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The Effect
OF INDUSTRIALISM
ON THE SABBATH PROBLEM

A

Graduation Thesis

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To
my WIFE

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

- A. The Sabbath Institution. B. The Importance of the Sabbath Problems.
C. The Sabbath Idea Carried Over to Christianity and Islam. D. How Little has been Achieved in the Way of Solving the Situation

The general conception of the word Sabbath means to most people what the Biblical view considers a day of rest and holiness. When we say "saturday" we refer only to a particular day of the week without any specific implication or the religious significance of the day in relation to a religious observance. Therein, then, is the difference between the word "Saturday", merely a day of the week, and "Sabbath", the religious day of rest and holiness.

The various statutes^x and commandments of the Mosaic law, no less than all the different customs and rites of the Jewish people, find their parallels as well as their explanations in the laws and ceremonies of the different nations. After due research, there is nothing exclusively Jewish in the dietary laws; in the laws of clean and unclean, (kashrus); in the laws of sacrifices, (zevochim) and lustrations, (nesochim); in the laws of the sanctuary and in the priestly garments. Nor is the observance of the festivals and holy days exclusively Jewish even from the beginning of their inauguration to the very end of their execution. All these, collectively speaking, were ceremonies and rites advanced and observed by the priesthoods of the various races. Once they were adopted by the Jewish exponents, for the sanctification of their lives, they were transmitted to the entire people.

For example in the most primitive ages of mankind in Asia, Africa, and Polynesia entire bodies of people carried the tendency of priestly holiness even thousands of years before Abraham, the first man who was to have professed a faith of Jewish religion. The rite of circumcision was then connected and prac-

ticed as the worship of the generative powers. Perhaps through a fate of casualism, or whatever other rational explanation may be advanced, the Jewish people accepted this rite and endowed it with the spark of religion, breaking forth into a flame of the loftiest aspiration and holiness. It was this fervent saway, mighty in its ideal and superior in the advanced mode of thought, that none of the Semitic or Aryan nations could withstand.

Similarly if we were to search after the various causes which turned Israel's mode of worship into a marvelous allegiance and faithfulness unto God, resulting afterwards by bringing a great part of the heathen world under the dominion of the Great and only One, "we could arrive at one great leveling power, which, like no other, helped to build up a religion, and in fact, the only SPECIFICALLY JEWISH INSTITUTION THERE IS, AND THIS IS THE SABBATH"(1)

Before the Sabbath was instituted, religion was nothing more than an outward expression of a sensuous worship of one or another type of deity. The nature of observance was relegated to a class of priests who performed the various ceremonies for the masses thus protecting the people against the wrath of the gods. But with the Sabbath institution man as the individual, collectively and individually, was brought into communion with his Creator. It was the soul of man that became consciously aware of its true and higher nature, and that is, the direct expression of a nobler conception of life itself. Indeed it was this idea, presumably, what the Rabbis expressed by the idea *נשמה יתירה*, the additional soul that inhabits the body of a true observing Jew.(2)

The Sabbath, thus, was made a day of physical rest and of spiritual elevation. And as such, the institution of the Sabbath, unto this day, has been perpetuated for all generations. This single institution, it may be said, was suffi-

1. Dr. K. Kohler, "Origin of the Sabbath", p.4

2. Bezah 16a

cient to bring religion out of the clutches of a zealous priestcraft and out of the confining chambers of an unapproachable sanctuary, into the home of every man. This very reason may account for the fact that the Sabbath, perhaps the oldest of the Jewish holidays, deserved specific mention among the holiest Ten words of the Decalogue. It is the Sabbath, then, that is also numbered as one of the "foundation-stones" of humanity. In this light we may consider this thoroughly Jewish institution of the Sabbath as the most humane and most wide-spread religious principle for a world's progressive development.

B. The Importance of the Sabbath Problems

Thus, seeing that the Sabbath is a genuinely Jewish institution, though in its origin it may have been connected with the heathenish moon-festival(3), we can understand why its observance was not stressed by the earlier prophets. Because this festival like other religious observances was then confined to mere ceremonies and classed among the usages with nature worship. The idea of rest on the Sabbath is only one of the forms of abstinence in connection with lunar changes; and if the Sabbath began as a festival at new moon and full moon, it may well have been observed by the Israelites before their contact with Canaanitish culture. The ancient dwellers in the Arabian wilderness, who celebrated new moon and full moon as season of abstinence and rest, little dreamed that in their senseless custom lay the roots of a social institution, which, on the whole, has contributed to human welfare in past ages and promises an even greater measure of benefit to humanity in all future times.(4) Hence the prophets speak of this holiday and the New Moon almost always in the same connection.(5) Indeed the commandment not to kindle any fire in private homes on the seventh day, and the custom of laying new shew-bread in the Temple on each Sabbath, still betray the original manner of observance. But the Sabbath could not remain a ritual only, when

3. M. Jastrow, Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath, American Journal of Jewish Theology, 1898, pp.315-352; K. Kohler, The Sabbath and Festivals in Pre-

it was also celebrated as a day of rest by the people, thus proving to be a blessing unto all the people, the higher note added by the prophets. Thus the Deuteronomic writer sets a new reason for Sabbath observance in place of the one offered in the Decalogue of Exodus 34.12-26. The Deuteronomy Ten Commandments makes the Sabbath a day of deliberation, the event of the deliverance from servitude unto man and beast, connecting this great humane festival with the deliverance of Israel from the Egyptian bondage. And finally, when in the Babylonian Exile the Sabbath becomes a day of spiritual elevation and of instruction unto the people, distinguishing it from all other nations surrounding Israel. The Sabbath day is declared by the prophets of that time, as Ezekiel and other Biblical writers to be a sign of covenant between God and his people;(6) a violation of the Sabbath in any form was, therefore, threatened with כרת , excision.

Still the sublime seer of the Exile, whose words became a treasury of comfort unto the nations, was primarily interested in spreading the blessing of the Sabbath over all the lands. Perhaps his motive for the extension of this festival was to make it easier for his own coreligionists to pursue and carry out every letter of this noble day. Hence we hear him announce the time when from New-Moon to New-Moon and from Sabbath to Sabbath all flesh shall come to adore the Eternal.(7) And, inspired by this thought, the last composer of the Pentateuch, both in the Decalogue of Ex.20, and in the first chapter of Genesis, entwined the Sabbath with the ideal of Creation itself, not refraining from representing God in the image of a human worker in order to make man look up unto

exilic and Exilic Times, Journal of American Oriental Society, vol.37, p.209-223; Hutton Webster, Rest Days, pp.242-248

4. Hutton Webster, Rest Days, pp.245-247

5. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Amos VIII.5

6. Vide ~~Infra~~, Ch. II, p.

7. Is. XIV.23

God as his sublime pattern. Thus man emulating God's example should work the same days God works and rest on the same day with God.(8)

But the true greatness of this day Sabbath is found in the cause for its great observance. Of all the nations of the past not one except the Jewish was blessed with a day of rest and recreation for all the people. The Pagan festivals were altogether days of carousing and revelry. Even with the Greeks, the noblest of all the nations, their festivals were devoted to athletic contests and gymnastic exhibitions. And although the latter excited also a contest in higher arts and sciences, and even philosophy, yet their festivals were not held as a time of freedom for men, but merely a pastime for the privileged aristocracy. The free man, whether Greek or Roman regarded work far below his dignity, leaving it entirely to his slave. Hence such peoples needed no special day of recreation. Certainly, not in need of any special day of rest, they would not think of the necessity of instituting a day of rest and recreation for their slaves except, perhaps once a year(9), celebrated as a democratic occasion when all alike would share in the joy of the festival. Likewise we can see the reason for not granting a day of rest to others when the lawmakers and the leaders of that day needed none for themselves. In the words of the Egyptian Pharaoh we can read this answer. He denounced rest for his Hebrew slaves as mere idleness. He could not conceive of a necessary rest when he himself, nor his people, knew not the meaning of hard labor. Slavery, being the groundwork of the whole ancient civilization, labor, of course, was considered degrading.(10) Thus sympathy with the slave and the oppressed and persecuted, groaning under the yoke of a tyrannical master, made the Jewish leaders hail the Sabbath as a day of redemption for the working man, and finally labor itself was idealized and attributed even to the God of

8. Philo, De Decalogo, II,197.20

9. A replica of this gay festive occasion is still retained to this day in our modern celebration of the civil New Year's day.

10. Scot Nearing, Where is Civilization Going?, p.75

Israel, in order both God and man, be hallowed by His rest on the Sabbath.(11)

Therefore, we can conclude, the Jewish Sabbath comes to bless the laborer with rest breaking the shackles of toil and care. On the Sabbath day the working man and the leisured together are declared free in the eyes of God and man. It has been proven by modern physicians that after having worked just six days man's exhausted nerves require a day of restoration and enjoyment. But neither a day of rest chosen at random during the week, nor a Sabbath day of rest at the end of a week of ten days, as was attempted at the time of the French Revolution,⁽¹²⁾ fulfills the purpose of the regular Sabbath. When, therefore, many non-Jews by their intercourse with the Jewish people, learned to know the Jewish Sabbath in its eminently humane character, they gladly adopted it.(13) In vain did the indigent patriots and satirists denounce the Roman people against practicing such Jewish customs.(14) In true form Josephus, the historian, and Philo, the Alexandrian philosopher, challenge the Roman and Greek world to find an institution with as general a cause and appreciation as the Sabbath. And it is most remarkable that especially slaves and women longed for such a day of recreation thereby being induced to embrace Judaism.(15) Indeed, the Rabbis rightly claim the Sabbath ought not to be taken as a burden, but as a most precious treasure from God's blessed store-house.(16)

On the other hand the Sabbath as instituted is meant to be a bearer of joy, a day of social pleasure to the house. The pursuits of trade and labor draw man away from his household. The general care and worry in search for a

11. The Bible enumerates many reason and in the Decalogue of Ex.20.8 the loftiest conception of the Sabbath is advanced: ששת ימי מ' תעבד ועשית כל מאמריך ויום השביעי שבת etc.

12. Margolis and Marx, History of the Jewish People, p.610

13. J. Mann, Observance of Sabbath and Festivals, pp.449-453

14. See Ch.II, The Sabbath in Post-Biblical Times, pp.

15. J.E. art. "Proselytes"

for a livelihood tend to estrange the father from the hearts of his cherished family-life. The Sabbath, therefore, links the souls of the family together strengthening the bonds of love and friendship anew, thrilling all hearts with the feeling of joy and sympathy. This prime motive to foster virtues and to bind each member of the family to his own home and family on the Sabbath, was enough criteria to have this day incumbered with many Rabbinical restrictions. Yet all these restrictions were incidentally proposed never to make the Sabbath a day of melancholy and of sober world-contempt as the modern blue-laws etc. The Rabbis ordered to begin the Sabbath celebration in the home with a cup overflowing with wine over which the Jewish father at the evening and at the noontime meal of the Sabbath was ready to gladden all hearts and to fill all Jewish souls with praise and song for the God of Israel. And rightly the Rabbis named this ceremony *וידב*, sanctification of the Sabbath.

