Thesis of Bernhard N. Cohn

EARLY GERMAN PREACHING IN AMERICA

Sermons and homiletic discourses by immigrant rabbis and preachers of the nineteenth century form a hitherto untapped mine of information on the shaping of American Judaism. Not only has this type of source material been neglected by historians, but its value and importance have been underestimated. In spite of the fact that quite a number of early American sermons are available in print, to the best of my knowledge no attempt has ever been made to penetrate the ideas of the preachers and reconstruct and analyze the religious situation, its problems and needs, as reflected in these most revealing contemporary documents.

In 1945 Rabbi Adolph Kober, at my suggestion, compiled a provisional bibliography of "American Sermons in the German Language," which was published in Historia Judaica, VII, 131-134. To Mr. Cohn I assigned the task, first, of supplementing and completing this bibliography, then of reading all the material in order to derive from it not only a history of the American-Jewish sermon, but also all the information that might throw light on the struggle to maintain and adjust religious life among the Jewish pioneers of the nineteenth century. All this was to be done against the general historical background, i.e., the religious, social, educational, and economic conditions of

the immigrants as well as those existing in the American scene. Contemporary problems and ideas and the character of the source material were to be impressed on the reader by quotations from sermons or by abstracts of their essential thoughts.

Mr. Cohn has discharged the task which he was given extremely well. His bibliography offers many sermons not listed by Kober. He has read and digested this voluminous material in the German language. Conscientiously and with good historical judgment he has depicted the several rabbinic personalities, their reaction to the American scene and to American Jewry which, to some extent, was conditioned by their European background. The struggle for religious reform, the ideological bases as well as the ritual and ceremonies mirrored in the sermons, are interestingly and critically discussed. Chapter 5 deals with the sermon from a homiletic-historical point of view. The author's general conclusions, summarized in Chapter 6, are of particular importance for the history of the Reform movement in America. They open up vistas that were closed to Philipson, who did not avail himself of this type of historical source.

There is no doubt that Mr. Cohn has done an excellent piece of work. The method of using sermons as raw material for American Jewish history, suggested and outlined by me, has proved workable and successful. Moreover, through his analysis Mr. Cohn has provided additional proof of the thesis developed in my history course, namely, that the American Reform movement is not merely an offshoot and continuation of German

Reform; it is a genuinely American development that can be understood only against the background of the American scene and the period in which it took place.

Cohn's thesis is an original and welcome contribution to the history of the development of American Judaism. I intend to publish it, with some minor supplements and improvements, in Historia Judaica. It will make informative and interesting reading for every Reform rabbi. Moreover, conservative and orthodox rabbis will derive from it a better understanding and appreciation of the growth and achievement of Reform Judaism in America in the nineteenth century.

In my opinion, the thesis merits acceptance "with honors."

New York City
February 8, 1953

Guido Kisch.

EARLY GERMAN PREACHING IN AMERICA

by

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FOREWORD

This paper had its origin in a suggestion by Prof. Guido Kisch of the New York school of the H.U.C.-J.I.R. to further develope part of an article by Dr. Adolf Kober which appeared in October 1945 in Historia Judaica.

The author of this paper makes no pretensions that his bibliography is exhaustive although it most probably is the most extensive of its kind. He has used all available material at the libraries of both schools of the HU.C.-J.I.R., the New York Public Library, as well as the libraries at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Columbia University, New York University and Temple Emanuel. The American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati contain only one sermon in manuscript form which was put at the writer's disposal.

A word about the translation. Except for two or three instances which are mentioned in the notes, the translations are my own. They are literal except for occasional passages where, for the sake of clarity , I decided to preserve the meaning more than the text. I

might note that I have chosen to translate the German "Lehre" as "teaching" as distinguished by the rabbis from "Gesetz" or "law." In this choice I am following the example of David Philipson and others. It is possible to translate "Lehre" as "doctrin" or "dogma." However, I believe that "teaching" is closer to the spirit and meaning of the rabbis.

My thanks are due to Rabbi Edward Kiev and his staff at the New York school, as well as to Rabbi Theo Wiener and Mrs. Selma Stern-Taeubler both of Cincinnati, for helping me assemble some of my material. Finally, my greatest share of gratitude belongs to Prof. Guido Kisch for his generous help and guidance in the completion of this thesis.

Bernhard N. Cohn

Chapter 1

Introduction and Background.

The object of this paper is to deal critically with German sermons of the "pioneer Rabbis" who officiated in the United States between 1840 and 1879.[1] This epoch is important to us not only because of its associations with the origins of Reform Judaism in the United States, but also because it covers one of the most important periods in American history. It is a period which saw the development in this country of energies previously unimaginable. It is a period which, possibly more than any other left its imprint upon the American scene.

On the one hand the opening up of the West made vast new tracts of land available for development, and the men and women who answered the call of the frontiers were the living testimony to the general temper of the middle decades of the 19th century. The virile pioneer spirit "encouraged individual initiative;... made for political and economic democracy;... roughened manners;... broke down conserva-

tism, and bred a spirit of local self-determination coupled with respect for national authority."[2] On the other hand, the rapid progress of the industrial revolution also made itself felt as it attracted more and more people to the urban areas and into the factories.

Since both these developments put a premium on manpower, immigration began to play an increasingly important part in the American economy. This need for manpower was met by a corresponding desire of many Central Europeans to leave their homelands after severe economic failures and the collapse of the Revolution of 1848. Among the new immigrants were a considerable number of Jews.

Up to that time the elite of the Jewish community in the United States belonged to the Sefardic congregations. They had long established themselves in Eastern and Southern communities and adhered strictly to their own ritual. The title "rabbi" was unknown to them. Instead, the leader of the congregation was known as the Chasan, a teacher or prominent citizen whose duty it was not only to lead the congregation in prayer, but also to perform the various ritual

functions which he might be called upon to fulfill. An additional duty which was heaped upon his shoulders was the duty of delivering occasional sermons and lectures.

However, as the result of the new immigration the complexion of the Jewish community in the United States changed completely. Between 1840 and 1860 the Jewish population in America nearly tripled.[3] Since the great majority of the immigrants gravitated toward the cities along the expanding trade routes, the number of active congregations doubled and could be found in nineteen states and in the District of Columbia.[4]

The new congregations were generally formed along lines of national origin, thus serving as social as well as religious centers of activity. With very few exceptions - the exceptions being Har-Sinai of Baltimore and Emanuel of New York - they were Ashkenazic and Orthodox. For lack of rabbinic leadership, these congregations, too, were lead by Chasanim, who performed the same functions as their Sefardic counterparts.[5]

In addition to being centers of religious and social life, all the Synagogues, Sefardic and Ashkenazic

alike, assumed a service function. They dispensed charity, looked after the sick, and arranged for the burial of the dead. However, in the early 1850's the effectiveness of these functions was impaired by the sudden, inordinate increase in the Jewish population. Up to a point the numerous congregations had been able to care for the many poor immigrants. But soon their number became so great that it was necessary, especially in the larger cities, to found charitable institutions. These were generally organized along unifunctional lines, each institution taking care of one specific need.[6] These charitable institutions and benevolent societies, of which there were eventually 35 in New York and 23 in Philadelphia, must have done an excellent job in caring for the new immigrants, for in 1854 they merited the editorial comment of two of the leading Eastern newspapers to the effect that in New York and elsewhere "not a single Jew requires relief".[7] In smaller communities, however, charity, along with education, continued to be a function of the Synagogue.

The establishment of the many independent charitable institutions had an adverse effect upon the Synagogue. It was deprived of most of its service function

and consequently lost a great deal of prestige. The Industrial Revolution had shown, among other things, the effectiveness of the policy of the division of labor and specialization, and the problem of how to deal adequately with the immediate needs of the many new immigrants, made this specialization in the field of social welfare a practical necessity.

In the realm of education, too, the spirit of the age conspired against the Synagogue. This was the era of equalitarianism and democratization[8] which had as one of its aims the expansion and secularization of the public school system. As might be expected, the early Jewish schools were generally of the Talmud Torah type. However, the depth to which this form of education had sunk can be judged by the fact that already in 1838 the otherwise strict and pious Isaac Leeser supported the Sunday school plan of Rebecca Gratz.[9] Under such conditions it was not surprising that the attempts at all-day Jewish Parochial Schools were generally short lived.[10] Only briefly, as a result of the new immigration during the early fifties, did the Jewish Parochial School enjoy a more widespread popularity, and for a time nearly every

Synagogue in New York City had its own all-day school. However, when in 1856, in answer to the democratizing spirit of the time, the New York Board of Education secularized its Public Schools, the Congregational schoolrooms once more became depleted, and the all-day Jewish school vanished as suddenly as it had come into being.[11]

It was to congregants living under conditions such as outlined above, that the "pioneer rabbis" had to address themselves upon their arrival in America. What they said and what they preached reflects not only their concern with the state of American Jewry, but also the enthusiasm with which they took advantage of the newly found opportunity to speak their own minds. In a sense, this paper will deal with the influence exerted upon emancipated American Jewry, living in a climate of intellectual freedom, by religious leaders who, having been stymied by social and religious reaction in Europe, were now free to test their ideals on virgin soil.

Chapter 2

The Rabbis Arrive.

The honor of being the first rabbi to practice his profession in America falls to Leo Merzbacher (1809 /1842/ 1856).[1] This much forgotten pioneer was probably more influential than is generally thought. Though by no means an orator of any importance - probably due to his ill health - Merzbacher made the most of the scant fourteen years that he was permitted to minister in New York. He was one of the founders of the B'nai B'rith and the Loyal Order of the True Sisters, as well as a guiding light of the Harmonie Club. Most important of all, for the last ten years of his life Merzbacher was the first rabbi at Temple Emanu-El. While occupying this pulpit he wrote his own prayer book, Seder T'fillah, through which he exerted a considerable influence on the development of the Reform liturgy in America.[2]

Merzbacher forms the vanguard of a steady stream of rabbis and reverends who, like him, found it increasingly difficult to pursue their calling in Europe.

