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The M.H.L. dissertation entitled:

"The Attitudes Toward Music and Ritual in the Evolution
from Orthodoxy to Reform in the American Synagogue as
Reflected in Congregational Histories"

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THESIS DIGEST

With conditions as they were in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, many Jews, representing both the Ashkenazic and Sephardic traditions, turned their eyes toward the new world in the hope of finding freedom. These Jews who made their homes in the new world did not waste any time in organizing themselves into a Jewish community. Coming from organized Jewish communities which afforded them every opportunity to identify themselves with Judaism, they wanted as soon as possible to set up the same environment here in America.

Before 1824 all congregations that had been formed in America by the newly arriving immigrants were Orthodox and followed the Sephardic tradition with the exception of Rodef Shalom of Philadelphia which followed the Ashkenazic tradition. The oldest congregation in the United States is the Beth Elohim Congregation of Charleston, S. C., founded in the year 1738. It was within this community that the first vibrations against strict Orthodoxy were felt. This vibration manifested itself in the "Reformed Society of Israelites" in the year 1824. This Society failed as we shall see in the chapter dealing with the Jewish Community of Charleston, S. C. The first congregation that organized itself as a Reform congregation was the Har Sinai of Baltimore, Md., in the year 1842.

This thesis deals with the development of Reform Judaism in several of the more important communities, as far as Reform Judaism is concerned, and tries to show the evolutions that took place within the congregations of these communities eventually.

leading to the identification of those congregations with the Reform movement in America. Personalities as well as ideologies are dealt with showing the constant, steady emergence of Reform Judaism as it struggled to break through the thick outer shell of Orthodoxy. The realm with which the thesis is especially concerned, encompasses the liturgy of the synagogue, its performance as well as its performers. Thus, the position of the cantor -- the liturgical officiant in the Orthodox and Conservative movements of Judaism -- plays a considerable part in the following pages. Of even greater importance is the transition of the cantorate in the Reform movement.

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IN THE EVOLUTION FROM ORTHODOXY TO
REFORM IN THE AMERICAN SYNAGOGUE AS
REFLECTED IN CONGREGATIONAL HISTORIES

by

Emmet A. Frank

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Referee:
Professor Eric Werner — a!

I dedicate this Thesis
to my loving parents, Sidney and
Lilly Frank, who instilled within
me a deep and sincere love for
Judaism; to my beloved and devoted
wife, Carole, who was my strength
in moments of weakness, and to my
son, Loring Jethro, God love him,
without whose help I could have
finished this Thesis several
months earlier.

"A retentive memory
may be a good thing,
but the ability to
forget is the true
token of greatness."

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INTRODUCTION

With conditions as they were in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, many Jews, representing both the Ashkenazic and Sephardic traditions, turned their eyes toward the new world in the hope of finding freedom. These Jews who made their homes in the new world did not waste any time in organizing themselves into a Jewish community. Coming from organized Jewish communities which afforded them every opportunity to identify themselves with Judaism, they wanted as soon as possible to set up the same environment here in America.

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leading to the identification of those congregations with the Reform movement in America. Personalities as well as ideologies are dealt with showing the constant, steady emergence of Reform Judaism as it struggled to break through the thick outer shell of Orthodoxy. The realm with which the thesis is especially concerned, encompasses the liturgy of the synagogue, its performance as well as its performers. Thus, the position of the cantor -- the liturgical officiant X in the Orthodox and Conservative movements of Judaism -- plays a considerable part in the following pages. Of even greater importance is the transition of the cantorate in the Reform movement.

CHAPTER I

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

The constitution of the city of Charleston, the work of John Locke, the philosopher, in 1669, expressly stated that "heathens, Jews and other dissenters" were entitled to the same rights as the followers of the Anglican, or dominant faith. With the adoption of this constitution, which manifested such a tolerant nature, many Jews were drawn to settle in Charleston, almost as soon as the city was founded upon its present location in 1680. The earliest record of a Jew in Charleston appears in 1695, when one is mentioned as acting as interpreter for Governor Archdale. In 1702 Jews appeared in number and during the years 1740-1741, a considerable number of Jews migrated to Charleston from Georgia due to the intolerant policy of the trustees. However, it took forty-eight years from 1702-1750, before the Jews were able to muster enough recruits to establish their first synagogue.

The first synagogue established in Charleston was that of the Congregation Beth Elohim, founded in 1750. "The organization of the Congregation Beth Elohim was brought about through the zeal of Moses Cohen. Who Moses Cohen was we do not know. He came from London in 1750, a married man with at least one son. In that year, he was elected the first chief rabbi. His full title was 'Hahamv'-Abh Beth Din" (Chief rabbi and chief of the Beth Din, or Ecclesiastical Court). This was probably nothing more than a high-

sounding title in imitation of the old synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in London, of which the Congregation Beth Elohim is a direct offshoot. Of his activity in this community we know nothing....The first hazan, or reader, of the Congregation Beth Elohim was Isaac Da Costa, who came to Charleston in 1750."¹

During the war for independence the Jews of Charleston distinguished themselves by their patriotism. In 1779 a special militia of volunteers was organized for the defense of the city, and the corps was composed almost exclusively of Israelites. In 1790 the Jews of Charleston sent an address of congratulations to Washington upon his accession to the presidency, to which he replied in the most cordial terms. Shortly after the consecration of the new Beth Elohim building in 1794, many Jews migrated to Charleston from New York and elsewhere, owing to the great field offered by the South for commercial enterprise. By 1816 the city numbered over 600 Jews. It was then considered the largest Jewish population of any city in the United States.

It is around this time that we now turn our attention to Congregation Beth Elohim. Some very interesting events are brewing and are about to explode into one of the most interesting events in the history of the Reform Movement.

The Jews of South Carolina at the beginning of the 19th century display an unusual characteristic. The Jew at this time is by nature essentially conservative, but in a transitional phase. He is almost ready to make definite steps toward reforming the rituals, the customs, and the

services. Congregation Beth Elohim as we have noticed earlier in the synopsis of the History of Charleston, is the only congregation in existence at this time. We are fortunate to have at our disposal the constitution of Congregation Beth Elohim of the year 1820. It gives us an entire picture of what Jewish community life consisted. And as we read the constitution, we realize that it is certainly in no way, the type of conditions under which we, today, would like to experience. We shall also see that at this time many members of Beth Elohim felt the same. This constitution caused a revolt among certain members and they broke away forming the "Reformed Society of Israelites." It would be too cumbersome a task to present here the constitution of Beth Elohim, and therefore only a summary of the ideas that were prevalent are presented. The constitution of 1820 reveals the synagogue as having almost despotic powers, exerting complete jurisdiction over the individual members. The congregation was Orthodox in its ritual and customs. The members kept the Sabbath and other holy days rigorously, not of desire entirely, but by compulsion, for non-attendance was punished by severe fines. The congregation had little regard for proselytes, and invoked severe penalties on those who married outside of the faith. Decorum was bad. The service was not readily understood by the members, since many prayers were conducted in Hebrew, and a portion of the service in "Ladino." There were no instructions, either by discourses or religious dissertations. The service was extremely long and burdensome, following the

pattern of the European Sephardic ritual. This was the state of affairs in 1820. In 1824 due to these prevailing conditions, forty-seven members asked for a revision of the ritual. It was the first step in the direction of Reform. The petition of these members asked for the following: to be enlightened in the principles of Judaism, less Hebrew, and causing the cantor or reader to repeat in English some of the Hebrew prayers. This was the gist of the petition. The vestry disregarded their petition and tabled it without discussion, and also deprived the petitioners the right of appeal. Due to the vestry's lack of interest and disregard for the members' rights, these members formed on November 21, 1824, the "Reformed Society of Israelites."

The following are the principles set forth by the "Reformed Society of Israelites" as revealed in the words of Isaac Harby its founder:

"Our desire is...to throw away rabbinical interpolations; to avoid useless repetitions; to read and chant with solemnity; to recite such portions of the Pentateuch and the Prophets as custom and practice have appointed to be read in the original Hebrew, but to follow such selections with a translation in English, and a lecture or discourse upon the law..."²

"At the first anniversary meeting of the Society, held on November 21, 1825, the following officers were elected:

Aaron Phillips, president

Michael Lazarus, vice-president

Morris Goldsmith, secretary

Isaac Mordecai, treasurer

Abraham Moise, orator

Corresponding Committee: Isaac Harby, Abraham Moise,

Isaac N. Cardozo, D. N. Carvalho, and

E. P. Cohen."³

"Another noteworthy accomplishment (of this Society) was the Sabbath Service and miscellaneous prayers adopted by the Reformed Society. This work was compiled by Isaac Harby, Abraham Moise, and David N. Carvalho. Its language is classic. It has no similarity to the Hamburg Reform Service published in 1819. The authors followed the Portuguese service then in use in Charleston, except in the Articles of Faith, Services for Weddings, Confirmation, Circumcision, and the naming of a Daughter. And for the first time, English hymns were included in a Jewish Prayer Book."⁴

It is here that I wish to present in entirety the principles of this society. It is to be found in Goldsmith's Directory for 1831, page 146.

"This society was formed with a view of making such alterations in the customs and ceremonies of the Jewish religion as would comport with the present enlightened state of the world. It adopted, in its outset, this fundamental principle, that a correct understanding of divine worship is not only essential

to our own happiness and a duty we owe to the Almighty Disposer of events, but is well calculated at the same time to enlarge the mind and improve the heart. In their creed, which accompanies their ritual, they subscribe to nothing of rabbinical interpretation, or rabbinical doctrines. They are their own teachers, drawing their knowledge from the Bible, and following only the laws of Moses, and those only as far as they can be adapted to the institutions of the Society in which they live and enjoy the blessings of liberty. They do nothing against the laws of Moses, but omit everything belonging to the former independent conditions of their ancestors. They have simplified the worship of God and brought the great objects of public meeting...piety, morals, and sense...so as to be perfectly comprehensible to the understanding of the humblest capacity. In the appendix of their constitution, they say, they wish not to overthrow, but to rebuild...not to destroy, but to reform and revise the evils of which they complain...nor to abandon the institutions of Moses, but to understand and to observe them; in-fine they wish to worship God, not as slaves of bigotry and priestcraft, but as the enlightened descendants of that chosen race, whose blessings have been scattered throughout the land of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob."

Elzas has this to say in regard to this Society, in his book on the Jews of South Carolina. "The service was short and simple, and the prayer-book was a compilation of

the most beautiful passages in the old ritual. There were also some original prayers. Parts of the service were recited both in Hebrew and English. An English discourse formed part of the morning service. There was instrumental music and the congregation worshiped with uncovered heads. David Nunez Carvalho was the volunteer reader."⁵

Further research under music ritual of the Reformed Society of Israelites has induced the writer to dig ever more deeply into the sources. The result however, was disconcerting and not unlike a wild goose chase.

The reprint of the prayer book of the Reformed Society, edited by Dr. Barnett A. Elzas in 1916, states: "The prayer book of the Reformed Society of Israelites...is one of the rarest documents, relating to the development of Judaism in America. Unknown except from secondary sources..., it is the earliest Reform Prayer Book printed in this countryPersistent research has brought to life only two imperfect copies, by combining which this reprint has been made possible. The original bears the date 1830. Whether there was an earlier edition, the editor is unable to say with certainty...probably there was."⁶

"The Hymns (only the texts of which is given in this edition) here first incorporated into a Jewish Prayer Book in the English language, are practically all adopted from English sources...one Hymn only No. 5...an admirable version of the Adon Olom...is of Jewish origin, its author being the before mentioned David Nunez Carvalho."⁷

While the reprint of the original prayer book does not

contain any music, there are definite indications as to the type of music then used. Page 9 contains the remark, "A Psalm by the choir, a prayer by the officiating minister, then another song by the Choir." Page 16; "The Choir open with a Hymn; the minister then follows with a prayer; the Choir then chaunt another hymn;..."⁸

Charleston in general, and Beth Elohim in particular can boast of the devout services of an inspired Jewish poetess during the first half of the 19th century; Penina Moise. She wrote a number of fine synagogal anthems and even tried her hand in the composition of some of her Odes, as for instance "While I Mused the Fire Burned Then Spake I With My Tongue." The preface of the Works of Penina Moise (Charleston 1911) contains the following passage; "She also composed the Ode, which, set to appropriate music, and sung at the consecration service, made a beautiful offering at the throne of Almighty God."

The organ and choir were introduced at this time into the synagogue, and she began the composition of a volume of hymns for the use of the congregation. This book went through four editions, and many of her hymns have been incorporated into other collections, and as a rule, without acknowledgment...she loved children...poetry, music and took pleasure in hearing all the news. Sitting at the piano she would often say "Put my finger on "G" or "A" or any note, which being done, she would play sweetly and correctly...."⁹

Idelsohn, conjectures that "many hymns and tunes, as stated by the editors in the preface of the first prayer

book in English published in 1830, were taken over from the Christian Church." The original first edition was not available to this writer and he also doubts that Idelsohn ever saw it. While it stands to reason that many tunes for the Hymns were adopted from Christian sources, there is no definite evidence for this fact; and the chant remained, as we know^u in Minhag Sefarad. ^{^ it}

On May 2, 1833, a meeting was held for winding up the affairs of this Society, evidently due to lack of funds, for they abandoned the idea of building a new synagogue. ^u This ended the first struggle for Reform in America. The main reason for their disbandment was the fact that this Society was way ahead of the times. Many of the community were afraid to risk membership in this movement. This Society failed but it did not fail to sow the seeds which germinated very soon thereafter as we shall see.