Above all, the Sabbath became the inexhaustible source of blessing unto mankind by being a day of instruction and enlightenment. We might claim that the Greek philosophers may have attained a higher degree of knowledge than any of the Jewish masters, yet was not all their instruction confined to a small class of their people? Socrates, walking through the streets of Athens, offered his wisdom freely and unsolicited to anyone crossing his path. But how could he successfully cultivate and educate the masses, having no institution like the Sabbath when he could gain the audience of the people of the streets to spare him the time to listen to his wisdom? The Sabbath in the earliest stages was a day of holy assembly at the Temple where the people gathered to watch the priests perform the special ceremonies of the day.(17) Later the disciples of the prophets rallied around their inspired master listening to words of inspiration and comfort concerning the well-being of the nation Israel.(18) And during the early days of the Diaspora, in the days of the Tannaim, Amoraim, and Saboraim, i.e. in the active years of the academic life of Sura, Pumbeditha, etc., and even unto

this day in many congregations large assemblies of people gather to hear the word of God expounded.

C. The Sabbath Idea Carried over into Christianity and Islam

Heralded as Israel's sacred day on which occasion God's truth is taught, the Sabbath gained a world-stirring force among many peoples. Through all the crises of civilization and religious thought of Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor the Sabbath day was a means to enlist the sympathies of heathendom for Judaism. The Jewish Sabbath, thus, paved the way for Christianity to conquer the pagan world because Christianity, too, adopted this Sabbath idea in its religious program.(19) In fact during the first three centuries the Christian Sabbath was observed on Saturday.(20) Mere hatred and antipathy towards the Jews forced the ruling Church the transfer of the Christian Sabbath to Sunday.(21)

16. Shab. 119a

17. Lev. 23.3

18. Nehem. 8.2;13.10

19. Prof. Cohon's Systematic Theology class notes.

20. Cath. Encyc. art. "Sabbath"

21. The program of the Seventh Day Baptists outline the question of the change of the Sabbath to Sunday under the following captions:

1. Sabbathism was changed in the Christian doctrine due to a misunderstanding of Paul's doctrine of Christianity. Even before Paul of Tarsus offered the people salvation by faith without law, the great force of attraction for proselytes to Judaism was the Sabbath idea as a day of rest and holy contemplation.

2. The early supposition that the resurrection of Jesus took place on the first day of the week was a justifiable reason for the change of Sabbath to Sunday. Hence the Sabbath becomes the Christian day of rest as the Lord's Day.

3. It is the testimony of church historians that there was regard for both the Sabbath and Sunday for a long time; and that Sunday was not called the Sabbath or connected with the fourth Commandment for several centuries. Then in the desire to counteract a growing disregard for any religious day, the fourth Commandment was made the support of the Sunday and there was legislation as found in Judaism.

4. The Sabbath was observed by many Jewish-Christian sects as the Nazarites, Ebionites, Essenes and others. See pp. 6-9

The existence of Gentile Sabbath-keepers is one of the most interesting facts connected with early Church development. Many historians claim that the Jews of the dispersion attracted many new followers who attended the services of the synagog.(22) They are mentioned as devout and God-fearing men - 'ה'ר'ר', who were among the first to follow the ranks of early Christianity. These are spoken of as observers of the elementary laws of food and purity and above all as strict adherents to the Sabbath. Yet these were never truly members of the Jewish community because they did not enter the covenant of Judaism by circumcision.(23)

On the other hand the Jewish Sabbath branched off into the Islamitic "Day of Assembly", which is celebrated on Friday. And probably for the same reasons that Christianity changed the original Sabbath to Sunday also forced the Mohammedans to change their day of Sabbath to Friday to distinguish them from the Christians and the Jews.(24)

But among these Orientals also are found many groups observing some form of seventh day celebration. Sabbath keepers are found in Abyssinia(25), as well as among the Waldenses and Nestorians(26), and in China.(27). Dr. Judson in his diary of his travels relates interesting stories about the settlers of the Burma and the Corean Isles, who speak of Saturday as their day of worship.(28)

The Sabbath has also found its way in the Greek Church of today.(29) And there are also traces of an attempt to establish Saturday a half-day holiday in the different decrees in the early English history.(30)

22. Acts 15

23. Hastings Dic., art. "Early-Christians"; Maseches Gerim

24. Hastings, E.R.E., art. "Islam"

25. Perhaps the Missionary Dr. Judson in his diary confused the Falashas who are strict observers of the Sabbath with some of the native of Abyssinia. See his Travels, p.74

26. Dr. Judson's Travels, p.79

D. How Little has been Achieved in the Way of Solving the Sabbath Observance Situation

Thus the Jewish Sabbath, with its elevating and ennobling influences, has insinuated itself into the hearts of most civilized nations. The fourth article of the Sinaitic covenant has become a common law of life to hundreds of millions of men. The Sabbath, therefore, has become a law written with divine fingers upon the tablets of the human hearts. Once this day has been made a day of communion with the divine, it will forever testify to Israel's truth of man's being as an image and reflection of the free and of the good Creator. Whether the Sabbath is kept on Friday, as the Mohammedans do, or on Sunday as the Christians do, or on Saturday as the Jews are prescribed, it has become God's sacred messenger, uniting man with his Heavenly Father and sanctifying the hearts of the great multitude. We, as Jews, therefore, should thank God for this wonderful gift, the Sabbath, enabling through this institution to transform a world by the spirit of Judaism. It has proved the great source of blessing of civilization in the past. Mankind, whether in its material or in its spiritual pursuits, will hardly be able to do without it anymore. And, as it has created and nursed Judaism, paving the way for Christianity in the Western and for Islam in the Eastern world, it will surely one day bring about the realization of mankind's greatest hope, the one great hope of Israel's greatest seers, of blending all religions into the religion of humanity.

27. Dr. Judson's Travels, p.83

28. Ibid, p.92

29. Schaff, Greek Church History, p.179

30. The Washington Herald, Aug. 1924 gave the following reply to the question "Is the half-holiday on Saturday of very recent origin? Answer: The Saturday half-holiday movement is a revival of a very ancient custom. King Edgar (958 A.D.) ordained that there should be a cessation from all labor from Saturday noon until daylight on Monday. William of Scotland (1203 A.D.) determined that Saturday after the twelfth hour 'should be kept holy'. An unrepealed act of King

But to us as Jews in our present mode of living the Sabbath has a message of complaint. To be sure the Jewish Sabbath has become endeared to us as the messenger of hope and comfort amidst cruel persecutions heaped on us by Christianity and Islam during the Middle Ages. This day of rest and joy was a light unto us, disclosing golden treasures of knowledge and mental freedom amidst a world benighted with ignorance and superstition. This Sabbath day was a fountain of living waters to mediaeval Judaism, rendering every Jewish household a garden of God, looking with the sweet scent of every virtue.

But something has happened in the last two centuries. The great pristine glory and brightness of the Jewish Sabbath-day is gone; its religious blossoms have withered. Ever since the walls of the Jewish ghetto have sunk before the trumpet's blast of the new era of freedom and equality; to open the arena of commercial and industrial enterprises to the Jews and Christians alike, the Holy Sabbath has been violated and put aside by the din and care of labor and business. "Nor", as Dr. K. Kohler claims, "is there any hope of seeing it restored unless new walls were to shut the Jewish people off from the intercourse with their fellow-citizens." (31)

Some eighty-five years have passed since the problem of the collision between Sabbath observance and modern life was discussed for the first time in a Jewish forum. (32) The passing of time has only aggravated the problem. Sabbath desecration has become more and more flagrant among the Jews, until it is well-nigh universal wherever the mediaeval and traditional life have disappeared and industrialism has triumphed. In the prayers offered in the Synagog, God is

Canute establishes half-holiday in these words: 'Let every Sunday's feast be held from Saturday's noon to Monday's dawn.'

31. Dr. K. Kohler, Origin of the Sabbath, p.14

32. This refers to the "Rabbiner Versammlungen" of 1844, 1845, and 1846 which will be treated in Ch. V.

thanked for the Sabbath, the great day of rest, while in the marts of industrialism and commerce at that very hour, the Jew is busy as on other days of the week. The Jew is forced by circumstances of present keen competition to barter and bargain for his means of subsistence on the Sabbath.

The problem of the Breslau Conference is as far from being solved today as ever. An interesting parallel is afforded by comparing the first public debate on the Sabbath problem at the Breslau Conference and the last public discussion of the same question at the meetings of the Central Conference of American Rabbis at New Orleans in 1902, at Detroit in 1903, and at Cleveland in 1905.(33) Almost the same difficulties are presented; almost the same conflicting opinions are noted. On both occasions we hear the majority cry, the Sabbath must be saved, but no efficient means for the salvation are offered. In this as in the last century it is evident that there can be no Sabbath except the Sabbath on Saturday. But then as now it is just as evident that the collision between the actual conditions of life and Sabbath observance presents the greatest difficulty in Jewish practice. After the lapse of all these years the Sabbath is as far as ever, if not further, from being solved.

What actually transpired at these Conferences and the different means of solving or aiding the problem from growing worse will be the object of the later chapters.

33. See Ch. VII

CHAPTER TWO

THE SABBATH INSTITUTION AND ITS COMMANDMENTS

A. As Established in the Pentateuch and in Pre-Prophetic Writings. B. In Prophetic Writings. C. In Apocrapha and Pseudepigrapha. D. In Post-Biblical Literature. E. In Talmudic Writings

The task, then, remains not to find the solution but to trace the problems of this great Jewish institution. It would be of little importance whether we can successfully establish the origin of the Sabbath.(1) It seems that we are not in a position to assume with any degree of certainty that the Hebrew Sabbath was simply borrowed from the Babylonian or Chaldean or Syrian calendar. But by studying the institution as it was practiced in the different periods we may gain knowledge of the development of the Hebrew Sabbath from the Babylonian and visa versa. Each had its process of growth.(2)

If we turn to our literature we can at once trace the current of thought and the general reaction of a people towards an ordained day bearing the mark of originality, particularly in the manner of observance. From the very first chapter of the Bible we can deduce the ordination of the Sabbath on a principle of creation. God, the Creator of the world ordains a day of rest after the completion of what He considers a masterly achievement. And to crown His own Creation

1. M. Jastrow claims the origin of the Sabbath from the Babylonian "Shabbatum". The phrase "Mi-moch'ros Ha-Shabbos" originally meant "on the morrow of the full moon, indicating by the term "Shabat", the meaning "complete", i.e. full moon. See Amer. Jour. of Theo., 1898, art. "The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath."

Dr. K. Kohler would have the origin of the Sabbath commence with the Assyrian or Chaldean adoption of the division of the month into weeks of seven days. He states: "Whence, then, did the Sabbath originate? It cannot have been borrowed from the Egyptians, as some assume, since they knew of no Sabbath. They had their month divided into weeks of ten days, as we find a similar division of the month into three parts among the Aryan nations, and into six parts with

of a universe, God ordains a day of rest, endowing this day with Divine blessings. We should truly appreciate the author of this account for his lofty conception evolving a philosophy of this world in the highest terms of sentiment. The writer of this story of Genesis makes God who has ordained all the wondrous mechanisms of a world also ordain a day of rest. And if man is to follow God's example, because he was created in His image, then man, too, should follow in the footsteps of His Creator; man, therefore, should observe the Sabbath after a six days period of work.