Among the earlier arrivals we find Elkan Cohn of Albany, Rabbi Kalisch of Cleveland, Bernard Illowy and Henry Hochheimer, as well as the "constant Reverend" James K. Gutheim (1817 /c.1845/ 1886) in whose honor it may be related that he never assumed the title "Rabbi" or "Rev. Dr." for the simple reason that he was neither. Gutheim was the earliest advocate of the English sermon, preceding even Isaac Mayer Wise in that department, and was an orator of popularity and note.[3]

Into this same group of rabbis who left Europe before 1853, fall the names of Max Lilienthal (1814 /1845/ 1882) and Isaac Mayer Wise (1819 /1846/ 1900) whose life long association is one of the legends of American Reform. Lilienthal, who at 31 was already well known as an educator and did much to further Jewish education in America, was according to the testimony of his closest friend a "puritanic, profoundly moralistic and edifying [preacher] in the very spirit of Dr. [Gotthold] Salomon of Hamburg."[4] Isaac Mayer Wise, the originator of the Friday evening lecture, also introduced the philosophical sermon and historical discourse, according to his own accounts.[5] Both found it necessary to immigrate to America when

pressures abroad became too great. Lilienthal's failure in Russia, coupled with an attempt to convert him to Greek Catholicism, proved to him the futility of staying in Europe, while the moderate reformer Wise was in constant conflict not only with the Austrian government but also with his conforming rabbinical superiors. Europe's loss was Judaism's gain.[6]

Early American German homiletical literature received its most important contributors in 1854 and 1855 with the arrival of Bernhard Felsenthal (1822 /1854/ 1908), Liebman Adler (1812 /1854/ 1892) and David Einhorn (1809 /1855/ 1879). Of the three only Einhorn was an ordained rabbi. Liebman Adler and Felsenthal were educated as teachers and started their careers in America as such. Felsenthal, who became the most active spirit in the early development of Reform in Chicago, was a speaker with a natural appeal who lacked all the oratorical trappings that were common in his day. Though at first a radical reformer of the shading of Einhorn, he later parted company with his colleague on a number of issues.

Like Einhorn, however, Felsenthal felt himself a spiritual German, though racially he considered himself a Jew, and politically an American.[7]

Undoubtedly the most gifted orator in the American Jewish pulpit of the nineteenth century was David Einhorn. Already a leading figure in the history of Reform in Germany, he continued to be the spokesman for radical Reform after his arrival in America. A brilliant speaker and a fiery personality motivated by the deepest convictions of social justice and religious progress, Einhorn virtually made his pulpit a spiritual totalitarian with his biting irony and his uncompromising ethical idealism. It is strange that the biography of this amazing personality still remains to be written.[8]

Compared both to Felsenthal and to Einhorn, Liebman Adler seems rather mild and meek. Coming to America in the hope of finding a better home and future for his children, Liebman Adler settled first in Detroit and then in Chicago, where he died 31 years later. He was essentially a Mendelsohnian, a more conservative influence who opposed the preachment of higher Biblical criticism as misleading for the public,

and bound himself to a more literal interpretation of the text. No one ever seems to have had trouble in trying to grasp the meaning of his words. His sermons were completely unsophisticated being delivered in cordial and simple language, and pervaded by a calm and tranquil spirit.[9]

Like Einhorn, Samuel Adler (1809 /1857/ 1892), who was next to arrive, had been touched by the spirit of the German ~~synods~~ rabbinical conferences of the fourties. In his 17 years as the active senior rabbi of Temple Emanu-El he proved himself a vigorous speaker and a staunch supporter of the Eastern wing of American Reform. Samuel Adler is the first of a number of more serious academicians some of whom, like Mielziner, Jastrow, Kohler, and the grammarian Salomon Deutsch, made noteworthy contributions to scholarship.[10]

Moses Mielziner (1828 /1865/ 1903) was a Talmudist of great stature. A student of Zunz and Holdheim, Mielziner was driven to Copenhagen by the German state reaction. There, before striking out across the ocean, he received his ordination from the chief rabbi of Denmark Dr. A.A. Wolff. As an advocate of a more moderate Reform he supported the position of I.M. Wise in his struggles with Einhorn.[11]

The moderate wing obtained additional support with the arrival of Adolph Huebsch (1830 [1866] 1884). While Mielziner was receiving his inspiration from the German scholars, Huebsch, who was an Hungarian, was in close contact with Rappaport and Wesseley in Prague where he had gone to study in 1848. In 1866 Huebsch left Europe in response to a call from Congregation Ahawath Chesed in New York. He was known as a collected and measured speaker and his melodious baritone voice must have added greatly to the effectiveness of his "prophetic" delivery.[12]

Samuel Hirsch (1815 [1866] 1889) was the philosopher of American Reform. A stiff-necked Hegelian, "whose passions were genuine but undisciplined,"[13] he argued for a rational exposition of Judaism. His cold reasoning brought him into frequent theological conflict even with some of his Reform colleagues who still preferred the heart to the head. Hirsch was not unknown in American circles before his arrival since he had written several books on Jewish philosophy through which he tried to further the cause of religious enlightenment.[14]

Kaufmann Kohler (1843 /1869/ 1926) and Gustav Gottheil (1827 /1873/ 1903) were the chief figures among the last rabbis whose sermons fall within the purview of this paper. Both developed within the best scholarly tradition though Kohler, a former admirer of Samson Raphael Hirsch, matured in an American environment, while the older Gottheil received his training at the best German universities. Gottheil came to America to assist Samuel Adler at Temple Emanu-El, after having served as reader and teacher with Holdheim in Berlin. At Emanu-El he became almost immediately involved in the Felix Adler affair which resulted in the founding of the Ethical Culture Society of which Felix Adler became the head. Gottheil was probably the profoundest and best educated of the German rabbis and added great weight to the prestige of the Reform rabbinate.[15]

Kohler, too, was a scholar and theologian whose works are still standard in present day Reform. He was a popular lecturer more than a preacher and an advocate of the Sunday morning prayer service.[16]

These, then, are the important names who made early American Reform live. In general the rabbis stood head and shoulders above their congregants and were thus able to hold the reins of leadership within the Reform movement. Regardless of whether we agree or disagree with what the "pioneer rabbis" had to say, the period of their ministry undoubtedly represents one of the high points in the history of Reform Judaism so far.

Chapter 3

The Rabbis React.

A. The Rabbis and American Israel.

We must now consider how the "pioneer rabbis" reacted to the new American environment in which they suddenly found themselves. Early American Jewry had, for lack of leadership and guidance fallen into a general state of apathy despite the efforts of Isaac Leeser, who was just beginning to make himself heard. Since Orthodoxy represented the prevalent mode of American Jewish life at the time, the new Reform rabbis lost no time in placing much of the blame for the devitalization of Judaism in America at its door. It must be remembered that the rabbis were the product of the European period of emancipation and enlightenment. They had, in the main rejected the particularizing ghetto existence and were striving to infuse the highest Jewish ideals and spiritual values into those of the nations of the world.[1] Consequently, they looked upon anything that tended toward exclusiveness and particularization

with a great deal of horror and contempt. The very existence of Orthodox Judaism in a free world seemed incongruous to them. How could any intelligent man, living in a modern, progressing and enlightened world, cling to the past and its outmoded values? Though the lamentations about past oppressions had indeed been justified at one time, the rabbis felt that there was no reason "why the walls of many Synagogues, where men pray in freedom, should still echo with their sound - sounds which had become discordant lies."[2] Furthermore, the whole lachrimose attitude toward the Jewish past was based on a confusion between the religious body and the religious soul. "Instead of striving for the elevation of the body through the soul, (Orthodoxy) compresses the soul into the body... so that even the moral law is measured by the standards of the ceremonial law."[3] While the mere observance of the ritual made for orthodox piety, the reformer preferred "to leave to the individual the outward expression of his religious thinking. For religious acts are moral acts, having spiritual value only when they are free. Performed under compulsion of religious law they are without effect and have no relationship to the inner life."[4]

This militant stand against Orthodoxy can only be explained in terms of the enlightened idealism of the German reformers. Having once breathed the free air outside the ghetto walls they had become enamoured of the very idea of freedom. In their enthusiasm for freedom of religious expression, and in their rejection of all but moral authority, the reformers tended to swing to an extreme diametrically opposed to that of Orthodox Judaism. Thus, many of the reformers saw in Orthodoxy a stumbling block in the way of all spiritual and moral progress, and in orthodox practice a chain binding the living Jew to the dead past.

The reformer's aim, then, was to free man from these "outmoded religious attitudes" and to direct "his complete and undivided strength toward the essence of God's teachings, which stand high above the changes of time and place, and which will continue to exist" to the end of time.[5]

But Orthodoxy was not the only force which the rabbis held responsible for the abject state in which they found the American Jewish community upon their arrival. Einhorn, for instance, found that "instead

of being teachers of the word of God," many Jews had become "ready students of materialism",[6] which was a part of the general temper of the time, answering to the practical needs of the rapidly expanding nation. Jews would do little or nothing for their Jewish spirits and, while they continued to contribute toward the building and maintenance of Temples, most donors considered their obligations toward Judaism fulfilled once they had made their contributions.[7]

It was not surprising, then, to find many Temples flourishing physically, while their pews remained empty week after week. Temple attendance seems to have been minimal.[8] On all but the most important occasions the majority of the congregants seem to have been women and girls whose husbands, fathers, and brothers were attending to their respective professional and business duties.[9] The "servants of gold" greatly outnumbered the "servants of God".[10] But could anything else be expected of a generation whose Orthodox parents were made to appear ridiculous and to whom everything concerning God, religion, and Judaism seemed ludicrous? In search of other values, "must not such a generation sooner or later fall into the arms of the most outspoken materialism"?[11]

The general education of the children, too, seems to have been carried out with the same emphasis on "material" rather than "spiritual" values. Parents preferred to send their sons into apprenticeship rather than expose them to an academic education.[12] Naturally, then, not much time or desire remained for religious instruction.

But not only the parents, the rabbis, too, neglected this aspect of community life almost completely. Although Einhorn had suggested the establishment of a Jewish parochial school in New York, and had seconded I.M. Wise's suggestion for a theological seminary,[13] not until 1874 did Gottheil put his finger exactly on the sore, especially where the Reform of Judaism was concerned. "It cannot be denied," he said, "that we have started to build at the wrong end. We pay too much attention to the Temple, and not enough to the school."[14]

Jewish youth had also been neglected in that it was not given the proper motivation and opportunity to become the focal point of a new, indigenous, American Judaism. The immigrants were not yet willing to relinquish their inheritance to their sons

and daughters.[15] Rabbis continued to be drawn from Europe, thus helping to prevent the crystallization of a new form of American Judaism.[16] "As long as we have to preach and pray in a foreign tongue, that long can we not speak of or hope for an American Judaism. Our hope is the youth, and it has a right to be American."[17] Not until 1875 when, under the leadership of Isaac Mayer Wise, the Hebrew Union College opened its doors to the first class of future American rabbis, did the new generation of American Jews come into its own.