In the year 1838, when Beth Elohim's old synagogue burned down, a group of members won out in a proposal to install an organ in the new building. This was never actually accepted until a lot of unhappiness and discord had taken place. We see that in 1840 the organ question is still under discussion. Another petition was presented on July 14, 1840 to discuss the possibility of erecting an organ in the new synagogue.

"We wish to embrace a feeling of deep religious devotion and to meet the changing times with as little detriment as possible. We wish to erect an organ in the synagogue to assist in the vocal

part of the service. We assure you we have no desire to introduce reforms that are not compatible with our brethren; for a century back an organ was erected in the synagogue of Prague and at later periods organs have been set up in other parts of Germany and Southern France."¹⁰

This petition was signed by thirty-nine members. The board answered the request in the following manner:

"In notes as found in our constitution; the mode of worship shall always follow Minhag Sephardic as always practiced in this city, and prohibits any alteration in mode of worship. This above petition is a violation of the constitution, nevertheless the Board to gratify your request will call a general meeting to discuss this petition."¹¹

On July 26, 1840, this special meeting was called and another more lengthy petition was presented to the congregation.

Herein follows a synopsis of this petition.

"Whereas, instrumental music, the universal language of the soul, from the earliest period of its crude origin to its present almost perfect state, has been felt and cultivated by all nations and in all countries, whether savage or civilized...by its tranquilizing influence rendering the peaceful scenes of innocence still more happy, lovely and joyful; and especially when accompanying the human voice in religious service...that we are in holy writ exhorted, to praise the Almighty with the sound of

the trumpet, with the psaltry and harp, with the timbrel and dance upon the high sounding cymbals and with stringed instruments and ORGANS, (this is rather a fancy translation of Psalm 150 rendering חַיִּים as organ), and Whereas, it is necessary, in the building now in progress, to prepare, in the arrangement of the interior thereof a suitable location for an instrument,...be it

Resolved...an organ shall be procured and erected in the new synagogue...."¹²

This petition was declared out of order by the chair, but after a vote the decision of the chair was not upheld. The petition was then brought to a vote and passed 46 to 40. I wish to point out here the slim margin, which shows that the congregation was divided almost in half in this matter. Within a short time, the minority submitted a protest, stating that their constitutional rights had been invaded. This led to further discussion, concerning the organ and the following regulations were adopted on July 3, 1843:

"Whereas, at a general meeting of the congregation held on the 27th last, a resolution was adopted setting forth, that instrumental music on the Sabbath and other sacred festivals is obnoxious to the consciences of many Israelites,...be it

Resolved, that in order to carry out the resolutions of the general meeting, Mr. Dacosta, the

organist of this congregation, be informed that instrumental music in the synagogue on the Sabbath and other festivals and fast days must be discontinued.

Resolved; that the two first Hebrew Hymns known as 'Mismor Ledavid' and 'Lecha Dody,' which on and after the consecration of the synagogue were sung with Organ, may again be sung with the same, but that, at the commencement of the 'Mizmor Shir L'yom Hashabat,' the organ must cease playing and must not again be used until the following Friday evening;...¹³

(This is identical with the practice instituted in Prague at the Altneu-Schul, ~~the~~ ^{the} century before when Rabbi Meir Mahler was the organist and probably even the organ builder. The Kabbalat Shabbat was accompanied with the organ, but from Borchu on the organ was silent.)

The above resolutions were passed unanimously, displaying a step backward instead of forward. However from the fact that the organ is now being used in the divine services it is definitely a sign of progress. It took a number of years for this problem to be solved, starting back in 1838 and continuing until 1843. Gradually as time passes the organ begins to be used more and more in the services as we shall see later. Unfortunately the minute notes of this congregation skip from 1843 to 1846 leaving some things unknown, but from later notes we learn that the congregation is moving slowly but surely toward adopting

new changes which finally identifies it with the liberal movement.

It should be stressed here that as far as our knowledge reaches the congregation has not engaged a rabbi or even a haham, after its inception and the demise of its first haham, thus discontinuing and abolishing the practice of most Sephardic congregations here and abroad. However, during this period several interesting events have taken place pertinent to the subject matter. Rev. Poznanski who has been acting as cantor for the congregation since the year 1837, has requested the congregation on a number of occasions, to elect a new cantor. On November 14, 1847, the Board decided to advertise for a new cantor. However, due to various problems, a cantor had still not been hired by the congregation, and we find another advertisement inserted in the minute notes of December 21, 1851. I wish to quote here in its entirety, the circular for procuring a cantor, published in both American and European papers:

"The Jewish Congregation 'Beth Elohim' in this city, being in want of a Minister, have instructed their Board of Trustees to invite applicants for the office; They therefore invite attention to the following conditions.

First-The applicant must be a thorough Hebrew Scholar, and have a good knowledge of the Classics and English language. It is desirable that he should on entering upon duties of his office, be able to speak and write the English with facility

and correctness--should this language not be his vernacular, he must have so advanced in the knowledge of it, as will give assurance of his mastering it within a reasonable time.

2. It will be the duty of the minister on all occasions of Divine Service at the synagogue or elsewhere, to deliver in addition to the Hebrew portions of the service, original and appropriate Sermons or Lectures, as well as prayers in English. The Hebrew prayers may be read according to grammatical rules; or may be chanted in the manner of the Portuguese Jews.

3. The applicant whose testimonials of character and learning will best accord with the wishes of the congregation, will be elected for a probationary term of two years; and should mutual satisfaction prevail, at the expiration of this time, he may be elected permanently.

4. The salary will be one thousand dollars per annum. The increase of the revenue of the Congregation, and the satisfaction which the clerical services, and general deportment of the incumbent may produce, will be the basis of an increase of salary. As a further guide for the applicant the following information is given.

1. The service of the synagogue of this Congregation is conducted with the accompaniment of an organ.
2. The sermons and prayers are preceded and followed

by Hymns and Psalms, sung by the choir in Hebrew and English.

3. The Pentateuch is read through, at the synagogue once in Three years.

4. The Haphtorah, and some other Hebrew portions of the service are omitted.

5. The second days of the Holidays are not observed by this congregation.

6. Various other improvements have been made in the mode of worship, with the view of promoting devotion and decorum."¹⁴

The above petition sheds much light on the various changes that have taken place in the congregation. Meanwhile, as we read this circular we learn that the congregation has made a number of changes in its ritual and practices. For example, we now learn that the congregation has been using an organ throughout the entire service. An English discourse has been introduced. Prayers in English form part of the divine services. A regular choir now participates throughout the entire service. The second days of holidays have been abolished. Each one of these innovations identifies this congregation more and more with the Reform movement. These changes did not take place immediately but came about only after long and bitter struggles as we have seen in relation to the organ question.

It seems that the first minister of real status to serve in the Congregation Beth Elohim was the Rev.

Poznanski, who commenced his tenure in 1837 and resigned on March 10, 1850. Poznanski was definitely a man of great circumspection, not to say tardy conservatism. Time and again minor details concerning minute question of the musical ritual appear in the minutes of the congregation; and it is always Poznanski who brings them up, at the same time shunning any drastic or radical procedure. In some respects Poznanski may be compared with the immediate forerunners of Solomon Sulzer in central Europe, who ^{are} neither fully trained ^{as} musicians nor ^{as} leaders of rabbinic status, retarded the progress of the liberal movement before the year 1848.

The period subsequent to the resignation of Rev. Poznanski was beset with internal difficulties which resulted in the constant shifting, engaging, and dropping of new ministers who after a short trial period could not endure the fickle mindedness of the congregation during that trying period. It was only when Dr. M. Mayer was invited to serve as minister that the congregation seemed to have attained a certain degree of stability at last. Dr. Mayer probably should be given credit for the amount of stabilizing work which demonstrates itself in the sound musical publications of the community during his leadership.

An interesting sidelight that has taken place in this congregation should not go unnoticed, since it deals with the founder of the Reform movement in America. During the period that the congregation was trying to acquire an applicant to take Rev. Poznanski's place an application was

received from none other than Dr. Isaac M. Wise. I wish at this point to relate some interesting incidents which took place between Dr. Wise and Congregation Beth Elohim.

Dr. Wise of Albany, New York, stated in his letter of application that he would be glad to give a lecture in Charleston in order that the congregation could judge for themselves as to his ability. Dr. Wise also stated in this letter that if he were elected, he wanted his house furnished with proper furniture befitting the dignity due his position. The Board upon receipt of Dr. Wise's application decided to ask him to honor the congregation as soon as possible and also to defray his expenses to Charleston; and furthermore, to furnish his home properly if elected. Dr. Wise came to Charleston and he was unanimously elected for a two year probationary period. Dr. Wise was informed of his election and accepted. However, a few weeks later another communication was received from Dr. Wise stating that he was determined to stay with his congregation in Albany. The Congregation Beth Elohim of Charleston was very disturbed by this turn of events, not so much that Dr. Wise had refused their offer, but rather that they had spent in the neighborhood of around \$150 to defray his expenses to Charleston, which was a complete loss. The Charleston congregation immediately sent a letter to Dr. Wise stating that he had obtained the money for his expenses with the express understanding that if he were elected he would minister to the congregation, and since he failed to fulfill his part of the bargain, they feel that it

only fair that he refund the sum of money which the congregation had so generously allotted to defray his expenses. This was the last incident in regard to Dr. Wise and Beth Elohim as there was no further mention in the minutes concerning this incident. However it should be brought out here that Dr. Wise was to fill Rev. Poznanski's position, which also included chanting the service. Dr. Wise was indeed capable of this achievement since in his youth he had been a member of Sulzer's choir and was no doubt familiar with proper chanting. That he could do it according to the Minhag Sefarad must astonish us and is in itself barely creditable. ~~and the~~

A further proof of Dr. Wise's ability was the fact that he was elected unanimously after he appeared before the congregation. We can assume from this that Dr. Wise was able to chant the services, the same as Rev. Poznanski plus the ability of being able to give a superb English discourse.

In conclusion it might be said that Congregation Beth Elohim of Charleston was the cradle of the Reform movement in this country which manifested itself in the "Reformed Society of Israelites" in 1824. This Society sowed the seeds of the Reform movement into this congregation which germinated years later, for by these various innovations from 1824 until 1866, as we have seen, the congregation completely identified itself with the Reform movement.

CHAPTER II

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

It is of interest to note that Baltimore is an Atlantic seaport and principle^a city of the state of Maryland. In 1940 it had a population of about 845,000 of which an estimated total of between 72,000 and 74,000 were Jews. This figure is quite different from the one of approximately the middle 18th century when the Jewish community was made up of merely unorganized individuals. As to exactly when the first Jew found his way to Baltimore is a rather difficult question as all beginnings are. Due to the lack of an organized community, which in turn was due to the smallness in number, it was not considered of any importance to keep such a record. We may assume with little hesitancy that the first Jew appeared in Baltimore around the middle of the 18th century, as mentioned by the writer of the article in the UJE. Here and there we have records of individual Jewish names, from around 1750 until 1825. From the records at our disposal, Jews in Baltimore were not considered a community until 1830. Before this time we have the mention of such Jews as a certain Jacob Myers who built an inn at Gay and Baltimore streets in 1758. Later we read about a certain Nathaniel Levy who served under Lafayette in the campaign of 1781. From the time of approximately 1750 until 1840, the immigration to Baltimore was comparatively slow as far as the Jew was concerned. Around 1825 we are able to establish that there were about

125 Jews in the city. The majority of the Jews of this period were not of wealthy standing but were of rather humble occupations. We can say, with a proud attitude, that these Jews, regardless of their occupations or origins, got along well with their non-Jewish neighbors. Some were held in very high esteem by the community and managed to play quite an important role in the growth and development of this Atlantic seaport. It is well to note here that it was only after a long and bitter struggle, which terminated after eight years in the year 1826, that Jews were allowed to hold office in the city management. At this time we learn about two Jews, Solomon Etting and Jacob I. Cohen who were elected to the city council; and later Etting was elected president of the first branch of the city council. This was quite an achievement considering the few Jews that had settled in Baltimore prior to this period and quite an outstanding proof of the high esteem with which the Jews were looked upon by their non-Jewish neighbors.

The growth of the Jewish population as we have noted has been very slow but sure. It is not until 1830 that we are able to say definitely that the Jew abandoned his hitherto individual status and became a member of an organized Jewish community. Naturally, due to the background of these Jews who found their way to Baltimore, the first step was the formation of a congregation. As a result of this increase in families, the first Jewish congregation was formed in 1830. It was not of an elaborate character, as we find the beginnings of new congregations springing up

today, but rather of a very humble origin. This first congregation may well be termed a meeting for worship attended by the required ten men constituting a "Minyon." This first public worship was held in 1829 in the house of Zalman Rehine, an uncle of Isaac Leiser, on Holliday and Pleasant streets. Little is known of this group of men since no records of their proceedings have survived. The beginning, as usual, is hazy, but we may speculate that they were the same men who formed the Nidche Israel congregation which was later to be better known as the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. This congregation was incorporated under a charter granted by the Maryland legislature in 1830. This incorporation of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation constituted the solid beginning of a Jewish community in Baltimore. It was, however, not until 1845 that this congregation finally moved into a regular home, the first synagogue in Baltimore.

