in Reform Judaism in its most mature form that we can understand the mission in its complete maturity. In the democratic milieu of America the Jew found a propitious environment in which to stress the mission idea. As we have seen, similar conditions had existed in Germany, but to a lesser extent. The fortunes of the German nation underwent many changes during the turbulent years following in the wake of the Napoleonic Era. Such reversals resulted in reprisals against the Jews.

However, in America there was much greater political stability. By its very nature our constitutional form of government enhanced the Jew's security. Conditions in America were far closer to the ideal and ^{thus} the mission idea found its most extravagant expression here.

The aim of democracy, and of America its leading exponent, was taken to be identical with the Messianic goal of Judaism. The United States granted us immunity from oppressive acts in full measure. Events in nineteenth century America looked as bright to the Jew as conditions in the Diaspora had been dark for his medieval ancestors. There was lack of discrimination in all walks of American life --political, social, religious and economic. America had the potential of becoming the place in which the fulfillment of the mission could best be realized. Therefore, the Jews in this country felt that they should identify themselves with the destinies of our nation. A reflection of this attitude may be found in the utterances of Max Lillenthal. In his sermon at the dedication of the Mound Street Temple in Cincinnati, he applied the verse of the Psalmist to the Jews' place in the United States: "Here is my resting place; there shall I reside; for I love this place." In an address delivered on Thanksgiving Day, 1865, at the laying of the cornerstone of the new temple at Indianapolis, Indiana, he said:

America is our Palestine; here is our Zion and Jerusalem; Washington and the signers of the glorious Declaration of Independence ... are our deliverers, and the time when their doctrine will be recognized

and carried into effect is the time so hopefully foretold by our great prophets.²

Another reflection of this warm attitude toward America on the part of the Reform Jew is to be seen in the Union Prayerbook:

Grant us peace, Thy most precious gift, O Thou eternal source of peace, and enable Israel to be its messenger unto the peoples ~~of the peoples~~ of the earth. Bless our country that it may ever be a stronghold of peace, and its advocate in the council of nations.³

Living under such favorable conditions as America had to offer, it was quite logical that before the rise of Zionism, the American reformers saw in the dispersion one of the chief means for attaining the true way of life. Jews, by virtue of their mission, were faced with the historic task of cooperating with all men in the establishment of God's Kingdom. Quite logically, this could only be achieved through Israel's dispersion.⁴ The Jew must ever be ready to sacrifice in order to bear "light in the dark loneliness of stricken lives." Only then can he be a "co-worker" with God in the building of His Kingdom.⁵

We have already seen that this concept held true among the German reformers. This had been due to the era of emancipation and enlightenment which had prevailed in western Europe. However, in America, where the broadest expression of humanitarianism prevailed, the dispersed of Israel were thought to be blessed with the optimum opportunity to strive toward their mission. The Messianic aim was not the restoration of the state under a Davidic king. This would involve

a second separation from the nations. The Diaspora was not to be viewed as a punishment. The dispersion of the Jews was interpreted as a blessing to be enjoyed rather than as a curse from which to be rescued. Therefore to them the mission spelled an entirely universalistic outlook according to which the Jews were part and parcel of the world community of men without any national connotation. The Jews' mission is to witness to God all over the world. In other words, Israel is a priest-people with a religious consciousness. The Geullah would only be realized when the Jew would have the right to live in any part of the world. Such a time would witness the end of all racial and religious persecution. Israel would be free as an integral part of all nations to give world service. It was only when all mankind would recognize the ethical demands of righteousness that Israel's mission, as the prophets understood it, would be realized. In the light of all this, the Temple's destruction was really providential because it was the beginning of the world mission. The loss of the separate Jewish nationality was a necessary preliminary to it.

We find this extremely universalistic Messianic idea voiced most emphatically in the Union Prayerbook. The goal of the mission is envisioned there as the dwelling together in unity and the achievement of peace among all mankind. The characteristics of the Messianic age will be marked by the absence of unbelief, superstition, and idolatry. All will recognize the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of

¹³
Man. Particular emphasis is given this idea in the special prayer inserted in the Sabbath Eve service during Passover. Apropos to the theme of Israel's deliverance, the hope is expressed that in the future all men will recognize the weakness of earthly might before the force of God's spirit.¹⁴
A prayer for strength to perform its appointed task despite persecution characterizes the prayer for the Sabbath before Purim.¹⁵ The Messianic age is equated with a brotherly covenant.¹⁶ An exhortation to summon our energies for the fulfillment of the divine plan concludes the prayer for the Sabbath of Repentance.¹⁷ Active recognition by the other nations of the true import of Israel's mission is the theme of Isaiah 2:1-4, which is the passage introducing the Sabbath Evening Torah Service.¹⁸ Such a mission has been destined for Israel from the very beginning of its existence.¹⁹ One of the means whereby Israel is to "win all men" for God's "law of righteousness" is through exemplification. Through Israel, God's reputation will be enhanced universally. Consequently, all mankind will receive blessing.²⁰ Another aid in the implementation of the mission is the love tendered by all mankind for one another.²¹ Israel's selection having with it the corollary of its self-consecration is emphasized in the Evening Service for the Festivals. Likewise, a prayer for that day which will bring victory of the spirit to those who bear witness to God's unity is included.²²

Turning to the attitude of the American Reformers toward the return to Palestine, this particular phase of the mission

idea was given due attention in the platforms of successive conferences and editions of the prayerbooks. Einhorn, in his Olat Tamid, published in 1856, omitted prayers for the return to Palestine and the restoration of the sacrificial cult.²³ The question of the reinstitution of the cult received attention at the 1869 conference at Philadelphia. The Aaronic priesthood was viewed as only preparatory to the real priesthood of the whole people, beginning with the dispersion period. The distinction between the Aaronides and the non-Aaronides in the religious cult was declared inadmissible.²⁴ In an address on his twenty-fifth anniversary as a Rabbi, Lillienthal emphasized that Reform congregations had eliminated from their prayerbooks "all sentences referring to the rebuilding of the Temple with its sacrifices referring to the dark times of persecution and mutual aversion."²⁵ This statement was made at a U. A. H. C. Convention in Washington, in the centennial year of American independence. The Pittsburgh Platform (1885) recognized the Mosaic legislation as the system for training the Jew for his mission during the Palestinian national life. However, today only its laws and such of its ceremonies as are adapted to Jews of the modern world are held to be binding.²⁶ The modern Jew does not hope for the restoration of the sacrificial cult under Aaron's sons, nor the restoration of any law concerning the Jewish state, inasmuch as we do not expect a return to Palestine.²⁷

In accord with this theme, the Union Prayerbook, the first edition of which came out in 1892, naturally left out all expressions of hope for the restoration of Palestine as a poli-

tical state and has continued to do so in all subsequent editions. However, in the latest edition, the Newly Revised, published in 1940, under the influence of the rising tide of Zionism within the ranks of Reform in common with all of Jewry, a prayer was inserted petitioning for a spiritual regeneration of our ancient homeland, in complete keeping with Reform's mission concept. What it says is that we should hope for Zion's restoration, not for our own sake, "but as a living witness to the the truth of Thy word which shall lead the nations to the reign of peace" through the going forth of God's word from Jerusalem. ²⁸ True, up to this time, any sort of national return for any purpose whatsoever had been discounted as incompatible with Reform's thorough universalism. But as a result of the impact of the Zionist movement the type of compromise here described began to take place. It is therefore necessary for an understanding of all the expressions of the Reform attitude toward Palestine following the beginning of the movement in 1897 that we enter into an analysis of Zionism and the forces responsible for it.

The immediate cause of the movement's inception came as a result of the outcome of the Dreyfus trial in 1894. However there were many earlier incidents in the chain of human events which had more or less an indirect influence on the movement. The optimistic hopes of the enlightenment were to be tempered by several tragic events. The latter made the Jew examine his status in relation to the general environment. If he were sensitive, they made him cognizant of certain forces which shaped his attitude toward

society. By and large these forces were anti-Semitic in nature.

As early as 1840 there occurred the Damascus Affair. Certain Jews were accused of being implicated in the abduction of a monk, Father Thomas. The event aroused the attention of the then Jewish world. Reaction in the United States was expressed in President Van Buren's intervention, through the United States' consuls in Alexandria and Damascus. After the failure of the 1848 revolution the strength of liberalism was dealt a severe blow even in the so-called enlightened countries. Again in 1858 a youth whose name was Mortara was abducted by the Catholic Church. The latter claimed that he rightfully belonged to them since he had been secretly converted earlier by his nurse. The child was forcibly separated from his parents and could not be retrieved. The event shocked many. Its reverberations were felt through the whole world. Nor were these outbreaks limited to the so-called progressive countries of Europe. In benighted Russia conditions were far worse. Jews suffered there from the May Laws of 1881 which forbade their residence outside the prescribed Pale of Settlement. Under the Czarist regimes beginning in the eighties through the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, the Russian Jew was subjected to the merciless onslaught of pogroms. In 1894 Theodore Herzl, covering the Dreyfus trial for his Viennese newspaper, analyzed clearly the factors which were implicit in the affair. Dreyfus had been charged

with treason for selling secrets to the German government. However, to Herzl it was not Dreyfus alone who stood on trial. The Jew per se was being challenged by his society without any ample defense. The answer to the Jews' suffering was to be found in the Jew's return to his native land. Only then would the Jew regain his full dignity which the world owed him. Only then would he attain to his rightful and respectable status among the nations. No more would he be subject to Gentile scorn bereft of a country that would advocate his cause. Then he could share equality with all nations in their deliberations. With his national prestige assured, by the attainment of his homeland, the key could be found which would help solve all his other problems.

With the World War new forces arose which bore directly upon the new philosophy. Palestine by virtue of its strategic position played a vital role in the military operations. During the aftermath of the war the question of the determination of the rights of national minorities became a vital issue. Under such circumstances, it was natural that advocates of the national Jewish cause should advance their claims most strongly.

The question of the acceptance or rejection of the Zionist philosophy was to involve the modification by Reform of its attitude to the mission, at least on the part of those who became Zionistic, or were sensitive to the new historical forces which gave rise to the movement. Of course, it should be recognized that in the beginning Zionism played a role

in the minds of only a small minority among the reformers, but that as time went by the number whose thinking was affected by it increased steadily. For such as these the problem was that of reinstituting Palestine into the mission idea. This became a cardinal point, since before the mission had been conceived of being achieved best by dispersion, as we have seen. The latter had constituted the best means whereby Israel could achieve its mission. Moreover, Zionism, as we have seen, stemmed largely from anti-Semitism and therefore in the minds of some dispersion could no longer be thought of in this favorable light. Reform Jews up till now had been under the spell of progressive enlightened humanitarianism. They had had a cordial feeling for their adopted land. However, such outbreaks changed the attitude of some^{of them}/radically from sympathy and patriotism to that of distrust and suspicion. In light of this new anti-Semitism they regarded themselves as aliens. They saw that their only salvation lay in the restoration of their national dignity. In view of this feeling, they had a problem on their hands. This problem was that of reconciling their national feeling as Jews with the mission idea of their religion. Of course in the case of those who did not accept the Zionist philosophy, such a problem did not exist. And so in order to gain a complete picture of the American Reform view on the Palestinian question, we must examine what both Zionists and anti- or non-Zionists have said on the subject beginning with the C. C. A. R. Conference of 1897, the year of the Basel Conference .

Quite in accord with pre-Zionist reform's negative attitude to the national restoration, there was the expression at this Conference of the total disapproval of the attempt to establish a Jewish state. Any such attempts were regarded as a misunderstanding of Israel's mission; yea, they were harmful to Jews where they are still persecuted as foreigners by confirming the assertion of their enemies that they are²⁹ aliens. This opposition to the reestablishment of the Palestinian state was stressed at future conferences. At the Indianapolis Convention in 1906 the religious element uniting³⁰ Jews was affirmed as over against the national element. The Baltimore Conference of 1911 discountenanced any movement on any other than a religious basis. Such an endeavor would violate the principle of separation of Church and State. It would tend to create the impression that Jews are³¹ an imperium in imperio.

The C. C. A. R. Conference of 1917 in Buffalo is particularly important in this connection. In the majority report on Rosenau's Presidential Message the emphatic assertion was made as follows.

We herewith affirm the fundamental principle of Reform Judaism, that the essence of Israel as a priest-people consists in its religious consciousness, and in the sense of consecration to God and service in the world, and not in any political or racial national consciousness. And therefore, we look with disfavor upon the new doctrine of political Jewish nationalism, which finds the criterion of Jewish loyalty in anything other than loyalty to Israel's God and Israel's religious mission.³²

On the other hand, two minority reports were submitted in thorough-going opposition to this stand. One of these was

written by Max Heller and read:

Inasmuch as reform Judaism does not dogmatize on the geographical habitation or political status of the Jew;

Inasmuch as reform Judaism does not insist on the dispersion of the Jews as an indispensable condition for the welfare and progress of Judaism;

Be it Resolved, that there is nothing in the effort to secure a publicly and legally safe-guarded home for Jews in Palestine which is not in accord with the principles and aims of reform Judaism.³³

The second minority report was worded by Louis J. Kopald.

In it is found the following statement:

. . . We are convinced that whether the individual Zionist call himself a race-Zionist, nation-Zionist or religion-Zionist, Zionism is ultimately nothing but an interpretation of the best method of conserving Judaism; and that when especially we realize that our liberal congregations, which the members of this Conference serve, are in all cases divided into Zionist and non-Zionist viewpoints, all the members of which, however, are recognized as having equal rights to membership in their congregations, it becomes unjust as well as logically untenable that this Conference go on record in any resolution aimed directly and proscriptively at one wing, and a growingly important wing, of Judaism. The writer of this minority report is himself not a Zionist, and yet he feels keenly the need of protecting the principle of Jewish liberalism, and of urging the members of the Conference not to take action so inimical to liberalism and so essentially un-Jewish.³⁴

Samuel Schulman was the outspoken defender of the anti-Zionist position. He said:

Zionism is a deliberate rejection of the whole movement and aspiration of the modern Jew which began with Mendelssohn and is crystallized in American Reform --which says that Israel is a priest people, telling the world that Israel is a religious union.³⁵

Samuel S. Cohon, also on the anti-Zionist side, made the as-

sertion that:

Zionism is a purely economic interpretation of life and we, as a religious organization, have no such problem before us.³⁶

*Undoubtedly
reported in
Herald.*

At the Conference in the following year, 1918, the C. C. A. R., while it responded favorably toward the Balfour Declaration and agreed to facilitate immigration to Palestine for reasons of economic necessity, yet it objected to the statement that Palestine is to be a national homeland. This would imply that Jews are a people without a country and it asserted that the ideal of the Jew was not to establish a Jewish state. In positive terms survival as a people was dependent entirely upon maintenance of our³⁷ historic religious role.