Just when a philosophy of God and His relation to man would enter man's thoughts is hard to establish. It surely must have come considerably later than the beginning of Israel. Yet if we turn to our very earliest documents incorporated in the Pentateuch, namely, the Decalogue of Ex. 34 we find the commandment of the Sabbath recorded as an institution well known among the people. In fact the Exodus Decalogue reverts to this fact as the very cause for the commandment. It, therefore, says by way of admonition "Remember the Sabbath day" - and for what purpose? "to keep it holy." (3)

(4)

In the days of the Patriarchs we hear of no form of a Sabbath observance. And as if leading up the Sabbath commands to a climax the final bond of Israel's duty for Sabbath observance is made clear. "It is a sign between YHWH and Israel, an everlasting covenant." (5) Moreover an extreme penalty is declared for the profanation of the Sabbath, punishable with נָּכַח , excision. This extreme penalty is not a mere threat, for a precedent is established executing this drastic

Chinese and the Mexican people. The Assyrians and Babylonians only adopted the division of the month into weeks of seven days, together with the sacredness of the number seven, with the old settlers of Chaldea, and gradually spread it over Asia; and it is from their monuments that we now learn the true origin of the Sabbath. It was the close of each of the four different phases of the moon during its monthly revolution, - on the 7th, the 14th, the 21st and 28th days of each month, which they called 'the day of stand-still', - 'Sulum' and celebrated as days of rest, 'Sabbatu'. See K. Kohler, "Origin of the Sabbath", p.361, in J.Q.R., 1898

2. K. Kohler, Sabbath and Festivals in Pre-Exilic and Exilic Times, p.3

measure when a man was condemned to die by סקילה, lapidation because he dared gather sticks on the Sabbath.(7)

A definite program is outlined for the Sabbath with specific restrictions and prohibitions.(8) Even during harvest times work on the Sabbath is not permissible,(9) with a special interdiction against the kindling of fire.(10)

Thus the Sabbath heads the appointed holy seasons under the Priestly rule, probably as the oldest Jewish holy day and as a definite fixed institution. Moreover, like all institutions of the priesthood, the Sabbath is ordained with an elaborate ceremony of changing the shewbread in the Tabernacle(12) and with a special sacrificial ceremony to be offered on the Sabbath.(13)

But the highest reverence for this holy day of the Sabbath is manifested when describing the holiest festival of the year, the Yom Kippur with the phrase,

שבת שבתון, - the Sabbath of Sabbaths, i.e. the holiest of the Sabbaths. Often this concept of the holiness of the Sabbath is added with the qualification קדוש ליה, "holy unto YHWH".(14) And alongside with the ceremonials of the

3. Ex. 20.8

4. The Midrash, however, does accredit Sarah with the duty of changing and preserving of the lights from Sabbath to Sabbath. See Gen.R. 56. And Gen.R. 79 claims that the Patriarchs are said to have kept the Sabbath. But these are conclusions read into the lives of the Jewish fathers attributing to them with the same virtues all Israel have had and enjoyed.

5. Ex. 21.13

6. Ex. 31.14-15

7. Numb.15.32-36

8. M. Friedlander, in his "Jewish Religion", p.349 claims that the term לא תעשה כל מלאכה, "thou shalt not perform any kind of work" was explained orally in every detail but only a few of these are mentioned in writing.

9. Ex. 34.21

10. Ex.35.3

11. Lev.23.13

16-

Sabbath the day is to be used as an opportunity to bring the people together for holy convocation.(15) -

Certainly in the story of the Manna as told in Ex. 16 we obtain an explanatory account for the cessation from work. Here we can surely see that this episode would help to strengthen the Sabbath idea as given in the Decalogue as a pre-Sinaitic Revelation. As a summary, therefore, connecting the Sabbath origin either as of purely Hebrew development or of Babylonian origin is well told by M. Jastrow explaining away the different contradictory phases of the Hebrew Sabbath^h.

1. The Hebrew like the Babylonians, distinguished certain days as occasions on which measures had to be taken to ensure the good-will of the gods, to prevent them from being aroused, or to assuage the anger if aroused. One factor in the choice was the association of ideas involved between changes of the gods toward their subjects.

2. Both among the Hebrews and Babylonians these days had a decidedly inauspicious character but could by observing the proper rites be converted into favorable days.

3. Among the terms used to describe such days, the Babylonians had a word "Sabbatum" for which in Hebrew we have an equivalent "Shabbathon", both the Babylonian and the Hebrew word conveying the meaning of "propitiation", "cessation" of the divine anger, pacification and the cognate ideas.

12. Lev. 24.8

13. Numb. 28.9-10

14. Ex. 16.23; 31.1; 35.2

15. Lev. 23.3

4. The Hebrew Sabbath was originally such a Sabbathon, a day of propitiation and pacification, marked by rites of an atonement character.

5. At this stage in the development of the institution, it was celebrated at intervals of seven days, corresponding with the changes on the moon's phases, which the Babylonians regarded as days which had to be converted into days of pacification.

6. The similarity of the precautionary measures prescribed for these days is due to early contact between these peoples.

7. At a later period the greater emphasis was laid upon the cessation from labor and was used as a suggestion of precaution at the same time obscuring other factors of original import.

8. The introduction of profound changes in the religious conceptions among the Hebrews of celebrating the Sabbath at regular intervals regardless of the changes of the moon, led to a complete separation from the ancient view of the Sabbath.

9. The introduction of the doctrine of the Divine work in the creation was completed in six days removed the Hebrew Sabbath further from the Babylonian. At this stage the Hebrew and Babylonian Sabbath ceased to have common contact in the development of the holy day.

10. The Sabbath as a day of propitiation accounts for its being brought in connection with the Exodus from Egypt, since cessation from work is a means to gain favor with the deity. But the concept of Sabbath with the traditions of creation is a more advanced view that grew up about the institution. This later view is probably an outgrowth of the Jewish Theology in an attempt to give the origin of the Sabbath a higher and more advanced religious thought.

11. It was this idea of the Jewish Theology that gave the institution the higher motive yet based on the idea of propitiation. The compilers of the Pentateuch were eager to retain the idea of propitiation of the deity through sacrifices. And to impress this idea upon the popular mind the Sabbath was made the

the very foundation of Judaism down to the present times.(16)

Thus from the Pentateuch proper and from the study of other peoples of that time we can derive only the commands and the origin of the institution as to how the Sabbath is to be observed.(17) As we turn to the other writings of the Bible we get actual glimpses of the Sabbath observance and how the leaders of the times coped with the problem of observance. We find very little in the early stages of Israel's settlement in Canaan that thrown any light on this subject, with the single episode that at the Fall of Jericho seven marches were made, one a day, including the Sabbath as a day of marching in war. This would imply that the Sabbath observance was not yet defined so as to prohibit war engagements on the Sabbath.(18) But what is greater import is that the Sabbath was considered a favorable day to consult the prophets and soothsayers.(19)

B. The Sabbath in the Prophetic Writings

From the prophetic rebukes against the general laxness in all religious observances we gather also the knowledge that the Jewish people were strict observers of the Sabbath. In the days of Amos the Sabbath was improperly observed. Certainly a striking statement like Amos 8.5 shows how impatient the people were with the day of rest because it interfered with their pursuit of business. And in Hosea 1.11 and Lamentation 2.6 there is a threat of the cessation of the Sabbath and other feasts as punishment to disloyal Israel for their laxness in observing the Sabbath.

See pp. 350-352, Original Character of the Heb. Sab., A. J. T., 1898
 16. The Decalogue transformed the Sabbath from a lunar holy day into a day of the Lord. It was made a definite independent holy day, totally removed from the moon festival. But whether the Sabbath was instituted as the day of rest for man as based on the Decalogue of Deut. or whether the Sabbath is a testimony of God's creation basing the idea as the reason for the Sabbath in the Ex. Decalogue, is hard to fix definitely. But what is most essential is the fact that the Holiness Code, which ~~is~~ the Biblical critics attribute its writings to the Ezekiel school, establishes the Sabbath as the SIGN between God and mankind.

A similar trend of castigation is found in the writings of the later prophets. Isaiah with equal emphasis condemns his contemporaries for their unworthy celebrations of the festivals.(21) The stress is not so much against the non-observance of the Sabbath as the gross abuse of the holy convocalional seasons, acting equally as insincere before God as in all their dealings in life. And Jeremiah, too, exhorts his people to refrain from carrying burdens on the Sabbath. He stresses the cessation from work on the Sabbath as of major importance for a proper observance of the Sabbath.(22) In the typical prophetic strain Ezekiel comes forward with the open charges against the general laxness of Israel in the days of the wilderness and evidently found the observance of the Sabbath even-more so neglected in his own times.(23)

But Ezekiel does not stop with mere rebuke. He outlines a plan of reconstruction and rejuvenation of the Sabbath. He seems to strike a note of reformation in the manner of hallowing the Sabbath.(24) As the priest-prophet he makes the reconstructed Sabbath center around the ceremony of sacrifices in the Temple. He, therefore, suggests the burnt-offering for the Sabbath be provided by the prince. This act^{on the part} of the representative of the people is for the purpose that he should make atonement for the entire house of Israel on the Sabbath.(25) And for the Temple ceremony on the Sabbath we find a special hymn in the Psalms entitled "a Psalm or song for the Sabbath day", indicating the importance of the day as far as the Temple ritual and holy convocation of the people were concerned, by incorporating a special song for this occasion.(26)

17. With the one exception the case when a man gathers sticks on the Sabbath and is punished with stoning for the offense.

18. J.E., art. "Sabbath" by E.G.Hirsch

19. II K. 4.23

20. Cf. Mek. 62b stating that the privilege of celebrating the three Pilgrim Festivals depends entirely on the absolute observance of the Sabbath.

Ezekiel, thus, formulates an interesting turning point in the Sabbath observance. Up to his day the New Moon played a far greater role in ancient Israel than may be inferred from the Mosaic Code, where it is no more considered as a day of rest, but only the survival of a holiday in a Temple ritual. Yet in the days of Amos the New Moon festival is still held as important as the Sabbath. In the days of Samuel, however, the New Moon is a dominant holiday and the Sabbath only a diminutive New Moon season recurring four times within the month and probably held of lesser solemnity and importance.(26) With Ezekiel, on the other hand, the emphasis is placed on the Sabbath as the great day of God, ignoring the New Moon as a major festival.(27)

Treto-Isaiah, the Exilic champion of religion conditions Israel's triumph on how the observance of the Sabbath will be enforced, which may not be set aside for secular pursuits. The observance of the Sabbath should be made a delight in the very act of its observance.(28) In his vision of an exaltation of Jerusalem the prophet predicts that from Sabbath to Sabbath all flesh will come to worship before YHWH.

Then with the rebuilding of the Temple, Nehemiah relates the incident how the colonists charged themselves with one-third of a shekel to provide for burnt-offering for the proper observance of the Sabbath.(29) But on the other

21. Is. I.13 ff.

22. Jer. 17.21 ff.

23. Ezek. 20.12-24; 22.8,23,38

24. ²⁴44.2-3,24

25. Ezek. 45.17

26. Ps.92.1

27. K. Kohler, The Sabbath and Festivals in Pre-Exilic and Exilic Times, in J.A.O.S. vol. 37, p.217

21-
hand the people paid little attention to the observance of the Sabbath. Both Ezra and Nehemiah, therefore, denounce the practice of the people and take them to task for profaning the Sabbath. To prevent them from continuing to turn the Sabbath into a market-day they order the gates of the city of Jerusalem be closed and remain so until the end of the Sabbath.(30)

C. In Apocrapha and Pseudepigrapha

With the Exile a new interpretation of the religious worship took place. under the stress of the Assyrian persecutions, faithful compliance with the strictest interpretation of the Sabbath is to be regarded as a sign of loyalty to God. Especially is this stressed at this time since previously the Sabbath had been habitually desecrated if not, at times, totally ignored.(31) Thus we read about many of the refugees in the mountains, thousands in number, who preferred to die rather than violate the Sabbath by hurling stones upon their assailants.(32) The reversal to the strict adherence to the Sabbath is now developing into a grave menace. Therefore, this new situation makes it necessary for Mattathias to issue imperative orders, stating that Jews, if attacked, should defend themselves regardless of Sabbath or holidays.(33)

28. Is. 58.23

29. Neh. 10.32

30. Neh. 13.16-17

31. I Mac. 1.30

32. I Mac. 2.41 ~~Also the text of I Mac. 2.39-41 is very important and proves conclusively~~

33. The text of I Mac. 2.39-41 reads as follows: "Now when Mattathias and his friends understood hereof, they mourned for them right sore. And one of them said to another: 'If we all do as our brethern have done, and fight not for our lives and laws against the heathens, they will now quickly root us out of the earth'. At that time, therefore, they decreed, saying: 'Whosoever shall come to make battle with us on the Sabbath day, we will fight against him; neither will we die all, as

This new zeal for the strict observance of the Sabbath must have reached the enemy outside the Jewish camp, because a specific incident relates how Nicanor planned destruction of the Jews by attacking them on the Sabbath day, when he had reason to believe that the Jewish soldiers would not attempt to resist. The Jewish army implored the enemy to honor the Sabbath as the "day dignified with holiness by the Heavenly Ruler". But the enemy persisted, declaring that Nicanor accepts no other ruler on earth. Of course, the Jews resisted after the decree of Mattathias and the expedition of Nicanor failed, (34) resulting in great victory for the Jews.