From the day of its founding until 1840, the congregation managed only with a cantor who conducted the services, performed weddings and officiated at funerals. In 1840 the first rabbi was elected, a certain Abraham Rice who was strictly Orthodox, and for the next twenty-five years all changes in the service were rejected. It was not until 1871 that changes in the ritual caused a split in the congregation. The minority strongly against these changes broke away and formed a Conservative congregation, the Chizuk Amunoh which still exists. But much ground work and discussion had taken place before this change was completed. It is of importance to understand the attitudes and

factors that led to this modification and change in the ritual and eventual split in the congregation.

As we have already learned the congregation managed with only a cantor until 1840; it is also of interest to learn that even when a rabbi was elected, the salary of the rabbi and cantor always differed with the cantor getting from \$100 to \$700 more than the rabbi.¹⁵ This naturally leads us to an important conclusion namely, the cantor as it were, provided the daily bread for the congregation whereas the engagement of a rabbi in those times was considered almost a luxury. The cantor must have also carried a heavier burden with greater responsibilities--or why then this great difference in pay? Another painful problem in this congregation that we shall encounter in almost all congregations was the organization and maintenance of a choir. If I may quote:

"It becomes our painful duty to notify you that in consequence of the want of volunteer support to the choir, we cannot continue without material aid. At first it was our pleasure to offer our services in the capacity of choristers impressed as we were, with the importance of such an improvement to the service, and we have endeavored to sustain the choir to this time with all the support our individual exertions could afford it. But from the first serious difficulties surrounded it from the fact that female voices must be dispensed with and their places supplied by boys; these

who cannot control nature and at reaching fifteen years of age their voices crack, and also the fact that we cannot find even one voice of sufficient strength to be relied on in the production of new songs or difficult passages. To obtain volunteer tenors to supply the first singer was equally impossible. We are at last obliged to turn to the board for advice."¹⁶

Signed by the members of the choir.

The problem of the choir is a major issue constituting one of the first steps that was taken by the congregations toward their identification with the Reform movement. It is however in this case not until a number of years later that any decided action is taken on the subject. This was a bone of contention and caused a constant sore spot among the members of the congregation.

It was not until January 12, 1870, that any decisive steps were taken, but we may learn from perusal of the minutes that these changes have been batted back and forth for a number of years. It is a slow, tiring experience of arguments pro and con before these changes were definitely accepted. However in 1870 we note a decided step towards the Reform movement--a step which had taken all of forty years. The committee which had been appointed on October 4, 1869 to consider in what ways the ritual and service could be altered for the best to give to the service a more delightful and impressing atmosphere, gives the following report. For a true appreciation of the tenor of those times, I con-

sider it important to present an excerpt from the minute notes.

"The undersigned, Committee appointed at a regular quarterly meeting of the congregation held October 4, 1869 to consider and report upon the recommendation and suggestions of the retiring Board of officers relative to the appointment of a Chazan, organization of a choir and adoption of such other means to improve and remodel our worship beg leave to report, that we have duly considered these important subjects that have in fact, become questions of Vital interest to our congregation and would recommend the adoption of such of the measures herein, after proposed, as would in our opinion, have such desirable result:

1. The engagement of a competent and musically educated Chazan qualified in every respect to discharge the duties appertaining to the office and able to instruct a choir...
2. The organization of a choir either composed of male or mixed voices. The congregation at very considerable expense has endeavored to sustain a choir of Male voices only but after a fair trial have failed in giving such satisfaction as the congregation had a reasonable right to expect, and we have no doubt a choir composed of male and female voices would prove much less expensive and give more general

satisfaction...

3. The abolition of such prayers as contain a desire for the restoration of the sacrificial services in Jerusalem especially such portions as are introduced from the Talmud and are in fact no prayers at all for instance אֵיזוֹ מִקְוָה

בִּמְהֵרָה מְדֻלֶּקֶת, פִּיטוֹם הַקְטוֹרֶת, וְיִדְבַּר
or such as have for our present time and circumstances no meaning or importance for instance יָקוֹם פֹּה קֵץ

or such as originated in times of affliction and persecution giving expression to feelings of despiration and revenge for instance אֲבָקָהּ מִיָּד, וְלֹא שִׁנִּים
also to omit all unnecessary repetition..."Piutim" etc.

4. The abolition of all prayers breathing a revengeful spirit toward other nations which are neither consistent with our feelings of humanity nor with our citizenship in a country where we enjoy every civil and religious liberty and prerogative and are really a disgrace to the Israelites of this country...

5. We recommend the reading of the Haftorah in the following manner: the president or Chazan to recite the B'rucha and first verse in Hebrew, the balance of the Haftorah in German or if the nature or subject will not admit it being translated any other portion of the Prophets--the last verse and concluding B'rucha in Hebrew.

In our proposition, we are amply sustained and justified by the action of the General European Israelitish Synagogues lately convened at Leipzig and participated

by more than one hundred deputies (clerical and lay) representing all shades of opinion, and whose composition in this respect was almost without a parallel in the history of Judaism composed of intellectual giants prominent among whom may be mentioned the Grand Rabbi Dr. Landau of Dresden, whose orthodoxy will not be questioned by any one; who went much farther in their actions than we propose to do, abolishing all prayers for our restoration to Jerusalem and such as relate to a personal Messiah. The introduction of the "tri-annual" circle of the reading of the Torah all of which out of consideration and regard to the views and opinion of some of our older members to whose opinions and prejudices we are willing to defer as much as the nature and circumstances of our position will justify we would neither suggest nor advocate...

We have been fully impressed with the importance of the foregoing suggestion and proposition and believe their rejection would prove a step whereby the retrogression of the congregation which every one must have observed lately would be materially accelerated and in the near future dissolution of the congregation predicted. In conclusion we will express our sanguine anticipation that the result of your deliberation may prove beneficial to our congregation, renew the waning interest manifest by so many--may result in the spiritual and material

welfare of our congregation all of which is most respectfully submitted."¹⁷

The reason for these suggestions that have been presented are stated clearly in the body of the report: "that they may prove beneficial to our congregation." That these reforms were needed is evident in the report of the committee. The congregation had reached a state of stagnation, of slow but sure degeneration and it was with a view to revitalizing the strength of the congregation, that these changes were suggested and urged to be adopted. However, we are still hanging in mid-air since these resolutions were not accepted as a debate followed and the congregation could not be brought to a vote. It may be well to note here that it took from January 2, 1870 until almost the end of the year 1871 before these resolutions were accepted and implemented. We may note that once again the process of adjustment to the new atmosphere was a very slow one. A chronological tabulation of the most significant resolutions, dating from January 9, 1870 to September 24, 1871, might well illustrate the reluctance of the congregation to adopt any innovations:

January 9, 1870: On motion the board agreed unanimously to employ a choir--the cost not to exceed \$1,000.¹⁸

February 6, 1870: The above motion was again discussed and at this time it failed to pass and the choir was dismissed.¹⁹

July 10, 1870: The business concerning Chazan and

Choir was again discussed. It was then moved to advertise for a Chazan duly qualified to instruct and lead a choir, as soon as \$1500 had been privately subscribed by members. It was then moved to amend the motion by inserting the word "mixed" before the word choir, which was accepted. This amendment failed to pass by a vote of 30-47. The original motion was then passed by a vote of 48-34.²⁰

September 4, 1870: A complete list of subscribers to pay the expenses of the Chazan and Choir was presented to the amount of \$1500.²¹

October 3, 1870: On this day it was resolved by a vote of 58-20 that permission is hereby given for the formation and use of a mixed choir in the Religious Services of this congregation.²²

September 24, 1871: It was moved that in the event of any lady member of the choir getting married that a wedding present not costing over \$25 be presented to them.²³

September 24, 1871: It was moved to pay the two Misses Hermans \$75 each for their services rendered to the choir.²⁴

Of interest to note are the last two resolutions concerning the wedding gifts and the salary to be paid to these two ladies, ample proof that the congregation has now succeeded in having a mixed choir.

Below is a poem, written by the members of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, expressing in poetic form the transition

from Orthodoxy to Reform.

"A hundred years have passed, as but a day;
The order old has changed and passed away.
Gone are the ancient haunts, of all the places
Our forbears worshipped, there remain few traces.
And, as Jews scattered thru our spreading town,
New temples with new modes of prayer are found.
New leaders tended the eternal flame
Above our altar bright. New faces came.
Young spirits took the flame old hands had dropped,
Held it aloft, strode on, and never stopped.
And, step by step, youth leads us on that way
Which beckons bright before us as the day.
Behold, then, turn the light of modern thought
Upon the wonders that our time has wrought!"²⁵

HAR SINAI

A new influx of Jews into Baltimore began about 1840 as part of the wave of German-Jewish immigration in the United States. Due to this influx the community by 1846 had grown from 300 to 1500. Many of these newcomers had been sympathetic with the principles of Reform Judaism which were prevalent in Germany before they arrived; others of the Baltimore community had become dissatisfied with the Orthodox ritual. The Reform background, together with the dissatisfaction of the Jews already in the Baltimore community resulted in the formation of the new Har Sinai congregation in 1842. Har Sinai was one of the pioneers of Reform Judaism in America and for many years one of the

few Eastern representatives of the liberal wing of American Jewry.

This congregation has the distinction of being the only congregation in Baltimore that started as a Reform congregation. The other two congregations, Baltimore Hebrew Congregation and Ohev Sholom both started as Orthodox and gradually evolved into Reform congregations. Due to the fact that Har Sinai was established as a Reform congregation, it was spared many of the birth pangs that delayed so often the progress of the Reform movement in other parts; it is nevertheless important and interesting to note upon what principles this congregation was formed. Even so, it was not the Reform that we know of today. Many modifications that had in later times been introduced into the Reform movement were not prevalent in this congregation at its inception. Unfortunately the earlier records of Har Sinai have been lost. We do know that the founding of Har Sinai was in form a protest against the strict Orthodox regime of Rabbi Rice, the rabbi of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. He was intransigent in his orthodoxy, and very rigid in his conformity to ritualism. It was in fear of the coming of a Jewish hierarchy in their midst that certain men in the community decided to break away and form a new congregation.

The first services of Har Sinai took place during the Holy Days of 1842. They had difficulty in having services in accordance with traditional usage since the other congregations would not lend them a Sefer Torah. A parlor

organ was installed in the hall, and this as mentioned earlier was a startling innovation in those times. We may learn a few interesting points from the description of the dedication services when in 1849 the congregation moved to High street. The American and Commercial Daily advertiser papers of Saturday, September 8, 1849 described it as follows:

"The services were conducted in Hebrew, German and English. They were opened with a German prayer....Then followed an appropriate hymn, also in German, by the choir, with organ accompaniment, the whole led by Professor Klautcheck, of the Steyermarkische Band. (An Austrian military band) At the close of the sermon a Hymn in English, commencing with the words "how holy is this place," was sung in excellent style by the choir....Then followed the usual evening service of the Sabbath and the ceremonies were concluded with a hymn by the choir....The performance of the choir was highly creditable and added much to the interest and beauty of the services."

The above description is merely an abbreviated form of what appeared in these two papers, limiting the material to the subject matter. As I mentioned before we can see that even though the form of Judaism followed by Har Sinai would be today considered Orthodox or very Conservative, it was at that time considered very Reform. Merely the mention of the above organ and choir shows a definite identifica-

tion with the then prevailing liberal spirit.

One cannot give an account of Har Sinai without mentioning the name of Dr. David Einhorn, its foremost leader, who came to this congregation in September of 1855. With Dr. Einhorn's arrival in Baltimore commenced a new epoch not only in the history of Har Sinai but in American Judaism as a whole. Mr. Rayner, a member of the congregation aptly observes "...had the Har Sinai congregation done nothing else in its fifty years of existence but induce an Einhorn to come to America as its guide and Rabbi, it would have done enough to take a front rank among all the Reform congregations in this country."²⁶

We may better understand the attitudes of Einhorn toward ritual by quoting a few remarks from his inaugural address on September 29, 1855:

"...To modify the Jewish religious forms in accordance with the urgent needs of the present day without deviating from the fixed principles of the divinely revealed word; to maintain undiminished our zeal for these endeavors of ours... Judaism has arrived at the critical stage when it must part company with dead and obsolete ceremonies, if it means to keep the Jews within the fold or prevent their moral decay....Thus alone may we effect for ourselves and for our children the liberation of Judaism if we are to prevent a defection from Judaism."²⁷

Dr. Einhorn eventually had to flee Baltimore because of

his stands on slavery. We shall again encounter Dr. David Einhorn when we turn to the community of Philadelphia. Har Sinai deeply cherishes his memory as a priceless heritage.