In 1920 at Rochester the Central Conference endorsed President Leo Franklin's declining of the invitation of the Z. O. A. to appoint a delegation to participate in the celebration of the Palestine Mandate's issuance to Great Britain by the San Remo Conference, although it expressed joy over the event as offering a place of refuge for the down-trodden Jew, where "inspired by the hallowed association of the land in which Israel's Prophets announced world-redeeming ideas, they may become a great spiritual influence." At the same time it was declared that this event could not be called the Redemption of Israel, as "Israel's Redemption will only be realized when the Jew will have the right to live in any part of the world, and, all racial and religious prejudice and persecution ended, Israel will be free as a religious power

and integral part of all nations to give world service." ³⁸

It is abundantly evident from the resolutions on Zionism and Palestine that we have been citing that "the great majority of the members of the conference, though opposed to the political agitations of Jewish nationalists, are yet heartily in favor of coöperation in all efforts for the physical rehabilitation of Palestine. And this appeared in the action taken at the meeting held at Cedar Point, Ohio, in 1924, when the report of the committee on the Message of the president" heartily endorsed such co-operation and suggested that a non-partisan group for the development of Palestine be formed. ³⁹

In the Columbus Platform of 1937, the C. C. A. R. came closer than ever before to satisfying the outlook of its Zionist members. After four decades of constant effort on the part of the Zionist elements, they finally succeeded for the first time in gaining acceptance for their viewpoint by the majority of the members of the Conference, and thus in winning a place for the expression of that viewpoint in an official pronouncement of that organization. This viewpoint was stated in the following words:

In the rehabilitation of Palestine, the land hallowed by memories and hopes, we behold the promise of renewed life for many of our brethren. We affirm the obligation of all Jewry to aid in its unbuilding as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life. ⁴⁰

True, this statement was by no means an unequivocal expression of Zionist doctrine, for it failed to make any mention

of the Zionist aim to establish a Jewish political state in Palestine. However, it did recognize Palestine as a "Jewish homeland" and asserted the importance of making the land a center of "Jewish culture", and not merely "a haven of refuge for the oppressed" or a center of renewed religious life. Such a declaration was something entirely new in the annals of the U. C. A. R. It was an indication that the Zionists were securing at least some measure of sympathy for their cause among the majority of the Reform Rabbis of America.

Now that we have gained some general idea of the mission of Israel with its implications as it took form in Reform Judaism in America, let us now turn to a description of the idea as voiced by those individual Reform thinkers in this country whose utterances on the subject are of the greatest significance. In this way we will acquire a full conception of this most important doctrine as it developed in this most important center of liberal Judaism.

In our treatment of the individual reformers, we shall deal with two groups of thinkers: (1) the pre- and/or non-Zionists; and (2) those whose concept of the mission was in some way modified by Zionism.

We shall begin with the first of these groups, as their viewpoint precedes in time those of most of the Reform Zionists, and hence serves as a basis for the development of the viewpoint of the latter.

A. ISAAC MAYER WISE (1819-1900)

It is quite logical to treat of Isaac M. Wise's views on the mission first. Not only was he the earliest in birth among those whom we shall consider, but he appeared as the first important creative and constructive pioneer in American reform Judaism.

So important was the mission concept in the totality of Wise's thinking that the idea of Israel's selection was one of the cardinal principles in his Minnag America.⁴¹ He viewed Israel's mission as bringing about the moral regeneration of the world. Progress in this direction was shown in mankind's becoming better, wiser and more just.⁴² Wise advocated the realization of the mission in America through concrete implementation. He called for a union of congregations to enable us better "to fulfill our sacred mission, to send our important message to mankind."⁴³ In his initial address as President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Wise said:

If the spirit of Judaism is to be developed into a universalistic religion ... we must have the united rabbinate, the annual Conference, the earnest and steady work of all our intellectual forces united in one power. With this Conference we enter upon the new phase of American Judaism as the free messenger of God to a free people,⁴⁴ a kingdom of priests to anoint a holy nation.

In his plan he conceived the purpose of the students at the Hebrew Union College to be the preservation and propagation of Israel's treasure. They were to be the expounders of the future in the United States which "prepares the future of the human family."⁴⁵

As editor of the American Israelite, he utilized his newspaper as a vehicle for the dissemination of his views on the mission. In one of his editorials in 1862 he stated:

The ISRAELITE sees values in Judaism, the great element of universal religion, those great truths, those immortal verities, which long or short, once must become the common good of mankind for universal redemption and salvation. It is the sacred cause of humanity which we revere in Judaism, and shall continue to do so, until these truths, these verities are understood and appreciated by the generality. . . . Judaism released must offer its treasures to all. . . . The body is limited, the spirit is universal; the law is for one land, the good principle for all; forms change, forms break, the spirit is immortal, for the sake of man and not for the sake of the Jew God revealed His will.⁴⁶

In another issue of the same year, Wise speaks of the mission as not implying a theological victory of one theistic system over another, but a triumph of Israel's moral principles. It is the realization of the promise to Abraham that he would be the source of blessing to all nations. Our mission consists of our being models of true morality granting perfect freedom of conscience to all.⁴⁷

Another opportunity that Wise took to express his feeling on the mission idea was the Philadelphia Conference in 1899. At the Conference he stated that "the Messianic aim of Israel . . . is the Union of all children of God in the confession of the Unity of God so as to realize the unity of all rational creatures and their call to moral sanctification."⁴⁸ At a later conference he reiterated his view on the mission by saying:

It need not be reiterated in this assembly that the Prophets, one and all, and after the sages of the Talmud, the philosophers of the Middle Ages and the teachers of the nineteenth century, all of them, an unbroken chain of reasoners, maintain the very same thing: Judaism is the universal religion; and all of them predicted and hoped for the time when God will be king over all the earth, and God will be known as one, and one his name will be. The same idea has been variously expressed at different times. The coming of the prophet Elijah, the coming

of the Mèssiah, the future world, the universal redemption, the unification and fraternization of the human family, are some of the names given to the same idea. In our century it was called the Messianic age, the Messianic realm, also the Kingdom of the Messiah, always signifying the same thing --the final and universal triumph of the universal religion in theory and practice, in creed and deed, for the government of nations and the conduct of individuals. It was the mission of Judaism from its inception to become at the fulness of time the religion of the human family. Its mission is the conversion and fraternization of mankind, not merely because it claims to be divine revelation, but because it is the only twin sister.⁴⁹

Wise viewed Judaism in the light of its cosmopolitic tendency. He gave expression to this when he said that it was now time when "we must approximate those who need our instruction, who are depressed in mind by priestcraft and prejudices, and render an invaluable service to both ourselves and them."⁵⁰

Wise's Selected Writings provide a source for his idea of the mission concept. He summarized the role of the Jew in the performance of his task:

He (the wandering Jew) must live on until there shall be no more superstition, no ignorance, and no intolerance, no hatred, no self-delusion and no darkness among sects. He must wander on till the end of woe and misery has come, till the earth shall be one holy land, every city a Jerusalem, every house a Temple, every table an altar, every parent a priest, and Jehovah the only God; till light and truth shall have dominion over all, every land be a home of the free, every government the guardian of liberty, and mankind one family of equal rights and duties.⁵¹

This mission will not be fulfilled until the human family will be united before the one God in justice and all vice, paganism, and hypocrisy will be eradicated.⁵² Then all men will have a knowledge and fear of God. "This is the Messiah

for whom we wait."⁵³

In Wise's concept of Israel's mission America played a most vital role. America meant for Wise the consummation of the liberal movement, "God's chosen experimentation ground for the kingdom of heaven. It meant freedom, equality, and fraternity, the fulfillment of every Biblical prophecy."⁵⁴ There is no need for a Jewish state in Palestine. The American government is the type delineated by Moses and is therefore basically Jewish.⁵⁵ Our desire is to have freedom in the community in which we live. This we possess in America. In the March 17, 1871 issue of the Israelite, he wrote;

Outside of the synagogue we are citizens of the land of our nativity or adoption and need not perceptibly differ from any fellow-man. In public life, in business, in culture, in all worldly aspiration, we have lost our identity, and very few if any wish to restore it.⁵⁶

Wise emphasized that it was our religious duty to adhere under all circumstances to the "land of our choice and its laws."⁵⁷

He expressed this feeling in the form of a challenge:

Will you cling to the spirit of darkness to save a piece of Talmud and your Midrash quibblers? Or will you stand bravely and consistently with the intelligence of the country on the side of progress and liberty?⁵⁸

The American Jew must be satisfied with his political and social position in the land of his adoption. He must feel perfectly satisfied with the conditions as he finds them here. We in the United States possess freedom, equality, justice, and equity in such fulness "that no State whatever could improve on it."⁵⁹ Wise saw the importance of training students for the

office of teachers that are loyal and patriotic citizens of
the United States.⁶⁰

On July 10, 1868, Wise wrote:

The Israelite has almost obliterated the idea of a personal Messiah, and of returning to Jerusalem, and has endeared the country to the Israelite as his home, his promised land, his Jerusalem, in which the God of his fathers delights.⁶¹

Such a statement naturally forms the key to an understanding of Wise's attitude toward Palestine. As early as 1869 Wise approved a declaration of the Philadelphia Conference which declared that the Messianic aim of Israel was not the restoration of the old Jewish state under a descendant of David. This would involve a second separation from the nations of the earth.⁶² On the question of purchasing Palestine, he said: that if Palestine should be purchased nobody would go there. The American Jew is American to all intents and purposes. The English Jew is an Englishman in the same way. Even the Russian Jew, though oppressed, is intensely Russian. Those who pray to return to Palestine do not mean it.

The Jew's nationality is endemic; it is not conditioned by space, land, or water.... The Jew's Jewish nationality had been for centuries before this event (the destruction of Jerusalem 70 A.D.) independent of every soil; it has been and now is in his blood, in the purity of his race, in his beliefs, in his mode of thinking and feeling, it is all intellectual and moral without any reference to soil, climate, or any other circumstances. The Jewish nationality and his attachment to it has been made portable; he carries it along with him wherever he goes, unites it with the country of his choice, and if he is a good man he is patriotic as a citizen no less than as a Jew. The one supports the other. He does not feel the least necessity of

returning to Palestine if the country
in which he lives suits his tastes
and interests. 63

Furthermore, the return to Palestine is to be brought about by religious belief, and not by Jewish capitalists. However, since we no longer believe in miracles, the belief in the Messiah will have no influence on us.

In his presidential address at Montreal on July 8, 1897, the "friends of Zion" were denounced as turning the mission of Israel from the province of religion and humanity to the narrow political and national field, where Judaism loses its universal and sanctified ground and its historical significance. The desires in this direction among our brothers in Russia, Roumania, Germany, Austria, and partly France due to persecution, we can understand. That is why Palestine's colonization with Jewish agriculturalists found favor in all eyes. However, then idealists and politicians seized upon the situation, with a scheme of working for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine and mass migrations thither which we cannot countenance. The new state has been called a utopian idea. This new Messianic movement across the ocean should not concern us at all.

In the Israelite of September 16, 1897 there is reprinted an article by Wise from the New York Times entitled "A Jewish State Impossible." In it he said that "everything is possible in a dreamland or in a Utopia. That Congress in Basle was a novelty, a gathering of visionary and impracticable dreamers who conceived and acted as a romantic drama, and applauded it all by themselves." 64

In a book he wrote Wise wrote Jewish history from a democratic standpoint, and hence found monarchy of ancient times unjustified and contrary to the Mosaic laws. ⁶⁵

At a Montreal Conference, Wise declared that those who advocated the Jewish state were "phantastic dupes of a thoughtless utopia which is to us a fata morgana, a momentary inebriation of morbid minds, and a prostitution of Israel's holy cause to a ⁶⁶magman's dance of unsound politicians." He felt that it was imperative that the C.C. A.R. declare officially America's standpoint in this particular historical episode.

In his presidential address at the opening of the Hebrew Union College in 1897, he said:

Talmud Torah is the curriculum of this college. We want teachers of Judaism. Judaism, we say, and not nationalism, Judaism and not Zionism, Judaism and not Messiahism of any kind; that eternal Judaism which is not tied down to a certain piece of land here or there, or to a certain form of government and peculiar laws and institutions. ⁶⁷

In the following year, a statement was adopted by the U.A.H.C. at the urging of Wise at a convention at Richmond, Virginia:

We are unalterably opposed to political Zionism. The Jews are not a nation, but a religious community. Zion was a precious possession of the past, the early home of our faith where our prophets uttered their world-subduing thoughts and our psalmists sang their world enchanting hymns. As such it is a holy memory but it is not our hope of the future. America is our Zion. Here, in the home of religious liberty, we have aided in founding this new Zion, the fruition of the beginning laid in the old. ⁶⁸

B. KAUFMANN KOHLER (1843-1926)

It is quite natural that Kaufmann Kohler be next in line of our discussion after Isaac M. Wise. He was the next great president of the Hebrew Union College after its founder. In our treatment of him we shall see that the idea of the mission played a most prominent role, and one gets the impression from reading his utterances in sermons, papers, and books that the mission is the doctrine of Judaism that played the greatest part in inspiring this most inspiring man. It is hardly possible to find a sermon of his in which he does not speak to some extent of Israel's mission with some degree of rapture. He is therefore very important for our purposes, far more important than I. M. Wise, and perhaps the most important of all American Reform Jews.

To Kohler the election of Israel formed the central point of Jewish theology and the key to the understanding of the nature of Judaism. It serves as the basis and chief condition of revelation.⁶⁹ The God of Israel is not inseparably connected with His people by natural bonds, as in the case of other gods, but by the bonds of love forged by free choice.⁷⁰ The real purpose of the election was announced by Deutero-Isaiah in the concept of the "servant of the Lord". The entire history of Israel back to the Patriarchs can be reconstructed in this light.⁷¹ Just as the Greeks and Romans were skilled in art, science, and jurisprudence, the Jews were superior in religion. The former were not fully conscious of their mission whereas Israel was.⁷² Israel's choice was not an arbitrary act of God, but was rather due to

hereditary virtues and tendencies of mind.⁷³ History has been a witness to Israel's selection as a priest-people by showing that it has given its life-blood as ransom for humanity, and is ever bringing new sacrifices for its cause.⁷⁴ It would be willful disregard of Scriptural and Rabbinic teachings to say with Achad Ha Am that the Jewish people was elected by God simply for the attainment of the highest morality for themselves on their own territory, without concern for the spiritual welfare of the outside world.⁷⁵

Kohler conceived of the Jew's task in terms of impressing the truth of monotheism.⁷⁶ He believed that the prophetic goal of a united humanity as based on the belief in God as the king and father of all men was advancing in our age. This was shown by the fact that there was an increased admiration of the world at large for the Jew and his religion, and the former's loyalty to it.⁷⁷ Consequently, the Jew must continue to maintain and propagate his faith amidst all civilizations until God's kingdom will be established all over the world.⁷⁸ He must be the rejuvenating influence of society by supplying its spiritual and moral life-blood.⁷⁹ Of course, we must first regenerate our own people before we attempt to regenerate the world. Not in haste, nor in running the risk of being lost on the way shall we perform our mission in the Gentile world, but with due regard to our sacred heritage and our character as a priest-people. Not a Church Universal, but the divine truth reflected in many systems of belief, a religion ever-progressive, never finished and final, leading all nations to mountains

of God - this is Judaism's aim, the establishing of God's⁸⁰
kingdom on earth. Today, as never before, far from shirk-
ing his mission, the Jew as no one else should step for-⁸¹
ward as priest and prophet of humanity. Like Jonah, he can-
not run away from his God, however great his reluctance
and waywardness. He should rather recognize that:

the very perils of a hostile world he has to
face as well as the progress of humanity in
which he takes so prominent a share are bound
to bring the Jew ever nearer to his great des-⁸²
tination.

Nor need we despair of humanity, even in its materialistic
pursuits.