B. The Rabbis and America.

The collapse of the Revolution of 1848 coupled with the failure of Reform Judaism in Germany, seems to have been the prime mover which brought the "pioneer rabbis" to America.[18] Some of them had come of their own free will, while others felt as though guided "by the hand of God".[19] All looked upon the United States as their new Canaan,[20] upon the Bill of Rights as the modern counterpart to Cyrus' declaration freeing the Jews of Babylonia,[21] and upon their immigration

to the United States as the return of the Exiles.[22] Taking their cue from their predecessors in France the "pioneer rabbis" might have called America their Palestine, New York their Jerusalem, and the Hudson their Jordan.[22a]

Though their enthusiasm for the United States was obviously great, it is surprising to find that most of the rabbis consistently shied away from political and controversial issues, even on the many days proclaimed by the Presidents as national prayer days. "In general (the rabbis) were followers rather than leaders in political thought."[23] The slavery issue, for instance, was very rarely talked about in the pulpit until after it had already been decided. Even then, some of the rabbis continued to feel the need to apologize for the Bible which, as was obvious, permitted slavery. A distinction was made between the Mosaic law and the Mosaic teaching (Lehre). The law "permits an Israelite to be a slave for a period of six years - the teaching of Moses does not permit it one moment. It forbids

the forced return of an escaped slave into the custody of his original owner - and we, in America, know how far reaching such an ordinance is..." And yet, according to Mosaic law, a Jew is permitted to own non-Jewish slaves. This, however, only proves that while "the law may be an expression of the Mosaic teaching, the teaching is more profound and fundamental than the law".[24]

Actual references to examples of the American problem, as the above reference to the question of a slave owner's right to his escaped slave, are very rare. Implied references were more common. Samuel Adler, for instance, used the Joseph story as an example of rivalry between brothers. After all, brothers should not forget that they are all sons of one father, in whose image they have all been created. But then, without further applying the Joseph story, to the current problem of internal strife, Adler turns to a completely different subject.[25]

This non-committal attitude toward the war, and national issues in general, seems to have been an integral part of the total picture of the American Jewish scene. Not merely the majority of the German

preaching rabbis were gripped by this political apathy. Most of the English preaching rabbis, as well as nearly all German and English language Jewish periodicals, showed the same lack of concern for the important social issues of the day.[26]

The exceptions to the general attitude were David Einhorn and Bernhard Felsenthal. Of the two, Einhorn must be mentioned first, if for no other reason than the complete absence, in printed form, of Felsenthal's sermons on matters relating to social and national controversies.

Einhorn was not only a violent abolitionist, but also spoke vehemently against the worship of the modern golden calf - "the Almighty Dollar".[27] His many sermons which have been preserved for us in print show his acute awareness of contemporary events and their general implications. Einhorn's oratory spanned the whole gamut of American life. He had nothing but contempt for the corruptible government officials who remained at liberty to steal the public's money, while the poor, hungry, and destitute thief was sentenced to a long term in jail.[28] He attacked the

Know-Nothing Party which wanted to deprive the new immigrants of many of their rights;[29] he disagreed publicly with the Mormon interpretation of the Bible,[30] and confidently predicted that the Atlantic cable, which had been completed in 1866, would "undoubtedly (be) the greatest mediator of peace between the nations",[31] and the first step in the direction of a world brotherhood. Not only Einhorn's attitude toward Jewish matters, but also his militant stand on politics and social justice was motivated by universal ideals which rejected all tendencies toward national or group exclusiveness, and had their goal in the speedy establishment of a spiritual, social, and political brotherhood of nations and peoples.

However, the barbs of Einhorn's most vitriolic oratory were reserved for his chief antagonists - Slavery and Materialism. He considered both cardinal evils. Einhorn could not conceive, as did Morris J. Raphall early in 1861, that the Bible could "hallow the enslavement of any race".[32] Undoubtedly

the literal text of the Bible treats slavery as a proper social institution. Yet none of the great men in Israel ever took this institution seriously. They, indeed, had to tolerate it, while the "great truth" of human equality always remained close to their hearts. "Naturally, we may have to wait thousands of years for such great truths to become actual. Humanity advances only slowly but surely, and truth only grows gradually in man's mind... And so the greatest of prophets had to tolerate slavery for the time being, while he was implanting God's word in the minds of men... But the fundamental principal of the equality of all of God's children was always present."[33]

Yet, though the South was vigorously attacked, Einhorn did not consider it the only blameworthy party involved in the civil strife. Both the North and the South had committed the same moral crimes of respecting neither God nor man.[34]

This atmosphere of Godlessness preceeded the war and was, in the eyes of the rabbis, the direct cause of it. "The spirit of business, and the spirit

of greed have replaced the sense for the higher and divine. They have driven the spirit of God from our midst", with the result that the war had to come.[35] At the same time, however, the war between the states also had its positive aspects, in that it was looked upon by some of the preachers as a purgative which was to rid the country of evil, once and for all.[36]

Besides Einhorn, only Felsenthal is known to have expressed himself on the slavery question before it was decided by war. Not even Gutheim, whose sentiments were on the side of the Confederacy, mentioned the institution of slavery in his sermons.[37]

Other immediate and social issues of the day also seemed of little general importance to the rabbis, although we notice in a few sermons some concern about the implications of the anti-Semitic attitudes which were to be found among various segments of the American population.[38]

Nevertheless, all contrary indications notwithstanding, Judaism and the United States seemed to stand upon the same foundations, the belief "that all men are created equal" and in the image of God, and that all are endowed with the right to

"life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness", being as much Jewish as American doctrine.[39] Thus the future of Israel in America seemed secure and full of promise.

C. The Rabbis and their European Background.

The same freedom which America offered to the immigrants who had been disappointed by the course of events in Europe, also attracted the rabbis who found themselves stymied after the state reaction following the revolution of 1841.[40] "Impelled by force of circumstance, or the desire and thirst for freedom", the rabbis, along with the general immigration, had turned their backs "upon the dear home of (their) childhood and (had) embarked for a country where the rights of man were recognized, and where they could live unmolested, according to the dictates of their conscience".[41]

Nearly all the "pioneer rabbis" came to the United States as grown men with most of their formal education behind them. Some, like Bernhard Felsenthal,

Liebman Adler and James K. Gutheim, probably never seriously considered the rabbinate as a calling until after they had settled in America. Many of them, however, had occupied pulpits in various parts of Europe before they set out on their journey across the ocean.[42] Thus, in general, "their training and practical experience... predisposed (the rabbis) to the use of the German language" as their medium of expression.[43] And, of course, upon their arrival they had a large potential following in the German Jewish population of America.

It is a curious fact that, judging by the sermons under discussion, the rabbis made few direct references to Germany or Europe. Occasionally they would refer to the restrictions placed upon German Jewry by the German governments in order to heighten, in a homiletical manner, the beauty of the new American freedom.[44] Or, in another vein, they might point to the weakness of a divided Germany over against the strength of a United States.[45] An interesting comment upon the German Jewish scene was made by Samuel Hirsch who cautioned his listeners not to be infected by the"imitation-mania"

of their German brethren, who were avoiding the Synagogues because the Christian population was staying away from the Churches.[46]

Only David Einhorn was in any way more deeply concerned with Germany and German culture. As a reform Jew he could never forget his debt to Germany. "Is not the German spirit the bearer of Reform Judaism? And, because of this, has not our congregation (Adath Israel, N.Y.) made use of the German language in ritual and school?"[47] "I cannot forget that the old homeland is the land of thinkers and, at the present time, the most cultured country in the world."[48] "Culture" is, in fact, Germany's heritage to the world and, "wherever her children may settle," there German culture spreads its benificent influence.[49] Germany's culture "has been carried farther and farther to other countries and across the seas. Remove the German sp'rit or - what amounts to the same thing - the German language, and you will have removed the ground beneath human culture." To deprive the Synagogue of the German language is treason to Judaism. While Einhorn admits the importance of the English sermon for

the sake of the new American generation of Jews,[50] "the object of preaching in English can be nothing more than to make use of the treasures of the German spirit and of German literature for the enhancement and enrichment of religious life. In short: where the German language is banned, there Reform of Judaism is nothing more than a glittering veneer."[51]

At the same time, however, Einhorn was not unaware of conditions in Germany as far as the Jews were concerned. In Germany, however, we must expect improvement to be slow. After all, slow progress is an integral part of German thoroughness, since "she draws her wisdom from deeper wellsprings". (Weil sie aus groesserer Tiefe schoepft.)[52]

A more critical view, taking the conditions of American Jewry into account, was voiced by Gustav Gottheil, who warned of the dilemma that would face the American community once the supply of German rabbis would be cut off. "We can only be saved if we immediately and energetically undertake the founding of our own institute of learning."[53] Thus, as

the English speaking children of the German immigrants began to move into their parent's Temple pews, the work of Isaac Mayer Wise, aiming at the establishment of such an institution of higher Jewish learning and scholarship became more and more important. It soon became detrimental to Reform to hire "a stranger (from Germany)... who would long for his homeland to the end of his days" and would never be able to preach a dignified sermon in the English language.[54]

It is undoubtedly true that many, if not most of the German rabbis never mastered the English language adequately enough for use in the pulpit. But then, most of our early rabbis had come to the United States at an age when they were already fairly set in their ways. Leeser, Wise, Gutheim and Kohler who immigrated as relatively young men and immediately began to preach in English, are the exceptions. As a rule, after the thorough and often extensive education which they received at German seminaries and universities, America of the mid-1800's did not have much to offer to the pioneer rabbis in terms of

culture and intellectual stimulation. And since they had a ready made German speaking audience waiting for them, we cannot blame them too much for having taken what appears to be a course of least resistance. This might explain, in part, the apparent chauvinism of a man like Einhorn, although his attitude never excluded a great fondness of the United States. In fact, none of the rabbis harbored great longings for their former homeland and, certainly, they looked upon their new home as a refuge from oppression and a haven of freedom.[55]

Chapter 4

The Reform of Judaism.