OHEV SHOLOM

The community of Baltimore grew especially by immigration from Germany; because the new immigrants wanted to be close in their manner of worship to the pattern they knew from their native countries, and with each bringing the religious conceptions marking the Judaism expounded in his native town or city, it was natural that the already existing synagogues did not exactly meet everybody's religious desires or needs. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that a number of men representing the newcomers of the community organized a congregation whose viewpoint was not as Reform as that of the Har Sinai nor as Orthodox as that of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. The result of these intellectual and emotional differences was the formation of Ohev Sholom in 1853. It was on October 31, 1853 that the initial meeting of what is now known as the Ohev Sholom Congregation took place. It is of interest to note that were it not for the fact that the congregation had been refused the loan of a shofar from a sister congregation, the first services of the congregation would have been held long before the end of November. It seems that the refusal to grant this loan of the shofar was due to the fact that Ohev Sholom was considered by them an enemy of prevailing Orthodox tendencies. The congregation managed only with a reader, Isaac Hamburger, until the election of Mr. Altmeyer,

the permanent Chazan. As the years passed the congregation felt a strong need for a rabbi. They realized well that according to the object which the congregation, drifting more and more to the left, had in mind--the method of the Reform movement expounding Israel's truths through homiletical interpretations and historical studies was of prime importance. It was thus that on March 12, 1854, Rev. Salomon was elected preacher of the Ohev Sholom Congregation. It was during his term, which did not last more than ten months that one of the first important steps toward Reform Judaism was taken. On Shevuos 1854, a large class of boys and girls was confirmed in the rooms on Gay Street.

During Salomon's term of office Abram Lissner was elected cantor in place of Mr. Altmeyer. On October 13, 1856, S. M. Landsberger was called to the pulpit as rabbi. During his term of office another important step toward Reform took place. Landsberger, imbued with the then prevailing spirit of the times, realized as did many others both in Europe and America, that the ritual service now in use needed modification. The prayer book used in almost all American congregations made up of German immigrants was the "Roedelheim Tefillah." Landsberger holding that the "Shir Hayichud" was not an integral part of the Sabbath morning devotion and lengthened the services unnecessarily, suggested to omit the same. This suggestion of Landsberger was accepted and therefore marked the first step in the congregation's ritual Reform.

Due to the tremendous growth that favored this con-

gregation from its inception, and due to the inadequate quarters which they then occupied, it was decided that it was no more than proper to have a separate building set aside for its specific use. This decision which was made in 1855 did not see its fulfillment until 1858. It was during this year that the congregation decided to settle for once and for all the building question. On January 24, 1858, it was decided to buy a church on Hanover Street and it was immediately decided to set about to remodel the church to meet their demands. Ohev Sholom's first home was formally consecrated to the worship of the one God and the upliftment of Israel by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise of Cincinnati, Ohio. It should be emphasized here again that the feelings of the times were not sympathetic towards introducing an organ and choir, and if the same were introduced it was only after years of bickering and bitter resentment. Nonetheless, it was a natural thought at this time that music and song were considered important additions to the worship service, adding to its beauty and religious atmosphere. And although choir and organ were not usual in a Jewish house of worship at that time, Ohev Sholom decided to introduce these anti-traditional innovations, on April 25, 1858, immediately after the dedication of the house of worship. Here again marks another important and decisive step toward identification with Reform.

Dr. Landsberger, due to ill health, resigned his position in 1857. However, it was not until a year or so later that renewed efforts were put forward to engage a

a rabbi. After a disappointment in acquiring the services of Dr. Lewisohn of Worms, Dr. Benjamin Szold, a Hungarian by birth, was elected rabbi. Szold landed in America in September, 1859 and delivered his inaugural sermon on Sabbath "Nitzavim" of that year. His inaugural address ^{speech} which stressed his religious attitudes received approval by many and criticism by others. Interestingly enough it was Dr. Einhorn of Har Sinai Congregation who expressed the most severe criticism of Dr. Szold's ideas. In fact it was so severe that Ohev Sholom passed a motion that none of their members should read the "Sinai" publication of Dr. Einhorn's.

Immediately upon Szold's arrival, it was evident that the need for a prayer book similar to ^{Dr. Wise's} Minhag America which was used by the congregation for daily worship, should also be obtained for the High Holidays. It was told to Szold that the volume of the Minhag America covering the services for the New Year and Day of Atonement was promised to appear shortly. Finding that the promised ^(d) failed to be redeemed, Szold decided that it was his duty to compile such a volume himself for the congregation. For up to this time the congregation had been using Minhag America for daily worship and Minhag Ashkenas, being the Roedelheim Tefillah, for the High Holy days. Szold was greatly disturbed by the widely differing rituals and claimed that his conscience would not permit such a practice to continue. On March 2, 1862, Szold's prayer book now known as "Avodath Israel" was completed. It was placed before the congregation and after some discussion

as to whether the manuscript should or should not be sent to European rabbis for approval, it was accepted and authorized as the ritual of the congregation. In the course of a limited number of years Szold's prayer book had won for itself considerable popularity.

In 1866, owing to a vacancy in the cantor's office of the congregation Rev. Alois Kaiser was elected. Kaiser born November 10, 1840 at Szobatish, Hungary, received his early education in a religious school in Vienna under Dr. Henry Zirndorf. From the age of ten he sang in Sulzer's choir. In 1866 as mentioned above he became cantor of the Ohav Sholom Congregation after having served in the famous new synagogue in Prague. He held his new position in very high regards. He brought with him to America the traditions of the synagogal music, as learned in Austria, from instruction received by him at the hands of his teacher, Sulzer, the immortal cantor of Vienna. For many years he was president of the Society of American Cantors. Because of his rare service to the synagogue, he was the only non-rabbinical person elected to honorary membership in the Central Conference of American Rabbis. He and William Sparger were entrusted by the Central Conference of American Rabbis with the compilation of the music of the Union Hymnal (1897). Among some of Kaiser's compositions are Confirmation Hymns, 1873; Memorial Service for Day of Atonement 1879; Cantata for Simhat Torah 1890. Together with Sparger he edited the still valuable "Souvenir of the Jewish Women's Congress" at the World's Columbian Exposition 1893. In collaboration with three others, he published the

Zimrat Yah 1871-86 in four volumes, containing music for Sabbaths and festivals. In all of these works, Kaiser was particularly interested in giving expression to the traditional music of the synagogue and home as a protest against the tendency to secularize the music of the synagogue. William Resenau says in regard to Kaiser, "the influence Szold exerted congregationally by ritual created and sermons preached both in his own community and elsewhere, Kaiser exercised by means of his musical compositions. Together Szold and Kaiser labored for the modernization of the divine service."²⁸

In his musical output Kaiser followed faithfully the precept of his great teacher Sulzer that synagogue music should be satisfactory from the artistic as well as from the traditional point of view. His influence on the musical development of the Reform movement for the next forty years was of the most gratifying nature, serving as a brake against the strong assimilationist tendencies that prevailed within the Reform movement until the first decade of the 20th century.

CHAPTER III

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

It is of interest to consider the size of Philadelphia today for by so doing we can better appreciate the growth of this city throughout the past two hundred years or so. Today Philadelphia is the largest city in Pennsylvania, with a population in 1940 of 1,931,334 of whom approximately 235,000 were Jews. Unlike Baltimore, Maryland, Philadelphia shows the existence of an actual Jewish community already around 1740. The proof for this was the granting of land to Nathan Levy in 1740 to be used as a Jewish burying ground. Many Jewish families that played an important role in American Jewry settled in Philadelphia during the last few decades of the Colonial period. The occupations of these early Jews were simple and unassuming. They earned their livelihood through trading. This occupation was not only prevalent in Philadelphia but throughout the entire state of Pennsylvania. Even with the evidence that in all probability there were Jews in Philadelphia as early as the beginning of the 18th century, if not earlier, we find no existing proof of any organized religious worship. Even though we know that some sort of Jewish community existed at this time, by the grant of land for a cemetery, nevertheless the founding of Philadelphia's first and oldest congregation Mickve Israel did not occur until 1745.

By the beginning of the 19th century there were enough German and other Ashkenazic Jews in Philadelphia to warrant

the organization of a second synagogue, and in October, 1802, the Hebrew German Society Rodeph Shalom which later became Congregation Rodeph Shalom, was organized. The first cantor was Jacob Lippman, elected in 1819 and continued to serve until 1833. An interesting sidelight in the history of Philadelphia during this period was the founding of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1819. It was as the result of the initiative taken by this group, Rebecca Gratz being the prime mover, that the first Sunday School in the United States was formed in 1838. At this point we turn our attention to Rodeph Shalom, disregarding the earliest days of Rodeph Shalom, for from around 1850 to nearly the end of the 19th century interesting evolutions begin to take place which eventually transforms Rodeph Shalom into a Reform congregation around 1895.

The first important step in the congregation came almost immediately with the election in May 1847 of the Rev. Mr. Herman Kahn who was appointed cantor, teacher, and preacher at an annual salary of \$400. Shortly after his election Rev. Mr. Herman Kahn appeared before a board meeting on May 31 and requested the board to lay before the congregation the following proposition:

1. To permit him to establish a choir of young men;
2. To raise measures to defray the expenses of the choir and to also engage a musical teacher.

Due to the efforts of Rev. Kahn the first choir of the congregation was established on June 7, 1847, when the congregation resolved to accept his suggestion. It was also decided

at this meeting to defray the expenses of the choir and the musical teacher by taxing the seat holders in the following manner: 1st class seats -- \$1.00; 2nd class seats -- 50¢; 3rd class seats -- 25¢ per year.²⁹ The limitation to a men's choir was due to Orthodox doctrine that a mixed choir leads to licentiousness.³⁰

In September 1847 the congregation consecrated a new synagogue at which services the choir played a dominant role. In the minute records credit is given to those who aided in the success of the dedication:

"This congregation has just observed a consecration ceremony. In paying honor to those who aided in this consecration, respect is paid to....We are indebted to the very creditable performance of the choir, which in the short space of six weeks were enabled to organize themselves with so much honor, they were not only a great help to the congregation, but were the ornament of the accompanying exertions of the consecration."³¹

These remarks directed to the choir are very interesting since this is the first time a choir has been used by the congregation. A special place of recognition is given to them in that they added to the ornamentation of the ceremony. A further note of interest in regard to the choir is the fact that in order to pay the expenses of this organization the funds were to come from the seat holders--taxed beyond their regular fee for seats. This evidently met with little disapproval as it was passed with hardly

any discussion. Here was proof that a choir was definitely wanted to enhance the beauty of the divine worship services.

Rev. Kahn withdrew as cantor of the congregation in April 1848 and the members were once again confronted with the problem of obtaining a cantor. It is interesting, as far as the religious convictions of the congregation, to note that in September of 1848 the congregation passed a resolution that the cantor of the congregation shall in all respects be a faithful adherent of the Orthodox Jewish religion.³²

At a meeting in October 14, 1848 Rev. Jacob Frankel of Mainz was engaged as cantor at a salary of \$400 a year. In the early part of 1849 Rev. Frankel arrived in Philadelphia and assumed his position with the congregation. This was the beginning of many years of untiring and devoted service to the development and improvement of the synagogal service. One of Rev. Frankel's constant problems was the choir. He was always handicapped by the lack of proper choir attendance. This had really become a problem since Cantor Frankel used young men, as well as boys, in order to establish a mixed choir compatible with rabbinic law. In the latter part of 1850 he made the following requests to the Board of Directors:

- "1. That those children which form the choir
be not allowed to join or to stay at their
discretion.
2. To fill the wanting voices in the choir by
engaging such persons which are suitable for

the same.

3. A piano teacher be engaged to give the choir the right instruction in singing and music.
4. The course can be covered by holding a yearly concert which will defray all expenses."

The above suggestions were all accepted by the Board and certain rules and regulations were set up. We might also assume that, in order to fill the vacancies, voices were employed other than those connected with the congregation. We also learn from the minutes that there was a flood of applications to become a member of the choir since in return for services rendered the applicant would be allowed a free seat in the synagogue.

On May 3, 1853 Rev. Dr. Illoway, rabbi, signed his agreement of duties and at the same time Rev. Jacob Frankel, cantor, signed his agreement of duties. I think it only fair for a better understanding of the responsibilities of each position and for a clear picture of the duties which each entailed to present here the agreement signed by both. The following is a copy of Rev. Dr. Illoway's agreement:

"I the undersigned, bind myself to fulfill the following article of agreement made between me and the German Hebrew Congregation Rodef Shalom. First, To be every day in attendance at the school³³ at 5 o'clock p.m. unless otherwise instructed by the President or school directors of this Congregation.

Second, To attend school³⁴ every Sabbath and Holy days from two to five o'clock p.m., if not otherwise instructed by the President or school³⁵ directors of this Congregation. Also on Sunday mornings, holy days excepted from nine to eleven o'clock.

Three, To keep a correct list of scholars attending and absent.

Fourth, To be at all times present in the synagogue previous to commencement of services and to perform services if so instructed by the President of the Congregation.

Fifth, To deliver a discourse in the German language whenever requested by the President of this Congregation.

Sixth, Not to perform the ceremony of marriage unless authorized by the President of this Congregation.

Seventh, I will attend to all other duties appertaining to the office of teacher.

Should I fail to perform the duties assigned to me or misconduct myself, I shall be liable to suspension in accordance with article 9, Section 10 by laws.

In the performance of the above duties the congregation bind themselves to their part to pay to the undersigned, the sum of \$300.00 per annum from the day of this congregation's

general election.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal.