People are unlearning the religion of fear, of
dogmatic strife, of bribes to religion and of
threats and of self-love. We are coming ever
nearer the universal God of love and of peace,
the kingdom of righteousness in the world that
now is.⁸³

In this the Jew will find his scope and become the great
link and factor of unity, the prophet and priest of a re-
generated world. God, who has spared us all these centuries
while we were isolated and secluded, will not let us go now
in this broader life, until His great purpose, the object
of our Mission is fulfilled.

In a sermon Kohler pointed out that the prophets con-
ceived of Sukkoth as a token and pledge of a time when all
the nations will wander to the house of God and take re-
fuge under the wings of His all-encompassing love and pro-⁸⁴
tecting kindness." This idea was further taken up by the
Rabbis. The truer and more loyal Jews we are, Kohler goes
on to say, working for the cause of Judaism, the more we
promote the cause of humanity, progress, and welfare of

the world. The more we emphatically announce the broad humanitarian character of Judaism the more we live in harmony with the best thoughts of Judaism.

A double Sukkah then, one to preserve and protect the Jew as priest and prophet of the world and another to predict or prepare for the kingdom of God spread over the nations of the earth and all the sons of men. This our conservative brethren have lost sight of. In laying all the stress upon the separation of the Jew from the rest of the world and antagonizing the idea of assimilation, that is of adapting ourselves to the civilization of the land and the age we live in, they misinterpret the whole character of the Jewish faith which ever since the days of Abraham was broad and universal in its scope and aim.⁸⁵

In a prayer following another sermon, Kohler zealously prays for the love and zeal for our holy mission. His final sentence reads: "Unite us all, Israel and the nations, Jew and Gentile, young and old, in truth, in love and in peace. Amen."⁸⁶ The distinctiveness of Israel in the performance of its task is emphasized in a later sermon:

Over against all the intolerance and arrogance of other creeds, numerically so powerful, we form a small minority offering the world a religious teaching which is Remoboth: Salvation and truth for all....And for that reason we must remain apart as God's chosen, as guardians and teachers for all the centuries to come.⁸⁷

The same idea is developed even more elaborately in the same utterance:

And is not Israel, the first-born of God's love who thousands of years ago proclaimed this God of humanity and Father of All, laid the foundations for this great temple, the best mediator, the best interpreter and representative, the true priest and prophet of that faith, the religion of humanity? Yet not by sacrificing one iota of his individuality, not by a colorless, sapless, and spirit-

less theism, but by true loyalty to our past can we work for the glorious future.⁸⁸

The Jew has been called the "unconquered conqueror of the world."⁸⁹ The inspiration of the Jew for his mission to humanity, more than piety for his fathers' religion or love for his hope, made every sacrifice of the Jew for his religion easy. His hope for God's kingdom was expressed in the very first song after his liberation from Egypt in ^{the} words -- "God shall be king forever and ever." Only such a message of a glorious future can make us live and work and sing.⁹⁰ The truth of the Decalogue would have been of no effect, if there had not been a "holy priest nation" to serve as prophets and martyrs for its cause, "the most arduous world task for all generations to come."⁹¹

At times Kohler abounded in great optimism in his utterances on the mission. Most typical was one stated just before the World War:

We see the claims of the Jew becoming ever more vindicated and truths of Judaism steadily more triumphant. Self-respect bids us assert our truth and power not merely by beautiful Temples and glorious institutions of philanthropy, education, and learning, but by that faith certain of becoming the cornerstone of our entire modern civilization with its religion and ethics. Here the Jew is growing to his full stature as a man, patriot, and Jew, "bearer of the great prophet's message to a large, waiting, and listening world. The Jew will again be the banner-bearer of the faith which as it has shaped the world's morals, justice, and hope in the past, shall also direct its destinies in the greater future."⁹²

Characteristic of Kohler is his historical analysis of the mission concept in all its phases, particularly its relation to Christianity. In the first stage of its his-

torical development, he traced the missionary idea from post-exilic times to the rise of Christianity when Judaism's whole attitude to proselytism changed. At the outset he analyzed the history of the term "ger" in its various connotations. There was a change in the meaning of the term from "stranger" to "proselyte". This occurred at the time of the transformation of the Israelitish state into a Jewish community. Two distinct types of proselytes may be noted: (1) the full proselyte and (2) the semi-proselyte. The former was required to accept chiefly the ethical laws of Judaism, but not the entire Mosaic law or circumcision. Such a platform was based on the conception of a universal covenant such as that of Noah. This particular type of full proselyte was known as the Alexandrian or Hellenistic type. However, another type of full proselyte was the so-called "ger zedek". He was required to accept all the laws of the Mosaic code equally with the born Israelite including circumcision. He was subjected to the baptismal bath and was required to bring a special sacrifice as testimony to his belief in the God of Israel. He was admitted to residence in Jerusalem as a full citizen.⁹⁴

On the other hand, the semi-proselyte who lived only in Palestine was subjected to the baptismal bath, but not to circumcision. He was not allowed to settle in Jerusalem. His status was that of a tolerated alien and not a full citizen. He was simply a "God-worshipper".⁹⁵

In rabbinic times, the school of Hillel accentuated

the ethical element for proselytism; the school of Shammai took a stand in opposition to proselytism in its rigorous legalism. At certain periods there was a definite reaction against missionary movements in Judea, due to bitter experiences with conversions, such as those of the Idumeans⁹⁶ by John Hyrcanus. However, by and large under normal conditions the movement for proselytes became widespread. Nevertheless, the cessation of Jewish proselytism came with the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic Church.⁹⁷ In spite of its hostility to Judaism, the Church achieved dissemination of Sinaitic doctrines as neither Jewish nor Judaeo-Christian authorities could have done. The fermentation and dissolution in the neo-Jewish world caused by the missionary zeal of the apostles to the heathens, was not to end till all pagan elements were eliminated. The Church was enabled to train crude heathens for a life of love and duty and the banishment of vice and cruelty from the social and domestic life. This was achieved only by her alliance with the worldly power of Rome. The Church was enabled, only through its power, to develop ancient Jewish institutions of charity and redeeming love into systems of beneficence, leading civilization to ideals which will take⁹⁸ centuries to realize.

In his concept of the mission, Kohler conceived of the Kingdom of God "not one of heaven in the world to come, but one on earth as the goal and hope of mankind."⁹⁹ The idea of the kingdom was the result of the gradual development

of a God-consciousness. It involved the triumph of the theocratic over the monarchical.

Kohler was most demonstrative in his plea for Jewish unity. It was on the basis of the latter that we have the mission of aiding in the unbuilding of God's kingdom of peace in the world, and hence there must be peace in our own ranks.¹⁰⁰ He perceived that God's majesty was mirrored in the many views and creeds of the ages. However, it was a unified Israel which stood between them all for the idea of the One God and the One Humanity. So should we stand today, united, not divided.¹⁰¹ Assuming this middle position among the nations, "Israel the first-born of God's love who thousands of years ago proclaimed this God of humanity and Father of all, laid the foundations of this great Temple."¹⁰² Surely, then, Israel is "the best mediator, the best interpreter and representative, the true priest and prophet of that faith, the religion of humanity. Yet not by sacrificing one iota of his individuality, not by a colorless, sapless, and spiritless theism, but by true loyalty to our past can we work for the glorious future."¹⁰³

Kohler utilized the Feast of Pesach to speak on the mission in its historical aspects which came closer to our times. He realized that our civilization, our era of enlightenment and liberty are largely "the joyful reaping of our own sowing in tears and in blood."¹⁰⁴

The Hebrew furnished the Anglo-Saxon and American people with the weapons for their battle of independence. For he made the Bible again legible for Luther, Wyckliffe, and Cromwell.

Yes, as the little streamlet is rendered stronger by every obstruction in its path, so did God cast obstruction upon obstruction in the path of the Jew to make him the most zealous champion of liberty, of justice, of truth for man.¹⁰⁵

In regard to Kohler's attitude toward Palestine, he sensed that Zion has for us a spiritual meaning. It is the symbol of a united humanity, of the realization of mankind's highest ideal at the end of time. The Jew's task cannot be accomplished with the success of the Palestine undertaking. The Jew must ever remain an international force influencing the world. His place is not among the League of Nations but among the League of Religions.¹⁰⁶ Kohler interpreted the past existence of a theocratic state in Palestine as a training ground in Israel's world mission.¹⁰⁷ In its broadest scope, the Messianic kingdom had been interpreted as the ushering in of an era of general affluence and peace.¹⁰⁸ It was to realize those conditions which would enable the Jews to devote their lives to the Torah's study and universal wisdom without anxiety, so as to lead all mankind to a knowledge of God and make them share in the eternal bliss of the world to come.¹⁰⁹

Kohler felt hopeful for the American Jews because of the rise of the new spirit of mutual responsibility among American Jews.¹¹⁰ Towards the end of World War I, Kohler conceived of Daniel's vision of the successive world epochs which though darkened by sorrow and suffering, as having the Messianic goal as its end.¹¹¹ At no time was this truth brought home so impressively as now, amidst times of terror and awe, when

America, without self-interest, was sacrificing life and treasures to lead mankind to a "new era of liberty and righteousness."¹¹² "So we see medievalism with its barriers of exclusion disappear under the victories of the Western powers, to give way to the universal reign of human equality and brotherhood."¹¹³

EMIL G. HIRSCH (1851-1923)

Emil G. Hirsch was a contemporary of Kohler, and like him was very eloquent and vociferous in voicing the mission concept with which we are dealing. Seeing how much his German father, Samuel Hirsch, was imbued with the mission ideal, it is understandable how Emil G. became one of the leading propounders of that idea. Consequently it will form a fitting introduction to Emil G. to discuss briefly Samuel Hirsch's attitude toward the idea.

The elder Hirsch conceived of Judaism as neither a revelation, a nationalism, or confession, but rather as a history and a religion of history. Jews are a living witness to this religion. It is man's duty and destiny to struggle up to absolute freedom. Israel being the author of this idea must remain a unique people until such time as it shall become a universal possession of all mankind, i.e., "a unique people, exemplifying, teaching, and serving a universal ideal! A peculiar people dedicated to the service of humanity! This is the whole philosophy of Jews and Judaism...." Judaism is to be for man to teach him his duty. Mankind is to beckon the Jews forward to its great goal. Universalism and the Kingdom of God in this world are the alpha and omega of Hirsch's teachings. The Jew will find salvation only by carrying out his world-wide mission, and not by confining his life task to Palestine. American Judaism in the West will stand for cosmopolitan humanity and in purer notes than the Church ever did, proclaim the Fatherhood of God and the

Brotherhood of Man.

As a means to achieve the mission, laws, precepts, rites, and ceremonies are intended to serve in an educational and disciplinary capacity. They either help the Jew himself attain to this ideal, or they impress upon him his mission to the world at large. Hence, whatever in Judaism ¹¹⁶ subserves these ends is valid and must be retained. The Jew must have symbols reminding him of his special task in the world as witness of God in the history of mankind. Yet, they must be a help, not a hindrance in the Jews' participation in the world's ¹¹⁷ activities. For example, the Abrahamic sign of the covenant is an indispensable ¹¹⁸ testification of the Jew's loyalty to his historical task. Yet, one should be very cautious in realizing that Israel's truth was misread by the rabbis, the Pharisees, and by all who made of the ancient practices a system of petrified law. Instead, it must be regarded and held sacred as the doctrine of man which finally shall become the possession of all hu- ¹¹⁹ manity.

In regard to nationalism, Hirsch insisted upon the elimination of every nationalistic element in Judaism and the retention only of the purely religious and universal in order to inaugurate forthwith the Messianic era of Judaism. ¹²⁰ In his book, "Reform im Judenthum", (1844) he virtually disclaims with Holdheim the obligatory character of the ceremonial system even in the Pentateuch as

far as it is connected with the nation and state of Judea, declaring that "we have arrived at the threshold of the prophetic era when God's temple is to be built for man all over the earth."¹²¹

Like his father, the younger Hirsch conceived of Judaism as being much more than a religion. It constituted an historical task or mission. To his father's definition, Emil G. added the thought that this idea had been coined by Amos in the phraseology of his own day: "Only you have I known from all the people of the earth."¹²² We have seen the emphasis that the elder Hirsch placed on the importance of ceremonies in the fulfillment of the mission. Emil G., likewise, perceived that Israel's duty to bear testimony to the world could better be enhanced through appropriate symbols. However, no symbol should interfere with the Jew's participation in the work of the age which is the be-all and end-all of Judaism.

As we have seen the factor of selection was the primary prerequisite in the mission concept. In the thought of Emil G. Hirsch, this factor plays a very great role. He recognized that in the concept of evolution it is upon the law of descent that progress depends. It is through the method of selection and election that the rich potentialities of humanity hang. Hence, the idea of Israel's selection for a special trust is by no means old nonsense.

As from father to son descends life and with it trust and task, so does, in the historic organizations which result from this physical transmission of life, the spiritual

task and trust along deepening and ever more inclusive lines, pivot on election and selection. As to each individual man something is given which is his to have and to hold and to fructify for others, so to these by descent primarily created associations of individuals which we call communities, nations, and the like, are set individual tasks and are given individual opportunities, which none other has in as rich an origin and originative measure. And by their fidelity to their special trust, they will profit all mankind. For this trust and its development the association into whose charge it was placed, they are primarily responsible. And this responsibility does not cease as long as there is need for the contribution in the economy of humanity.¹²³

Individuals also are proofs of the operation of the law of election, some being gifted with minds, others with the instinct for accumulation. The Jews are not the only "chosen people," though their election was for a purpose different from what called for the choice of others in other fields of human possessions. It is thus not a fanciful construction but a fact, individually, historically, socially, and organically true, that the law of election and selection operates as 'nature's' plan in all things human. By this law the equality of the dwellers of this globe and their equivalence must be determined. Although all men are equal, "equality does not involve identity of task, or even identity of opportunity. Equality resolves itself into functional equality, the necessity of each part for the harmony of the whole."¹²⁴ Appointments to missions are neither arbitrary nor accidental, but occur under the essential need of divided labor and varied contributions to culture.

The principles of descent and election Judaism cannot ignore.

We are Jews primarily by descent. We are Jews because our parents were Jews before us. Let whosoever will object that this view would make our Judaism a matter of race! Let him sneer at physiological Judaism! This demurrer and sneer prove only one thing, that he cannot have grasped the import of the most recent investigations in anthropology.¹²⁵

We are men by birth. Our color is decided by birth. We are Americans by birth. The same may be applied to language. It should be realized, however, that:

birth confers merely the elemental data. Every Jew.... must become a Jew also in the conviction that this accident of birth places upon him certain responsibilities for the spreading of those ideals, influences, and views which to find and to teach was the call, the selection, and the election of Judaism in the great household of God's children.¹²⁶

Selection puts upon us heavier burdens and not higher prerogatives. "A Jew must be the best possible man, for it is only by his life that he can prove what he claims by his lips, that man is not depraved, that man can be brother to man, that the highest motive of human life is not gold, is not position, is not success, but is duty."¹²⁷ Israel's selection doesn't imply an attitude of exclusivity. In this respect Hirsch summarized the relation of the Jew to the nature around him:

Nature is exclusive in her methods; she reserves some functions to one organism that the whole may prosper all the better. History employs the same method; it works the continuity of movement by descent from father to son. We are not more exclusive than nature is, than history always is. We open the door

to whomsoever may wish to have part and share in our mission. We do not hold that to be moral a man must be a Jew; but we do maintain that a Jew cannot be true to his Judaism if he be not the moral man, in the broadest sense of the term.¹²⁸

Elsewhere, Hirsch says that "Jew who acts upon the theory that he is chosen to be a blessing will be a blessing. This illusion will attune his soul to genuine humility."¹²⁹ Our claim to the privileged position of the world's priest-people is well substantiated. "It is easy to show that in Israel the issues of humanity were first recognized and first solved; and that its solutions have victoriously stood the fiery test of actual life."¹³⁰ We cannot resign our mission because victory of true humanity is not yet won.