About this time, also, a new type of speculation is advanced for the observance of the Sabbath. The Sabbath is a sign that work is to be done six days and should be dropped on the seventh. (35) But this new order is not only to be carried out by man on this earth but also by the angels in heaven. The chief orders of the angels are bidden to observe the Sabbath with God. (36) And then for that very reason God selected Israel as the chosen people because YHWH purposed to make them a Sabbath-observing people. Because of that eating, drinking, and blessing God are as important as the cessation for work. (37)

And ~~it~~ to be sure the Sabbath was hallowed in heaven before it was even ordained on earth. The Sabbath was given to Jacob and his children that they

our brethern that were murdered in the secret places." This innovation of Mattathias seems to have been generally accepted in the time of the Maccabees. There is no difference of opinion between the authors of the two books of Maccabees on the question of warfare on the Sabbath. The innovation of Mattathias is clearly to allow defence on the Sabbath when attacked by an enemy, and therefore, the Jews, in so far as at times when they were not attacked they even pursued their enemies, and when the Sabbath came, the Jewish soldiers stopped their pursuit with the approach of the Sabbath. (II Mac. 5.25; 12.38) Also the intentional attack of Nicanor on the Sabbath day is also related in II Mac. 15.1 ff. has its parallel in the attack of Bacchides (I Mac. 9.34, 43 ff): in both cases the non-Jewish generals hoped to take the Jews unawares, as they would be less vigilant and not as ready for defence owing to the Sabbath. Then again the Jewish soldiers in Nicanor's army (II Mac. 15.2-5) besides being afraid lest their brethern be taken

might remain the "blessed and holy ones of the first testimony and law" just like the seventh day is the testimony of cessation from labor. Therefore, any form of labor thereon entails death, but its defilement leads to punishment of violent death. Among the acts prohibited on the Sabbath are mentioned: preparing food, drawing water, carrying burdens out of or into the house or from one house into another.(38), buying and selling, making verbal agreements for future fulfillment, and journeying and marital indulgences.(39) The penalty is death for anyone that works, walks any distance, tills the land, kindles a fire, loads a beast of burden, slaughters a bird or a beast, captures in chase any living creature, fasts or wages war.(40)

All these enumerated restrictions were not burden but were considered privileges of a distinguished people who were considered as the only people on earth with the right to observe the Sabbath.(41) Here we gather an asutteness of view that made for coordination and for the building up an esprit-de-corps during a time of hardship and much suffering of a declining Israel.

by surprise, chiefly protested against their general's attack on the Sabbath. And since they themselves were forced to desecrate the Sabbath by taking up arms and waging war on that day.

34. II Mac. 15.1 ff. However, a previous attack on Jerusalem by appolonius proved successfully because the Jews would not fight on the Sabbath. II Mac. 5.25-26

35. Jub. 2.17

36. Ibid 2.18

37. Ibid 21

38. Ibid 25 and 27

39. Ibid 4

40 Ibid

41. Ibid 2.28-31

D. In Post-Biblical Literature

Jewish history after the period of Ezra and Nehemiah is very meagre in its historical records. Only fragmentary reports reach us from those times, and especially scanty is our knowledge of the social life of the Jewish people and the manner of observing the Sabbath and festivals. Suddenly an event which affected Palestinian Jewry a few generations after Ezra and Nehemiah allows us a glimpse of the inner conditions. In the year 320 B.C.E. we find the Sabbath so strictly observed in Palestine that even the defense against an enemy is neglected on that day. Ptolemy Soter took Jerusalem on a Sabbath without find any opposition and thus made them subject to him.(42) About a century and a half afterwards, during the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanus, more than a thousand Jews allowed themselves to suffer suffocation in caves on the Sabbath.(43) This shows to what strictness the Jewish people were subjected, reducing the Sabbath to absolute rest and the prohibition of all work.

In the writings of Josephus and Philo we find new light on the observance and practice of the Sabbath in their times. First and foremost we learn that Jewish people would not defend themselves from their enemies on the Sabbath.(44) Thus we see that when the Jewish army was pursuing the enemy they discontinued their attack because the Sabbath interfered with their progress.(45)

Contra Apion offers a very interesting glimpse how other peoples looked on the Jewish practice of the Sabbath. It seems that Apion controverts the stupid etymology of the name Sabbath. The Jews, he claimed were forced to observe this day because they were afflicted with bubonic boils, known in the Egyptian language by a word very much similar to the Hebrew word "Sabbath". Thus we conjecture that at this time the Sabbath is not held in high esteem among the other nations.

42. Jos. Ant. XII, I, 4-6

43. I Mac. 2.36; II Mac. 4.2; Jos. Ant. XII, 5.274-275

Of greater interest is the manner the Sabbath was observed in the last century B.C.E. The description given in Wars IV,9.12 related the ceremony of ushering in the Sabbath very much like the Jubilee year or the New Year in the Biblical days. The blasting of the shofar means the announcing of the Sabbath. This type of observance is known only in Palestinian cities. But in non-Palestinian cities the blasting of the shofar is not observed with any strictness,(47) but the solemn observance of the day attracted even non-Jews. And during the Maccabean struggles ~~of~~ strict observance of the Sabbath was a means to tell the half-hearted from the pious and religious observer among the Jewish people.

Titus also is outwitted when he attacked the Jews on the Sabbath, because he too was informed that the Jews would not fight on that day. The fact that Jews did partake in battle and Titus was much alarmed when he lost in the campaign.(48)

In considering the process of fixing the meeting-places for religious assemblies, the different political conditions of Palestine should be taken in consideration. In Judea, where the Jews had perfect autonomy, there was no need to erect special buildings for the religious services; any meeting-place could serve for this purpose. In the Greek-speaking countries, however, where the Jews lived amidst a heathen population, it was necessary not to expose the religious assemblies to the gaze of unsympathetic and even hostile spectators. In addition, everywhere in the Diaspora, the Jews had to obtain permission from the authorities to observe the Sabbath and to hold their religious gatherings. Accordingly, they had to organize these meetings and to fix them in certain buildings in order that the authorities should be able to have the required supervision. The Jews, wherever they settled, had to come forward with claims of legal recognition for their religious customs, and had to formulate their de-

44. Ant. XIV,iv.2,63 states: "Though our law gives us leave then to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us, and assault us, yet does it not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do anything else." What is of great interest is the fact that in the

mands definitely. Thus the Sabbath-houses, another name for Synagog, where the religious assemblies would assume political tendencies or would lead to riots. And for that reason the Sabbath-houses became familiar institutions in all places of the Diaspora.(49)

Especially was this condition true in the Roman period. Under the Roman emperors, especially during the reigns of Caesar and Augustus, the Jewish assemblies favored many exceptions the other colonies did not enjoy.(50)

In Philo's writings we find a different trend dominating his interpretations of the Sabbath observance. Mystical and philosophical speculations pervades all his thinking and his writings are naturally affected. He, therefore, makes the Sabbath a day ordained by and intended for God. It is a day when one should enjoy Divine happiness, perfect rest, and absolute peace. Hence, the Sabbath is said to be the day of God, not of men, but for the One Entity that rests, God. What constitutes rest according to Philo? It is Divine rest i.e. ~~xxx~~ rest does not mean inactivity, but unlabored energy.(51)

In Philo's essay on the Decalogue he gives the complete program of what constitutes Sabbath observance. The seventh day is to be observed as a pattern of duty to life. The purpose of man's life is to follow God and the Commandments, given by God to mankind to be observed. Since the Sabbath is the only holiday mentioned in the Decalogue it is to be observed with extreme rigor. On that day no work shall be performed. The entire day shall be devoted to philosophy and

§
 Days Of Josephus Sabbath means primarily "rest".

45. II Mac. 9.43-46 in reference to Judas Maccabee defeating Nicanor's host and "pursued them far: but lacking time they returned: for it was the day before the Sabbath."

46. Contra Apion 2.2

47. Jos. Wars I,vii 3,145-146

48. Ibid IV 2.2

49. Dr. J. Mann, Observance of the Sabbath and Festivals, pp.448-449

study. And when studying is not feasible the time shall be spent in contemplation, The object of all this is to improve the character of man on the day of God.(52) From this we gather that in Philo's time many Jewish people were attracted to the ways of the Romans and Greeks, who spent their festivals in carousing and whiling away their time in sports and athletic feats. On the other hand we can deduce that most of the Jewish people in Alexandria and in other non-Palestinian cities observed and kept the Sabbath in the strict manner like their Palestinian brethren. Although it is believable that among the more cultured and among the wealthier family, those who were anxious to mingle with the non-Jewish society, there was a certain amount of abrogation of the ceremonial laws including a laxity in the observance of the Sabbath. And most likely the writings of Philo were directed against that class of assimilationists. But even those who were not strict observers of the Jewish laws and customs, they too, in no manner attempted to deny the paramount sanctity of the Sabbath.

About the first century C.E., with the spread of Christianity, one of the chief controversies between the Jewish people and the new sect was the question of the observance of the Jewish Sabbath. And most of the discussions took place in the Synagog or Sabbath-houses on the Sabbath day when all the Jewish people assembled for study and instructions.(53)

Thus we can formulate from the writings of the two great men, Josephus and Philo, that the observance of the Sabbath and the Festivals formed the greatest part of the internal life of the Jewish people. It became associated with

50. Cf. Jos. Ant. XIV,x.8 "For even C. Caesar, our imperator and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Bacchanal rioters to meet in the city, did yet permit the Jews, these only, to bring in their contributions, enjoining them to permit the Jews alone to assemble in the synagogues...."

51. De Cherubim I,26.154-155

52. De Decalogo II,197.20. Cf. Vita Mos. III.27-28 where Philo writes: "For this reason the all-great Moses thought fit that all who were

the ideas of the people and entered into the people's speech and deeds. The Sabbath is to be held as a day of perfect rest, on which no food could be properly prepared, necessitating preparation of food on the previous days, especially on Fridays. Thus the Sabbath is not only hallowed on that seventh day but also imparted something of its sanctity to the time immediately preceding it and held over its spirit a little after the day has past. The proper Sabbath, from eve to eve, is ushered in and accompanied on its departure by stretches of time, half hallowed. Here we approach the institution of the *ערב שבת* and the *מוצאי שבת* as partly holy occasions.