Philadelphia, May 3, 1853.

Dr. B. L. Illoway."³⁶

The following is a copy of Rev. Frankel's agreement:

"I the undersigned bind myself to fulfill the following articles of duties appertaining to the office of Hasan.

Art. 1. That I will not attend any marriage or funeral ceremony without the sanction of the President or presiding officers, and in all occasion when attending, dress in my clerical robe.

Art. 2. That I attest every marriage certificate and make a fair copy of same in the record book, for which he shall be entitled to a fee of no less than three dollars from the contracting party.

Art. 3. That I will attend the funeral of members and seatholders, their wives and children, except male children over the age of 21 years.

Art. 4. He shall attend the funeral of strangers, and perform the burial service if requested by the President or presiding officers.

Art. 5. He shall attend the Minion and read the prayers during the 'shiva' at the residence of such members or seatholders, as shall be en-

titled thereto, provided such attendance does not interfere with official duties at the synagogue and a distance not to exceed two miles from the city state house.

Art. 6. He shall be at all times, present in the synagogue, previous to the commencement of the Service, arrayed in his clerical robes, he shall read the prayers and the allotted portion of the Law.

Art. 7. He shall enter in the record book of the congregation all deaths occurring within one week after such event under a fine of \$1.00.

Art. 8. He shall attend and perform all other duties appertaining to his office as reader and herein expressed, should he fail to perform the duties assigned to him or otherwise misconduct himself, he shall be suspended as provided in the Art. 9 sec. 10 of by laws.

For which performance of the above duties the congregation binds themselves on their part, to pay to the undersigned, the amount of \$600.00 per annum, from the day of this congregation's general election.

The undersigned partner binds himself to perform the duties of reader for one year.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal.

Philadelphia, this 18th day of May 1853.

J. Frankel L. S."³⁷

From 1853 until the coming of Dr. Jastrow in the latter part of 1866 the congregation retained its previous characteristics. The congregation was so anxious to obtain Dr. Jastrow that they offered him a salary of \$4,000 per year for life, an enormous sum for those days. There is a story told, that upon his arrival in this country, the anticipation was so strong that several people, who were delegated to meet his ship, fell into the water. Shortly after his coming to Rodeph Sholom several modifications of the Orthodox customs began to creep in. The sale of religious honors were entirely abolished. One of the most important modifications which was suggested by Dr. Jastrow was that an organ should be placed in the new synagogue which the congregation was contemplating to acquire. In modifying the divine worship service several resolutions were adopted in November 1867 of which only the most important are mentioned:

"The congregation shall pray in a low voice and be guided by the Rabbi in rising or sitting.

Reciting prayers in a loud voice, as well as conversing, is strictly prohibitive."³⁸

On November 2, 1870 another step forward was made; in the selection and adoption of that prayer book edited in 1865 by Dr. Benjamin Szold, of Baltimore, of which I have made reference to earlier. On September 3, 1871 the committee on Divine Service again submitted the following recommendations which were accepted, namely, "to have only one-third of the weekly portion read, and that the choir

be in attendance according to the order of the Reader."³⁹
 In referring back to the suggestion of Dr. Jastrow in 1866 to install an organ, it is interesting to note that on April 25, 1872, we find in the completed report of the Building Committee that on November 10, 1869, it was contracted with Messrs. Standbridge Brothers for an organ to cost \$10,000.

In 1878 the first suggestion of joining the then proposed Union of American Hebrew Congregations was submitted and on March 1879 they did. However, we read later on June 15, 1884, that a resolution was adopted to withdraw from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations due to various and sundry reasons.

January 13, 1887 was a very sad day for Rodeph Shalom, Cantor Jacob Frankel died after serving in this capacity for thirty-nine years. The great esteem with which the congregation as well as other members of the community held toward Cantor Frankel may be summed up briefly by a clipping that appeared in one of the newspapers at the time of his death.

"Cantor Frankel's favorite chair, pulpit and platform were deeply draped in black, the synagogue was thronged with sympathizing mourners who came from all portions of the city, to take part in the last ceremonies which were bestowed upon the grand old man, who through his genial disposition, beautiful voice.... The choir sang some of his favorite hymns, being hardly able to restrain their deep emotions during the singing of the beautiful strains

which were formerly accompanied by his clear and ringing voice. Cantor Frankel was born in Grunstadt, Bavaria, July 5, 1808. He was educated in the schools of his native town, and became the assistant reader and member of the choir of the synagogue. In his early youth, he traveled with his two brothers through Germany, Alsace-Lorraine giving sacred concerts and the saying at that time was, the young Frankels are coining money. Cantor Frankel later on acted as assistant reader at the old Temple, at Mainz, on the Rhine. In Mainz he received a call from the Rodef Shalom Congregation, and landed in Philadelphia in the year 1848, which position he held up to his death. In 1861 he received the commission of Chaplain in the United States Army from Abraham Lincoln, which commission still adorns the walls of his home. He served in that capacity during the War, administering to the wants of the soldiers in the hospitals then filled with dying and wounded heroes. The Rev. Jacob Frankel left to his children a lasting monument of which they may feel proud, and the name of Jacob Frankel will for many years be remembered by all those with whom he came in contact."⁴⁰

Of Further importance as in regards to the changes that were to eventually identify this congregation with Reform, we read the following note in the above clipping: "His children all possess some of his musical talents. His youngest daughter, Rosa, who graced the choir as soprano, has a sweet and well

educated voice...." This statement gives to us actual proof of the existence of a mixed choir, even though it is not mentioned in the minute notes.

In October 1891 about the time of the celebration of Dr. Jastrow's twenty-fifth anniversary, a movement was started to procure an assistant rabbi. It was at this time that the congregation began to emerge even more decidedly from a Conservative background to a more liberal Judaism. This was a period of great conflict as the congregation was divided into two camps; those who wished to retain their Conservatism and those who wished to abandon the strict traditional ritual, service and customs.

On September 14, 1892, a committee was appointed to wait on Dr. Jastrow for the purpose of asking whether he would consider to retire. Dr. Jastrow accepted and five days later Dr. Henry Berkowitz was elected rabbi. With the election of Dr. Berkowitz we find a definite turning point in the history of the congregation. It is true that throughout the entire existence of this congregation there had been hints and changes toward a more liberal Judaism, however, with the coming of Dr. Berkowitz, a graduate of the Hebrew Union College, the congregation's yearnings were realized. It was not easy for Dr. Jastrow to accept these changes and he often voiced his opinion in the press. It was necessary for the Board to write to him and to ask him to refrain from expressing his opinion as it was causing much strife among the ranks of the members. On June 11, 1895, the congregation made a step that definitely identified it

with the Reform movement, for on this date the congregation voted to accept and use the Union Prayer Book. And so after three short years, of the ministry of Dr. Berkowitz, the congregation made a definite break with the past, a step that was inevitable since throughout its entire history the congregation had been moving toward this goal.

Between the years of 1810 and 1850 the synagogal life of the Philadelphia community transformed itself and expanded with many changes. During this period Mickve Israel retained its original Orthodox tradition, but Rodef Shalom as we have noted, veered toward conservatism and finally assumed the character of a Reform congregation during the years 1892-1895. A third congregation to join the ranks of the synagogues of Philadelphia was Beth Israel, founded in 1840 by a group of German and Polish Jews. Beth Israel began as an Orthodox congregation but later joined the ranks of Conservatism.

In 1847 Keneseth Israel Congregation was formed and immediately upon its founding identified itself with the Reform movement.

It is needless to dwell at length on this congregation, however, it is necessary to mention a few of the more important innovations. The first and most important step towards Reform was taken in September of 1855 when it was decided to install an organ. A Mr. Fischer was elected organist and shortly thereafter a mixed choir was organized. In 1858, separate seating of men and women came to an end and observance of the second day of holydays, except Rosh Hashonah, was abolished. Throughout the next years changes in the ritual and customs came rapidly.

CHAPTER IV

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

New Orleans was founded by Bienville upon the east side of the Mississippi River in the year 1718. Jews began to settle in New Orleans very early, however, there is no written record of an organized Jewish community until the beginning of the 19th century. At the beginning of the 19th century, after the purchase of the Louisiana territory by the United States, Jews penetrated south. Included among the Jewish population at the beginning of the 19th century were such famous Jewish men as Samuel Israel, Ezekiel Salomon, Judah Touro and Henry Hyams. It was not until 1828 that any attempt was made to organize a community, and during this year the Congregation Shaarai Chessed was founded. Congregation Shaarai Chessed is now known by the name Touro Synagogue. The origin of the Touro synagogue dates back to 1828 when Shaarai Chessed was incorporated. The conditions that caused the founding of the Shaarai Chessed are very interesting. There is a story told about a certain Jacob da Silva Solis, who was on a business trip in New Orleans around the year 1826. "While there Passover arrived and he could buy no Matzoth (unleavened bread). He therefore ground his own meal in a mortar and baked his own matzoth. The condition prevailing in New Orleans stirred Mr. Da Silva to found a synagogue, or at least to stir up his friends in New Orleans to get together and to found some Jewish institutions."⁴¹ The above story together with the fact that

the title page of the Constitution of this congregation bears his name gives ample proof that this Mr. Da Silva was the founder. Credit is also given to him as its founder in a series of letters written to his family after his death in 1829. Meanwhile those who adhered to the Sephardic ritual, mostly Portuguese Jews, had their own mostly private houses of worship. They dedicated their synagogue and named it the K. K. Nefutzoth Yehudah, (The Dispersed of Judah) in the year 1845. Around the year 1843 there was a movement to organize the New Orleans Jewry into one community, but all attempts were unsuccessful. The great philanthropist Judah Touro presented the Portuguese Jews with the Episcopalian church which was dedicated in 1850 under the name of K. K. Nefutzoth Yehudah. Meanwhile the Congregation Gates of Mercy laid its cornerstone and dedicated the new building on March 5, 1850. Unfortunately the membership of the Sephardic congregation the Dispersed of Judah dwindled gradually, its decline due to the war between the states and the yellow fever epidemic. Due to the impoverished conditions of the entire community these two congregations found it impossible to continue alone. In 1881 Congregation Dispersed of Judah merged with the Congregation Gates of Mercy, and it was at the time of this amalgamation that the name Touro Synagogue was adopted. The Touro Synagogue joined the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1879 and obviously it was the German Gates of Mercy that identified themselves with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the Portuguese element seems to have offered no serious objections when both parties amalgamated

and formed the Touro Synagogue.

After the consolidation of these two synagogues, Rabbi Isaac Leucht became its spiritual leader and it was he who gave the new congregation the name Touro Synagogue. In 1909 a new synagogue was consecrated on St. Charles and General Pershing Streets. Some of the spiritual leaders connected with the congregation were: Rabbis Marks, Harris Kaufman, Rosenfield, Nathan, Jacobs, Guttheim, Chumanciero, and Leucht. I will now turn to the other two congregations of New Orleans, Temple Sinai and Gates of Prayer which have a much more interesting and valuable history. These two congregations present many interesting facts and shed great light on the period around the middle and last half of the 19th century.

The founding of the Congregation Gates of Prayer goes back to 1840. It was located in the city of Lafayette, which adjoined the city of New Orleans but has been part of New Orleans since 1853. The Mississippi traffic promulgated the growth of Lafayette as well as New Orleans and Jews were attracted to settle in this small community. Lafayette interestingly enough was only a mile or so from the heart of the city of New Orleans but due to the swampy conditions which made traveling difficult this Jewish community had to depend entirely upon itself for spiritual inspiration. At first only a minyan existed but by the latter 1840's this minyan had grown to around thirty. These men spurred on by seeing many of their brethren alone and forsaken in their sick beds organized in 1849 the Jewish

Benevolent Society of Lafayette. Members of this society paid 50¢ or more per month and were entitled to help in time of need. It was at this time that these members decided to carry the work of their previous labors to its logical conclusion. In January 1850, Congregation Shaarei Tefilah, or "Gates of Prayers of the City of Lafayette" was founded.

The congregation was Orthodox and followed the German ritual. The services of the congregation were conducted by a cantor, or by a member appointed (Sheliach Tzibur) to fulfill this office. The cantor at this time was authorized to perform marriages according to Jewish law, but first had to pass an examination to determine his capability. In the earliest years of the founding of Congregation Gates of Prayer they had a great deal of trouble in keeping a cantor. This was due, probably, to no other reason except that the position paid only \$10 a month. The first to accept this position was Hayem Kaufman who was engaged in April, 1850. The duties of Cantor Kaufman included the instruction of the children three times a week, and he was authorized to perform marriages. He was re-elected for another twelve months but resigned in the middle of his term of office. Following his resignation this position was filled by a succession of temporary cantors. Finally Isaac Hechinger was elected in 1853 and held the position until his death eight years later.

The school established by the congregation found it difficult to maintain itself, as one teacher followed

another and the congregation had to resort to private teachers, for which they paid. For over a year the school was closed and the children attended a private school at the expense of the congregation. At this private institution the children were taught Hebrew, the Pentateuch and as a matter of course French. Finally this arrangement was abolished in the year 1860 and Cantor Hechinger undertook to teach the children for two hours every Sunday. A year later Samson Cerf became cantor and at this time a regular week day school was organized. His duties included instructing the children four hours an afternoon, five days a week, in addition to Sundays. For this instruction he was compensated by a small salary plus the monthly tuition fees of 50¢ to 75¢ a child and was given an additional allowance for the rental of a class room.