In the eyes of the "ante-diluvian fossils" of liberalism that once held sway in American synagogues, the word "mission" associated by them with Christian missionary activity, is an "anachronism repudiated by the onward sweep of progressive thought and religious cosmopolitanism."¹³¹ Such a view was possible under a false conception of equality of men, as a result of which the opinion struck root that various forms of organized spiritual, mental, and moral life are not distinct in value from one another. The mission does not imply distinctiveness from others in dress, custom, diet, habit, or language. It does not involve ghetto segregation and isolation. It merely implies that "we must so live that indeed through us God's name may be sanctified

and the families of the earth be blessed through our influence for the good, noble, and true."

The factor of leadership within the mission concept received emphasis by Hirsch:

Our mission is to be the leaders among the paths which they walk who know that our one God is the God of the rich and of the poor, the God of the white and of the black, the God of the Jew and the God of the non-Jew. To be the leaders along this path is our duty now if ever, for, when was there a time, when opportunity for this duty was more insistent, when was society cleft more painfully into classes and masses than today? Moral distress stalks about in every camp. Men rely upon bayonets, not upon ballots; upon bullets and upon the policeman's baton, and not upon the power of reasoning. Selfishness is rampant on all sides, brotherhood on none.¹³²

This utterance is one of the clearest expressions of Hirsch's concept of leadership in broadest terms. As a natural corollary to this, its social implications were interpreted in a very broad scope:

The Jew has always been in his philosophy a socialist. Our prophets were the first socialists. They preached the doctrine that the individual is only for society; that what we are or have belongs to all, though we are the stewards of all our talents, time, and means, and minds. This plea for justice was the sum of their belief in one God; this made them the prophets of God's own chosen people.... Might in every city a Jewish pattern society be found on the broadest basis, of the newest design, built on the pillars of the old Jewish love of man for man. Then we should contribute more, than by our temples and

by our prayerbooks, by our festal days, and by our days of rest, to the hastening of the time when on the heights the Song of Peace will sound its sweet melodies and in the valleys its noble refrains will echo, of millions freed at last from fear of death, of millions brought at last into the light of God's love. (The Jewish people may be called a salvation army) not a salvation army with timbrel and drum, with blaring bugle, and blatant blasphemy, but a salvation army with the Bread of Life, with love of man for man....¹³³

Utterances such as these reflecting such extreme universalism remind us of the broad interpretation of the mission concept as advocated by the elder Hirsch.

Like his father, too, who conceived of Judaism in terms of the history of a religion, Emil G. perceived that since Jesus, Jews have been performing the function of missionaries. By so doing they have illustrated by their suffering the implications of Christian "absolute ethics."¹³⁴ "Paul, by setting aside the Law, gave Judaism the opportunity to assert its universal mission. "He made of all humanity one fraternity....but we of the Reformed Synagogue have done the same thing."¹³⁵ Therefore, we should not disband to court affiliation with others who at their best have what we have, because they lack the historical foundation which is, by a universal law, the first root of power.¹³⁶ Let them rather join us.

To prove that the Jew has a mission one may quote from the Bible and Talmud. However, the most valid proof will be the living and acting of the mission. If we think we are a chosen people, we should show it by our conduct.¹³⁷ The funda-

mental dogma and proclamation of Hirsch's religion is that, it is to remind us more of man than of God. It is :

the religion of humanity, humanity, not of individuals alone but of nations and of groups together, a humanity which makes for a better life, a nobler life, a life that is stronger in its 'togetherness' with others, a life that lives not for the moment, but lives also for tomorrow and tomorrow will see the realization of the vision of a kingdom of God on earth, a kingdom of humanity and justice wherever men dwell.¹³⁸

The individual is not an end unto himself but merely a means toward perfecting the social life.

One man is no man; men become men only by working with and for other men, in fact, we are all the beneficiaries of the work of other men who live by our side or lived before we came.¹³⁹

The dream of a united humanity is the hope that maintained the Jew under all his trials and triumphs to be true to himself and the God of all humanity.¹⁴⁰ Religion according to Judaism is the expression and also the means of the "mass-man consciousness", the interdependence of man and man, the feeling of "togetherness", that "one man is no man", that one is part of a larger organism, society. In other words, religion stands for love and is the attempt to make that love effective in man's dealing with man.¹⁴¹ Through Higher Criticism Israel's task in the strivings of humanity has received new credentials and Judaism, distinct from Semitism, has been revealed as the "light for the nations."¹⁴² "Central to all Judaism is that thought that man and God are at one, and that it is Israel's task to bring to flower in life this unity of man and God."¹⁴³

The Jew assumes for himself the historical post of a sentinel and soldier of righteousness and justice. It is his task to bring about the "sanctification of the holy name." This is all that is involved in the oft misunderstood phrase, the "mission of Israel." The whole concept may be a base illusion, but Hirsch thinks there is sound philosophy in reasoning which lays upon descendants the duty to carry into effect the ancestors' teachings, being the best enunciations of the implications of "dignity and worthiness of human life and labor, of humanity as distinct from an aggregate of brutes with slashing appetites and gross passions." ¹⁴⁴ Elsewhere, Hirsch speaks of co-operation and not consolidation as the "correct principle of beneficent action. Judaism, true to its historical destiny, would be one of the many to co-operate in the work of uplifting the race and bringing it nearer to the goal envisioned in the dreams of the old prophets, the age and condition of justice triumphant." ¹⁴⁵

Our mission, then, is

to bring to the world this truth, which is unshakable, that man as man is more than ape, that his life has laws which the ape has not, that he must curb his passions and follow impulses making not for selfish success but for the well-being of all the human family; and if you have this truth, then God is also a certainty. ¹⁴⁶

Hirsch looked forward to a time when the hope for universal peace would no longer be thought of as illusive.

"Ultimately the truth will come to its crown; justice will be enshrined and sceptered everywhere, and peace will unite, in a great day of atonement, all men." ¹⁴⁷ Hirsch in-

sisted upon the introduction of Sunday services in the name of the priestly mission of Israel. He felt that "our efforts cannot confine themselves today to our own circle; the world, thirsty with the thirst of knowledge, claims our services. Our salvation is to become also its salvation."¹⁴⁸

There is still today the need of this mission and the missionary appointed by his own history. There is still much immorality and lack of true religiousness. The historical guardian of Israel's principles must not abandon his post,¹⁴⁹ and not go to sleep in a false sense of security.

Hirsch, more than all the other men we have discussed so far, laid particular emphasis on the Jews as the people of the book.

One book - or rather a small collection of literary remnants, 'snatched from the fire', Judaism has laid, a gift of its own, its best, on the birthday table of true manhood....In literary beauties, Judaism's book certainly is not deficient. It need not scruple to ask reception in the company of the noblest collections of song and prayer, of fable or story, of proverb or lyric. Its psalms have become the hymns of praise or penitence for a whole world....That book was and is the message to man of his inborn divinity; it is the appeal to righteousness; it is the prophet of social justice....Of earth it would make a paradise, a kingdom of God, a fit habitation for man, the image of God....Judaism's own record, its own pilgrimage through the ages, its own triumphant martyrdom are the strongest attestations that these visions are true.¹⁵⁰

Emil G. clearly recognized that the Kingdom of God was the dominant note in the message of Rabbinical Judaism. He who shoulders this burden is strong and contented, freed of all other burdens.¹⁵¹ It is certain that God's Kingdom will

come, though the individual comes and goes. The former will never come about of itself, but only through man's co-operation. Everyone has to build it.¹⁵² Moreover, since the Kingdom is of this world, the affairs of the latter are not immaterial from its point of view, and therefore, "it must touch life at every point or it does not touch it at any point."¹⁵³ In the fulfillment of this task, it is essentially the man of suffering who "wears the messianic robe. He 'who hath nowhere to lay his head' is the typical human, and as such brings redemption where wealth and palace and pomp and purple have forged heavy chains. Israel had nowhere to lay his head; therefore his is the messianic mission with his principles of social justice and human solidarity, 'his God at one with man' to redeem man."¹⁵⁴

Like his father, Emil G. took a negative attitude toward Palestine. He believed that we should not accentuate nationalistic ambitions and achievements with which Maccabean memories are vocal. Judas established the political independence of the Jews, but centuries later his own family contributed more than any other to the downfall of the Jewish national existence by inviting Rome to sweep across their frontier. Similarly, today, he felt that: "our nationalists are a danger to us as they were a danger then to Israel."¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, he was apprehensive of re-establishing the Jewish monarchy because of the danger of the king's meddling in the freedom of the human conscience.

Through the ages many a prophetic voice had "sounded the doctrine that the very destruction of the state and temple was evidence of the truth, which they, the messengers of Israel's God, announced in His name." ¹⁵⁶ In fact, even long before the state had fallen, Jews tried in certain sections of the world to sink their nationality into the national life surrounding them in the nations where they lived. Jews were not to blame that they did not do likewise in medieval days, since medieval society barred out non-Christians.

Again nationalism is denying that the Jew can be a national of his land of residence. What in view of this is the Jew's duty? It is all the more our sacred obligation ¹⁵⁷ to reject this specious theory. The only excuse for Zionism is a desperate disillusionment, a despair of ideals. It is the acknowledgement that all our visions of a humanity based on elements other than force are commercial. In America there is no call for Zionism except that the latter would help the Russian Jews philanthropically. ¹⁵⁸ "Political Zionism is absolutely insufferable in America." For we already have a nation and should not wish to be second class citizens of that nation. "Confronted by the prejudice invoked by racial nationalism, it is the Jew's highest duty to emphasize that ¹⁵⁹ as a Jew he has no distinct Jewish nationality."

Here in America, there has never been any question of

the Jew's citizenship. Judaism strikes the note that sets vibrating the heart of America attuned to energetic realism, similarly tender to the sufferer from oppression, and hopeful of the future dawn of universal peace. We Reform Jews feel that

if anywhere on God's footstool our Messianic vision will be made valid, it is in this land where a new humanity seems destined to arise.... Two hundred and fifty years has the Jew sojourned in this country. He is not an alien here. His views of liberty and the law of man's inalienable rights and duties hallowed by the sublimities of his religion, are in creative concordance with the constructive principles pillaring American civilization.... Clinging to his Judaism, the Jew will be a more strenuous, a more loyal, a more enthusiastic American.

A commentary on the present condition of the world serves, it would seem, as a fitting conclusion to our whole discussion of the mission concept. In the light of the described state of affairs the importance of the Jew's task can be better evaluated. The trouble today, Hirsch says is that many

have made self-indulgence the pole star of their life. 'Eat, drink, and be merry' is the sum of their philosophy. We have been running a race for the means to make merry. (Humanity has become) a horde of wolves, each one trying to outstrip the other, and all fighting for the scanty booty.... And so today society is trembling at the brink of a volcano. The nations know no higher philosophy than booty and power.

The amelioration of such a condition demands that the Jew take his mission in full seriousness.

D. DAVID PHILIPSON (1862-1949)

Next to Hirsch in order of birth is David Philipson, the noted historian of the Reform Jewish movement. Therefore, we shall take him up at this point. Though he is not as valuable for our uses as Kohler or Hirsch nor even I. N. Wise, none the less he did have some things to say of interest to us.

Philipson distinguished between the universal precepts of religion and morality and the enactments arising from the circumstances and conditions of special times and places. ¹⁶⁴

Any congregation professing the fundamentals of Judaism, namely monotheism, the mission of Israel, and faith in the coming of the Messianic Age is part of the universal congregation of Israel. ¹⁶⁵ In his concept of the Messianic, he believed in a Messianic Age. He encompassed the idea of the Messianic leadership of all Israel and not of one individual. Thus, he followed in the wake of the second Isaiah. According to Philipson the Messianic question indicates the pivot on which the Reform Movement revolves: Judaism is universal or national religion but not both. In reference to the Salomon-Frankel controversy he said: "... the issue was becoming well defined: 'either a common country or a common idea': either Judaism had the power and potency of a world religion, and could satisfy the spiritual aspirations of mankind, or it was fitted to be only the religious experience of a single race: the outlook of the reformers was the world, that of their opponents a corner of western Asia." ¹⁶⁶

In 1913 he even called upon the C.C.A.R. to assist towards the fulfillment of the hope of the Messianic Age. ¹⁶⁷

With such a universalistic outlook, the role of Palestine was definitely limited. Jews were essentially a religious community and not a nation. The life in Palestine had merely been a preparation for the universal mission. At the Temple's fall the national existence had been exchanged for the world task. However, the latter had been postponed for 1800 years because of ghettoism.¹⁶⁸ If Reform Judaism teaches anything clearly, it is the repudiation of the political and national aspects of traditional Judaism and the declaration of Judaism as a missionary religion.¹⁶⁹ Even Reform's pioneer, Wise, it was pointed out had fought Jewish nationalistic separatism, as well as the whole Russian Jewish attitude, tooth and nail, because they seemed to him to undermine Reform's foundation and to endanger the stability of the structure at whose erection he had labored all his life. To him the antagonism between universal Judaism as taught by Reform and nationalism as defined by Zionism was deep-seated.¹⁷⁰

Philipson pointed out the fact that S. Foldheim had urged that the Jew surrenders all particularistic national conception. Only if he believes that he can be true to the idea of Judaism as a religion in each and any fatherland, wherever he may live, can he be attached to his fatherland. However, if he is convinced of the resurrection of the Jewish state then he cannot be in earnest in the matter of the separation of the religious and political elements and its implied corollary of true loyalty to the Fatherland.¹⁷¹ This, says Philipson, is a fundamental idea of reform. He claims

that it is strange that there are some Reformers today who flatly contradict Koldheim's thesis and attempt to reconcile Reform Judaism's position with the Zionist position. Reform Judaism and nationalism are "incompatible and irreconcilable". One is spiritual, the other political; one universalistic; the other particularistic; one looks to the future; the other to the past; the outlook of one is the world; that of the other a corner of Western Asia. According to Zangwill, says our writer, there are but two possible solutions of the Jewish problem, "either a common country or a common idea". Zionism, says Philipson represents the "common country" as a solution. Reform Judaism represents the "common idea". Any attempt to reconcile the two is "sheer casuistry". "Zionism means a surrender of the ideals for which Reform Judaism stands." ¹⁷²

In speaking of Lillienthal, Philipson said that Palestine is considered precious as a memory. However, it was no longer the Jew's homeland. He claimed that if he had lived to see it, he would have opposed Zionism, as being contrary to his teaching. Rather, the dispersion was to be viewed as ordered by Providence. ¹⁷³

To the Diasporic Jew the United States represented the hope of the world and incidentally the hope of Judaism and its future. ¹⁷⁴

The relation of Palestine and the United States was summed up in Philipson's statement: "To my mind political Zionism and true Americanism have always seemed mutually exclusive. No man can be a member of two nationalities, a Jew and an American. There is no middle way." ¹⁷⁵

In an address delivered in Cincinnati, he said:

I have the firm conviction that just as in the prophets vision Israel of old was chosen and called for service, so in this latest age of the world's history this nation has been called for service, this nation has been chosen. I hear the words of the Lord speaking to America through the prophet even as He spake to ancient Israel: 'I the Lord have called thee in righteousness and have taken hold of thy hand and kept thee and set thee for a covenant of the peoples, for a light of the nations; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and those that sit in darkness out of the prison house.' 176

This statement was one of the clearest utterances of Philipson which expressed his hope in the future destiny of America and the important role which it was to play.