There were many reasons why the America of the mid eighteen-hundreds was fertile ground for religious innovation. An interfering government, a hostile locally, and sometimes nationally organized Jewish community which prevented the spread of Reform in Germany, presented no obstacles in the United States. And so, the Reformer saw in America a place of unlimited possibilities for the fulfillment of his aspirations. Although at times, as in the case of I.M. Wise, a congregation would fight innovation;[1] more generally it would offer little or no resistance once a Reform incursion had been made into its midst.

The temper of the American people, which, at the time, was open and receptive to change, also helped in the establishment of Reform Judaism in the United States. Conservatism in general was frowned upon. The pioneer spirit had little use for convention or

religious niceties. The practical man, the one who could quickly adapt himself to new surroundings was the successful man. Flexibility, in fact, had become a necessary characteristic of the pioneer who went out to develop the unknown resources and possibilities of the land. And so, religion, like thought in general, had to make way for the spirit of the time. The practical man, who had of necessity learned to become accustomed to changes, welcomed a form of Judaism which would fit into the patterns of his daily life. A Judaism which was flexible suited his needs and his temperament. He did not know Hebrew, and therefore welcomed the introduction of English into the liturgy. He was pleased that Reform did not consider working on the Sabbath a mortal sin, so that he could keep up in the hard competition with his non-Jewish neighbours.

It is against this background that we must understand the development of Reform Judaism in America both in its practical and theological aspects. The sermons of our early rabbis afford us an excellent picture of how they dealt with these questions of Jewish living and thinking.

A. The Foundations of Judaism.

As was the case in Germany, Reform Judaism in America was originally a lay movement, concerned not so much with aspects of theology as with the establishment and maintenance of a dignified, decorous divine service. We are not surprised, then, to find among the earliest known expressions of Reform in America proposals made by laymen aimed at the improvement of the Synagogue service. The Charleston Reform Movement, falling outside of the purview of this paper, needs no further elaboration here.[2] Of interest to us is the sermon delivered in 1846 by James K. Gutheim at the cornerstone laying ceremony of Temple B'nai Yeshurun in Cincinnati. Gutheim urged his listeners to see to it that the congregation "arrange and celebrate its divine service in a manner worthy of its outward form - the sanctuary."[3] Even more important for our purposes, is the Chanukah sermon delivered at about the same time in New Haven, Connecticut, by Leopold Waterman, the uncle of the late Mrs. Stephen S. Wise. While appealing for greater decorum and attendance at services, Waterman suggested

some minor reforms which, however, he understood only in the sense of a transformation of the external forms of religious ceremonies. "The nature of religion, however, remains inviolable and eternal, and frail human reason trembles before its might."[4] Waterman here anticipated the problem of the dual nature of the foundation of Judaism which nine years later found its most ardent American advocate in David Einhorn.

Einhorn lost no time in making his views on this matter known once he set foot on American soil. In fact, his first sermon delivered at the Har-Sinai Congregation in Baltimore, on a memorable 22nd of September in 1855, contains the following declaration of belief. "Like man himself, the child of God, the divine law has a perishable body and an imperishable spirit. The body is intended to be the servant of the spirit, and must disappear as soon as bereft of the latter. This spirit is the doctrinal and moral law of Scripture, whose fundamental principles the Ten Commandments set forth exclusively... The Decalogue is the essence of the covenant

between God and man, and is therefore binding for all times, places, and peoples, and was destined to become from the very beginning the common possession of mankind through Israel... All other divine ordinances, on the other hand, are only signs of the covenant - guards and protections of the eternal universal law.... These from their very nature, cannot remain always and everywhere the same, nor acquire the force of eternal or general obligation. Not that man will ever be able to dispense altogether with visible signs, but the expression and form of these must necessarily change with different stages of culture, national customs, industrial, social, and civil conditions, in short with the general demands of the inner and outer life."[5] Nothing could better illustrate the duality of the foundation of Judaism as conceived of by the early Reform rabbis. Though Einhorn's views were the most extreme, they also show the general tendencies most clearly. The first of the two pillars on which Judaism rests is the immutable "rock of Sinai".[6] The other is made up of the needs and demands of the

present generation. The man of today being more highly developed than his forefather who stood at Sinai, mirrors the spirit of God more perfectly.[7] Certainly, then, nobody is in a better position to interpret the word of God correctly than the man of the present.

The division of authority in Judaism between the past and the present directly gives rise to its corollary, namely, that the moral law embodied in the Ten Commandments forms the universal essence or body of Judaism, while the ceremonial law constitutes its form or the clothes which cover and protect it. "Religion must change her dress according to the times and the climate... (and) according to the dictates of advanced science, enlightened insight, more cultured taste, broadening conditions of life - in short according to the needs of the world today."[8] Changes in the ceremonial law thus became a necessary concomitant of Reform.

The differentiation between the form and essence of Judaism is most important to the understanding of Reform theology as seen by the early German preachers.[9]

Orthodox Judaism had always considered every "yot and tittle" of essential Jewish value. At the bottom of orthodoxy lies the belief in the divine origin and immutability of the word of the Torah. This belief, of course, could not be maintained by the reformers. While they did hold that everything written down in the Bible was of divine origin,[10] they saw no difficulties in denying its immutability. At the time of Sinai God could do nothing but dress His eternal truths in the ceremonial forms He chose, since otherwise the primitive Israelites would not have understood their eternal mission. Since then, however, our conceptions of these truths have become "clearer and purer not because we have overshadowed the words of Moses, but because we have gained a much deeper understanding of them". Having gained this deeper understanding, man is also in a position to judge which parts of the Bible are essential and eternal, and which are merely a "deadening mass" of ceremony.[12]

What, then, becomes of Torah as originally conceived? Once more we are directed back to a variant of the dichotomy between the essence and form

of Judaism. Torah is not a law. It is a teaching (Lehre). "The law is the application and assertion of the basic principles of the teachings under certain temporal conditions. But it is not the teaching itself."[13] In other words, the character of the law depends upon the character of the eternal principles which underly it. "The reasons for the law, the aim of the giving of the law is instruction (Belehrung). The law as such demands and is satisfied with externals. It does not ask whether the commandments have a spiritual hold on us or not... nor whether the fulfillment of the law should be close to our own lips and hearts, or far removed from us in times long past."[14] Furthermore, to obey the law is relatively easy. However, to live up to the teachings implies much greater demands upon man. Law in itself is amoral. The demands of the teachings on the other hand, are moral demands. They necessitate thought on the part of individual man. "Judaism as teaching makes us free of the law but binds us the more closely to the moral law; it does away with semblance and

and demands the truth; it despises thoughtless belief and action and demands consciousness, conviction, and inwardness. It demands that we dig to the rockbottom of our disposition and of our spirit."[15]

What is important in Torah is the spirit of the letter and not the letter itself. "Of what consequence is it for our religious thinking and doing whether Moses wrote the books named after him or not?... However great the number of contradictions, interpretations and omissions which may yet be pointed out by Biblical critics, even if they brought us to the conclusion that Moses... (is a mythical personage) who never existed in reality, it would not trouble us."[16]

The truths which are contained in the Torah stand in no direct relationship to the written word. They are the "golden kernel" for which the Torah is a "silver bowl".[17] Nor are these truths limited to Israel alone. They are the common possession of mankind.[18] But just as God chose the Greek genius to be the messengers of the arts, so He chose Israel

to be the promulgator of His eternal truths. But the arts neither are exclusively Greek, nor is the moral law of the Torah exclusively Jewish.[19] Only in this sense are we to understand the concept of chosenness. It is Israel's duty to make God's moral law known to all mankind. Having achieved this, Israel will have brought on the Messianic age, "when walls and barriers separating man from man and brother from brother, will again be overthrown".[20] Thus Israel is the divine instrument by means of which the world is to be redeemed.[21]

Israel's mission and the Messianic age are inseparable. Einhorn celebrated the Ninth of Ab as the birthday of the Messiah, since on that day of dispersion Israel stood "at the beginning of its messianic world redeeming task".[22] In this task Israel is also said to be aided by Christianity and Mohammedanism which, as popular, world-spreading outgrowths of Judaism, are preparing the world for the final acceptance of God's eternal moral truths.[23]

The gap between the "rock of Sinai" and the fulfillment of Israel's mission must be bridged by the continued efforts of succeeding generations.

Since God reveals Himself to each generation in the cultural development of its day, and since each generation, therefore, experiences divine revelation in the context of its time, it follows that Judaism must be conceived of as being capable of unlimited development. "It must constantly adapt itself in its outward form to time and circumstance."[25]

To bring about this adaption to the times, each generation must be endowed with the authority to change and re-evaluate the customs, ceremonies and beliefs of Judaism. This issue is crucial to Reform. If the present generation has no say in the shaping of Judaism, certainly the basis for all innovation has been removed. Most of the German rabbis agreed that, since revelation was a continuous process, not limited to any time or place,[26] the present generation of Jews, interpreting revelation in the context of its own experiences, was, indeed, endowed with the authority to make changes in the form of Judaism.

Though the early Reform rabbis concurred with this idea in principle, in practice their agreement was by no means absolute. Many of them saw the great danger to which this view would, and indeed did lead. For unless there is a recognized and properly constituted body to authorize changes, change itself becomes an arbitrary matter.[27] On the one hand, then, the rabbis preached and taught on the basis of an authority which they believed belonged to the present, while on the other hand they had to contend with congregations who took this authority too literally, and found in it a way to make Judaism fit conveniently into the schedule of practical life. And so it came about that practical Judaism tended to become the exclusive domain of the Temple. The Synagogue service became the "center of gravity of religious life".[28] The Temple was considered the bridge between the past and the future.[29] On this basis, however, Judaism soon became externalized. "Devotion is as good as extinguished in our Synagogues. They have become

more beautiful and splendorous. Even the religious service has acquired a shining shell. Silence and decorum, singing and organ music have become the order of the day.[30] Everything has become more cut to size, but the material has become thinner and lacks genuineness. The Jewish congregations do not know how to pray anymore."[31]

Against this tendency the rabbis spoke in no uncertain terms. "Under no circumstances", we hear them say, "is it the intention of Reform merely to tear down the old structure of Judaism and replace it with a new, beautiful but foundationless one. There is more to Reform than to put certain old usages behind you. The observance of the Sabbath (for instance) is one proof of the reformers serious intentions. The other proof is that he must become a better Jew, in short, a better human being. Not he who prays out of the new prayerbook is a reformer, nor he who advocates a change in ritual; but he who reforms his life according to the spirit of the Temple cult."[32]

Yet their efforts seemed to have been of little avail. As late as 1879, which is the last year of this study, we hear I.S. Moses of Milwaukee, while

advocating religious progress, missing "the fruit and consequences of our efforts which we were justified to postulate. Along with superstitious fears, the true fear of God and the Holy has also diminished. With the overthrow of authoritative belief we have also done away with all certainty and hold. We have thrown open the gates to arbitrariness and presumption, have set up our own infallibility as a basic premise, if we can speak of such, and have lost all reverance for great memories... and historical thoughts. One has become accustomed to consider religion as a superseded point of view... and a medicine for the feeble minded."[33]

Most of the early Reform rabbis, it seems, were committed to their cause to a point where they found it difficult if not impossible to do anything about the problems which faced their congregations. And as long as many believed that Judaism was the only religious belief which did not contradict the doctrines of modern science, but was in line with "reason, knowledge, and understanding," we can appreciate the weight of the practical obstacles which

stood in their way.[34] Gustav Gottheil was the first to object against this tendency of his contemporaries to court science at the expense of Judaism. "Either Judaism is something definite and unique, something true in itself... or it is not definable or recognizable... in which case let us put down our prayer-books and let us give up our religious schools."[35]

And it seems indeed true, that in these early days of Reform, Judaism was nothing "definite". Opinions varied between the radical Einhorn and the conservative Szold,[36] while the bewildered congregants were caught not only between the grindstones of Orthodoxy and Reform, but also between the various Reform rabbis who were contesting with one another.