Realizing a need to have a synagogue of its own, a decision was made to have plans drawn in the fall of 1864, and an immediate drive was made for funds. The dedication of the completed synagogue was held on April 5, 1867. On this occasion a choir rendered several selections which enhanced the dedication ceremonies.

It was immediately after this dedication ceremony that one of the initial steps was taken which was to carry the congregation eventually into the fold of Reform Judaism. The initial step in this process was an outgrowth from the dedication ceremony. The special choir engaged for that occasion was retained to sing at the services, and its members asked for a melodium to accompany them. This step

met with little controversy, in fact there were enough members in favor of this innovation to make its acceptance rather easy. Strangely enough all the bickering and heated debates that existed in other congregations pertaining to this question were almost completely void among the members of Congregation Gates of Prayer. The members of the congregation were strongly in favor of introducing an organ, and they immediately referred the question to a number of leading rabbis in Germany and Alsace. They accepted the advice of the Chief Rabbi of Strasbourg that instrumental music was permissible on the Sabbath if played by a non-Jew and elected a Gentile musician to play the organ and direct the choir. The choir itself was made up entirely of Jews. Even with this sentiment to meet the changing times with as little negativism as possible, the members of Congregation Gates of Prayer could not be induced by the arguments of the cantor, backed up with quotations from the prophets to sanction the employment of a Gentile to sing during the services.

Other innovations followed, though not without conflicts and changes of heart. In the beginning of 1871 the congregation decided that the Haftorah should be read in German and English. Later that year the congregation had a change of heart and decided that the Haftorah should be read only in Hebrew as before. This question was soon brought up again and after a heated debate, it was resolved that the Haftorah should be read by the cantor in the German language.

The members of Congregation Gates of Prayer continued to make changes in the ritual and customs more or less haphazardly until the fall of 1873 when a special committee was appointed by a unanimous vote to consider a plan for the modification of the services. The committee's report was accepted, but unfortunately it was not placed in the minutes of the congregation and we have very little information as to what the reforms included. We do know, however, that it was resolved that the first and last verses of "Lecho Dodi" should be sung each Friday evening. We know further that immediately after the adoption of the committee's report a request came from the organist asking for a raise since the service had been augmented by the Friday evening service. We might assume therefore that another one of the reforms was to supplement the traditionally sundown service with a later Friday night service. We get still a further clue as to what the committee's report included from something that happened about six months later. At a special meeting called specifically to discuss the question of changing the position of the cantor during services so that he would revert to his previous position facing the ark instead of the congregation, it was moved and accepted that the cantor resume his traditional position.

We may assume that this action reversed another of the committee's recommendations.

Samson Cerf had been the cantor of Congregation Gates of Prayer from 1861 to the end of 1869. He had come over from Alsace as a young man and settled in New Orleans where

he went into the shoe business. Throughout his life he maintained a close relationship with the congregation. Due to certain circumstances it is not hard to see why he resigned from the cantor's position, for he was subjected to frequent criticism. He was accused of certain misdemeanors that the congregation felt were not befitting the dignity of his position: they objected to his singing at balls, and he was also accused from time to time of riding on the Sabbath. Even though he had officially resigned his position as cantor, he was to return many a time to help out when it had no regular cantor, the last years of his life found him again in the pulpit of the Congregation Gates of Prayer officiating as their cantor.

In the year 1881 an advertisement which the congregation placed in the American Israelite gives us a good idea of what they expected of a cantor. He must be trained in music, capable of preaching in German and English, and able to supervise a Sunday School. The successful candidate was the Rev. Mr. L. Weis, elected at a salary of \$1,000 a year. His tenure of service did not last long and in the middle of 1884 the Rev. Maurice Eisenberg was elected. Eisenberg demanded, as a condition of his election, the adoption of the Jastrow prayer book and abolition of the aliyos. (probably "selling" of aliyos)

Unfortunately the minutes for the years 1885 through 1903 have been lost, leaving a considerable gap in the history of the congregation. By 1904 when the minutes resume we learn that the congregation had taken the decisive step of electing a Reform rabbi. He was Moise Bergman, a

graduate of the Hebrew Union College. Interestingly enough, even with the election of a Reform rabbi; conditions did not change drastically for the Jastrow ritual continued in use; they prayed with covered heads and required the rabbi to wear a tallis in the pulpit. However, on the other hand, there was an organ and a mixed choir, and men and women sat together. In 1908 the Congregation Gates of Prayer affiliated itself with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and in 1928 the Jastrow prayer book gave way to the Union Prayer Book.⁴²

We need not dwell at length on the history of Temple Sinai founded in 1870, for this congregation was founded as a Reform temple. It is interesting however, to view with a little surprise the innovations that this congregation adopted almost immediately upon its founding. An organ costing \$6,200 was contracted for from a Cincinnati firm. An English hymn was written especially for the consecration ceremony. By the year 1873 we read that the Ritual Committee had reported that there were members who refused to take off their hats during service. In order to see that this diffidence should be ruled out and also to enforce the constitution in every respect, cards were printed asking visitors to uncover their heads. The congregation joined the Union of American Hebrew Congregations on July 28, 1877. A choir was organized as early as 1872, and a number of organists followed in rapid succession. The Union Prayer Book was adopted in December 1895. Congregation Temple Sinai was truly founded upon the principles of Reform

as they were understood in these years. Immediately upon its founding it introduced, as we have seen, many of the innovations which other congregations had to fight bitterly for a number of years. All the innovations adopted by Temple Sinai were accepted as basic rules upon which this congregation was founded. In other words, whereas other congregations had to adopt and resolve to introduce a more liberal atmosphere, and evolve into a Reform congregation; Temple Sinai had no such problem for it was consecrated upon the principles of Reform.

CHAPTER V

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF CINCINNATI, OHIO

One would have never realized that the community of Cincinnati which at one time was considered the last outpost, would develop and grow into the core of the American Reform movement. In spite of all geographical and historical odds against it Cincinnati radiated the life giving factors which germinated the growth of Reform Judaism from a single congregation to more than 420 congregations today.

Cincinnati's beginning was fostered through the courage of men who dared to conquer the unknown. Men who realized well that progress can only come, when one is willing to stake his hope in the realization that to conquer the unknown one must become identified with it. Cincinnati, a city of frontiersmen, began as a grant sold to Judge Cleves Symmes. The first settlement was led by Symmes in 1788 and was known as Losantiville. People seemed to realize the promising future that Cincinnati held out to them for by 1840 the population had increased to 46,338. Jews did not flock to Cincinnati in large numbers as they did in certain other Eastern communities. The reason for this was not due to business opportunities, for Cincinnati was located in a very opportune position and presented great possibilities to the fortune hunters, but rather the fear, that in Cincinnati the Jew would lose all connection with Judaism. This is not difficult to understand--yet there were some people who overcame

the anxiety—coming from organized Jewish communities which offered them certainly the most important benefit, the Synagogue, where they could identify themselves with their people and with their religion. The first known Jewish inhabitant was Joseph Jonas from Exeter, England who arrived in Cincinnati in 1817. The city of Cincinnati totaled 6,000 people at this time. He was a deeply religious man and wrote at a later period that his most fervent prayer was "that he might be a nucleus around which the first congregation might be formed to worship the God of Israel in this great western territory."⁴³ Jews did not arrive in this community in large numbers, as a matter of fact we find no new arrivals after Joseph Jonas until two years later. It is not until June 1819 that we learn about the arrival of three more Englishmen, who followed the Jewish faith, namely; Lewish Cohen of London, Barnet Levi of Liverpool, and Jonas Levy of Exeter. With less than half a minyan these four men gathered together and held the first worship services on the High Holy Days of the year 1819. One cannot help pausing here a moment to meditate on the spiritual forces that reacted within these men, forces that were inherent in their homeland and that stirred them to meet in divine worship services and to follow their Jewish faith. Even if we did not have at our disposal the minute notes to study the history that began with these four men, we could assume with little hesitancy that it was inevitable that at the first opportune time a congregation would be founded. These men were not able, however, to achieve the immediated ful-

fillment of their dreams. For, as mentioned earlier Jews did not flock to this community in large numbers. They came in drips and drabs and it was not until five years later in the year 1824 that the Jewish community numbered the enormous population of twenty, enough finally to form a congregation. It was on January 4, 1824, that these earlier Jewish settlers saw their dream become a reality. For it was on this day that the majority of the Jews of Cincinnati gathered together for the purpose of organizing a congregation. At this initial meeting plans were discussed for forming a congregation and the following preamble was voted on and accepted:

"Whereas, It is the duty of every member of the Jewish persuasion, when separated from a congregation, to conform as near as possible to the worship and ceremonies of our holy religion, and, as soon as a sufficient number can be assembled, to form ourselves into a congregation for the purpose of glorifying our God and observing the fundamental principles of our faith as developed in the Laws of Moses: with these impressions the undersigned persons convened at the residence of Morris Moses, in the city of Cincinnati on the fourth day of January, 1824, corresponding to the fourth of Shebat, 5584."

It was at this meeting on January 4, 1824, that Congregation Bene Israel came into existence, today more familiarly known as Rockdale Avenue Temple. One can readily see now, by the thoughts expressed in the preamble, that the Jews of Cincinnati

felt it incumbent upon themselves not to let an extra day go by to prolong the formation of a congregation any longer than necessary. Within a very short period from the time of the coming of the first Jewish settler in 1817 a congregation had been formed, a dream that permeated the very being of these early settlers and did not give them any rest until it became a reality.

Up until the building of their first synagogue the congregation could not afford the services of a rabbi or leader. The services of the congregation were led by members who read the prayers. The services followed the traditional Orthodox ritual which was characteristic of the Jews of England. Even today in England there are few Reform congregations. The people thus coming from such an environment naturally followed the ritual that they were accustomed to. In the Occident of 1842 we find the following article written by Joseph Jonas to substantiate the strict Orthodox tendency that prevailed at this time in England.

"The original founders of our congregation were principally from Great Britain, and consequently their mode of worship was after the manner of the German and Polish Jews...."

The congregation met for worship services in such places that they could obtain to house its members. The members of the congregation found themselves worshipping in a frame building located on Main between 3rd and 4th Streets. Similar places of worship had to satisfy the congregations' needs because the desire to build a home of their own was far from being realized

due to insufficient funds. The congregation, anxious to worship in the proper [aesthetic] atmosphere, made appeals to their brethren in various parts of this country and abroad. They received sufficient help to buy the ground and on June 11, 1835, the cornerstone was laid. At this time the congregation felt a strong need to have a spiritual leader to guide them. On the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone the congregation was able to boast of having their first professional reader or Cantor, Rev. Joseph Samuels, who served the congregation for a very short period. The synagogue dedication took place a little over a year later on September 9, 1836, and the service began with the founder of the congregation knocking on the door and the voice of the reader within replying: "'It is the voice of my beloved that knocketh'" and the voice of the founder responded from the outside, "Open to me the gates of righteous; I will go into them and I will praise the Lord!"

The congregation was served only by cantors until 1855. The first cantor as mentioned above, was Joseph Samuels, and his tenure of office was too short to establish any definite mode of worship. After Joseph Samuels tenure of office cantors followed in rapid succession from 1836 on through to 1917. The cantors who served the Bene Israel Congregation were Joseph Samuels, Hart Judah, J. Kilsheimer, Henry Mannheimer, L. Lipman, M. Meyer, Moses Bauer, M. Luxembourg, Henry Shule, M. Goldstein, and Joseph Mandelberg, who served in this capacity until 1917.⁴⁴

From 1824 until 1848 the congregation followed its

original mode of worship drifting contentedly upon the ancient sea of age old tradition. The first step toward its identification with a more liberal attitude came in 1848 when the congregation voted in the affirmative to organize a choir. The next reform came in 1851 when the congregation decided to substitute an English prayer in place of the 'Hanothen t'shuah'.

As the years passed the congregation grew very steadily and soon it became evident that the present quarters were not adequate to accommodate its large membership. A new structure was dedicated on the corner of Sixth and Broadway in the year 1852. An interesting incident took place at this time, when it was suggested that a mixed choir should be employed to enhance the beauty of the dedication ceremony. Very heated discussion followed and it was decided to dispense with female voices. The congregation was still not ready to take any decisive steps toward the Reform movement. They were still dominated by the practices followed in their earlier environment in Europe. This decision of the congregation to dispense with the female voices came as a surprise, for the founder of the congregation in an article written in the Occident of 1842 stated that at an earlier date the voices of female singers graced their services. This step can only be understood if we consider the fact that in latter years a large German element had filtered into the congregation and managed to suppress these early reforms and instead institute customs that were prevalent in their birthplaces. This German element that adhered to strict Orthodox tendencies retarded what might have been an earlier identification with

the Reform movement.