*What is the
man's meaning*

E. SAMUEL SCHULMAN (1864-)

Samuel Schulman who was born just two years after Philipson has been another great champion of the Reform mission idea in its most universalistic form. Kohler, speaking in 1924 at Temple Beth-El in New York where Schulman was then serving as rabbi, said of him that he was casting new lustre upon Beth-El by sending forth from week to week soul-stirring messages to enlighten the Jew and non-Jew as to Israel's mission.

He conceived of Israel as being primarily and essentially called upon to witness to and to proclaim God's unity. Jews by their lives are to give to the world an example of their love for Him and His ways. This idea is contained in the shema, the final mintage of the matured thought of Israel's mind.¹⁷⁷ Israel was chosen to teach the necessity of the law in individual and communal lives. Israel and its law are bound together as a wick and oil.¹⁷⁸ Through observance of the commandments Israel virtually becomes a people which makes itself one with God. It ceases to be an ordinary people and reaches out toward a vision of the union of humanity. Not blood, but ideas unite and distinguish men. Israel, scattered all over the globe, is the living example of the duty of modern commonwealths to recognize this truth. Part of our mission is to be a goad to humanitarianism, even if we become victim in places where brutal nationalism is dominant and humanitarianism is trodden under foot.¹⁷⁹

Unfortunate indeed is the case where modern man thinks he can find a substitute for God in humanity itself. Such

a concept can only be temporary. It cannot feed humanity's starving heart. Man progresses in his culture by going beyond himself; it is impossible for him to lift himself by his own bootstraps. Only the voice of God within him has overwhelming validity, if it is recognized as the voice of God. Modern man if he is to become religious again, might be won by the thought that the ethical life is sufficient for salvation; that it brings bliss to us here on earth and has its own eternal value. Another thing that might in the end win the modern mind is Judaism's lack of emphasis on celestial regions. We need something, on the one hand, of Hebrew immediacy so that the purified heart hears God's presence right here and does not need any postponement to supernatural worlds, and on the other hand, that urge to transform this world by social justice ~~justice~~ and make it a heaven on earth. Daily duty, civic virtue, sanctity of the process of life itself, must come to be seen as the wherewithal to serve God. The education of the Western world shows a deficiency in so far as the Decalogue and the Golden Rule have not yet entered into the life blood of the masses.¹⁸⁰

Israel has much to teach the world, but it must first teach itself. If we have a mission, we also have a method of our own, and our method has been that of example. As the Law is the essence of Judaism, we cannot and Israel never did, make salvation for a human being dependent on joining the community of Israel. Our method has been

others
to draw by virtue of sanctifying our own lives. Therefore the time for reforming Judaism is over for the present. Our major work is to reform the Jew and to make Israel of the flesh into Israel of the spirit. We who have emphasized the mission idea must ask, whether in our justified approach to the world, swung by the impetus of our movement, we have not been carried too far from Jewish individuality. We must rediscover and apply to our lives the fruitful power of the ceremonial law as a discipline and a purifying influence in our lives.¹⁸¹ Israel must bear an ethical influence on the life of any nation of which it is part. Yet it is a great fallacy to attempt to commit Israel to any particular "ism", for Israel is above all temporal "isms". Israel knows that salvation is not found in any political or social program, but rather in the moralization of individual beings and through them in the transformation of society.¹⁸²

Schulman took cognizance of the fact that nationalists and secularists have ridiculed the idea of a "mission", saying what have we to teach the world since monotheism has been accepted. The answer is that we can still give something worthwhile to modern men and women, many of whom seem to have lost their God. Little Israel has thus far done very much in ancient and modern times for the world's spiritual education. The modern world is hungering for God, but many think that the food offered is poisonous to their scientific mentality. Perhaps, Israel's uncompromising concept of a spiritual, unimaged God may in the end be

discovered by modern man, if he envisages it without prejudice as the God he is hungering for, the idea of whom will satisfy his intellect and moral nature. Such a concept of God, whose complete triumph in human life is yet to be, for which humanity must ever look forward, not backward, believing that the ideal can only be realized through mankind's progress in the far off "end of days" --
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such a concept of God might appeal to modern man.

Some people who deny the validity of the mission today are wrong, first, because they overestimate the influence of liberalism in the world, and secondly, because they misinterpret the collapse of Christian dogma. The modern world is shedding these dogmas. But it is a question whether it is not also seeking to break with the whole religious tradition that arose at Sinai. Religion itself, with its essentials, is fighting for existence. It is therefore our mission today to work for a religious revival. Not only has monotheism not conquered, but the Jewish idea of a law
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in the heart of men has not been victorious either. In order to adequately perform its mission, the Reformers must go back to a degree to the priestly function of conserving tradition, and to mysticism, which in its first flush of existence it rejected in favor of the intellectual and ethical
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elements exclusively.

The importance that Schulman attributed to the relative status of the mission concept was concisely stated in the following utterance:

For anyone to deny that the Jews were conscious of having a mission on behalf of humanity, is to deny that there is such a thing

as a soul of Israel....In short, to deny
the mission of Israel, ¹⁸⁶ is to deny the claims
and ideals of the Jew.

As regards the relation of the Messiah to the total picture of the mission, Israel is still waiting for the Messianic reign. It has never acknowledged any Messiah, rejecting anyone who claims to be the realization of the people's hope. This it has done because the essence of this hope is contained in the hope itself. All fulfillments would slay the ideal. Modern Judaism has correctly interpreted the Messianic hope in terms of a hope for the union of humanity. It has made of it the principle of the perfectibility of humanity.¹⁸⁷

Schulman recognized that today's cleavage in Israel is no longer between Orthodoxy and Reform, but between the party of secular nationalism and religion. For the former Israel is a self-sufficient nation. For the latter Israel¹⁸⁸ is a religious community and is not self-sufficient. Nationality is sometimes defined as a group of people who have a common religion, a history, traditions, common customs, etc. Yet, they may have no state of their own. Every nationality, however, is considered in spe a nation. But it is begging the question to call Israel a nationality. Israel's particular characteristic is to reject ordinary nationality and to be what it is, a religious community. What it wants is freedom to be such in every part of the world. True, in the Bible Israel is referred to as "people" and "nation", but these did not possess in Semitic thought the connotation which the current translation imports into them.

In the Semitic world there were no nations in the modern sense. There were communities, not grouped according to the physical origin or blood, but around their god. A stranger could come from one country to another. If he adopted the god of the new community, he became a member of it. Therefore, if we are to translate correctly what was intended in Exodus by "a kingdom of priests and a holy group", it would mean that Israel still today is a consecrated people, and furthermore is now only a religious group and nothing else. Religion is the only bond uniting Jews scattered all over the globe.¹⁸⁹

Israel could survive the loss of land and nationality, so that it now carries the Bible, its only "center" with it, all over the world. This is due to its universalism which writes large the fact that religion in its essence flees race and nationality, because it is individualistic. However, today, any hope for the restoration of Jewish nationalism would look forward to the enthroning of Israel in place of God in the Jewish consciousness. Jewish nationalism is a distinct break with the whole of Jewish history. It wants to intimate that Israel, being like all other peoples, has a civilization or culture only one of whose values is religion. This is not justified by Jewish history and is an insidious attack on Israel's values in the present. Moreover, such a concept here in America is shallow and superficial, a mere play of words without any reality behind it. The Jew here is steeped up to the neck in American ci-

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vilization.

The strength of the nationalist party consists in the fact that it has emphasized Israel's importance by calling it a nation, and thus strengthening the backbone of Jewish consciousness. But its weakness is that it has assimilated the Jewish soul by making Israel a "goy" like other "goyim." Yet, this is a time for union and not bitter controversy among Jews. Palestine will lead to a new synthesis. Reform Judaism has the grandest opportunity in its history, that of martyrdom. Let it send representatives to Palestine to bring the message of progressive Judaism to full fruition. This is what Palestine needs today, with its immovable Orthodoxy on the one hand, and its bare secularism on the other. Let us feel that Palestine is a field for us, as well as for our nationalist brethren. Not to stand aloof is our aim, but recognizing Palestine's value for hundreds of thousands of our brethren, let us keep increasing its settlement, and at the same time, bravely uphold the truth that Israel is not a "goy" like other "goyim", but was, is, and if it is to live at all, will always be, a witness to God.

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America is the greatest opportunity offered to Israel in the fulfillment of its mission. Jews share in the American civilization. If we live our religion, we will prove ourselves to be very helpful Americans, and we can influence America's spiritual life. America is a noble illustration of what a nation ought to be. It is not based on the concept of blood, but on moral ideas, and the concept of man's

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inalienable rights. By virtue of this it rejects all that is evil in modern nationalism, in which the nation and state are synonymous, resting on the unity and purity of blood of the dwellers of the land. In America we find our greatest opportunity and responsibility. American culture has much of the spiritual heritage of Israel through Christianity directly, and indirectly through the absorption of the spirit of ancient Hebrew literature. Here, if ever, we have to make ourselves felt as a purely spiritual influence allowed to live in perfect freedom.

F. HYMAN G. ENELOW (1877-1934)

Another doughty protagonist of the mission concept was Hyman G. Enelow, the major part of whose career was spent in the ministry of Temple Emanu-El, New York. He conceived of the ~~of the~~ Messianic ideal as "the greatest gift that Israel gave to civilization." Faith in his Divine selection has kept the Jew alive through the ages. Multitudes today may have come into possession of great religious truths, but Israel was a pioneer in the unexplored religious domain. His prophets were the first to till and toil on primeval soil. Reform Judaism regards the universal elements of Judaism as of permanent importance, and it regards the Jew's distinct destiny to lie not merely in the ethical perfection of the Jewish people, but in the advancement of the religious enlightenment and moral perfection of the entire human race. Hermann Cohen pointed out that the prophets tried to convince men that God and righteousness transcend nationalism and outreach spatial and temporal limits. They predicted that the establishment of universal righteousness would mean the advent of God's kingdom on earth. As understood by the prophets and interpreted by later sages Israel's mission has been to proclaim the religion of God subservient to righteousness, to unify mankind under the banner of the one true belief, and then help establish the kingdom of God on earth. It was recognized that religion was growing more and more to be a real force for life's betterment. It prepares the way for the golden age of which the prophets dreamed. This

calls for rejoicing, not for the triumph of our ideas, but
for man's sake.²⁰⁰

In still another sense the mission is essential. Through²⁰¹
it, the real doctrines of Jesus were preserved for the world.
As a result Christianity retained its most lasting elements.
From it Mohamet borrowed the fundamental lessons of his
new creed. Amid bigotry, superstition, and persecution of
the Middle Ages, Jews stood as prophets of a pure monotheism.
During the Renaissance and Reformation, Jewish scholarship
and philosophy did much to liberate the spirits from the
tyranny of old dogmas. It has made itself felt today in
the universe's going back to the pure ethical monotheism of
the prophets.²⁰² Israel may be called a fountain of gardens
in the sense that he watered the garden of humanity's religion.
His religion has been the well of living waters to civili-
zation on its moral side. The redemption of Israel from Egypt
was not significant only to us as Jews, but universally was
significant, because it meant entry into the world of a new
element that has remained an imperishable ingredient of all
Western civilization.²⁰³

Enelow was particular in singling out the Maccabean era
to implement his mission idea. Through the deluge that
threatened the entire civilization of the time, the Macca-
beans in their ark carried to safety the world's morality.
Not only would Judaism have perished were it not for them,
but Christianity and Mohammedanism would never have been.
How much the moral progress of the world would have been re-

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tarded no man can say. If we are to continue in the Mac-
cabean tradition today, we must increase our measure of loy-
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alty, self-knowledge, and self-respect.

Within the scope of this ideal the American Jew should
adhere to his national affiliation. We should only live in
consonance with the spirit and incarnate it in our deeds.
Zion is not to be construed in a limited, physical sense,
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but rather in an unlimited, universal one. Both religion
and democracy aspire to the same end. Democracy has bro-
ken down many barriers separating man from man. It has
served to bring about closer fellowship and co-operation
among sects, paving the way for the coming of a better
age when men shall form a universal church and worship
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God with one accord in unison of sentiment.

Enelow recognized the fact that of late there has been
much scoffing at the assertion of the Jewish mission. It
is supposed to be a mere phrase invented by the Reformers.
However, this isn't true. The Jew would not be worth
preserving if he ceased to have a mission, nor would he
have the right to fill the world with contention and misery.
We would have no right to strive for the future and hap-
piness of the Jew in all nations, unless we believe that
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the Jew had a mission. Especially now more than ever is
Judaism called upon to present its teachings to the
world, when we are on the eve of spiritual renaissance,
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and when the world is agog for true and vital religion.
There are those who say that Israel has failed in its

mission. However, Enelow refuted these charges by claiming that Israel has ever striven to rise from basest idolatry until it has reached the level of purest trust and love of God of all spirits. There can be no salvation truer²¹⁰ than this.

At the same time he recognized those forces which retarded Israel in the fulfillment of his task. He urged that it is now time for Israel to awake from its medieval slumber and to resume its missionary work with which it began its pilgrimage in the world and which was arrested by tyranny of former days. This would have a two-fold effect: (1) Judaism would be strengthened by new spiritual forces and be compensated for the loss of many of its own; (2) Lukewarm and dubious Jews would be fortified by the sight of newcomers. Thus a great reproach would be rolled away, i. e., that Judaism is a narrow, particularistic, and non-universalistic faith. Especially is this important now since a spiritual reconstruction of the world is hoped for. Men will turn in every direction for religious inspiration and all kinds of faiths will be out²¹¹ to convert them.

In his over-all concept of the mission Enelow had much to say on the subject of Zionism. In the achievement of the missionary ideal, he felt that we can lend no helping hand to the upbuilding of a Jewish state because Israel's history teaches that the Jew's work can be done best without "the ambitions and entanglements

and perversions bound up with a political organization." ²¹²

If we believe that the Jew has a real mission in the world and that the prophets were not patriotic criminals, but messengers of God, then we must admit that the political organization does not spell Israel's destiny.

The prophets were the destroyers of the political mansion of Israel, who sacrificed the state to ideals for which Israel was chosen as a **priestly people** instructing the people in religion. The mere thought of Israel becoming a political protege of European powers, divided by hate and hostility was repulsive and appalling. It would only lead to more tragedy and martyrdom for Israel. The

latter would be swept along in the vortex of their in-
²¹³trigues. The ideal of Palestine as a center for the moral, spiritual, and intellectual growth was noble, but it was founded upon an oblique vision and a false interpretation of the past. The modern Jew living in Zion would be more isolated from modern civilization than living anywhere else. We believe no longer that Zion is God's only hearth,

but that He is everywhere. The greater part of the Jews work for the last ~~nineteen~~ centuries has been done away from Zion. The realm of the Jew's work and ambition must be the wide world, "and his one holy centre must be the

Jewish heart and the perfect soul." ²¹⁴ In fact, a return ²¹⁵ to Palestine would spell death for the Jew.

G. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (1881-)

Although Morgenstern was a prototype of the school of classical Reformers such as we have discussed so far, all of his mature years fell into the period following the inception of the Zionist movement. It is significant to note that he was born in the same year as that which witnessed the promulgation of the May Laws in Russia. As we have pointed out, the latter were disastrous to the Jews and constituted an indirect cause for the rise of Zionism. The early life of this outstanding Reformer was set against a backdrop of anti-Semitic discriminations and pogroms, all of which had a profound effect of drawing together those centripetal forces which molded the Jewish nationalistic philosophy and its implementation. Despite all this his productive years were to be marked by his opposition to the Zionist upstarts.

His concept of the mission was based on his belief in the doctrine of the chosen people. This belief was inherent in the idea of Israel's God as the universal God of mankind. ²¹⁶
In the history of the record of God's revelation of Himself to mankind, Israel has borne the leading role. Almost all the western world concedes this, though men differ as to the actual nature and extent of this leadership. Some minimize it. Others hold another leadership was instituted 19 centuries ago. But not a few recognize that it has not ceased to the present day. We hold to the latter. We say that God revealed Himself to Israel, so that Israel in turn might spread the knowledge of Him to the whole world. Israel's religion is the basis of

the true, ultimate religion of mankind. ²¹⁷
the

With/beginning of the tenth century, a new world began to open up for Judaism, and through Judaism for all mankind. Jews became preoccupied with science and philosophy, stimulated by contact with Moslem culture. Through its interest in ancient Greek philosophy, Judaism of this time brought to an end the Dark Ages by freeing the mind from the shackles of superstition and ignorance, thus paving the way for the Renaissance, which flowered so profusely from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. Had Judaism been permitted to follow its own normal course of development, the world today would be vastly happier and mankind would be much ~~more~~ further along the way of spiritual progress and friendly fellowship among the nations. Judaism would then have become long ere this the dominant religion of the world. The world would have been spared countless wars, misery and oppression. It would have ^{been} an infinitely more righteous and more beautiful world. ²¹⁸

To be true to its eternal ideal, Israel must live its life not apart from the world in a spritual Ghetto, no matter how beautiful, but in the busy struggling world with all its sordidness and strife, as well as its hope, aspiration, and vision of a higher goal. It must live this life with full respect for and purposed preservation of its individuality, and with never-failing realization of the

uniqueness of its interpretation of life, which God has
commissioned it to proclaim to its brother-peoples. In
this modern age with its constantly increasing emphasis on
things of this world and this life brought about by great
social, economic, political, and cultural reformation, re-
ligion too must undergo a radical transformation to a this-
worldliness. This new religion which is destined to be Ju-
daism, must be the pioneer and lead the way towards true so-
cial progress and ultimate salvation. Judaism must establish
positive, constructive, influential contact with other peoples,
cultures and religions in order to fulfill the mission. This
is Judaism's golden opportunity for realizing its God-appointed
destiny, which rightfully by laws of history, should have been
realized four hundred years ago, of leading the world onward
through religious revelation and religious reformation to re-
ligious realization." As we respond to this call, we should not
forget that there will be more future reformations in addition
to this one, which will continue to the end of days. "And in
this constant work of religious reinterpretation and reforma-
tion it is ever the task, the destiny, the privilege of Is-
rael, the deathless prophet and priest- people, to lead, and
of Judaism to point the way for mankind and for world-religion,
onward, ever onward towards truth, towards God." It is there-
fore Judaism's task to reaffirm its mission to become the re-
deeming world-religion. It is an exacting task, but also our
inescapable destiny. The road may be long; sufferings almost
unbearable may have to be undergone. However, the world's sal-
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vation is Israel's goal.

Morgenstern perceived that as a nation Israel for five and a half centuries contributed little or nothing to the content and progress of civilization. As a people, however, dominated by the consciousness of its relation with God, Israel contributed very much basic to the progress of civilization. This constituted the unshakable foundation of society. The spiritual and cultural life of all mankind and our vision and hope for today and tomorrow contributed to this foundation. For during the national period democracy was born, stemming from desert origins, and developing despite, and even in antagonism to, Israel's national existence.

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Throughout ^{the} twenty-four hundred years since the destruction of the first Temple Israel has hardly ever sensed the aspiration toward the re-establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. Even the Maccabean episode was more religious than political. The Maccabean kingdom that ensued was almost unforeseen in the Maccabean program, a tragic episode, which ran completely counter to the true spirit and aspiration of Judaism. The Pharisees, from John Hyrcanus on, comprehended this clearly. Just as in the fifth century B. C. E., so in the theology of normative Judaism of the first century B. C. E. and thereafter the vision of God as a universal king displaced that of an earthly king. The Kingdom of Israel's future was to be religious, not political. The ministration of Israel as a people unto all mankind was ^{not} to be accomplished through the political existence of a separate Jewish state. During the

dispersion since 70 A. D. the hope of a restored political Jewish state reasserted itself here and there, and an occasional self-declared Messiah arose. Almost inevitably such moments had disastrous consequences and resulted in the destruction of morale. They were but incidents in the life of the people, whose constant hope was merely to return to Palestine as a priest-people. True they also eagerly anticipated material blessing in their old land, but political statehood very seldom, and that in ²²³only the most unreal and fantastic terms. Israel's destiny as a people does not run in the direction of nationalism. Israel is a people and Judaism is a religion and these two principles are eternally inseparably linked. Israel is a religious people, a unique people, and basically naught else. The hope through the centuries has been expressed in the liturgy for a return to the ancient homeland, but this longing has been honored more in the breach ²²⁴than in the observance.

It was not until the nation, Israel, had ceased with its national religion, that Judaism with its universal concepts sprang into being. The rise of the one grew out of the fall of the other. ²²⁵Israel, the people, and Israel, the nation, are complete antitheses of each other. Only when the latter ceased did Israel become a people of God, the chosen people. Even the prophets, it seems, felt the political existence to be incompatible with the true service of Israel and ^{that it}would impede the fulfillment

of its destiny. Therefore, they only forecast restoration to Palestine as a people, not as a nation. Today Israel is no longer a nation like other nations but truly an international people and apparently destined to remain so.

However, today, there still are some who have drawn into the shell of extreme nationalism and accept blindly the narrow pattern of existence as a Jewish nation which paganism would forge for them, and thus seek salvation where there can be no possibility of salvation whatever. 226 Anti-semitism would force Judaism backwards once again into the mold of nationalism. It would be a sardonic tragedy of history if the Jews should now deny their God-appointed destiny, now clearer and surer than ever, in order to adjust belatedly to the pattern of existence almost on the verge of repudiation. 227

The Zionist movement represents the most widely-spread revival of a nationalistic hope and program in Judaism in over eighteen hundred years. Just as the reform of Ezra and Nehemiah in the 5th century B. C. E. represented the swinging of the pendulum from the extreme of almost unconditioned universalism immediately preceding it, so Zionism represents in one significant aspect a complete reversion from an almost unrestrained universalism of the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century to particularism. 228 Despite the oft-repeated assertion of the beneficent role that the Jewish state in Palestine would play in setting

the pattern of equitable social relations for all to emulate, the fact still confronts us that Israel's true genius finds expression only in its role as a religious people. ²²⁹ On the other hand, ²³⁰ none can object to a Jewish state if it can be achieved with full conformity to the progressive principles of international, racial, and group ethics, and full regard for the rights of the present and future Christian and Moslem populations of the country. Such a state would be another little racial country like Lithuania. It would be perfectly justified by the stubborn persistence of long-established principles of statehood. We believe today that such principles are becoming outmoded and may soon be outmoded and discarded. But until that time the Jewish state would not be objectionable. Of course, it would have problems of self-maintenance, but they would not necessarily be insuperable. ²³⁰ However, since the great majority of Jews must reside outside of Palestine, they would owe no allegiance whatsoever other than that of being conscious of a common spiritual brotherhood. Their citizenship in their nationalities will be conditioned in no wise by the potential existence of such a Jewish state. ²³¹ ~~Neither will~~ ^{they} feel themselves part of a Jewish Diaspora since in the new world to come the latter won't exist.

In the vision of this new world, America, through its President, is conceived of as proclaiming its ideals. ²³² America has become a nation with a consciousness of an exalted mission to champion the principles of a new democ-

racy for all nations to go into the world, like Abraham, to be a blessing. The scheme of a League of Nations is nothing but a 20th century expression of the dream of Israel's prophets: " In the end of days it shall come to pass." Israel's ancient dream has become America's, just as Assyria's dream became Germany's. At the end of days the dream of Israel and America must become the dream of the world and the fulfillment thereof. ²³³ If Judaism is to survive, it must first of all achieve here in America speedily a true unity with a total dropping of all qualifying adjectives, and then ²³⁴ a world unity with Judaism in all other lands. Survival alone as a race, nation, people, or civilization, cannot suffice for Jews, least of all in America. Survival must always be conditioned by the milieu in which Jews would survive. While Judaism in America can persist only as a religious community, it must have as its end the fulfillment of its destiny as God's chosen, whose task has never in the past been able to be assumed by the Jewish people as wholeheartedly as in America. For almost the first time in its millennial history, does the Jewish community find itself in a free untrammelled society, in which it can give full and unrestrained expression to its entire religious program. ²³⁵

H. BERNHARD FELSENTHAL (1822-1908)

Although the dates of his life are earlier than any of the personalities that we have studied heretofore except I. M. Wise, we have not taken him up until now because he represents by his thinking a change over from the old extreme universal anti-nationalistic position to one modified by an acceptance of the new Zionist philosophy. This is even more remarkable considering that he accepted the tenets of the new philosophy at a very advanced age. Such mental flexibility would be noteworthy in a younger man, and in a man of Felsenthal's age, it is indeed most unusual.

In spite of all the indifference among Jews, Felsenthal felt that they would still show the world by slow progressive movements that they are still the chosen people, destined to become the Messiah of the nations of the earth.²³⁶ Taking his cue from the expansion of Reform congregations in America, he said that it was inspiring that in the distant West another edifice was being dedicated to those "truths which in their essence and purity shall at some time be the supreme possession of all mankind."²³⁷ He expressed joy that wherever civilization has progressed, there are Jews. Everywhere they remember their mission and strive to be bearers of those truths before which heathenism collapsed and before which the degrading cult of materialism will also fall.²³⁸ Divine truth is seen to be steadily gaining ground among all civilized nations. Witness Christianity in the West and Islam in the East. Even

free-thinkers are influenced by it. If Israel remains true to itself and its mission, then its daughters will, as God-ordained instruments, lead the world to the universal religion.²³⁹

Having emerged from our ghettos, we have penetrated all strata of society. Although remembering the grandeur of ancient Jerusalem:

we do not share the wish to return to conditions that represented the mere beginning of development; we cherish instead the joyful hope of seeing the entire world one Jerusalem of enlightenment and virtue. The history of mankind points unmistakably to the fullest realization²⁴⁰ of this hope. Without passing through the phase of militant church in the worldly sense, the persecuted faith will be victorious through sheer force of its divine teachings.

Israel has given and will continue to give many gifts to the world. Besides the Bible and the idea of monotheism, the Jews fostered and preserved science through the Dark Ages.²⁴¹ They contributed to the Reformation of the Church in Germany.²⁴² Today we can exert vast influence on the religions of the non-Jewish world, although it will be indirect and silent, not easily discernible to the superficial observer.²⁴³ We can work for the building of humanity's Temple at present most effectively as Jews.²⁴⁴ Judaism's missionaries are many. They include those who demonstrate the sublimity of our religious teachings, philosophy, and science. They are aided in this by modern communications which contribute to the banishment of ignorance and the spread of knowledge. All noble Jews labor to undermine the foundations

of superstition and heathenism. Through such agencies Jewish ideas are coming increasingly to govern the civilized world.²⁴⁵

Earlier in his career Felsenthal followed in the wake of those who took the old, extreme universalistic, anti-nationalistic position. Viewed in this light, dispersion was not a curse, but a blessing, for the Jew and all mankind. Just as the Patriarchs were chosen by God from the nations, so their descendants have been selected to go forth to the nations as their Messiah.²⁴⁶

However, in accepting the new Zionist philosophy, he recognized that the racial or national affinity was the main bond of union among world Jewry. Religion too, is a unifying force, but only by virtue of its being the religion of the Jewish nation. First comes the Jewish nation; then the Jewish religion as a characteristic of this nation.²⁴⁷ He saw that the Zionist movement was caused by our deep-rooted sympathy with our persecuted Jewish brethren-in-race. It will bring forth great beneficial results --directly for our brethren in lands of oppression, indirectly for Jews everywhere and for mankind at large.²⁴⁸

Zionism is essential to the continued existence of the Jewish people. Without it Israel is doomed to disappear from the world by assimilation, which is what the anti-Zionist leaders preach. This is acceptable for those who wish Israel to commit suicide, but for those who are not ready or willing to do so, the majority being sufferers from privation and oppression, "we join the ranks of the Zionists."²⁴⁹

Palestinean colonization is the only means of bringing radical salvation to suffering Jews. Anti-Semitism is of immortal character and will never cease so long as there is no national home for Israel.²⁵⁰ The Jew's mission can be fulfilled much better if the center for the dispersed nation exists in their old Palestine home.²⁵¹ For example, the Greeks achieved more in ancient Hellas than they could have if they had been scattered among peoples who hated and despised them.²⁵² If at a future time there should be a Jewish majority in Palestine, the people could be entrusted with the rights of self-government just as the Greeks, Servians, Roumanians, and Bulgarians have been. Palestine would be European and not Asiatic in culture and democratic politically.²⁵³ The Jewish state will be based upon neither a Mosaic nor a Talmudic constitution, but upon Jeffersonian principles of democracy. In theory and in practice it will be a model ideal state. "Onwards and upwards to the heights of the prophetic ideals will be the motto of the new Zion."²⁵⁴ Mutual relations between the Jewish state and Diasporic Jewry will consist in reciprocal and moral influence solely with no legal or ecclesiastical power claimed by either party. It will be hoped that Palestine will exercise a positive Jewish influence on the Diaspora, deepening the religious sense. In return Jews in Palestine should receive from their brethren in Europe and America much aid and furtherance in Western scientific and technological culture.²⁵⁵

I.. ABBA HILLEL SILVER (1893-)

We are now ready to focus our attention on those representatives of the Reformers whose outlook on the mission has been entirely pervaded by a most fervent, radical, and positive attitude to Zionism. We have selected for this purpose Abba H. Silver and Louis I. Newman as being two whose utterances are most eloquent with the expressions of the Zionist view of our historic mission. We shall discuss Silver first.