B. Ritual and Ceremony.

It is probably true that due to the lack of properly trained Chasanim or teachers, the services in the early American Synagogues were anything but dignified when measured against the standards of decorum which the German rabbis brought with them. Though the early American Synagogue service was still conducted in Hebrew, that language had, for all intents

and purposes died out, and people objected to the fact that they had to "pray in a language which (they did) not understand, at a length which (was) tiring, and in a manner which (was) revolting".[37] Thus, in the eyes of the rabbis, the form which Judaism had taken on, belied the beauty and truth of those principles of which it was meant to be an expression. The whole structure of Judaism at this time, it would seem, came to be judged by its outward appearance. The general objections were that the old forms had become "too narrow" for the religious needs of the present,[38] and that the "eternal and essential in our religion (lay) buried beneath a dead weight of ceremonies which (had) lost all their meaning".[39]

And so it became the avowed purpose of the reformer to lift this ceremonial millstone from around the neck of Judaism and "to bring new life into religion and new religion intc life".[40]

The process by which this rejuvenation of Jewish religion was to be achieved was the point of greatest divergence amongst the early reform rabbis.

While the radical Einhorn could say that man's sensuousness would revolt against the complete removal of religious signs and symbols,[41] he was at the same time looking forward to the day when religious belief would stand up by itself without needing the help of external symbols.[42] According to this view ceremony was looked upon as somewhat of a necessary evil for which man's nature, rather than the nature of religion, was to be blamed. The conservative Benjamin Szold, on the other hand thought that the true approach to the problem lay somewhere between the views of Reform and Orthodoxy.[43] "All the means given us by time which will elevate and enhance the service must be utilized... as long as the old spirit is not pushed into the background".[44]

Between the views of Einhorn and Szold nearly every German preaching rabbi constituted a degree of his own. Samuel Adler considered Kriath ha-Torah, Kedushah, Kiddush, Tefillah, and Kriath Sch'ma the essential part of the service reaching back into the past while the new English prayers were the guides leading to the future.[45] Bien, again, advocated

that the whole service be shortened and recited in English, except for the Sh'ma and the Shemonah Esreh.[46] The actual degree of confusion with regard to ceremony and ritual can be gauged by the fact that during this time of the reform movement's initial growth and consolidation, nearly every prominent rabbi ~~printed~~ published his own prayerbooks.[47] In some congregations the Torah cycle was spread over 3 years, in others over the customary one year. Similar changes in the Haftarot seem to have been contemplated, too.[48] At least one rabbi expressed the hope that the decrease in the length of the weekly portions would be accompanied by an increase in congregational reverence.[49]

Yet with all the changes and innovations which they advocated, the German rabbis were not unaware of the justness of some of the criticism that was being leveled against the Reform. The changes which the rabbis introduced were certainly motivated by ideas and ideals the validity of which they felt they could justify. But to change for the sake of change, or out of opposition to the "old" and adoration of the "new" - which were the motivations of many

congregants - was doing the right thing for the wrong reason. "We do not desire to create our own ceremonial cult, nor a Judaism that longs for good taste... but a Judaism that has its roots in Sinai."[50]

The whole problem was summed up by Moses Mielziner. "You have made "the new" and "the better" the basis of your struggle. You say, "We want improvements warranted by time, enhancement and embellishment of the beauty of our service, so that we can gain the satisfaction, which the old could not give us." O love the truth! Do you really desire the "new" because it is better and up to date? Or is it not a craving for the new which feeds on innovation and change, a craving for the new merely because it is new? Or maybe you are motivated by a desire to imitate others because they have something that you don't have? Do you really desire a Temple service for your own spiritual growth? Or will the new, too, leave you cold and indifferent as soon as the novelty of its newness has worn off?"[51]

It is possible that this state of affairs implied by Mielziner, was at least partially due to the fact that the men who were leading the Reform lacked a program of innovation for their congregants to follow. Most of the German rabbis talked much about the tarnish, dust, and mud of ancient, meaningless ceremony which was obstructing the real beauty of Judaism. But not once in the available sermons do we find one of the more radical men telling his listeners how they are to go about removing this "useless dust", or even how they are not to go about it.

The closest we come to what might be termed a practical approach to reform, may be found in some of the sermons of the two moderates - Szold and Mielziner. They recognized that history and constant usage had imbued the traditional ritual with a touch of the holy, and that therefore one could not just change the service according to one's whim or fancy.[52] Yet, while on the one hand the Jew should obey the laws of the Torah, on the other he should not hesitate to follow those new ways which time had revealed

to his spirit.[53] Thus, by keeping ourselves open to the old as well as to the new, our prayers and our services would contain only that which is consistent with truth and which "answers to the real wishes and needs of our hearts".[54] And the right way to achieve this end would be "through a gradual, thoughtful improvement of the service".[55]

Although several attempts were made to find a common basis for the reform of the ritual,[56] not until the founding of the CCAR in 1885 were the first concrete steps in that direction taken. Until that time the character of the reform Temple service remained largely in the hands of the individual rabbi.

Chapter 5

The Sermon.

Since "as Judaism, Judaism (appeared) only within the Synagogue, within the Temple",[1] it was natural that the sermon, as an integral part of the Synagogue service, should take on special importance. In fact, the sermon seemed to have become part of the essence of Judaism, and its role corresponded in many ways to the role of the Synagogue itself. The Temple was considered the bridge between the past and the future;[2] and, similarly, it became the "duty" of the sermon "to lift the pearls of thought out of the deep shaft of the past", revealing "the proud spiritual tower which Israel is continuing to build... toward the recognition of its world embracing mission".[3] Since the Synagogue service was looked upon as the center of contemporary Jewish life[4] it was the "preacher's duty... to throw light on God's revelation in our time".[5]

As most of the Reform rabbis combined within themselves a knowledge of tradition and Biblical and Talmudic lore with an admiration for the spirit of modern enlightenment, they understood how to use an old homily or story to illustrate a point which appealed to their enlightened listeners. We find, therefore, that even the most radical arguments in favor of Reform or against Orthodoxy, were couched in the language and symbolism of tradition. "This was a new feature in the homiletic literature, especially in the East, where there were yet men who appreciated the sagacious interpretation of a Midrash or an ingenuous application of a rabbinical maxim or story, framed in a rationalistic discourse of reformatory character, or applied philosophically."[6]

The majority of sermons followed the midrashic tradition of discussing and exposing a given Biblical passage, generally taken from the week's Torah reading.[7] Just as Torah was looked upon as teaching (Lehre);[8] so the sermon, based upon Torah was looked upon as an instrument of teaching (Belehrung) and

revelation. "Essentially the aim of the sermon was to bring up the teachings (Lehren) out of the dark depths of Jewish antiquity, and to immerse them in the profound spirit of Mosaic symbolism."[9] This "symbolism" and the "old Biblical material" were made into an "attractive shroud" which was to give the sermon greater appeal. Underneath the "shroud" however, lay a valuable "core" which the preacher had to expose and reveal to his listeners.[10] Since the people were thirsting and longing for instruction[11] it was the preacher's duty "to explain the wonderous writings of God," in terms applicable and meaningful to the times.[12] The core of the sermon, then, was always to be timely, bearing upon one of the burning religious issues of the day.[13]

Of course, not every rabbi was able to live up to these homiletic standards. In general these were the aims toward which David Einhorn directed himself; and Einhorn was also the most constant critic of his colleagues. Too often, he complained, a sermon consisted "of a bouquet of flowers rather than thirst quenching waters". Too often, they blinded

the eyes with "sparkling foam" of "artful oratory" instead of opening them to new truths,[14] awakening the heart and the spirit "for the glorious mission of Israel".[15]

Structurally speaking, the German sermon seems to have been under the influence of the popular dialectic. The strict three-part structure seems to have been particularly popular. A sermon constructed after this pattern, would begin with a general exposition of the main theme. In the course of the exposition the three parts were generally stated together in the order in which they were then to be taken up individually in the frequently lengthy body of the sermon itself. The parts were generally related, forming an order of ascending importance. "The state, the family, and God",[16] "truth, justice, and peace",[17] "belief, trust, and truth",[18] are examples of this pattern dealing with more abstract themes. A different and more analytic approach to the same structure is illustrated by the following: "We dedicate a house of God; we dedicate an Israelitish house of God; we dedicate an American, Israelitish

house of God."[19] Or: "What may we call our spiritual and moral property? How much have we gained, either through our own efforts or through changing times? And what have we lost through our own fault?"[20]

Though the three-part pattern was frequently employed we also find many deviations from it. Henry Hochheimer, for instance, was particularly fond of a simpler two-part construction,[21] while it was not uncommon for a preacher to seize upon a series of two or more Biblical passages so as to relate and discuss them in order.[22] Sometimes the parts of a religious symbol or religious act were given special meaning. Thus Kaufmann Kohler recognized in the four cups of wine which are traditional on the Seder night, four corresponding cups of redemption, drunk by Abraham, Israel, Moses Mendelsohn, and all humanity.[23] Similarly Mielziner turned the myrtle and willow into young and old congregants, the Lulav into a Board of Trustees, and the Esrog into a rabbi.[24]

The one thing common to sermons constructed according to the various patterns outlined above is their internal orderliness. This had at least one

considerable drawback. While it lent itself to high toned and often philosophic treatment of a topic, it somewhat curtailed the imagination of the speaker who found himself bound by strict limits of homiletic development. Among the early rabbis only David Einhorn was generally successful in avoiding the rigid patterns employed by most of his contemporaries, an achievement which, no doubt, contributed to his power as a preacher.