In 1855 the congregation decided that it could no longer exist without the services of a rabbi to place it on a firm foundation. At this time they advertised for a rabbi who must be a reformer, but not a radical one. The congregation at that time was standing on the threshold of its future identification with the Reform movement and only needed a man who was capable to help them make up their somewhat undecided minds. It was at this time that the congregation elected the Rev. Dr. Max Lillienthal of New York as their spiritual leader. Immediately upon his election he instituted many reforms. He recommended that no more 'Mitzwoth' be sold, that certain prayers be abolished and that some change be made in regard to the 'Misheberach.' He immediately organized a mixed choir to be used in Divine Worship Services. Many bitter resentments followed these new innovations but the majority of the congregation upheld its rabbi's actions.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees held on April 8, 1863, a resolution was introduced and adopted, to the following effect:

"Whereas, We have witnessed that our present service is not at all suited to the spirit of the age, and not such as is likely to impress the minds of the rising generation with that veneration and respect that our holy cause demands; and whereas, while we do not wish, nor would we like, to advocate any change in fundamental principles of the Mosaic religion, we are of the opinion that an entire change

of our mode of service is necessary;

Resolved, that we recommend to use our energies to build a Temple with all the necessary improvements, family pews, an organ, a choir...."

On October 27, 1865, the congregation adopted the following innovations which brought it closer to its affiliation with the Reform movement: the triennial, instead of the annual, reading of the Torah; the Haphtarah to be read in English, the purchase of an organ to accompany the choir, the use of English or German prayers in the service in addition to the Hebrew prayers, and the exclusion of all prayers in petition for a release from present bondage. The final step in its identification came with the adopting of the Union Prayer Book in 1894. Congregation Bene Israel suffered many birth pangs in its efforts to beautify and enhance its mode of worship, prematurely breaking forth at the early date of 1842 with the reform of having mixed voices in the choir, and then being retarded by the German element that prevented the complete fulfillment of its dreams until 1894.

K.K.B'NAI YESHURUN

The first comers to Cincinnati formed the English congregation B'nai Israel and followed the Polish Minhag. After a few years when the English Jews of Congregation B'nai Israel began to be supplemented by a new immigration of German Jews into their congregation, discord broke out among the members and the German element broke away and formed Congregation B'nai Yeshurun in the year 1840. The reason for this discord is clearly stated in the constitution of Congregation

B'nai Yeshurun adopted September 19, 1841.

"Whereas, It has pleased the God of our forefathers to gather some of His dispersed people in the city of Cincinnati, who are taught and used to apply to Him for merciful bounty, and to praise His holy name according to the rites of the German Jews, and Whereas, The wise and republican laws of this country are based upon universal toleration, giving to every citizen and sojourner the right to worship according to the dictates of his conscience, and Whereas, Also the mode of worship in the established synagogue of our beloved brethren, K. K. B. Israel, in this city, is not in accordance with rites and customs of the said German Jews,

Therefore, We, the undersigned, bind ourselves under the names of Congregation K. K. B. Yeshurun, to use our best exertions to support a synagogue by that name, and to worship therein according to the rites, customs and usages of the German Jews, to be the same as far as practicable, and without departing from the form and custom now in use by this congregation...."

We do not have to read in between the lines to see immediately that the German element was greatly dissatisfied with the mode of worship followed by their beloved brethren and could not find happiness within the pews of this congregation. Unable to sway them to follow the Minhag Ashkenaz they did the next best thing and broke away and formed their own congregation which followed the customs and ritual to which they had be-

come so conditioned due to their earlier environment in Germany. This constitution of K. K. B'nai Yeshurun also helps us to understand more clearly why, when Congregation B'nai Israel in the year 1842 had in a number of ways adopted a number of reforms including changes in the ritual and having a choir made of mixed voices, was forced back into its traditional mode of worship; this phase lasted until its identification with the Reform movement some fifty-two years later. A premature birth that might have lived had not the German element filtered into its ranks. This early step toward the Reform movement by B'nai Israel in 1842, had it been successful, would have placed this congregation in a rare position for it would have held the distinction of being the second Reform congregation in America.

The first meetings of the Congregation B'nai Yeshurun were held on Fourth Street, between Main and Sycamore and Simon Bamberger was elected cantor in 1842 and served in this capacity until 1844. He was paid the enormous salary of \$75 a year, imagine! This minimal salary which he received was probably the reason why his tenure of office was so short.

In the year 1845 an interesting event took place. A letter was received on April 27, 1845, asking the Executive Committee to bring before the congregation at a general meeting a proposal for the members of B'nai Yeshurun to unite with B'nai Israel. The Committee did not infringe upon the rights of these members and brought the proposal before a general meeting. At this meeting of the entire congregation the proposal was rejected. This step made by certain

members of the congregation proves one thing, namely; Congregation B'nai Yeshurun which had been founded upon the strict Orthodox tendencies of the German Jews, had already, within these few years after its founding, begun to waver upon its pedestal of strict Orthodoxy. Within the next few years a further step was taken which evidenced this underlying tenor of the times to become more and more associated with the forces of liberalism. For in the spring of 1847 an advertisement was placed in the Occident stating that Congregation B'nai Yeshurun wished to engage the services of a reader at a salary of \$500 a year. In September 1847, James K. Gutheim who was widely known as a man of liberal tendencies, was elected Rabbi of Congregation B'nai Yeshurun.

On January 29, 1848 the Committee on Ritual, Gutheim being a member, laid before the congregation several proposed changes in the order of Divine Worship Services. The congregation adopted the proposals relating to decorum, changes in Bible reading and the Priestly Benediction (as to exactly what they had in mind in reference to the Priestly Benediction is not clearly discernible). At this time Rev. Gutheim was authorized to organize and prepare a choir.

In the summer of 1848 the congregation dedicated a new synagogue on Lodge Street. One of the main features at this dedication ceremony was to be the choir that Rev. Gutheim was to organize and prepare for the occasion. In the Occident of November, 1848, we find the following account of the dedication ceremony:

"....A novel spectacle was exhibited at the consecration, nothing less than a procession of about three hundred persons, Israelites and Christians, walking from the room, where the congregation formerly worshiped, to the new synagogue, to convey thither the books of the Law, to be deposited in the ark built for their reception. The procession was preceded by a band of music; this was followed by three little girls, dressed in white, with wreaths of flowers...."

Rev. James K. Gutheim instituted a number of reforms, as we have noticed, which were accepted by the congregation. However, during the years 1848-1849 estranged relationships began to exist between him and the congregation; the reason is not evident because of the lack of minutes for this period. We may draw one conclusion as to why these unhappy relationships existed between Gutheim and B'nai Yeshurun from an event that took place in the spring of 1849. It seems that nothing could be done to bring about a change in regards to the estranged relationships between Rev. Gutheim and the congregation and after a very trying year he left Cincinnati. Immediately thereafter Rev. H. A. Henry was elected his successor. A few words in reference to Rev. Henry's beliefs and we can see immediately why Rev. Gutheim resigned his position. Rev. Henry was a Jew of ardent Orthodox tendencies. That Rev. Henry was chosen to become the spiritual leader of B'nai Yeshurun immediately after the resignation of Rev. Gutheim who was known for his liberal tendencies gives ample proof that the friction between Gutheim and the congregation was due to a resurgence of Orthodoxy. Rev. Henry's salary was

doubled at the end of one year and he received \$800 for his services. From this incident one would think that all was going well between Rev. Henry and the congregation but for some unknown reason pleasant relationships between the rabbi and the congregation came to an end, and on July 11, 1851, Henry tendered his resignation. On October 4, 1851, the congregation elected Rev. A. L. Rosenfeld, of the Orthodox Portuguese Congregation of Charleston, S. C., cantor and lecturer at a salary of \$1000. Rev. Rosenfeld was also known for his strict Orthodox tendencies. The proof that the congregation was having a reversal in its beliefs comes from several accusations that were brought against Rev. Rosenfeld questioning his Orthodoxy. Such indictments as to his eating meat of the hind quarter of an animal; that he arrived in Cincinnati by railroad on the eve of the first day of Rosh Hashana; that he had eaten of the flesh of guinea fowls, were levied against Rev. Rosenfeld. It seems that not only did the congregation want an Orthodox rabbi when they elected Rev. Rosenfeld, but that a return to strong Orthodoxy was clearly espoused by the congregation so that even Rev. Rosenfeld who was known for his Orthodoxy was not strict enough for them. This incident certainly gives us sufficient reason why Rev. Gutheim could no longer be associated with B'nai Yeshurun. Rev. Rosenfeld was exonerated from all these accusations and continued to serve the congregation until Passover of the year 1853 at which time he resigned due to reasons that have been lost in the obscurity of the past.

In September 1853 the congregation decided to elect Dr. Isaac M. Wise as rabbi and asked him to name his own conditions. Dr. Wise wrote B'nai Yeshurun a letter and stated his terms on which he would accept their offer. He wrote in his letter the following conditions of acceptance:

"that he be elected rabbi unanimously and for life; that he be given a living salary, which would make him financially independent; and that he enter on his duties six months after his election. He added to this that he would not preach a trial sermon."⁴⁵

The Congregation elected Dr. Wise unanimously according to his stipulations on October 27, 1853. This was indeed contrary to everything that the congregation had stood for only a few years earlier. They had just recently been under the strict Orthodoxy of Henry and Rosenfeld and now they elected unanimously a man who had been called in many periodicals a heretic and a thorn in the side of American Jews. This appears as a strange incident indeed. Dr. Heller states in his history of the congregation that, "The marriage of the two, of Isaac M. Wise and K. K. B'nai Yeshurun, was happy and fruitful. Both gave, he as the leader, they as his people, his disciples, his helpers."⁴⁶ Within two weeks after Dr. Wise had arrived in Cincinnati the Plutim and the sale of Mitzvoth were abolished. Dr. Wise next proposed the organization of a choir, a problem that previously had met with continual disapproval. Taking little heed to the previous unhappiness that such a move caused, Wise just organized a choir and announced that they would sing at the Friday evening

service. Wise wrote in his Reminiscences in reference to this event the following: "Members of all the congregations flocked to the synagogue and filled it. The harmonious strains of Sulzer's music resounded for the first time in a synagogue in the western part of America to glorify the dawn of a new era. The venture proved completely successful. Cincinnati listened, and all hearts glowed with enthusiasm.... It is scarcely conceivable now (this was written twenty years later) what a victory for culture and progress the introduction of a synagogal choir was at that time. No reform of the Jewish service was possible until the Jewish ear had again become accustomed to harmony and beauty. The service would have disappeared gradually altogether, if it had not been reinstated in its old dignity and uplifting solemnity by song. Many who longed unconsciously for, or who even opposed, the introduction of the choir into the synagogue, surely recognize now how the harmonious strains affect and edify the worshiper, and exert an uplifting effect even upon the whole of life. The first choral songs in the B'nai Yeshurun Synagogue in Cincinnati were a new pathfinder of culture for the Israelites in the West."⁴⁷

After the organization of the choir the congregation decided to install an organ. Interestingly enough, before the congregation installed the organ, Dr. Wise conducted the choir, made up of young men and women, by leading them on his violin. In the year 1856, Dr. Wise set forth his efforts to compose a prayer book that would better fit the needs of American Jewry. Dr. Wise wished to formulate his new prayer-book, which he

called Minhag America, keeping in mind the following requirements:

"It was out of the question to retain the old prayers unchanged, because the belief in the coming of a personal Messiah descended from the house of David had disappeared from among the people. The return to Palestine, the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, of the sacrificial cult, and the accompanying priestly caste, were neither articles of faith, nor commandments of Judaism, while the lamentations over oppression and persecution and the accompanying cry for vengeance were untrue and immoral as far as American Jews were concerned. The cabalistical portions, which had crept into the prayer-book, and the obstinate adherence to the doctrine of the bodily resurrection, were regarded as unjustified."⁴⁸

The new prayer book was accepted first by K. K. B'nai Yeshurun in the year 1857 by an overwhelming vote of one hundred and ten to eighteen.

In April 1854, the congregation elected the Rev. Marx Moses as cantor and reader. Moses resigned as cantor in June, 1857, was succeeded in October by Gustav S. Ensel, and in 1858 by G. M. Cohen. Next came Cantor Jacob Meyer who served from 1866-1867 and then came Cantor Samuel Kraus of Vienna who served the congregation in this capacity until 1889 when the position of cantor was abolished.⁴⁹

At the time when the organ was introduced into the synagogue, Dr. Wise wrote a lengthy article in the Israelite of

May 18, 1855, justifying the introduction of the organ;
 "The harp of Judah was silent for centuries; but now let it
 tune again in praise of the Rock of Israel; let it tune
 again on this free soil, and invite the nations to render
 praise with us to the Eternal Father of the Universe, the
 Ruler of the nations, the Lord of all creation."

Dr. Wise notes that during his incumbency Orthodoxy
 disappeared from the congregation without any great distur-
 bances. Dr. Wise's influence was felt strongly by the
 members of B'nai Yeshurun. Their deep faith and respect
 with which they regarded his opinion, enabled Dr. Wise to
 institute many new reforms, throughout his service as Rabbi
 of B'nai Yeshurun, without the bitter resentments that occurred
 in many other congregations. Dr. Wise did not force any of
 his reforms too abruptly upon his congregation. He first
 indoctrinated his flock and then let the seed germinate,
 realizing that if he would be patient, the congregation
 would move toward his beliefs little by little. As is evi-
 denced by many of the reforms stated above, Dr. Wise was
 chiefly concerned with adding decorum, beauty, music, and a
 revised liturgy to the Divine Worship Services. All these
 new reforms pointed directly toward the goal that he kept
 foremost in his mind, the adaptation of a ritual service
 that would better serve and fit the needs of what he called
 American Jewry. This seemed to be the desires of all religious
 leaders during this period.