Whether as citizens of Israel, the United States, or other lands, Jews should not evade the great mandate of their religion, to serve God and man, to strive for the establishment of His Kingdom, and by practice and propa-²⁵⁶ganda of their faith, be a light unto the nations. Silver felt that the mission idea stressed by Liberal Judaism was historically valid, and was the burden of our destiny, the²⁵⁷ very warp and woof of prophetic Judaism. Liberal Judaism placed itself in direct line of descent from prophetic Phari-²⁵⁸saic tradition (as opposed to Sadducaic) when it accepted as focal in its ideology the mission of Israel. Where Liberal Judaism erred was not in holding fast to the mission ideal, but, like the early Judaeo-Christians, in believing that the millennial age of perfection was at hand and that therefore there was no urgent need to stress the national ideal of maintaining a strong group discipline such as Phari-²⁵⁸saic Judaism has built up. The early Reformers felt that the whole world was moving toward a happy internationalism. Therefore, Israel should lead the way in renouncing all na-

tionalistic particularism and isolationism. . The world will fast follow. However, it didn't and many Jews were soon completely assimilated and lost to Israel. The Reformers "spoke forcibly and eloquently and truly of the mission of Israel but they failed to evoke a *modus vivendi* by which the people would be reminded that they are a peculiar, covenanted and consecrated people, and by means of which they would be saved from assimilation." ²⁵⁹

The situation was summed up:

The strength of Liberal Judaism has been and is its adherence to the mission ideal. Its weakness lies in the fact that it has labored under an anti-nationalistic, anti-nomistic incantation....Deutero-Isaiah, who of all Jews most eloquently vocalized the missionary faith of Israel was of all Jews the most nationalistic and Palestinian. Universalism and nationalism rightly conceived are never anti-thetical. ²⁶⁰

Probably the most poetic expression of the idea of Israel's future destiny was that given by our sages. Silver states that according to them two arks led the children of Israel to the Promised Land: the Ark wherein lay the dead body of Joseph and the Ark of the Covenant. They symbolized death and life. The spirits of our dead go all the way back to the days of Chmielnicki and their brothers in almost every century and every land, including 2,000,000 of the present holocaust. Their innocent blood will not be covered up until out of their martyrdom is born a free life for their people. These then are symbolized by the Ark of Death. Along with it, however, moves the Ark of the Covenant --the Ark of Faith --

our covenant with the future, our faith in our destiny in ourselves and in our fathers' God. Israel's position through the Exile has been like a hammer of destiny fashioning a new world. Israel has played a noble role, but we are tired of it. Instead of being noble and beaten, we now wish to be noble and free, and as a free people in its own land work together with all other peoples for a just and peaceful world.²⁶¹

Silver recognized that the mission idea was undergoing much criticism. With reference to Mordecai Kaplan's denunciation of the mission ideal as an absurdity, he said:

Then the whole life of Israel has been one stupendous absurdity --its affirmations, its prophecies, its Messianic dreams, its loyalties, and its sacrifices. Then the Judaism of our prophets, sages, rabbis, philosophers, and mystics, the faith of our choicest spirits has been a colossal absurdity. Their world-encompassing Messianism and their fervid apostolic vision may have been too exalted, too gigantic, too difficult, but not absurd, not absurd.²⁶²

It was clearly discernible to Silver that we find our selves today in the same emotional environment as that which followed after the first World War. That conflagration released vast, eschatological hopes. It was to usher in universal peace, democracy, brotherhood, and justice. All the enchanting paraphernalia of the Messianic saga were displayed. The victories of science have also contributed to the millenarian expectations of our day. As a result, some Jews are being stampeded into eager and pathetic self-abdication. And they say:

In this great day of Jehovah why should Israel stubbornly cling to his indurate distinctiveness. Our ideals have triumphed in the world. Many other people believe as we do. Let us then prepare to join in the one great universal church and brotherhood which are even now coming to pass.²⁶³

In speaking of the place of Palestine in the overall mission concept, Silver showed that the rabbis and prophets never opposed an ideal Jewish state or the survival of the Jewish state as such. It must be clear by now that the omission from the prayer book of the prayer for the restoration of Zion did not appease the Gentile world which opposed the Jew. Moreover, it did not succeed in making more secure the Jew's position in the German fatherland.²⁶⁴ The return and the redemption are the two elements of our ancient covenant.²⁶⁵ Silver's conviction was summed up as follows:

He (the Jew) will fight for his full and equal rights everywhere, more confidently and more resolutely, enheartened by the fact of the new status and dignity which have come to his people through the re-creation of the State of Israel.²⁶⁶

With all due respect to Reform, it should be made clear that anti-nationalist dogma was not an essential part of its teaching. It was rather the result of the philosophical and political climate of its day when it arose.²⁶⁷ However, today, the existence of the Jewish state will help to stimulate the religious life in the Diaspora.²⁶⁸ In Silver's view, which was expressed in an article in the year book of the C. C. A. R., we are not a people united merely by religious

ties, but by racial and nationalist ones as well.²⁶⁹

J. LOUIS I. NEWMAN (1893-)

As we have seen on numerous occasions, primary to the any consideration of the mission idea is the factor of Israel's selection. Newman realized the importance of this when he asserted that the doctrine of the chosen people could not be erased from Jewish literature. This is affirmed despite the efforts of the Reconstructionists to eradicate the concept from the liturgy. Newman made use of an epigram by Stephen S. Wise to further implement the doctrine: " God chose Israel, because Israel chose God. We are a God-chosen people because we are a god-choosing people." ²⁷⁰

Theoretically, the majority of Reform Jews believe that Jews are a religious community, and not a nationality. Any theologizing surrounding the doctrine of a priest-people is good poetry but does not constitute strict realism. Reform Jews are interested deeply in movements which rest on secular and communal, rather than on religious foundations. These include the Temple Center and Community Center movements associated with the synagogues. Yet, these institutions are based on the view that Jews are a distinct social group. All the social activities connected with them are a complete refutation of the idea that the Reform Temple is purely a theological institution. Secular activity forms a communal hinterland for the religious life of the congregation. The notion that Jews are a religious community is largely a figment of the extremist theologians. Although religion may remain the vital core of Jewish collectivism, it does not constitute its entirety.

Newman recognized that the mission of Israel had occupied the minds of some Reformers to such an extent that they have used it as an argument against Zionism. They think that if the Jewish homeland had not perished, Hebraic thinking would never have influenced the world so strongly. The old-time Reformers were not sympathetic to mourning for Zion. They regarded the destruction of the Temple as providential, because it enabled Israel to go forth on its world mission of being a "light to the nations." However, those of the pro-Zionist Reform group²⁷¹ believe both in the mission, and in mourning for Zion.

In discussing the attitude of Reform toward nationalism, he quotes Mattuck who asserted that "it (Liberal Judaism) had no official answer to give to the question whether the two (Zionism and Liberal Judaism) were incompatible; every Liberal Jew could answer the question for himself."²⁷² This statement was viewed by Newman as an improvement over former days when Zionism was Reform's whipping boy. For instance, according to the resolution of the C. C. A. R. in Rochester in 1920 "it is the duty of all Jews to contribute to the reconstruction of Palestine insofar as Jews may place themselves there and to make it a good place for them to live. But the co-operation of Jews who reject Jewish nationalism is made difficult, nay impossible, as long as the Zionist Organization is committed to such Nationalism."²⁷³

Reform Jews professing to oppose Zionism capitalize

on the solidarity created and reinforced by Y. M. H. A. Centers and the like. If extra-religious group unity is valuable as an asset to spiritual activity through the synagogue, then similarly why shouldn't logic be applied to the contributions which Jewish nationalism can make to the Jewish faith? ²⁷⁴ "Politics" is a bugaboo in the Reform camp. Yet, Reform Jews are drawn irresistibly into the maelstrom of economic, legislative, and business activity. Reform Jews are just as politically minded as the Zionist Jews. It constitutes quite as much of a political act to send delegations to a World Peace Conference petitioning it not to aid the Zionist movement as to ask the opposite. The only course is not to avoid politics, but to pursue a wise and beneficent political policy on behalf of every worth-while cause. ²⁷⁵

It is obvious that the upbuilding of a third Jewish commonwealth in Palestine need not interfere with the ideal of the Jewish mission. The contact of Palestinian Messianism during the second Hebrew state with Egyptian Neo-Platonism helped produce Christianity. Mohammedanism arose through contact of Palestinian Hebraism, though weakened by the disappearance of the national center, with the Arabic civilization. Nearly every Christian Reform movement has been accompanied by a revived study of the Hebrew Bible and has been stimulated by the personal activity of individual Jews. However, the process would have been more effective if Judaism had possessed a national cultural center. Zionism doesn't mean a withdrawal, either physical or

or psychological, from the Diaspora. It would be too severe a blow for those countries where Jews reside to lose them, even if this were possible. Nor will Zionism increase anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism in the U. S. has not been directed against the Zionists or Yiddishists, but against adjusted Jews who have risen to high posts in financial, political, and commercial life, which is also true in Europe. The fear that the establishment of a Jewish state would give impetus to expulsion-propaganda is without foundation.²⁷⁶

Zionism recognizes the value of Jewish secular activities the same as Reform, except that it demands that Jewish solidarity be motivated by the Hebraic motif and directed to the goal of Jewish cultural creativity. The irony of the Jewish role in the Peace Settlement of 1919 is that Reform Jewish leaders were compelled by public opinion, engendered by American Jewish congregations, to champion the cause of "national" or "minority" rights at Versailles. Now they claim credit for it as their own particular invention, although they are anti-nationalist with regard to Palestine.

Our interest in Palestine is cultural, philanthropic, and communal. If a little cultural hyphenism is entailed, it aids us in lifting the deadening monotony of a one-type American civilization. Palestine can become the dream world of escape for Jews in the Galuth who suffer from physical persecution and its even more malevolent auxiliary, prejudice and discrimination. There is steady reciprocity of cultural influence between Zion and "hutz la-aretz." As the late Professor Friedlander said: "It is not a question of

Palestine versus the Diaspora, but of Palestine plus
the Diaspora."²⁷⁷

Reform Judaism is growing in influence, largely as a result of ^{the} cultural revival which Zionism has fostered. Reform even contemplates propaganda in countries other than England, America, or Germany. As evidence of the harmony of its philosophy with Zionism, it seeks to establish itself in Palestine to redeem agnostic and free-thinking young Halutzim. The Hebrew University, against which a Reform rabbi in New York protested on the ground that it would undertake secular studies as well as theological, will be the power-house of Jewish idealism.

Felix Adler at the 50th anniversary of Ethical Culture affirmed that wherever Reform Judaism carries its burning message, it is Zionist in affiliation.

If Reform Judaism seeks to be "dead against" Zionism, it will soon be dead beyond resuscitation.... If Reform Judaism wishes to produce mystics, liturgical poets, and prophets, it must substitute for opposition to Zionism a spiritual interpretation of it. Unless it finds the means of accomplishing this new synthesis, Reform Judaism will meet the fate of the Ebionites, Karaites, Frankists and other defunct sects.²⁷⁸

Reform Jews must emancipate themselves from their obsession against nationalism and from their morbid fears. Courageous self-analysis of their own policies will reveal the same tendencies that motivate the Zionist movement, namely recognition that nationalism is the
very keystone in the arch of Jewish life.²⁷⁹

CONCLUSION

While it would be possible to find much more material to include in this thesis from the writings and utterances of many other Reform Jewish thinkers, with whom we haven't dealt, as well as from additional works of those thinkers whom we have already treated, it would hardly be necessary. For clearly what material we have employed has been sufficient to produce a complete and thorough picture of the mission concept in Reform Judaism. Anything additional would merely express in different words one facet or another of the idea.

Now that we have a comprehension of the concept of Israel's mission in all its implications as it developed in Reform Judaism, let us turn to an evaluation of its place and importance in Reform. The vast majority of thinkers in the Reform Jewish camp from Reform's inception to the present day laid stress on the mission and attributed tremendous significance to it. It might be said that they placed the idea on a pedestal. Kohler's sermons again and again reiterated with the familiar theme, and he took every opportunity to express himself most vigorously on it. Samuel Hirsch, as we have pointed out, conceived of Judaism as a religion of history. Jews have been a living witness to this religion. Israel has been a unique people exemplifying a universal ideal. It was suggested that the only fundamentals of Judaism were monotheism, Israel's mission, and the Messianic Age. Of these three, the last two are part and parcel of the same idea. According to this, Judaism in essence is nothing more than the belief in one God and every-

thing for which He stands on the one hand, and the obligation that this belief places upon the Jew. (Cf. Ch. I of this thesis, pp. 1 ff.)

However, in recent years, the idea that Israel has been chosen to spread its faith over the entire globe has been looked down upon as chauvinistic, presumptuous, and an expression of undue pride and haughtiness. This trend is to be regretted because the people who adhere to this completely misunderstand and misinterpret the true meaning of the belief. When rightly understood, the idea of a chosen people doesn't grant them privilege but responsibility, as we have seen. In refuting the views of these upstarts who say that Israel hasn't a mission, there is a mass of evidence which shows what Jews have contributed to mankind's benefit. They have given the Bible which has furnished the ethics through which the whole Western world has survived. Judaism has influenced the rise of Christianity, Islam, and the Reformation. Coming closer to modern times, the Bible has become the foundation-stone of American democracy.

There are some who will acknowledge the debt owed to the Jew in the past. They admit that Israel had a mission in the past, but not so in the present. They argue that a small minority can do very little. However, to refute them, one may say, that despite our paucity in numbers, by working together with the peoples of the earth, we can achieve great things. Part of our present mission as a small minority is to impress on our Christian neighbors that the mission

which is Judaism's is also theirs, in view of the fact that they accept the same view as we do in regard to one God. We can work a beneficial effect upon Christianity. While the latter is an essentially Jewish offshoot, it has defiled its purity by injecting pagan elements into its concept of God as a Trinity. In the light of this, the Jew can exercise his influence by standing uncompromisingly and unflinchingly for a strict monotheism.

Our atomic age shows that despite all the long centuries of teaching to the nations, the world still in many ways hasn't taken to heart the message of our faith. Therefore, we are needed much more today than ever before to offset the present evils. While it is understandable that the Jew hasn't engaged in missionarizing because of difficult circumstances preventing him from proselytizing as he did in the centuries immediately preceeding the Common Era, there are still opportunities for the Jew to influence the non-Jewish world indirectly. It is to be hoped, for example, that those who are influenced by a scientific outlook and cannot accept the dogmas of Christianity, might be receptive to our faith. Of course, while we could prove our mission by social and humanitarian endeavors, there is no valid reason to forsake the fulfillment of our mission primarily through religious channels.

NOTES

Chapter One

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- 2 Psalms 103:13.
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- 6 Isaiah 2:2-3.
- 7 Milton Matz, Developments In American Reform Judaism As Reflected by the Proceedings of the C. C. A. R. During the Years 1890-1937 (Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Hebrew Letters degree and Ordination, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1952), p. 7.

Chapter Two

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- 2 Ibid., "Nationalism, Slavery, and Women's Rights" p. 65.
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- 6 Ibid., p. 176-7.
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- 12 Ibid., p. 302-3.
- 13 Abraham Geiger, Gesammelte Schriften, I p. 208.

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- 20 Ludwig Philippson, Predigt Gehalten Am Tage der Zerstörung Jerusalem, 1843, p. 86.
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- 27 Ibid. pp. 178-9.
- 28 Ibid., pp. 171-2.
- 29 Ibid., p. 177.
- 30 Ibid., pp. 177-8
- 31 Ibid., p. 84.
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- 33 David Philipson, op. cit., p. 87.
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- 35 Ibid., pp. 277-8.
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- 39 Ibid., p. 241.
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- 41 Ibid., p. 87.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 180-1.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 248-9.
- 44 Ibid., p. 392.
- 45 Ibid., p. 145.
- 46 Ibid., p. 176.
- 47 Ibid., pp. 176-7.
- 48 Ibid., p. 178.
- 49 Ibid., pp. 178-9.
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- 54 Rabbi Joseph Kornfeld, op. cit., pp. 182-3.
- 55 David Philipson, op. cit., pp. 159-161.
- 56 Abraham Geiger, Judaism and Its History, "Christianity As An Ecclesiastical World Power: The Destruction of the Jewish Nation", pp. 161-2.