Such a general conception of adding on more festivity to the day of the Sabbath led to many restrictions even on Friday afternoon and on Saturday night. But these were not yet adopted until the Talmudic times.

E. In Talmudic Writings

We now turn to describe the religious life of the Jew on the Sabbath as far as can be gathered from the Talmudic sources. In the Talmud we find the Tannaim and Amoraim speak of the Sabbath regulations with a degree of certainty and attribute many new customs as well established institutions of their times. They, for instance, mention the fact that on the Sabbath great multitudes of the people gather in the houses of assembly for the purpose of discussing ~~the~~ matters pertaining to the Law. Thus we read that whereas Moses instituted the reading of the

enrolled in his sacred polity should follow the laws of nature, and MEET IN A SOLEMN ASSEMBLY, on the Sabbath, passing the time in cheerful joy, and relaxation, abstaining from all works, and from all acts which have a tendency to the production of anything; and from all business which is connected with the seeking of a living, and that they should keep a complete truce, abstaining from all laborious and fatiguing thought and care, and devote their leisure, not as some persons scoffingly assert, TO SPORTS, OR EXHIBITIONS OF ACTORS AND DANCES for the sake of those who run madly after theatrical amusements, and even encounter miserable deaths... But giving up their time wholly to the study of philosophy, not of that sort of philosophy which word-catchers and sophists seek to reduce to a system, selling doctrines and reasonings as they would any vendible thing in the market....

Law on the Sabbath morning, Ezra is reported to have instituted the reading of the Law on the Sabbath afternoon.(54) Dr. Jacob Mann, however, claims that the reading of the Law on the Sabbath was an old institution, "as can be gathered from the fact that about the middle of the third century B.C.E., the Alexandrian Jews, no more able to understand the Hebrew origin, found it necessary to have the Pentateuch translated into the Greek.(55)

This has led to the assumption on the part of many scholars that the Synagog with its great importance it played in the life of the Jew, especially on the Sabbath, was originally introduced in the Greek-speaking communities.(56) But of much greater significance is the idea of the Sabbath observance overshadowing all other days of the week. The two great schools of Talmudic thought, the Shammaites, the rigorists of the Law, and the Hillelites, the more lenient also held controversy on this question. The former, therefore, upholds a view that the preparation for the Sabbath should begin with the first day of the week.(57) On the other hand the school of Hillel, the more reasonable and more thoughtful leaders, interested in the life of the people, proclaimed that the Sabbath observance does not detract the dignity of the other days of the week.(58)

53. N.T. Acts 45

54. B.Kama 82a

55. Dr. J. Mann, Observance of the Sabbath and the Festivals, p.448

56. The chief exponent of this theory is M. Friedlander in his book, "Synagoge und Kirche in ihren Anfängen". His chief argument is that in the descriptions of the persecutions set on foot by Antiochus Epiphanus nothing mentioned of any destroyed synagogues. Also that II Mac. 8.27 related an incident of a Sabbath assembly held by Judas Maccabee and his warriors after the victory. The text reads: "So when they had gathered their armies and spoiled their enemies, they occupied themselves about the Sabbath, yielding exceeding praise and thanks to the Lord."

57. Pesik. R. 23

58. Bezah 16a

Concerning the Sabbath preparation much speculation has been advanced. Here we see how far the idea of preparing for the Sabbath is important for the future destiny of the Jew. The following great disasters may be possibly forestalled through this medium of preparation for the Sabbath: (1) the Messianic sufferings, i.e. assuming that the Messiah will not come unless the world will be afflicted with great and indescribable sufferings; (2) the wars of Gog and Mogog, taking for granted that the Messiah will be ushered in after the legendary great wars of Gog and Mogog, when the entire world will be engaged in one great conflagration and the preparation for the Sabbath will do away with the unnecessary suffering of all mankind; then the Messiah will come without this great struggle; and (3) the first days of restitution, meaning, that there will be great turmoil when the Messiah will come and the Jews of the Diaspora will be all mixed up, lacking the sense of direction while en route toward Palestine where the Messiah will appear.(59)

But turning from the fanciful speculations for the preparation of the Sabbath to the practical life we also find the people were in duty bound to prepare for this great day of the week. We read how two disciples of R. Jochanan, Haninah and Hoshaiah used to engage in relating stories about God's creation of the world on every Friday. Miraculously this discussion enabled them to obtain a fattened calf for the Sabbath since they were too poor to prepare the Sabbath properly from their own earnings.(60) The importance of this bit of Haggadah is that the people were urged to utilize every source of ingenuity in order to arrange for the Sabbath in the finest and most luxurious possible manner. In fact it is even suggested that no one should partake of any food on Friday after one O'clock in the afternoon, economizing one meal and concentrate with a double energy on Friday night when one will be hungry enough to eat the first Sabbath meal with exceedingly great zeal.(61) And since the preparation for the Sabbath

31-

is considered almost as important as the celebration of the Sabbath itself, rain on Friday, which would naturally interfere with the preparation for the Sabbath, is a bad omen, meaning that nature is against a proper preparation for the Sabbath day.(62)

But what is the main idea of the Sabbath celebration proper? First and foremost the idea of absolute observance of the day is a means to prevent and protect one from committing any sin.(63) And what is the nature of the Sabbath observance? It is to be likened to the most wholesome spice, fragrant in its essence, leaving its after effects on life if prepared and preserved in the proper manner(64).

A fanciful discussion is described between Akiba and Tinnius Rufus offering a glimpse how the disputes between Jews and non-Jews fare on the question of the Sabbath observance. Akiba claims in the course of their conversation that God gave two signs to affirm the covenant between God and Israel, and they are the Sabbath and circumcision. The proof of the argument on the part of Akiba is that the Sabbath falls on no other day but the seventh day of the week. First, because on the Sabbath the necromancer is unable to call a spirit from the Sam-
bation and second, because on Sabbath the grave of Rufus' father ceases smoking.
Of course it is needless to mention that Akiba convinces Rufus in the argument.

60. Sanh. 65b and 67b

61. Pes. 99b

62. Ta'an. 8b

63. Mek. 50b

64. Shab. 119a; Gen.R. XI. Midrash Tanchuma to Ps. 92 ed. Buber p.201a compares the Sabbath to a precious pearl with a similar simile.

65. Sanh. 65b

66. I. Schwab, The ~~XXXXXX~~ Sabbath in History, Note 48 states that the discussion in that free and easy exposition has a relation in forming the impression, of a known fact, that Christians used to attack both

But after Rufus is dismissed then Akiba questions how does it happen that God Himself violates the Sabbath when He sends winds and rain on the Sabbath day, implying that God has to work on the Sabbath. And Akiba also answers his own question that the "Universe is God's own dominion". As Proprietor God is at liberty to do as He chooses even on the Sabbath day. But man, who is only a visitor on God's earth must comply with the wishes of the Master and Creator of the Universe.(67) And as second proof to the above question Akiba offers that God, too, fulfills the Sabbath, because he stopped the rain of the Manna on the Sabbath day.(68)

Apart from the individual duty of the observance of the Sabbath there is a national consciousness.~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ For, the Sabbath expresses intimate relation between God and Israel as a body. First, this relation of God and Israel existed from the days of creation, since God created Adam, from whom came forth Israel and they in turn observe the Sabbath. Second, every day of the week has a co-partner (zivug) but the Sabbath stands alone in the ranks of the week. This complaint the Sabbath brought before God and the answer the Sabbath received is that Israel is its associate.(69) Third, Both the sun and the moon lost part of their original brilliancy when the Sabbath was instituted and is observed by Israel.(70) Fourth, if all Israel were to observe two successive Sabbaths with all the proper preparations and with absolute zeal, then redemption would ensue at once.(71) Fifth, in fact, even, if only one Sabbath would be kept in the above manner by all Israel throughout the Diaspora, then surely Messiah would appear.(72) And sixth, those who observe the Sabbath in the proper manner are comparable in rank with those who give tithes and honor all the Law, i.e. their deeds are not alike but their rewards for this observance is identical.(73)

the Sabbath and circumcision with similar arguments used here. The reason Tinnius Rufus is alluded to answer these questions is because while in the office as Governor he was known as the traditional disputant on Jewish ritualistic laws and customs.

67. Ibid

68. Ibid

69. Beza 16a; Gen. R. XI

70. Gen. R. XI

We must not assume that the Sabbath observance was just a series of outlined duties and tasks without any human qualities. On the contrary much joy was prescribed as necessary for a proper observance.(74) But none of these restrictions intend to make the Sabbath a day of solemn and melancholy sobriety. According to Haggadic testimony the Sabbath is looked upon as a day of joy and is observed in that sense. Because of that fasting on a Sabbath is positively forbidden(75) whether a private fast i.e. a self assumed fast day or a regular public fast like the 9th of Ab which must be postponed to the next day.

This joy of the Sabbath must not be stinted in any way. All expenses incurred for a proper joyful Sabbath is promised by the Rabbis not to impoverish(76) and instead the greater the effort and the more expenses incurred in securing a more joyful Sabbath day the greater the reward of those that enjoy the Sabbath.(77) By way of offering suggestion for proper enjoyment on the Sabbath day there is mention that a change of garments from the old street dress to a special Sabbath or holiday garb is an aid to enjoyment.(78) A very interesting incident is quoted relating how this dictum of changing garments on the Sabbath was circumscribed so as not to miss the significance of the change of garments and yet remain with-

71. Shab. 118b

72. Ibid

73. Shab. 119a

74. Of course there were many restrictions and additional commandments prescribed by the Rabbis. The exact list of the prohibitions are enumerated in Mish. Shab. VII.2 where 39 principal classes of prohibited actions are outlined. These אבות (literally "father" i.e. chief categories), when developed casuistically, comprehend a large variety of a yet larger number known as תולדות (literally "Offspring" or derivatives). The number mentioned in the Mishnah has been regarded, even by the Rabbis as merely nominal, because the list contains many duplications and many other kinds of work are completely omitted. See also Shab. 74a

75. Ber. 31b

76. Gen. R. XI; Shab. 118a

77. Shab. 118a

78. Shab. 25a

in the spirit of the day. It is told that the Jewish people of Tiberias were too poor to afford the purchase of new garments for the Sabbath. They are, therefore, advised to wear the very same garments of every day dress but ~~XXX~~ to wear them differently, *לְבָשׁוֹתָם בְּאֵרֶץ*, i.e. as long as there is an indication of a change in dress, basing the circumvention of the law on a verse from Proverbs: "Rather turn thy Sabbath into a profane day (interpreting "profane day" as profane in dress) than be dependent on assistance of others".(79) Conversely another incident is quoted that Aha b. Haninah was noticed wearing mended sandals on the Sabbath. This was mentioned with displeasure shoing that whenever one can possibly make the change and wear new garments on the Sabbath he should by all means do so.(80)

Among the ever so many suggestion for the Sabbath pleasure we may mention the house decorations with myrtle as a sign of beautification.(81) This idea of the Sabbath as a day of joy and beauty makes the Rabbis often call the Sabbath "Queen" and "Bride", signifying that this day ushers in more pleasure to Israel, the "Husband" of the bride "Shabbas".(82) And since the Sabbath is the day of joy, the one who observed the Sabbath properly is granted an additional soul, i.e. he is blessed with additional inspiration from God.(83)

Thus we can conclude from the Talmudic sources that the Sabbath holds for Israel utmost holiness and respect with an added amount of joy. This day, therefore, is considered a " *מתנת טובה*", a bountiful gift, from God, possessing the qualities of fervent joyfulness and a spirit of perfect gladness.