One cannot possibly give a complete history of B'nai
 Yeshurun without giving a short one of two other congrega-

tions that joined its ranks, namely; the Reading Road Temple and K. K. She'erith Israel.

The Reading Road Temple known as Congregation Ahabath Achim was organized toward the end of the year 1847. This congregation, interestingly enough, was not founded because of a difference in ideologies. The formation of Ahabath Achim grew out of a desire of certain Jews who felt that there should be a congregation in the upper section of the city. The congregation held its first meeting on February 18, 1848 and the following were present: L. Goldsmith, Samuel Weil, Charles Kahn, Henry Kahn, M. W. Fechheimer, H. Winter, I. Bloch, and M. Westenberger. Immediately following this meeting, Congregation Ahabath Achim held its first services with Leopold Goldschmidt acting as cantor. Joel H. Steinberg, the historian of the congregation, in the Israelite, asserted that there was little to narrate that had occurred between the years 1849 and 1864. During these years the congregation remained strictly Orthodox, both in the synagogue and in home practices. The congregation in its early days of existence maintained the old traditions to which they were accustomed. Women were seated in the balcony. But the influence which Dr. Wise exerted upon his own congregation spread rapidly not only throughout the community of Cincinnati but to many other parts of this country. Congregation Ahabath Achim under the indirect influence of Dr. Wise began to emerge from its thick outer shell of strict Orthodoxy and in the year 1872 an organ was installed. There was also organized at this time a choir of fifty children, who sang to the accompaniment of the new organ. Among the rabbis who

served this congregation were Goldammer, Illiozi, Eppstein, Rosenstein, Mandel, Zirndorf and Deutsch, the latter two also served as professors at the Hebrew Union College. As the city of Cincinnati began to enlarge its borders and take in the more beautiful suburbs, members of Congregation Ahabath Achim became dissatisfied with its location and began to move away placing the congregation in a very precarious position. It was at this time that Congregation Ahabath Achim, due to the circumstances that jeopardized its position, merged with Congregation She'erith Israel which had been organized on September 3, 1855 in Gerson's Hotel, then on Walnut Street between Fourth and Fifth. The congregation within a very short time leased a hall at the corner of Seventh and Walnut Streets and dedicated this building as its synagogue on January 13, 1856, with M. Lasker officiating as its cantor. The congregation was not completely satisfied with its present location and within four years dedicated a new structure on Lodge Street which they later sold on April 15, 1883. A new synagogue was consecrated on March 27, 1885 and Dr. David Davidson of the Hebrew Union College was elected its rabbi and on April 27, 1890 Mr. Grodsky was elected its cantor. Congregation She'erith Israel and Congregation Ahabath Achim had discussed merging for a number of years. The consolidation, however, did not take place until May 1906, at which time it was to be known as the Reading Road Temple. The rabbis who served the congregation after its merger were Jacob Mielziner, son of Dr. Moses Mielziner, Jacob Kaplan, 1915-1926 and Samuel Wohl who became its leader immediately upon his graduation from the Hebrew Union College in 1927.

The Reading Rd. Temple, which came into existence through the merger of Congregation Ahabath Achim and She'erith Israel, almost immediately began to discuss plans to amalgamate with the B'nai Yeshurun (Isaac M. Wise) congregation in the year 1908. At this time many of the problems were discussed such as having joint Friday evening services, but no definite plan could be arrived at. The matter was then dropped but came to the fore throughout the ensuing years and finally after 23 years the Reading Road Temple merged with B'nai Yeshurun in the year 1931. The first joint congregational meeting was held on June 2, 1931 and the consolidation was accepted unanimously. The merger of these two congregations was really a consolidation of three synagogues namely; Congregation Ahabath Achim, Congregation She'erith Israel and B'nai Yeshurun to be known thereafter as the Isaac M. Wise Temple.

CONCLUSION

As we look back over the history of the congregations dealt with in this thesis, one can readily see that Reform Judaism in America did not come into being without leaving in its wake the bitter resentments and accusations that any new idea will bring, especially when it affects the customs and rites of a people that have been conditioned to them for so many years.

The history presented herein is not only a detailed analysis of individual congregations, but the history of a cross section of Judaism as it emerged under its new influences. Judaism has lived among many peoples and thrived in many lands throughout thousands of years. It has been influenced by these many different climates of opinion accepting more or less certain principles, customs and rites that added to the wholesomeness of its welfare and rejecting those that tended to mar or decay the basic principles for which it stood.

A people cannot exist in a shell, apart from the rest of the world, and not be influenced by the environment and climate of public opinion.

The main problem of the American Reform-movement, as far as its ritual was concerned, was to compose a liturgy that would be in conformity with the new climate of public opinion, while at the same time not compromising the basic principles of Judaism. Consequently, the movement could not afford to remain static, but had to try out new experiments in this

area, subtly transforming the old formulas or, where this was impossible, to attempt reinterpretations. This has been the case with American Judaism and Dr. Wise stated this in much more eloquent language when he said:

"American Judaism, i.e., Judaism reformed and reconstructed by the beneficent influence of political liberty and progressive enlightenment, is the youngest offspring of the ancient and venerable faith of Israel. The old soul is found in a new body; that majestic palm-tree is but transplanted into a more fertile soil and invigorating clime; it is still the monotheism of Abraham and Moses, with its logical sequences, though clad in a new dress of forms and formulas. It is the American phase of Judaism. So in the course of history, with its laws of development, there has been a Palestinian, an Egyptian, a Babylonian, a Spanish-Portuguese, an Italian, a Germanic and a Polish phase of this same Judaism, each growing up under the peculiar circumstances of time, place and conditions."⁵⁰

We also notice throughout this thesis that the position of the Cantorate begins to play a lesser and insignificant part until it becomes abolished in most instances. However, interestingly enough as history develops and public opinion changes, the Cantorate is once again finding favor with Reform-rabbis. The reason for this is the need for more warmth in the ritual; the need for more traditional elements

in our worship under pressure of the second-generation Eastern Jews in our congregations; and the need for a man, who is a professional musician and well trained in Jewish lore, so that he can inspire the service and teach the children.

Today, it may be said that traditionalism is resurgent again in the Reform-movement, but this can hardly be viewed as a reactionary or sentimental relapse into the Middle Ages. As Dr. Heller said in our interview, Reform Judaism is beginning to correct many of the mistakes that it made when it threw out "en masse" all the ritual from the worship service, and is once again trying to introduce these beautifying spiritual additions in order to create more warmth in the ritual.

FOOTNOTES

1. Elzas, B., Jews of South Carolina, pp. 34-5.
2. Moise, L. C., Biography of Isaac Harby, p. 36.
3. Elzas, op. cit., p. 161.
4. Moise, op. cit., p. 36.
5. Elzas, op. cit., pp. 159-60.
6. Elzas, B., The Prayer Book of the Reformed Society of Israelites, p. introduction.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Secular and Religious Works of Penina Moise by the Charleston Section, Council of Jewish Women, p. preface.
10. Minute Books of Congregation Beth Elohim of Charleston, S. C. Volume, 1838-1843, pp. 101-3.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 109.
13. Ibid., p. 289.
14. Ibid., Volume 1851, p. Dec. 21, 1851.
15. Minute Books of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, p. Jan. 1, 1862.
16. Ibid., June 9, 1863.
17. Ibid., Jan. 2, 1870.
18. Ibid., Jan. 9, 1870.
19. Ibid., Feb. 6, 1870.
20. Ibid., July 10, 1870.
21. Ibid., Sept. 4, 1870.
22. Ibid., Oct. 3, 1870.
23. Ibid., Sept. 24, 1871.
24. Ibid., Sept. 24, 1871.

25. The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, 1830-1930, p. Episode Seven.
26. Rubenstein, Rev. C. A., History of Har Sinai Congregation, Baltimore.
27. Inaugural Sermon Delivered by Einhorn before the Har Sinai Congregation, Sept. 29, 1855 translated by C. A. Rubenstein, p. 6 and 11.
28. Rosenau, William, History of Congregation Ohev Shalom, Baltimore, p. 29.
29. Minute Books of Rodef Shalom, Philadelphia, June 3, 1847.
30. Babylonian Talmud, Berachot 24a.
31. Minute Books of Rodef Shalom, Philadelphia, Sept. 15, 1847.
32. Ibid., Sept, 1848.
33. "School" means here the German word "Schul"; the Rabbi's duty refers to the supervision of the daily Minyan.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Minute Books of Congregation Rodef Shalom, Philadelphia, May 3, 1853.
37. Ibid., May 18, 1853.
38. Ibid., Nov. 1867.
39. Ibid., Sept. 3, 1871.
40. David, Edward, History of Rodef Shalom Congregation Philadelphia 1802-1926, pp. 98-100.
41. Shpall, L. The Jews of Louisiana, p. 18.
42. Share, Nathaniel, Centennial Volume Congregation Gates of Prayer. For the material pertaining to Congregation Gates of Prayer I am greatly indebted to Rabbi Nathaniel Share.
43. Philipson, David, One Hundredth Anniversary of Rockdale Avenue Temple, 1824-1924, p. 8.
44. A few words must be added in reference to Goldstein and Mandelberg as to their character and ability. The author has had the opportunity to speak with Dr. Julian Morgenstern who had the pleasure of knowing both of these men personally. The material cited concerning these men was gleaned from a conver-

sation held with Dr. Morgenstern at which occasion he gave so generously of his time.

Goldstein was a very gentle and kindly man. He was very short and his appearance was unassuming. He sang with a nasal sound but his musical rendition of the service was pleasing and effective. His chanting of the service was enjoyed by all for his music had a singable quality. Morris Goldstein compiled services for the Sabbath, the three festivals, and the High Holidays in three volumes arranged according to the Union Prayer Book. In reference to this music Idelsohn makes the following remarks. "He borrowed compositions from Sulzer, Lowenstamm, Naumbourg, and others, without mentioning their names. Likewise he inserted several items by the French musician Amres and others. His music lacks originality and Jewishness, and is in part too theatrical." (Idelsohn's Jewish Music, pp. 323-4.) In his latter years he served also as Educational Director besides his Cantorial duties.

Mandelberg was without any merits. He had a fair voice but nothing outstanding. He was of insignificant appearance. He performed only as a Cantor and was not qualified to do anything else. Dr. Morgenstern remembers that frequently when Dr. Philipson was out of town he would take his place and officiate at funerals. Dr. Morgenstern remembers that he and Mandelberg rode out to the funerals together in a carriage at which time Dr. Morgenstern would prepare his funeral address. It seems, however, that Mandelberg was a baseball enthusiast and during these rides would interrupt Dr. Morgenstern thinking by blurting out suggestions on how the Reds (he called them Red Heads) could improve their team by trading certain players. He had a habit of singing Toras Adonoi T'mimah to a different tune every Saturday morning. On one of these occasions Dr. Morgenstern was assisting Dr. Philipson and Mandelberg sang this prayer to the tune of "Ha-Tikvoh." Dr. Philipson who was an ardent anti-Zionist did not realize this for he didn't even know the tune of Ha-Tikvoh much less would he allow it sung in his Temple. However, Dr. Morgenstern told Philipson what had transpired during the service and asked him if he recognized the melody which Mandelberg sang. He said, "no," and Dr. Morgenstern informed him that it was Ha-Tikvoh. At this moment Dr. Philipson became very angry and said that it will not happen again. Mandelberg was no great artist and performed the service in a very routine manner adding nothing to the beauty of the services. He was no figure of stature.

After Joseph Mandelberg the position of Cantor was abolished. This was probably due to no other reason than the fact that the congregation had become dissatisfied with the routine renditions of the music and felt that they could do without an additional expense, since it neither added beauty nor spirituality to the service.

45. Heller, James G., As Yesterday. When it is Past, pp. 77-8.
46. Ibid., p. 74.
47. Ibid., pp. 83-4.
48. Ibid., p. 87.
49. The reason for the abolition of the position of Cantor at this time was due to the strong Reform element that began to have control over the congregation. This problem came to light throughout the years and once again the more conservative element began to regain its power at which time Cantor Weinstock was elected. In a personal interview with Dr. Cohon evidence was presented why finally with the re-institution of this position also came with it the complete abolition of the Cantor in the Isaac M. Wise Congregation. Dr. Cohon related that Weinstock had no voice and the people used to laugh at the way he rolled his eyes while he was chanting the liturgy. He never seemed able to get along with his wife for she was continually dragging him to court and he retaliated. He embarrassed the congregation by these actions and what with his poor interpretation of the worship service plus all the trouble that had been brought about between the Reform and Conservative elements throughout the years, the congregation just decided that they had had enough trouble in this vein and voted to abolish the position. In all probability the position would have never been abolished had the congregation been able to obtain the services of a well trained capable Cantor. The abolition of this position was not due to reforms as were many other elements in regards to ritual and ceremony, but just due to many unhappy experiences within the ranks of this particular congregation.
50. Ibid., p. 19.

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