We have had occasion to note that most of our rabbis strove to avoid controversy in the pulpit. This seems to have been in line with the ideal of making the Synagogue the heart and center of Judaism, and of having the sermon be of a spiritually enlightening nature. These attitudes are clearly reflected in the sermons themselves. Outside of Einhorn, who introduced the polemic into the American Jewish pulpit, and Kohler, who preached more scholarly and problematic sermons, most of the rabbis took a very moralistic approach to their work. The rabbis considered their words "mirrors" in which everyone could see a more or less accurate image of himself,[25] and they appealed to their audiences' "open and ready hearts" to accept the message which they brought.[26]

Chapter 6

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the Reform movement in America received its initial impetus through the efforts of the "pioneer rabbis". Being products of German enlightenment, they were also men of great religious enthusiasm and high ideals, who carried their message to the Jewish community in elevated and lofty tones. They advocated a pure, spiritual Judaism in place of the prevailing Orthodoxy which, to their minds, was all form without spirit, materialistic instead of universalistic. The Reform rabbis saw Judaism as "an outward means toward the realization of a universal religion"[1] and they therefore repudiated anything that might stand between Judaism and the world. They steered clear of all exclusiveness and couched their prayers and their sermons in an all embracing universalism. This meant that specifically Jewish customs and practices had to be de-emphasized. The good Jew did not have to observe the old and empty

rituals and ceremonies of the Orthodox, nor did he have to recite the traditional prayers. The good Jew was the good individual, the individual who could be considered righteous anywhere in the world. Thus it became the purpose of the early reformers to elevate the spirit of Judaism by emphasizing more and more the universal element in Judaism.

Towards this end the rabbis had to make a clear distinction between the form and spirit of Judaism. The one may be called Judaism under the influence of man's cultural development and therefore changeable in adjustment to prevailing social needs and conditions. The other was Judaism as the representative of all universal verities, and therefore unchangeable and eternal. The spirit of Judaism being lofty and idealistic, its form had to be of such a nature as not to detract from the idealism at its spiritual content. Orthodoxy, the "pioneer rabbis" felt, had buried the Jewish spirit beneath an ugly crust of outmoded usages. Reform Judaism was going to scrape off these ancient usages, which had lost all their meaning to an enlightened age, and reveal the Jewish spirit to the

whole world in a form befitting its loftiness. The body which housed this ideally conceived spirit of Judaism was not Israel, nor so much the individual Jew, as it was the Temple with its divine worship, which alone was capable of giving adequate expression to the Jewish spirit.

This attitude brought about a radical change in the scale of Jewish values. If Judaism was to be found in its purest form only within the framework of the Temple or Synagogue service, then the service itself had to live up to the loftiness of the Jewish spirit. And so, almost inevitably, we find parallel to the development of Reform in Europe, a new emphasis on decorum and demeanor in the Synagogue. The outward appearance and form of Judaism rose to previously unheard of importance. The beauty of the service, as it appealed to the congregants' eyes and ears, was to help and abet the appeal of ethical Judaism to the heart and the spirit of the Jewish worshipper.[2] To the early Reform rabbis the appeal of Judaism seems to have been, to a marked degree, an esthetic appeal.

As we might expect, the sermons of the German preaching rabbis clearly mirror these developments of Reform Judaism in the United States. The form of the sermons seems to have been very important, and their content was predominantly "spiritual" - that is, moralistic. Few and far between were the men who ventured to speak on controversial subjects. The authority of the rabbi, as the authority of Judaism itself, seems to have been purely moral. This emphasis on the moral authority of Judaism must have appealed to many congregants. The distinction between the amoral Jewish Law (Gesetz) and the moral Jewish Teaching (Lehre) - paralleling the distinction that was drawn between the form and spirit of Judaism - the changeability of the one and the immutability of the other, and the superiority of the latter over the former, must have been welcomed by the many people who found the practical demands of Orthodox Judaism not only unintelligible, but also too difficult to live up to in an age where competition in every field of endeavor demanded everyone's attention for at least

six days a week. Reform Judaism offered the American Jew the opportunity to be Jewish, without having his Judaism interfere with the just demands of the time.

This, however, did not mean that the Reform rabbis catered to the practical needs of the people. Reform had based its claims for change upon the authority of the present, upon the authority of a God Who reveals His truths to every generation in a context it can understand. And the context of the time demanded, in the eyes of the rabbis, certain changes which would bring Judaism back to life in the America of the mid-1800's. America was in a state of social, economic, as well as political flux, and so Reform Judaism, too, had to show flexibility if it was to stay alive in a changing environment. That some changes should work for the convenience of people, and that some people were attracted to Reform Judaism because of these conveniences, was inevitable. But it was never the conscious aim of the reformer to build a Judaism of convenience.

This development of early Reform Judaism at the time under discussion could not have taken place anywhere but in the United States. Germany, as Europe

in general, as history has born out, was both by temperament and political climate completely unsuited for such a free growth and development of religious thought. America, the home of the pioneers - with its strict separation of church and state and its insistence on individual free choice - was the ideal soil for Reform. The conservative "Orthodox opposition" in America could not induce an equally conservative government to restrict the activities of Reform Judaism. Conservatism in general was frowned upon in the United States, and new ideas and inventions were greatly in demand. Furthermore, the same religious reaction which brought the "pioneer rabbis" to America kept the moderate and Orthodox Jewish leaders in Europe, with the result that the Reform rabbis had a free hand in building their own movement away from any organized religious or governmental interference.

An examination of the sermons, statements and attitudes of the German preaching rabbis who came to the United States between 1840 and 1879 has led me to

the conclusion that the development of Reform Judaism as it is recorded in history is a predominantly, if not a wholely American development, forming a logical part of the growth and history of this country. Though the early Reform rabbis were German, and preached in German to German-speaking and German-educated congregations, it was the fact that they were living at <u>that</u> time in America that made the growth and initial success of Reform Judaism possible.

NOTES
and
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Abbreviations used:

Deb. - Die Deborah.

Einh. - Dr. David Einhorn's Ausgewaehlte Predigten und Reden, Herausgegeben von Dr. K. Kohler, (New York, 1880).

Jew. Ti. - The Jewish Times.

Lincoln. - Abraham Lincoln - The Tribute of the Synagogue, (ed. J.H. Hertz), (New York, 1927)

Studies and Addresses - Studies and Addresses and Personal Papers, (of Kaufmann Kohler), (New York, 1931).

Notes on Chapter 1

1) The scope of this paper is limited on the one hand by the arrival of Leo Merzbacher (ca. 1842), and on the other by the death of the last of the consistently German preaching rabbis, David Einhorn (1879).

2) Nevins and Commanger, America - The Story of a Free People, p. 191.

3) Bertram W. Korn, American Jewry and the Civil War, (Philadelphia, 1951), p. 1.
"Exact statistics are unavailable, but we cannot be far away from the mark in estimating that at least two thirds of the approximately 150,000 American Jews were immigrants."

4) Uriah Engelman, "Jewish Statistics in the U.S. Census of Religious Bodies (1850 - 1936)," Jewish Social Studies, IX, (1947), 131.

5) A few discourses delivered by chasanim of the day have been preserved for us. See: James K. Gutheim, Rede, Gehalten bei der Grundsteinlegung der Synagoge der Gemeinde B'nai Yeshurun, (Cincinnati, 1846); Guido Kisch, "Two American Jewish Pioneers of New Haven," Historia Judaica, IV, (1942), 16 - 37.

6) Bertram W. Korn, op. cit., p.3. "Generally they selected one specific aspect of need and concentrated upon it : fuel, clothing, loans, assistance to widows and orphans, burial, visitation of the sick ... Matzot for Passover for the poor."

7) Morris U. Schappes, Documentary History of the Jews in the United States (1654 - 1875), (New York, 1950), p. 342 ff.

8) Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, (New York, 1930), Vol. II, p.145.

9) Leo L. Honor, "Jewish Education in the United States," The Jewish People Past and Present, (New York, 1946), Vol. II, p. 153.

10) Hyman B. Grinstein, The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York (1654 - 1860), (Philadelphia, 1945), p.232.

11) Hyman B. Grinstein, op. cit., p. 238.

Notes on Chapter 2

1) A Dr. Nordheimer preceded Merzbacher, but was never active in the rabbinate.
Note: The date in brackets indicates years of arrival in the United States.

2) For information on Merzbacher see Hyman Enelow's file at the library of Temple Emanuel, New York.

3) Max Heller, "James K. Gutheim," Yearbook of the C.C.A.R., XXVII, (1917), 365 - 367.

4) Isaac M. Wise's Introduction to Sermons by American Rabbis, (Chicago, 1896), p. xii.

5) ad. loc. ? loc. cit. ?

6) On Lilienthal see: David Philipson, "Max Lilienthal," Yearbook of the C.C.A.R., XXV, (1915), pp. 191-220; "In Memoriam - A Tribute to the Memory of Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal on the 10th Anniversary of his Death, (Cincinnati, 1892).
On Isaac Mayer Wise: In addition to the standard works on Wise by Louis Grossman and David Philipson, see the indexes of the yearbooks of the C.C.A.R.

7) Emma Felsenthal, Bernhard Felsenthal: Teacher in Israel, Selections from his Writings with a Biographical Sketch and Bibliography by his Daughter, (New York, 1924).

8) Samuel Hirsch, Rev. Dr. David Einhorn - Gedaechtniss Rede Gehalten vor seinem Sarge in der Synagoge der Beth-El Gemeinde, New York, am 6ten November, 1879, (Philadelphia, 1879).

9) Bernhard Felsenthal, Liebman Adler - Eine Gedenkrede gehalten am 14 Februar 1892 im Tempel der K.A.M. in Chicago, (Sonderdruck aus The Reform Advocate vom 5 Maerz 1892); Emil G. Hirsch, A Tribute to Liebman Adler, (Chicago, 1892).