79. Pes. 112a

80. Shab. 114a

81. Shab. 33b

82. Ibid 119a; B.K. 32a

83. Beza 16a

It is not a day for the suppression or the checking of the human elements of life by Halachic commandments. And the superior character of the Sabbath is marked definitely, since everything connected with the Sabbath is twofold as the Manna, which came down twofold on Fridays and none on the Sabbaths (Ex.16.22); the sacrifices in the Temple on the Sabbath were two lambs instead of the single lamb of the קרבן , the daily sacrifice (Numb. 28.9); a double punishment is enumerated for the violation of the Sabbath rest (Ex. 31.14; The Sabbath commandment is mentioned twice in the Pentateuch Decalogues (Ex. 20.8 and Deut. 5.12; and when ascribing a Psalm for the Sabbath day (Ps. 92) it is recorded with two titles: "Shir" and "Mizmor" and the joy of the Sabbath is comparable to one-sixtieth of the future world.(84) Hence we can see how the Rabbis could speculate about the Sabbath and offer innumerable suggestions for the perpetuation of this great Jewish institution, possibly the greatest institution that could hold Judaism. Because of that it is understandable how the Rabbis could account for an idea that two angels accompany every Jew from the synagog on Friday night. If the Sabbath lamp is found lit and the table is spread with everything in readiness for a perfect Sabbath of rest and joy, then the good angel prays that the same condition recur on the following Sabbath and the evil angel is compelled to say "Amen". But should there happen that the above is not found in the home on the accompaniment from the Synagog, then the evil angel pronounces a curse and the good angel is forced to say "Amen"(85)

From such a story we can gather what was behind all the regulations and restrictions outlined for the Sabbath. Here we see that the object was to preserve and subscribe all possible influences, assuring absolute safety of not jeopardizing or undermining the great day of the Jewish life.

84. Ber. 57b

85. Shab.119a

CHAPTER THREE

THE SABBATH AS IT FARED UP TO THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

A. The Problem of Sabbath Desecration Comparatively Unknown. B. Economic and Political Life did not Create any Problem. C. Therefore, the Sabbath Remained Practically Undisturbed since Talmudic Times

After the continued legislation and ordination of laws and customs for the Sabbath observance and how it should guard the religion of the Jew, with the close of the Talmudic and Midrashic writings, there was practically no change from the seventh or ninth centuries up to modern times. But even this statement needs modification. Indeed, much has happened in the history of the Jewish people in this period toward the advancement and elevation of Jewish religious life, finding its expression through the proper observance of the Sabbath and festivals. And in these observances no direct problem is noticeable.

The strength of the Jewish people during such a varied life, torn and scattered throughout Europe and living among many different peoples, rests in the fact that they were organized in communities marked by intense solidarity. This union is bound with a harmony and tranquility assured by the Rabbinical institutions. And the failure to respect these institutions is sufficient cause to be punished with excommunication, the severest penalty of all Jewish social life, leading to no other recourse, in many instances, because of the hate of the co-religionists, than baptism.(1)

It would be of great value to trace the complete life and organization of the Jewish community during the Middle Ages but this would away from the subject proper. Nevertheless, it would hardly be possible to follow the life and the rea-

1. Compare the case of Spinoza in free Holland and Chayyim Moloch, Judah Chassid and other Galician mystics of the eighteenth century who became

son for such a long period of absolute conformity to existing religious institutions unless internal and social life would be characterized.

The Jewish people gradually found themselves throughout Europe arriving in the different countries under different circumstances and, therefore, enjoying different privileges depending on the nature of the times and on the general welfare of the specific country. Except for the severe shocks of the expulsions at different times from Spain and other European countries the communal life was never interrupted. And during the peaceful years invariably in the respective lands the Jews lived on a basis of good understanding with their neighbors. (2) In spite of the segregations of the Jewish people into ghettos, or confined districts, especially in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, many Jews, in France and similarly in Spain, are highly esteemed by the kings or seigneurs, holding positions of honor and bearing honorific titles. But for the great majority of the Jewish people it is in these enclosed quarters, away from the religious, social, political, and commercial influences that that kept the Jew undisturbed in his ^{religious} practices and observances.

In general it would be an anachronism to represent the Jewish life of the Middle Ages as pale and shabby, ever bearing the look of the hunted animal, shamefaced, depressed by clerical hate, royal greed, and the brutality of the masses. In the Jewries of France there was nothing sad or sombre, no strait-laced Orthodoxy, no jargons, no disgraceful costume; none of that gloomy isolation betokening distrust, scorn and hate were visible. While in Germany all these shamed conditions did exist, it was the arrival of the Sabbath and the

brought down upon themselves a Rabbinical decree of excommunication. See S. M. Dubnow, Jewish History, p.152

2. Maurice Liber, Rashi, p.21 with special reference to the Jewish life in France during the time of Rashi's activities in the twelfth century

festivals, when he could get a few moments of respite from the harsh hounding of the government. It was on these Sabbaths that the Jew regains his poise and once more repeated the customs and practices of his fore-fathers, living over again the joys and dreams of his happier lot of the past.(3)

The great importance for us is the intellectual life of these times, for therein we can also see the religious background. In most cases the Jews resembled in this respect the people among whom they lived. Like them they were pious, even extremely devout, a phase of life bringing no change in existing institutions; and they counted few unbelievers among their numbers. Sometimes it happened that a religious person failed to obey certain precepts, but no one contested the foundations of belief. For that reason every great thinker in the Middle Ages attempted to define Judaism with definite principles and articles of faith, so that when confronted by others who were less progressive in thought, they were safe from attack, or perchance even avoid excommunication, because they defined Judaism and were faithful adherents within that definition of every outward observance of the Sabbath and the festivals.(4) And in matters of religion outward observance was guarded above everything else. The Jews, settled as they were on foreign soil, came to attach themselves to ceremonials as the surest guarantee of their faith. Naturally superstitious customs prevailed, marked by a total lack of scientific spirit. People believed in the existence of men without shadows, in evil demons, and so on. The Jews, however were less inclined to such superstitions than the Christians, who in every district had places of pilgrimage at which they adored spurious bones and relics.

But the Sabbath observance, proper has hardly been affected by these centuries. Every Jew found his joy as well as his sorrow in all the joys and sorrows of his people. As an individual the Jew was never aloof from the inte-

3. I. Abrahams, Jewish Life in the Middle Ages, p.69

4. Maimonides defines Judaism in "Thirteen Articles of Faith"; Albo writes

rest of his community. He takes a personal interest in the family life and the community is regarded as the large family. Joy and sorrow is shared by all. So acutely did all feel every man's grief, that many objected to the recital of prayers for the sick on the Sabbath, lest the Congregation be moved to tears on a day which should be observed by all with perfect joy.⁽⁵⁾ In fact for the same reason no eulogy is allowed on the Sabbath, even after a great dignitary of the community or land. It is the Sabbath, then, that was utilized as an opportunity to do away with all forms of excessive grief, because it was still held as a day of joy and recreation in every respect. Fasting, therefore, is not only prohibited but it is considered a religious duty to partake of three meals on the Sabbath. Wine also was served at these meals, which even the penitents and mourners would drink.⁽⁶⁾

A very good example of this conscious group living is found illustrated in a custom practiced throughout Europe which had already become stereotyped by the eleventh century. On the Sabbath following a wedding, the bridegroom attended the Synagog accompanied by a concourse of friends. On the Sabbath morning, when the Congregation finished the ^אפסוקי דזימרה, the early Psalms, the leading members, (not necessarily relatives of either bride or groom), leave the service and escort the bridegroom to the Synagog. The bridegroom is placed in the North-East of the Synagog, near the ark. Next to him are stationed on both sides groomsmen selected by the fathers of the bride and groom. All these are honored by being called up to the Torah - sometimes reading more than the usual seven portions so as to accommodate all the guests. Then the cantor sings various special hymns.⁽⁷⁾ Or else this custom is carried out thus. As the bridegroom ascends the reading desk during the recitation of the weekly portion, as he walks

עיקרם and many others follow the same path in their writings.

5. I. Abrahams, Jewish Life in the Middle Ages, p.12

6. S. Schechter, Studies in Judaism, Second Series, p.249

from his place, the assembled congregation, whether related or not, broke forth into gleeful songs, expressing a fourfold greeting in the name of God, the Law, the Rabbis, and the people. This ceremony is concluded with offerings for all the necessary institutions of the Jewish community as providing with wax candles for the illumination of the Synagog, a new wrap for the Scroll of the Law, alms for the poor, for the support of the school, and for providing dowries for poor maidens. In the afternoon, on the Sabbath, the bridegroom would remain at home, abstaining from the afternoon Congregational service, so that certain passages need not be omitted from the regular service because of the festive occasion of the presence of a bridegroom. In some places the bridegroom wears a tallith for the first time on the Sabbath immediately after the wedding.(8)

The few changes that were introduced in the Middle Ages is well represented in a curious literary phenomenon, namely, the Rabbinical correspondence, the *שאלות ותשובות*. The Gaonim of Persia who swayed Judaism during the seventh to the eleventh centuries, and their spiritual successors, the Rabbis of North Africa and Spain, carried on a world-wide correspondence. The Responsa of the later French and German Jews are far more local but they also bear the same stamp of importance. Meir of Rothenberg was probably a greater man with a greater mind than some of his Spanish contemporaries, but the latter corresponded with a far wider circle of Jews. And finally the codification of the Jewish law though inaugurated by Spanish Jews in the "Golden age", became the accepted guide of Judaism not until the sixteenth century. It was Joseph Caro's good fortune to write his monumental work, the Shulchan Aruch, in the age of printing. Thus this work within a decade was wide-spread throughout Europe and be-

7. The Monatschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft der Juden, vol. 39, p.325 gives a good bit of the poetry used on these occasions. Here is an extract characterizing the general type:

"Rejoice, O Bridegroom, in the wife of thy youth, thy comrade!
Let thy heart, be merry now and when thou shalt grow old,
Sons to thy sons shalt thou see, thine old age's crown;
Sons who shall prosper and work in place of their pious sires.

came the last authority of religious uniformity including all the questions of Sabbath observance.

Thus we can see that in a secluded communal life where everything is ordained and prescribed by the Rabbinical leaders of that time, that no great problem could arise especially with reference to Sabbath observance. Like all the customs and observances that have gradually accumulated are only additions to the already well-established institutions, the Sabbath, too, joins in with the others to help the carrying out of the commandments regarded as essential for the making of the Jew. Thus we find that in this period the Sabbath is celebrated as the greatest Jewish religious institution, adding on more customs to the great number already instituted. And we can, therefore, see how the Sabbath institution is advanced, characterizing the true observance as devised in the writings of Maimonides. In his Mishnah Torah, III, Maseches Zemanim, Hilchoth Shabbath, ch.30.1 four distinctions are made with respect to Sabbath observance. The first two are based on the Pentateuchal verses, **זכור**, remember, taken from the Exodus Decalogue and the other is, **שמור**, observe, or take heed, based on the verb used in the Deuteronomic Decalogue. The other two ideas are based on the descriptions of the Sabbath found in Isaiah, namely, **כבוד**, honor and **עונג**, delight.