Chapter Three

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- 2 David Philipson, Max Lillienthal As Rabbi (C. C. A. R. Yearbook, Vol. XV, 1915, pp. 457-8).
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- 5 Union Prayer Book, op. cit., p. 45.

- 6 David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism, n. 354.
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- 8 Ibid., p. 362.
- 9 Ibid., p. 364.
- 10 Ibid. p. 430.
- 11 David Philipson, Centenary Papers and Others, "Max Lillienthal"
pp. 170-1.
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- 14 Ibid., pp. 80-1.
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- 18 Ibid., p. 94.
- 19 Ibid., pp. 95-6.
- 20 Ibid., p. 105.
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thal" (25th anniversary address as rabbi) pp. 171-2.
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(1885), 3rd principle.
- 27 Ibid., 5th principle.
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- 31 Ibid., p. 361
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C. C. A. R. Yearbook, Vol. XXVII

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- 37 David Philipson, op. cit., pp. 362-3.
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- 90 Kaufmann Kohler, op. cit., "My Strength and My Song Is The Lord", pp. 121-3.
- 91 Kaufmann Kohler, op. cit., "A Glorious Patrimony and a Perrenial Pledge", pp. 126-7.
- 92 Kaufmann Kohler, op. cit., "Nearer To Nature, To Humanity, and To God", pp. 134-5.
- 93 Kaufmann Kohler, "The Mission of Israel and Its Application to Modern Times", C. C. A. R. Yearbook, Vol. XXIX, 1919, pp. 8-12.
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- 132 Ibid., pp. 22-3.
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- 139 Emil G. Hirsch, op. cit., "The Function of Prayer and Ritual In My Religion", pp. 129-30.
- 140 Ibid., p. 132.
- 141 Emil G. Hirsch, op. cit., "The Twenty - fifth Day of Kislev or the Twenty - fifth Day of December Which Expresses My Religious Convictions?", p. 163.
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- 144 Emil G. Hirsch, op. cit., "The Doctrine of Evolution and Judaism", p. 260.
- 145 Emil G. Hirsch, op. cit., "Judaism and Modern Religion", pp. 289-90.
- 146 Ibid., p. 291.
- 147 Emil G. Hirsch, op. cit., "Alone With My God", pp. 333-4.
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- 149 Emil G. Hirsch, op. cit., "The Crossing of the Jordan", p. 358.
- 150 Emil G. Hirsch, Twenty Discourses, "Why Am I A Jew", pp. 19-20.
- 151 Ibid., pp. 17-19.
- 152 Emil G. Hirsch, My Religion, "Consolation For Days of Stress, and Sorrow, and Suffering", pp. 96-7.
- 153 Ibid., p. 112.
- 154 Emil G. Hirsch, op. cit., "My Kingdom Is Not of This World", p. 175.
- 155 Emil G. Hirsch, op. cit., "The New Social Adjustment Suggested by the Implications of My Religion", p. 131.
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- 157 Emil G. Hirsch, My Religion, "The Twenty-fifth Day of Kislev or the Twenty-fifth Day of December Which Expresses My Religious Convictions?", p. 155.
- 158 Emil G. Hirsch, Twenty Discourses, "Why Am I A Jew", p. 3.
- 159 Emil G. Hirsch, op. cit., "Attacks On Jews and Judaism", pp. 12-15.
- 160 Ibid., pp. 12-15.
- 161 Emil G. Hirsch, op. cit., "The Concordance of Judaism and Americanism", p. 15.
- 162 Ibid., p. 20. Despite his negative attitude toward Zionism, Hirsch had no objection to a truly Jewish state which would be founded on the prophetic precepts. Such a possible re-nationalization of a Jewish political life would be compatible with Israel's mission. Cf. My Religion, "Judaism and Modern Religion", p. 290. Viewed in this light, the ideal re-establishment of the Jewish state would be compatible with the noblest sentiments in regard to America which our passage in the text exemplifies.
- 163 Emil G. Hirsch, op. cit., "Why Am I A Jew", pp. 21-22.
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- 171 Samuel Holdheim, op. cit., pp. 53-54.
- 172 David Philipson, op. cit., "Samuel Holdheim" (Centenary address ~~delivered at~~ delivered before the C. C. A. R. July 4, 1906 at Indianapolis), pp. 75-7.
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- 174 David Philipson, op. cit., "Isaac Mayer Wise", p. 51.
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- 177 Samuel Schulman, "Israel", C. C. A. R. Yearbook, Vol. XLV, 1935, pp. 260-311.
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- 182 Ibid., pp. 308-9.
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- 184 Kaufmann Kohler, "The Mission of Israel and Its Application to Modern Times", C. C. A. R. Yearbook, Vol. XXIX, 1919, pp. 31-3.
- 185 Ibid., pp. 33-5.
- 186 Ibid., p. 27.
- 187 Samuel Schulman, op. cit., p. 282.
- 188 Ibid., p. 265.
- 189 Ibid., pp. 290-3.
- 190 Ibid., pp. 300-1.

- 191 Ibid., pp. 309-11.
- 192 Ibid., pp. 300-1.
- 193 Ibid., pp. 301-3. S. Goldenson in responding to Samuel Schulman's paper on Israel, said that he found the implication of the mission in all Biblical spiritual expressions. The mission is not merely a device for life, since one may have to die in order to fulfill it. Moreover, the concept is inherent in all Jewish thought. In his definition of the idea, Israel has a unique task. It isn't sufficient to say that Israel is a mere people. Many other peoples lived in Palestine simultaneous with Israel's residence there. Yet, they didn't survive. Israel has on the contrary lived on. What has this peculiar people done to survive? It has developed the device of special religious beliefs in order to live. Other peoples had religions. Yet, Israel invented a mission to help it continue. A primary means in this continuance is through the Mitzvoth. Of course, in itself their performance is unable to become a self-preservative device, there is a certain sustaining power through the very quality that inheres in the Mitzvoth themselves. See Samuel Schulman, op. cit., pp. 343-4.
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- 197 Hyman G. Enelow, op. cit., Vol. IV "The Theoretic Foundations of Reform Judaism", p. 413.
- 198 Ibid., p. 412.
- 199 Hyman G. Enelow, op. cit., "Have the Jews Failed in Their Mission?", p. 201.
- 200 Hyman G. Enelow, op. cit., "A Jew's Christmas Sentiments", p. 177.
- 201 Ibid., p. 176.
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- 203 Hyman G. Enelow, op. cit., "A Fountain of Gardens", pp. 573 -4.
- 204 Hyman G. Enelow, op. cit., "The Maccabean Legacy", p. 498.
- 205 Ibid., pp. 499-501.
- 206 Hyman G. Enelow, op. cit., "Zionism and Anti-Zionism", p. 135-6.

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- 213 Ibid., pp. 131-2.
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- 216 Julian Morgenstern, As A Mighty Stream, (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 407.
- 217 Julian Morgenstern, op. cit., "The Foundations of Israel's History", pp. 4-5.
- 218 Julian Morgenstern, op. cit., "Judaism and the Modern World", pp. 180-3.
- 219 Ibid., pp. 190-1.
- 220 Ibid., pp. 191-200.
- 221 Julian Morgenstern, op. cit., "At the Crossroads", pp. 211-14.
- 222 Julian Morgenstern, op. cit., "Nation, People, Religion - What Are We?", pp. 351-2.
- 223 Ibid., pp. 366-9.
- 224 Ibid., pp. 373-4.
- 225 Julian Morgenstern, op. cit., "A Program for Judaism and the Jewish People", p. 406.
- 226 Julian Morgnestern, op. cit., "Judaism's Contribution to Post-War Religion", pp. 344-5.
- 227 Ibid., 347-8.
- 228 Julian Morgenstern, op. cit., "Nation, People, Religion - What Are We?", pp. 374-5.
- 229 Ibid., p. 377.

- 230 Ibid., pp. 377-8.
- 231 Ibid., pp. 378-9.
- 232 Julian Morgenstern, op. cit., "World Empire and World Brotherhood", pp. 98-105.
- 233 Ibid., 116-19.
- 234 Julian Morgenstern, "Judaism and the Modern World", pp. 191-200.
- 235 Julian Morgenstern, "A Program for Judaism and the Jewish People", pp. 421-2.
- 236 David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism, p. 337.
- 237 Emma Felsenthal, Bernhard Felsenthal: Teacher in Israel, (New York, 1924), "Wherefore We Rejoice", pp. 121-2.
- 238 Ibid., pp. 121-2.
- 239 Ibid., pp. 122-3.
- 240 Ibid., p. 124.
- 241 Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., "The Wandering Jew", p. 209.
- 242 Ibid., pp. 209-10.
- 243 Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., "Selected Passages on Judaism", p. 247.
- 244 Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., "On Reform Judaism", p. 253.
- 245 Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., "On Christianity, the Relation of Judaism and the Jews to the World", pp. 268-70.
- 246 Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., "The Wandering Jew", p. 198.
- 247 Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., "On Zionism", p. 256.
- 248 Ibid., p. 258.
- 249 Ibid., p. 259.
- 250 Ibid., p. 260.
- 251 Ibid., p. 260.
- 252 Ibid., p. 262.
- 253 Ibid., p. 261.
- 254 Ibid., pp. 262-3.
- 255 Ibid., p. 263. Another prototype of a Reformer who under-

went a change in his attitude toward Palestine, just as Felsenthal did was Max Margolis. He became leader of those professors and alumni at H. U. C. who opposed Kohler's universalism and opposition to Zionism. "He had been connected with the College from 1892 to 1897. Enjoying a high reputation as Bible scholar and teacher, he was called back to the College by Dr. Kohler to replace Dr. Casper Leavias in 1905, as professor of Biblical exegesis. Having undergone a complete ideological reversal from extreme universalism to Jewish nationalism, he set himself to agitating against the basic ideas of Reform as represented by the College and championed by Dr. Kohler." "His changed attitude occurred during the years of the infant growth of Zionism in the first decade of the twentieth century. At first he was a strong proponent of the mission idea.

In an elaborate paper on "The Theological Aspect of Reformed Judaism", he advocated the creation of a synod that shall promulgate "the creed for the Reformed Jewish Church of America." "Woe unto American Israel", he exclaimed, "when the day comes and we are found an unorganized bundle of atoms; and woe to us if we organize on any but ecclesiastical, that is, religious lines. We must unify our societies and place them under the roof of the synagogue. Whatever is inimical or even indifferent to the synagogue must be wiped out of existence." Having endorsed the Pittsburgh Platform, he called upon "the Jewish Church" to "become missionary in all truth, by example and by teaching. She must conquer the world for the Kingdom of God."**

However, barely two years later his stand was quite reversed. In 1907 speaking at the Hebrew Union College he negated the possibility of the Jews' preservation in the Diaspora. He referred scornfully to the idea of Israel's religious mission. "In the Diaspora", he maintained, "the Jewish soul is capable only of submission. It may assimilate itself to the ideals of its environment, but it is too weak to assimilate them to itself. True and wholesome assimilation can only take place where the Jewish soul is free, and the Jewish soul can be free only in its own soil."***

A third prototype of this transitional period was charac-

* Samuel S. Cohon, "The History of the Hebrew Union College", Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. XL, Part I, Philadelphia, 1950, p. 41.

** Max Margolis, "The Theological Aspect of Reformed Judaism", C. C. A. R. Yearbook, Vol. XIII, 1903, pp. 302-8.

*** Max Margolis, "The Mesage of Moses", The Maccabean, Vol. XII, 1907, pp. 41-6.

terized by Casper Levias. He criticized Reform by declaring its conception of society's nature to be naive. His position embodied the message of Zionism which viewed the Jew's salvation only in terms of Palestine. He stated:

The dream of the prophets that nature shall be transformed; that the lion shall lie down with the lamb, and a small boy shall lead them, is a beautiful dream, an inspiring dream, but an unrealizable dream after all. The Jew that takes this dream into consideration in affairs of practical life is no less a visionary than his Christian neighbor who attempts to realize in human society the New Testament dream of non-resistance to evil. ****

Such an utterance gave expression to his belief in the inadequacy of the mission concept as proclaimed by Reform.

- 256 This term "light unto the nations" was further elaborated by Stephen S. Wise was further elaborated on by Stephen S. Wise. He pointed out that Mendelssohnian Enlightenment began with light from the Gentiles, but ended with a reversion to a misunderstood Missionstheorie of light to the nations. See Stephen S. Wise, As I See It, (New York, 1944), pp. 36-7.
- 257 Abba Hillel Silver, Vision and Victory, (New York, 1949), "Liberal Judaism and Israel", p. 232.
- 258 Abba Hillel Silver, op. cit., "The Democratic Impulse in Jewish History", p. 31.
- 259 Ibid., pp. 32-3.
- 260 Ibid., pp. 42-3.
- 261 Abba Hillel Silver, op. cit., "The Conspiracy of Silence", pp. 11-12.
- 262 Abba Hillel Silver, op. cit., "The Democratic Impulse in Jewish History", pp. 41-2.
- 263 Ibid., pp. 33-4.
- 264 Abba Hillel Silver, op. cit., "The Changing and the Changeless", p. 205.
- 265 Ibid., p. 205.

**** Casper Levias, "The Justification of Zionism", C. C. A. R., Vol. IX, 1898-9, p. 181.

- 266 Ibid., p. 208.
- 267 Abba Hillel Silver, op. cit., "Liberal Judaism and Israel", p. 222.
- 268 Ibid., p. 227.
- 269 Ibid., pp. 229. In discussing Silver's paper at the Conference, Rabbi Goldenson stated that most of the early part of the paper was devoted to the strange doctrine that the peoplehood and love of life explained the survival of the Jewish people. We are told that the mission was born during the exile, seemingly unrooted in Jewish history. Goldenson found the implications of the mission in all spiritual expressions in the Bible. It is not merely a device to live. When felt, it is a call not for life, but for death if necessary. The mission is inherent in all Jewish thought. No one has ever denied that the children of Israel are a people. But what kind of people? Shall we emphasize the people and forget the peculiar qualities of their thinking that has enabled them to live, or shall we emphasize those qualities? See Abba Hillel Silver, "Israel", C. C. A. R. Yearbook, Vol. XLV, 1935, pp. 343-4.
- 270 Louis I. Newman, *Biting on Granite*, (New York, 1946), "The Burning of the Reconstructionist Sabbath Prayer Book and the 'Excommunication' of Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan", p. 10.
- 271 Louis I. Newman, op. cit., "Comfort Ye, Comfort Ye, My People", p. 178.
- 272 Louis I. Newman, "Reform Judaism and Nationalism", pp. 34-5.
- 273 Ibid.
- 274 Ibid., pp. 37-9.
- 275 Ibid., pp. 39-40.
- 276 Ibid., pp. 40-2.
- 277 Ibid., pp. 42-3.
- 278 Ibid., pp. 43-5.
- 279 Ibid.

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