10) L. Mayer, "Eulogy on the late Dr. Samuel Adler," Yearbook of the C.C.A.R., II, (1892), pp. 27 - 32; Joseph Silverman, "Samuel Adler, - Tribute pronounced

at the Celebration of the Centenary of his Birth," Yearbook of the C.C.A.R., XIX, (1909), pp.415-423.

11) Ella Mc. F. Mielziner, Moses Mielziner, A Biography with a Bibliography of his Writings, (New York, 1931).

12) Rev. Dr. Adolph Huebsch - Late Rabbi of Ahawath Chesed Congregation, New York - A Memorial, (New York, 1885).

13) David Philipson and Louis Grossman, Selected Writings of Isaac Mayer Wise with a Biography by the Editors, (Cincinnati, 1900), p. 61.

14) Maurice Lefkovitz, "Samuel Hirsch," Yearbook of the C.C.A.R., XXV, (1915), pp. 174 - 190.

15) Richard Gottheil, The Life of Gustav Gottheil * Memoir of a Priest in Israel, (Milliamsport, Pa., 1936).

16) Kaufmann Kohler, Personal Reminiscences of My Early Life, (Cincinnati, 1918); see also the indexes of the yearbook of the C.C.A.R.; David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism, (New York, 1907), contains some information on Kohler as well as on the important rabbis mentioned in this chapter.

Notes on Chapter 3

1) Dr. David Einhorn's Ausgewaehlte Predigten und Reden, Herausgegeben von Dr. K. Kohler, (New York, 1880), pp. 202 - 203.

2) Samuel Adler, "Predigt Skizze, aus einem Vortrag gehalten am 2 Mai 1857," Sinai, II, (1857), 558.

3) Einh., p. 37.

4) Emma Felsenthal, Bernhard Felsenthal: Teacher in Israel; Selections from his Writings with a Biographical Sketch and a Bibliography by his Daughter, (New York, 1924), p. 131.

5) Einh., p. 39.

6) Einh., p. 108.

7) David Einhorn, Predigt zum Besten der Sanitary Fair, Gehalten im Tempel der Gemeinde Knesseth Israel, am 19 Maerz 1864,(Philadelphia, 1864), p. 10.

8) Samuel Hirsch, Predigt Gehalten am Sh'mini Atzeret, (Philadelphia, 1867), p.17; Milton Bien, Predigt gehalten am ersten Neujahrstage in der Gemeinde Emanu-El, San Francisco,(San Francisco, 1857), p.3; Moses Mielziner, Zeugnisse und Hoffnungen - Predigt gehalten zur Wiederoeffnungs-Feier des renovierten Gotteshauses der Gemeinde Anshi Chesed, am 22 Mai 1868, (New York, 1872), p.5.

9) Samuel Hirsch, op. cit., p.17.

10) Henry Hochheimer, Rede am 30. April, als an dem von dem Praesidenten der Vereinigten Staaten angeordneten Buss- und Bettage, abgehalten im Gotteshause der Oheb-Israel-Gemeinde zu Baltimore,(Baltimore, 1863), p.6.

11) Henry Hochheimer, "Aus Einer Lech L'cho Predigt," Jew. Ti., VII, (1875), 603.

12) Henry Hochheimer, Israel der Wandernde Prophet, (Baltimore, 1865); Einh., p.223 ff.

13) Einh., p.67 f.

14) Richard Gottheil, The Life of Gustav Gottheil - Memoir of a Priest in Israel, (Williamsport, Pa., 1936), p.376.

15) Bernhard Felsenthal, Schofarklaenge: Vortrag Gehalten am Rosch Haschanah,(Chicago, 1860), p.19.

16) On July 22, 1872, the New York Herald in an editorial entitled "Hebrew Rabbinical Education," deplored the lack of English preachers among the rabbis. At that time only S.M. Isaacs delivered ~~himself~~ sermons in English. See Morris U. Schappes, Documentary History of the Jews in the United States (1654-1875), (New York, 1950), p.554 ff.

17) Richard Gottheil, op. cit., p.376.

18) David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism,(New York, 1907), p.339; see also Chapter 2, above.

19) Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., p.122.

20) Einh., p.102.

21) Rev. Dr. Adolph Huebsch - Late Rabbi of the Ahawath Chesed Congregation, New York: A Memorial, (New York, 1885), p.86.

22) Ibid.

22a) See also: David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism, (New York, 1907), p.467.

23) Bertram W. Korn, American Jewry and the Civil War, (Philadelphia, 1951), p.30.

24) Samuel Hirsch, Predigt gehalten am Sh'mini Atzeret, (Philadelphia, 1867), pp.6-7.

25) Samuel Adler, Predigt ueber das Erste Buch Moses 44:20, gehalten in der Synagoge der Gemeinde Ansche Chesed, (New York, 1860).

26) Only the assassination of President Lincoln was met with a general, indignant response from the pulpit. See: J.H. Hertz, Abraham Lincoln - The Tribute of the the Synagogue, (New York, 1927).

27) Einh., p.107.

28) Einh., p.169 f.

29) Ibid.

30) David Einhorn, Zwei Predigten: Abschiedspredigt, gehalten im Tempel Adath Yeshurun am 28 Februar 1874, (New York, 1874), p.12.

31) Einh., p.181.

32) Bertram W. Korn, op. cit., pp.20-21.

33) Einh., p.100; for a similar view see also Samuel Hirsch, Predigt gehalten am Sh'mini Atzeret, (Philadelphia, 1867), p.7.

34) Einh., p.115.

35) Henry Hochheimer, Rede am 30 April als an dem von dem Praesidenten der Vereinigten Staaten angeordneten Buss- und Bettage, abgehalten im Gotteshause der Oheb-Israel-Gemeinde zu Baltimore, (Baltimore, 1863), p.6.

36) Henry Hochheimer, op. cit., p.10.

37) Bertram W. Korn, op. cit., p.47 ff; Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., p.33. None of Felsenthal's sermons on controversial quesyions have come to my personal attention.

38) Jews seem to have been denied residence in some hotels, andthe national press was not always certain of the good intentions of the Jewish community during the civil war. See: Einh., p.103 & p.169; Lincoln's murder was likened in one newspaper to the "wicked Jews who killed Jesus Christ," a fact which caused Liebman Adler to praise God for not letting a Jew be the perpetrator of such an outrage. See: J. H. Hertz, Abraham Lincoln - The Tribute of the Synagogue, (New York, 1927), p.141.

39) Einh., pp.98-99.

40) Samuel Hirsch, Rev. Dr. David Einhorn - Gedaechtniss Rede, Gehalten vor seinem Sarge in der Synagoge der Beth-El Gemeinde, New York, den 6ten November 1879, (Philadelphia, 1879), p.4.

41) James K. Gutheim, Rede gehalten bei der Grundsteinlegung der Synagoge der Gemeinde Bn'ai Yeshurun, (Cincinnati, 1846), pp.2-3.

42) Einhorn, for instance, had been rabbi in Mecklenburg-Schwerin; Samuel Hirsch in Dessau and Luxemburg; while Gustav Gottheil had been Holdheim's assistant in Berlin, and Mielziner was active in Waren and Mecklenburg.

43) Adolf Kober, "Jewish Preaching and Preachers: A Contribution to the History of the Jewish Sermon in Germany and America," Historia Judaica, VII, (1945), 129.

44) James K. Gutheim, op. cit., p.2; Henry Hochheimer, Zwei Reden von Henry Hochheimer, Rabbiner der Oheb-Israel Gemeinde zu Baltimore, (Baltimore, 1861), p.9.

45) Bernhard Felsenthal, in J.H. Hertz, Abraham Lincoln, The Tribute of the Synagogue, (New York, 1927), p.102.

46) Samuel Hirsch, Predigt gehalten am Sh'mini Atzeret, (Philadelphia, 1867), p.16.

47) Einh., p.185.

48) Einh., p.90, as translated by Adolf Kober, op. cit., p.130.

49) Einh., p.184 f.

50) Einhorn's "farewell sermon" in 1879, ends with the announcement that "henceforth you (of Temple Beth-El) will hear the word of God expounded alternately one week in English and one week in German." Op. cit., p.184.

51) Einh., p.90, as translated by Kober, op. cit., p.130.

52) Einh., p.185. Einhorn did not hesitate to preach a sermon in honor of the German victory over the French in 1871. At that time he took up a collection for the benefit of German war widows and orphans. Einh., p.184.

53) Richard Gottheil, op. cit., p.376.

54) Ibid.

55) James K. Gutheim, op. cit., pp.2-3.

Notes on Chapter 4

1) David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism, (New York, 1907), p.336.

2) David Philipson, op. cit., p.341 ff.

3) James K. Gutheim, Rede gehalten bei der Grundsteinlegung der Synagoge der Gemeinde B'nai Yeshurun, (Cincinnati, 1846), p.4.

4) Guido Kisch, "Two American Jewish Pioneers of New Haven," Historia Judaica, IV, (1942), 31.

5) Einh., pp.35-36, as translated by David Philipson, op. cit., pp.344-345.

6) David Einhorn, Zwei Predigten: Abschiedspredigt gehalten im Tempel Adath Yeshurun am 28 Februar 1874, (New York, 1874), pp.11-12.

7) Kaufmann Kohler, "Die Eigenschaften des Gottberufenen Fuehrer's der Gemeinde Israel," Jew. Ti., I, 28, (1869), 9.

8) Samuel Adler, Predigt ueber das Erste Buch Moses 44:20, gehalten in der Synagoge der Gemeinde Ansche Chesed, (New York, 1860), pp.9-10.

9) David Einhorn, Zwei Predigten: Abschiedspredigt gehalten im Tempel Adath Yeshurun am 28 Februar 1874, (New York, 1874), pp.8-9.

10) David Einhorn, in Sinai, I, (1856), 55; Bernhard Felsenthal, Schofarklaenge - Vortrag gehalten am Rosch Haschanah, (Chicago, 1860), p.12.

11) Einh., p.221.

12) Emma Felsenthal, Bernhard Felsenthal: Teacher in Israel, Selections from his Writings with a Biographical sketch and a Bibliography by his Daughter, (New York, 1924), p.126.

13) Samuel Hirsch, Predigt gehalten am Sh'mini Atzeret, (philadelphia, 1867), p.5.

14) Salomon Deutsch, Zwei Predigten gehalten am Suehnfeste und Huettenfeste, Spet. 15 & 20, 1869, (Baltimore, 1869), p.5.

15) Salomon Deutsch, op. cit., p.10.

16) Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., p.128.

17) Kaufmann Kohler, "Das Neue Wissen und der Alte Glaube," Jew. Ti., V, (1874), p.797.

18) David Einhorn, Zwei Predigten: Abschiedspredigt gehalten im Tempel Adath Yeshurun an 28 Februar 1874, (New York, 1874), p.9.

19) Einh., p.221.

20) Bernhard Felsenthal, op. cit., pp.15-16.

21) Einhorn had based his opposition to intermarriage solely on this principle of Israel's world redeeming mission. See Einh., p.91.

22) David Einhorn, in Sinai, IV, (1859), p. 240.

23) Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., p.23.

24) David Einhorn, Zwei Predigten; Abschiedspredigt gehalten im Tempel Adath Yeshurun am 28 Februar 1874, (New York, 1874), p.11.

25) Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., p.127.

26) Einh., p.177.

27) The synod of I.M. Wise and Lilienthal seems to have been organized with this danger in mind. However, it disbanded after only one meeting. See H. B. Grinstein, The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York (1654-1860), (Philadelphia, 1945), p.397.

28) Salomon Deutsch, Op. cit., p.13.

29) Samuel Adler, "Predigt zur Tempelweihe der Gemeinde Knesseth Israel in Philadelphia, 24 September 1864," Jew. Ti., II, (1864), 780.

30) Liebman Adler makes the following observation: "No matter how necessary the reform of the Synagogue service is, and how much praiseworthy work has been done in that direction . . . one has modeled the new service too much after the example of the Church." Betrachtungen dem Texte der Fuenf Buecher Mosches folgend, in 182

Vortraegen zur Belehrung und Erbauung, published under the Title Z'enah Ure'nah, (Chicago, 1890), p.456.

31) Einh., p.50.

32) Moses Mielziner, Zeugnisse und Hoffnungen - Predigt gehalten zur Wiederoeffnungs-Feier des renovierten Gotteshauses der Gemeinde Anshi Chesed, am 22 Mai 1868, (New York, 1872), p.7; Einh., p.57; Samuel Adler, ibid.

33) Isaac Moses, Zwei Reden, gehalten am Neujahrs- und Versoehnungstage im Tempel der Gemeinde Emanuel, Milwaukee, (Milwaukee, Wis., 1879), p.7.

34) M. Landsberg, "Predigt gehalten in der Har Sinai Gemeinde zu Baltimore," Jew. Ti., VI, (1974), p. 317.

35) Richard Gottheil, The Life of Gustav Gottheil - Memoir of a Priest in Israel, (Williamsport, Pa., 1936), p.377 f.

36) Benjamin Szold, Divre Schalom V'emet: Gottesdienstlicher Vortrag gehalten in der Ohev Scholom Gemeinde zu Baltimore, (Baltimore, 1859), pp.11-12.

37) Herman Milton Bien, Predigt gehalten am ersten Neujarhstage in der Gemeinde Emanuel, San Francisco, (San Francisco, 1857), p.8.

38) Einh., p.172.

39) Emma Felsenthal, op. cit., p.126.

40) Ibid.

41) Einh., p.68 f.

42) Einh., p.40.

43) Benjamin Szold, op. cit., p.8 f.

44) Benjamin Szold, op. cit., p.14.

45) Samuel Adler, op. cit., 780.

46) Herman Milton Bien, op. cit., p.8.

47) Among the best known prayer books edited by some of the "pioneer rabbis" are I.M. Wise's Minhag America (1859), the Avodath Israel of Szold and Marcus Jastrow (1863), Leo Merzbacher's Seder Tefillah (1855) which was subsequently revised and reedited several times by Samuel Adler, and Einhorn's Olat Tamid. Adolph Huebsch, too, published his own prayer book. ".. the favorite prayer books divided the country geographically more than doctrinally." Philipson and Grossman, Selected Writings of Isaac Mayer Wise with a Biography by the Editors, (Cincinnati, 1900), pp.63-64.

48) Liebman Adler,"Schemini Azereth Predigt," Jew. Ti., VII, (1875), 652.

49) Ibid.

50) Einh., p.39.

51) Moses Mielziner, Gemeinde und Gottesdienst: Zwei Predigten, (New York, 1866), p.15.

52) Ibid.

53) Benjamin Szold, op. cit., p.8-9.

54) Moses Mielzener, Zeugnisse und Hoffnungen - Predigt gehalten zur Wiederoeffnungs-Feier des renovierten Gotteshauses der Gemeinde Anshi Chesed, am 22 Mai 1868, (New York, 1872), p.10.

55) Moses Mielziner, Gemeinde und Gottesdienst: Zwei Predigten, (New York, 1866), p.16.

56) Cleveland 1855, Philadelphia 1869, Cincinnati 1871. See David Philipson, Reform Movement in Judaism, (New York, 1907), p.355 ff.

Notes on Chapter 5

1) Samuel Hirsch, Predigt gehalten am Sh'mini Atzeret, (Philadelphia, 1867), p.16.

2) Samuel Adler, "Predigt zur Tempelweihe der Gemeinde Knesseth Israel in Philadelphia, 24 September 1864," Jew. Ti., II, (1864), 780.

3) Einh., p.53.

4) Salomon Deutsch, Zwei Predigten gehalten am Suehnefeste und Huettenfeste, September 15 & 20, 1869, (Baltimore, 1869), p.13.

5) Kaufmann Kohler, "Der Communismus und seine Irrlehre," Jew. Ti., III, (1871), 266.

6) Isaac M. Wise in his introduction to Sermons by American Rabbis, (Chicago, 1896), p.xiv.
See Samuel Adler's use of the Joseph story to illustrate how, like the youngest and most beloved son Benjamin, Reform Judaism too, was the youngest and the most beloved child of the Old Father -- God. Samuel Adler, Predigt ueber das Erste Buch Moses 44:20, gehalten in der Synagoge der Gemeinde Ansche Chesed, (New York, 1860), p.36; also see Einhorn's use of the Symbol of Amalek as representing materialism which must always be opposed. David Einhorn, Predigt zum Besten der Sanitary Fair, Gehalten im Tempel der Gemeinde Knesseth Israel, am 19 Marz 1864, (Philadelphia, 1864); a further example can be found in Kaufmann Kohler's use of Esau and Jacob to represent atheism and Orthodoxy respectively. Kaufmann Kohler, "Isaak und seine beiden Kinder," Jew. Ti., VII, (1875), 603.

7) Einhorn invariably used Biblical quotations as his cues. This led to some very striking effects. Speaking on the completion of the trans-Atlantic cable, for instance, he used Exodus 3:2 : "And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame (Einhorn uses "spark")." And, again, in a centennial sermon delivered in 1876, he compared the America of his day with that of 1776 by calling upon Isaiah 1:21 :"How is the faithful city become a harlot." Einh., p.166 & p.176.

8) Samuel Hirsch, op. cit., p.5.

9) David Einhorn, "Was Tut uns Noth," Sinai, II, (1857), 670.

10) Liebman Adler, Betrachtungen dem Texte der Fuenf Buecher Mosches folgend, in 182 Vortraegen zur Belehrung und Erbauung, (Cincinnati and Chicago, 1890), pp.28-30.

11) Einh., p.53.

12) Kaufmann Kohler, "Der Communismus und seine Irrlehre," Jew. Ti., III, (1871), 266.

13) Einh., p.53

14) Einhm., ibid., and p.65.

15) David Einhorn, "Was Tut uns Noth," Sinai, II, (1857), 670.

16) J.S. Goldammer, "Die Drei Gemeinden des Lebens," Deb., XV, 37, (1870), 2.

17) Rev. Dr. Adolph Huebsch: Late Rabbi of Ahawath Chesed Congregation, New York: A Memorial, (New York, 1885), p.66.

18) Isaac S. Moses, Zwei Reden, gehalten am Neujahrs- und Versoehnungstage im Tempel der Gemeinde Emanuel, Milwaukee, (Milwaukee, Wis., 1879).

19) Rev. Dr. Adolph Huebsch: Late Rabbi of Ahawath Chesed Congregation, New York: A Memorial, (New York, 1885), p.88.

20) Isaac S. Moses, op. cit.

21) Henry Hochheimer, Zwoelf Tischreden, an Zwoelf Festabenden der Israelitischen Wohltaetigkeits Gesellschaft, (Baltimore, 1874).

22) See, for instance, Samuel Hirsch, op. cit., "the law which Moses commands us is an inheritance of the Congregation of Jacob; so that all the peoples of the world may know that the Lord is God, and there is none else; then let your heart be perfect with the Lord."

23) Kaufmann Kohler, "Die Vier Erloesungs Kelche," Jew. Ti., III, (1871), 90.

24) Moses Mielziner, Gemeinde und Gottesdienst, Zwei Predigten, (New York, 1866).

25) Salomon Deutsch, Antritts Predigt, gehalten im Har Sinai Tempel zu Baltimore am 27 Dec. 1862, (Baltimore, 1863), p.14.

26) Moses Mielziner, Wie und Was soll gepredigt, und wie die Predigt gehoert werden ? Zwei Predigten, (New York, 1872), pp.11-12.

Notes on Chapter 6

1) Salo W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, (New York, 1952), Vol. 1, p.26.

2) In the practical application of this ideal it would seem impossible to deny the influence of the worship service as it was being conducted in the Protestant Churches of the day, upon the Reform service. See also, Liebman Adler, Betrachtungen dem Texte der Fuenf Buecher Mosches folgend, in 182 Vortraegen zur Belehrung und Erbauung, (Cincinnati and Chicago, 1890), p.456.

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"Schemini Azereth Predigt," Jew. Ti., VII, (1875), pp. 652.

Fuenf Reden, Gehalten in der Israelitischen Gemeinde ~~K.A.M.~~ an wichtigen nationalen Gedenktagen der Ver. Staaten, (Chicago, 1866).

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Worte gesprochen beim Begraebnisse der Frau Betty Bruehl, (New York, 1874).

"Abraham Geiger," Jew. Ti., VI, (1874), p. 668.

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Bondi, Jonas, "Charakteristik Abraham Lincolns, dargestellt in einer Trauer-Predigt, gehalten am 19 April 1865 in der Synagoge der Gemeinde Poel Zedek, New York, 1865," Lincoln, pp. 79 - 91.

Cohn, Elkan, "Trauerpredigt - am Sabbathe nach Beerdigung des sel. Rav. Dr. Merzbacher," Sinai, II, (1857), 420.

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