I. **זכור**

זכור את יום השבת, "Remember the Sabbath-day"; i.e. speak of it. The way to remember the Sabbath day is to speak of its holiness, and of its blessings. We fulfill this duty when the Sabbath comes by ushering in the day

Thy days in good shall be spent, thy years in pleasantness.
Floweth thy peace as a stream, riseth thy worth as its waves,
For peace shall be found in thy home, rest shall abide in thy
(dwelling,

Blessed by every day's work, blessed by thine all,
And thy bliss this assembly shall share, happy in thee.
By grace of us all ascend, though by Godly company;
~~XXX~~ Rise we too, to our feet, lovingly to greet thee;
One hope is now in all hearts, one prayer we utter
Blessed be thy coming in, blessed be thy going forth." (translation found in I. Abrahams', J.L.in M.A., p.12

dancing halls "Tanzhäuser" were connected with the Synagogs. These dance-halls (11) were used only for weddings and were found to be popular in France and in Germany. To carry on the dancing on Sabbath they used to hire non-Jewish musicians.

What is understood by the term *מלאכה* in the prohibition of *לעשות מלאכה*? The Pentateuch gives no definition of the term. But the Israelites must have received this commandment orally, with a full explanation of the prohibition, since a breach of this law was punishable with *כרת*. The Bible enumerates certain prohibitions: (1) in connection with the Manna, no cooking nor baking was permitted; (2) no man is to go out of his place(12), therefore, the Rabbis instituted the *תחומי שבת* and circumvent this law with the institution of *עירובי תחומין*, and *עירובי חצרות*; (3) no kindling of fire(13) - when taken literally no kindling of any fire is permitted but is changed that if a fire is kindled the fire may continue to burn during the Sabbath; (4) no burden may be carried on the Sabbath(14); no business may be transacted on the Sabbath day(15); and (6) no treading of the wine-press(16).

Synagog on the Sabbath, because the Synagog was the chief meeting-place of the Jews in the Middle Ages. But the licensed conversation was held in the court-yard and not in the Synagog itself. This probably instituted to avoid excessive talk in a sacred building. In time it became the fashion to reassemble after the morning services to discuss news of the hour, political and military. But the Rabbis forbade those to join in the concourse who found this type of conversation tedious which might detract from the general Sabbath delight.

11. In Spain and in the East this institution of the "Tanzhaus" is not found, probably because the private homes were larger and could hold festivities in their own homes. The dancing took place on all festivals and on the Sabbath. See I. Abrahams, J.L.in M.A., p.76

12. Ex.16.29

13. Ex. 35.3

14. Jer. 17.21 ff.

15. Am. 8.5

16. Nehem. 13.15

From the above we can formulate a general rule about work prohibited on the Sabbath. 1. All such acts as are legally, - even in the Oral Law - defined as *מלאכה*. These are called *מלאכות*, "principal kinds of work" and are those which directly or indirectly were wanted in the erection of the Tabernacle. Therefore, these types are included in the prohibition of doing any work for this purpose.(17) There are also certain acts though not under the above heads, yet are prohibited because frequently they might lead ~~the~~ to a breach of the Sabbath laws, as riding in a carriage, or playing music. These acts are termed *שבות*, i.e. acts prohibited on Sabbath and holidays by our Sages. These are often termed *גזירות* or *תקנה*, (literally decrees safeguarding against breaking the law of *מלאכה* כל *לא תגשש*). Thus the Divine precepts for the Sabbath must be observed although they may involve any of the acts otherwise. For example circumcision, sacrifices when the Temple will be restored, and the saving of a man's life in case of illness or any other danger.(18) A complete list of the thirty-nine classes of work prohibitive on the Sabbath is also enumerated.(19)

2. Everything which our conscience tells us that ought to be inappropriate for the Sabbath, although it may be considered neither an *מלאכה* nor a *שבות*, tending to change the Sabbath into an ordinary day is not to be indulged, as work such as preparing for our daily business transactions even if that work may not involve actual breach of any Sabbath law is considered prohibitive.

Thus we can summarize this principle of prohibitive work that whatever we

17. Ex. 31.14-15; 35.2

18. See p.33, Note 74 where the thirty-nine types of work are discussed as they appear in the Mishnah Shabbas VII.2

19. Maimonides gives a list of Sabbath prohibitions, also totalling thirty nine but differing in character from the one mentioned in the Mishnah. But in both lists the types of work enumerated include only agricultural and industrial occupations as were known in Mishnaic times.

are not allowed to do ourselves we must not permit our co-religionists to do nor employ a non-Jew to do it except in case of illness or fear of illness.

III עונג--"Delight"

The Sabbath delight is to be found in a spiritual character. The principle of the noblest delight is the pleasure we feel in more frequent communion with the Divine Being, in the purer and nobler thoughts with which we are inspired when at rest from ordinary work. The delight, therefore, is found in the ability to devote ourselves more fully in the contemplation of the works and words of God. In this sense Sabbath is described as a "foretaste of the world to come", *זמן מנוחה*, found in the Sabbath Z'miros.

There are also delights of a less spiritual character. We are not to forget on that day all the wants of the body. (20) Because of that a fourth meal is suggested to complete the Sabbath joy and that can be observed either by the actual participation of a fourth meal or else by taking advantage of a higher value, a spiritual meal, by reading or studying the Torah.

IV. כבוד-- "Honor"

We honor the Sabbath day inwardly by considering the day a holy, distinguished season, which ought to be devoted to higher objects than wants of our body. Therefore, our mind should be turned away from the daily tasks. Thus we honor the Sabbath:

1. With a festive appearance at our meals, in dress, and in our dwellings.

2. Through neatness and cheerfulness, however, avoiding excessive

20. Rabbinic literature and in the Sabbath *זמן מנוחה*, Sabbath is marked as "This day for Israel, light and joy, a Sabbath of rest", uniting the two great virtues of the Sabbath in the phrase: *שומר שבת וקורא עונג*. The poem "Light and Joy" was written by Isaac Luria and is translated by Mrs. S. Cohon, now incorporated in our Union Prayer Book as one of the Sabbath hymns.

luxury as suggested that it is better not to make the Sabbath a holy-day so as not to become a burden on other members in the community.(21)

3. Spread a cloth over the table and over the Sabbath breads to show the distinction of the Sabbath.

and 4. By kindling special Sabbath candles.

Thus we can see that in a secluded communal life, where everything is ordained and prescribed by the Rabbinical guides of the time, that no great problem could arise especially with reference to a strict observance of the Sabbath. Like all the customs and observances, that have gradually accumulated up to this time are only additions to the already well-established institutions, the Sabbath, too, is joined with the others to help the carrying out of the commandments regarded as essential for the making of the Jewish a devout and pious observer. Thus we find that in this period the Sabbath is celebrated as the greatest Jewish religious institution, adding on more customs to the number already instituted. And we can, therefore, see best the observance of the Sabbath by tracing how a Sabbath is observed.

"The Sabbath, with its opportunities for rest and devotion, is described as the harvest of the week, the advent of which is impatiently awaited by the sainted and the pious. It is a gift of the Lord and the saint who shows his gratitude by the preparations he makes to accept it. Indeed, he would avoid anything which in some circuitous way might lead to the breaking of the Sabbath, even in such cases where breaking it would be permitted by the Law."(22) Now Queen Sabbath is met on her way with song and praise.(23)

From olden times the Sabbath is personified as a Bride, and though it was long before this conception finds formal expression in the Prayer Book, the

21. Shab. 18a states:

22. (S. Singer, Historical and Explanatory notes to the Prayer Book, p.120

idea itself is the source of much intensity of joyousness as the Sabbath hour is approached. In the range of ideas we are now considering, Israel as the groom and Queen Sabbath as the lady of his love.

The formal announcing of the Sabbath was not the shofar blasts as described by Josephus(24) but by the use of a wooden mallet.(25) Either the "Shamash" or some other official of the community.(26) On Friday afternoon this official would ascend a tall building and with a few strokes with the mallet, thrice repeated at long intervals, notified that work is about to cease.(27) Hurriedly all the community prepared for the Sabbath and formally ushered in the quiet day of rest with the service at^{which} the famous poem of Solomon Alkabetz of the sixteenth century is an expression of the sincere appreciation of the Queen Sabbath.

The last sounding of the shofar or the knocking with mallet was also a sign to inform the time for the kindling of the Sabbath lamp. Here we bring in a duty especially directed for the woman and a ceremony observed in the home away from the Synagog. In fact both the entrance and the exit of the Sabbath are both solemnized with the lighting of lights - on Friday night by the woman and on Saturday night by the man. This Sabbath lamp is a means to mark the beginning of the day of rest - the day par excellence of the home.(28) The kindling of the

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23. By way of illustrating, this poem "Friday night" by I.G.Ascher characterizes the great event when the time came to usher in the Sabbath.

"The majesty of sunset in the west
Has glorified the ebbing hours of day!
The world is hushed as if its heart would pray!
In busy, Jewish homes there enters rest;
The weary soul no longer is depressed,
A Sabbath calm has come, the children stray
And prattle every sombre care away,
Our Friday night has made our portals blest!

The lamps are lit in solemn joy and prayer,
And curtains folded close to hide the night,
A glow of love in every Sabbath light!
Unspoken blessings fill the chastened air,
And happiness pursues time's gentle flight,
And over all God's blessings everywhere.

Sabbath light ~~xxx~~ is in keeping with the ancient ideal, which regarded the home as the woman's sphere and the work-a-day world as the man's, a reason why the kindling of the lights on Saturday night, marking the end of rest and the resumption of ~~xxxx~~ the week's work, blessing God for artificial rays, is carried out by the man(29). The words of the benediction בֵּרַךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ שֶׁנֶּחֱדָה לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ are not cited in the Talmud, but belong to the Gaonic age.(30)

The Sabbath lights are symbolical of the serenity and cheerfulness which distinguishes the Jewish day of rest. The custom is beautiful enough intrinsically to need further explanation. Since light and joy are a natural association, and as the Sabbath is a day of joy, light was its obvious concomitant. At various times special lamps have been reserved for Friday night use only.(32) The Karaites instituted the practice of sitting in absolute darkness on Friday nights; perhaps in no other point are they so clearly manifesting that they are sectarians outside the main fold of Judaism as in this observance of the Sabbath lights.(33)

In the description of the life of Joseph Caro at his table, characteristically of every Jewish home, the Friday night meal is prolonged during which the general conversation is entirely over spiritual matters; to sing special songs about the glory of the Sabbath and to have all the conversation about the table in Hebrew, the sacred language.(34)

24. Wars IV, ix.12

25. This practice is directly in keeping with the custom described in Shab. 35a that the shofar was sounded three times for the purpose of warning field-laborers to desist from their labor; to direct shopkeepers to close their stores, thus warning the entire community.

26. This official was termed in some places "Schulklopfer" and is also known as "Campanator". The title is as old as 1225, for this term is used Folz's carnival play, "Der Juden Messias", dated 1225.

27. I. Abrahams, J.L.inM.A. p.56. Though Bloch-Schneiderman in his story "The Golem", describing the life of the Ghetto in Prague, describes the Sabbath in the sixteenth century still using the shofar to announce the arrival of the Sabbath. Cf. S. Schechter, Studies in Judaism, 2nd Series, describes a similar scene in the life of Safed, p.243

Again, the prescribed ritual in the Synagog is all joy and promise, containing no confession or the slightest reference to anything of a despondent nature. And reluctant to part with these hours of serene peace and unalloyed joy, and anxious to prolong them as much as possible the Sabbath receives an extension both at the beginning and at the end of the day of rest. There is also mention of a special society whose members would meet to spend the end of the Sabbath, reaching way into the night, with song and dance, singing the song of the "M'la-ve Malka(35).

To sum it all up, this great period of Jewish life, characterised by isolation and clannishness, was inevitable in view of the ever opposing forces of the non-Jewish environment to hold its own. And it is this almost insuperable barrier that raised the class of the Jewish society even above his free-roaming neighbors, the Christians. But it was the exclusiveness that also gives the Jew peculiar stability and completeness to his life. Both as an individual and as a member of the Jewish society, it was the same exclusiveness that afforded the opportunity for the development of a sharply defined culture and for the elaborate and yet almost undisturbed observance of the religious program on the holidays and the Sabbath, the only opportunity to show when a Jew is a true Jew. It is also this period that afforded the opportunity for the fixation to the point of

28. S. Singer, Historical and Explanatory Notes on the Prayer-Book, p.118

29. J.Q.R. Vol.III pp. 710 and 721 art. "The Sab. Light" by M Friedmann

30. Machzor Vitry ed. Buber paragraph 473. The wording of the benediction is of special interest signifying Rabbinical changes to be considered with equal importance as the Biblical. The benediction declares that the kindling of the Sabbath light is a divine command, though there is no Biblical ordinance to that effect.

31. Cf. Ps. 97.11; Esth. 8.16

32. J.E. art. Sabbath Lamps. We read of seven-branched and eight-branched candelabra which were suspended from the ceiling and lowered on the Sabbath eve, and this gave rise to the proverb; "When the lamp is lowered, all cares have fled".

resisting any number of violent shocks, which under ordinary circumstances would be sufficient to annihilate the group. Thus the Sabbath, as an agent to hold the Jewish people together helps through its elaborate program to tide over the danger point of extinction through the ever so many persecutions.

33. S. Singer, Hist. and Explanatory Notes on the Prayer-Book, p.119

34. S. Schechter, Studies in Judaism, second series, p.239

35. Ibid, p.249. Cf. Luria's celebration of the Sabbath a characteristic celebration of the Middle Ages described in the same volume, pp.275-279

CHAPTER FOUR

HOW INDUSTRIALISM AFFECTED THE SABBATH OBSERVANCE

A. In Germany. B. In France. C. In Italy. D. In Austria-Hungary

With the great advancement in the industrial field there was simultaneously a new evaluation of the Jewish life. This new era, in Europe especially, brought the establishment of greater city life with greater populations. And with it this new impulse brought greater freedom and the advancement of individual life. The urban growth brought all classes together, developing social contacts that helped break down the barrier that held the intact and segregated; at the same time the Jew was a strict adherent to all religious observances for many generations. These new conditions in the commercial, political, and economic life also brought reevaluations of the old religious practices. Here we see the new tendencies that forced a reconsideration in the mode of Jewish life. As long as Jews lived in isolated communities, the religious system that was in operation was easily observed. But when he, too, began participating in the life of the world, there was a collision between life with the changed economic, social and industrial conditions and all the prohibitions of the Talmud hedged about the Sabbath observance. Therefore, the Sabbath observance became a burning issue in Jewish life.

Thus we read in a Jewish-German magazine of the early nineteenth century about the religious state of many Jews and of the confusions arising from the conflicts between the demands of life and the observance of traditional laws. Particular attention is called to the growing indifference and to the need of a reform that will reconciliate the religious life with the new mode of living. This reform will have to take into consideration most of all the necessity for the solution of the difficulties in reference to the Sabbath observance, "the basic religious observance of the time". The author traces concretely the con-

ditions that brought about this new reconsideration, saying:

"The great majority of the Jews even those who pose as the zealous watchmen of Orthodoxy, have really no Sabbaths or holidays, no real means of expressing their religious feeling. The children attend school on the Sabbath, a phase of life a century ago there was no need for it since all Jewish children attended only the religious schools and not the secular ~~askan~~ educational institutions. But even worse than this is the plight of the apprentice. He must work on the Sabbath as on every other day at his trade or in his business in order to perfect himself in his life's calling for the rapidly growing commercial world. And when the young man has finally become his own master, he will scarcely be inclined to observe the Sabbath as a day of rest, because from his childhood he has not been accustomed to observe, even though when master he is able to do so. But how few are there in our time who can observe the Sabbath day, since very few gain the high position of master in the trade".(1)

Thus with the early part of the nineteenth century industrialism became a vital influence in the economic and political life. The creation of the factory system and the development of the large scale capitalistic enterprise gave rise to a new power, the middle class, known as the Bourgeoisie. This class, of whom the Jewish people also formed a great part, began to clamor for more rights and an equal share in the political power of the state. And it was their fight against the clericals and aristocracy that finally won for them equal rights.(2) That great factor of the Industrial Revolution, however, transferring industry from the home to the great factories also revolutionized the social and religious life. Especially was this true among the Jews. As workers and tradesmen they assembled in greater numbers in the cities where they now mingled with the other people and became united to the masses by economic ties which became stronger than the old established religious ties. It was this critical tendency against the authority of the state that made the Jewish factor also critical against the old traditional religious practices. Hence, the exigencies of this economic enterprise also broke down the old Sabbath observances and the old religious loyalties.(3)

1. A.Z.J., Vol.II, pp.345-346. The trade guilds were jealous of the Jewish interest in the trades and would not grant the title "Master" to a Jew, holding them down to the lower rank of journeyman. See Landmarks of English Industrial Hist. p.275

Another phase that was of great importance necessitating immediate consideration on the part of the Jewish leaders of Europe was the rapid growing numbers of conversions among the Jews. This was also attributed to the growing social contacts between Jews and non-Jews. These various phases, then, it will be the task to show in more detail how ^{they affected} the Jewish religious Sabbath observance ~~was~~ in the different countries in Europe.

A. In Germany

The phenomenon signalized in this period of the growing industrialism is bound up with the age known better under the more popular term the "Period of Enlightenment". It is usually ascribed to Moses Mendelssohn as the great figure who helped bring about the regeneration in the social and spiritual life of the Jew.(4) But this great figure is only the product of the more general causes that had affected similar regenerations in all the peoples in Western Europe. In Germany this period of Enlightenment advanced less rapidly than in other countries, because with this growing Industrialism also came the spiritual Enlightenment. Luther himself, the creator of the Reformation, who brought the schism from the Catholic Church in Germany, paved the way for greater culture and enlightenment among the people. Nevertheless, the wars growing out of the Reformation, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries devastated almost all Europe in the name of religion, in Germany, however, it did help in the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth centuries to bring about the greatest tolerance and freedom for the Jew. Thus we may say that it took two centuries of

2. A. L. Sechar, Factors in Modern Jewish Hist. pp.30-32

3. Graetz, Hist. of the Jews, Vol.V, chs. 8,11, and 12

4. Margolis and Marx, History of the Jewish People, pp. 619-626;631637

gradual changing to bring about the influence which finally Mendelssohn and his followers brought into German Jewry under the name of Reform.

Now Mendelssohn himself did not step off from the traditional observance of the Sabbath in spite of his gaining citizenship and other high glories through his literary achievements. (5) But the generation that followed Mendelssohn abandoned his position of strict adherence to the Sabbath for that of universal humanity, or, better to say for German nationality and civil emancipation. (6) This new generation intoxicated with the new freedom from the old enclosed Jewish quarters drank deep draughts of the marvelous poetry of Goethe and Schiller. They permitted themselves to be rushed along by the new spirit of the French liberal doctrines, (7) plunging wholeheartedly into the vortex of the romanticism, taking an active part in the social, literary, and political movements of the times as witness Börne, Heine and their fellow-combatants. (8) And instead of them following the former policy that a Jew has no other affiliations except the religious thus binding the Jew to his strict observances, the new influence in Germany was "Germans in all respects...except in religion."

But this great excitement of a world-wide emancipation soon subsided. When the noise of the liberty love-feasts had evaporated with the reactionary Europe after the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the sobering influence brought the great champions of the Jewish culturists and religious guides back to their greater task, to a reconsideration of their own religious stand. The more intelligent Jewish circles now realized that, in their devotion to the German national movement, they had completely neglected their own people, abandoned the

5. S. Dubnow, Essays on Jewish History, p.160

6. This influence permitted a laxness in the religious observances, especially in the manner of the observance of the Sabbath day of rest. See G. Deutsch, The Jewish Reform Movement Historically Considered, p.5

7. To be taken up in more detail under B. of this chapter.

Sabbath and the Jewish holidays. Yet their people, too, had needs, both practical and spiritual. When they realized the great enticement for the cultured to abandon the religious influence that held the Jew a singular group was now breaking asunder, losing many great Jewish minds to Judaism forever, the great progressive progenitors of this new influence retraced their steps.(9)

But what was infinitely worse was the great laxness in the religious observances among those who remained within the fold and were forced to break the Jewish traditions because of their new mode of living. There was a complete anarchy among the religious leaders, everyone trying to devise means either to justify their position and their new religious practices or to condemn those who attempted to break with the traditional observances of the Sabbath.(10)

At this time the great minds in many German provinces took in hand the transformation of the inner Jewish life with an attempt to modify the religious practices and observances.(11) Above all their task was the cultivation of the external extended Jewish practices and have them harmonize with the industrial and economic conditions of their time.(12) And once the seed for reevaluation of the religious practices has been planted the work of the Rabbis was now to take concerted action as to what should be the fate of the modern tendency on the Jewish world.

8. S. Dubnow, Jewish History, p.161

9. Mixed marriages and baptism were growing in alarming numbers among the more cultured Jewish families, viz., the family of Mendelssohn was a concrete example what the new influence was doing to the younger generation. Also Heine, Lesalle, Lasker and Carl Marx were products of this new influence, seeking their life's calling at the expense of their religion. See A.Z.J., Vol.VIII, pp.345-347

10. Ibid

11. Zunz and a host of other great Jewish leaders attempted a simplification of the Jewish ritual. Leopold Zunz (1794-1896), for example witnessed the profound change of his people in the 19th century. From the very start he favored a reform of worship and the introduction of such changes as commendable with the times. He favored such reforms as were proposed later by the Conference of Braunschweig in 1844, in-

B. In France

The same conditions that prevailed in Germany happened in France. But the French Jewry had a greater task. What Germany accomplished in a space of several centuries, France had to overcome almost overnight. With the great historical event of the French Revolution, a movement that stands for political emancipation, the Jew too, received his political emancipation for the first time in Europe.(13) But no more was this great event the only cause for the Jewish enlightenment than Mendelssohn was the only figure that influenced German Jewry. These were only the products of the more general causes that had effected a similar regeneration in all the peoples of Western Europe. The new currents of thought of the Revolution dominated all minds of the eighteenth century without asking whether the thoughts were Jewish or non-Jewish.(14)

In point of fact, the transformation in the life of the Jews in France did take place with extraordinary swiftness. The proclamation of the civil equality of all French citizens, Jews included, gave a sudden impulse to every Jewish youth to take advantage of this new freedom. And here was the danger the French Jewry had to overcome. The new regime ordained a Republican Calendar with a period of rest on every tenth day,(15) an innovation which affected the Jewish religion since the Jewish historical and the old-established day of rest was the Sabbath, making the observance of the Sabbath a misdemeanor. For-

cluding also the Sabbath problem. But this greatest efforts were directed towards education in the Teachers' College of Berlin, of which he was the principal. See Margolis and Marx, Hist. of the Jew. People, p.639.

Zunz also while a student at the university formed a society, ("Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden"), in 1819, where special lectures were held on every Saturday afternoon, hoping that through this medium of familiarizing with Jewish literature and history the tide of indifference and apostacy would be checked. See Margolis & Marx, Hist. of the Jew. People, p.638

12. In the early part of the 19th century, in many German communities as Frankfurt, Berlin, and Hamburg, Jewish laymen organized groups under the name as "Cultusverein" or "Reformverein", inaugurating

tunately this new idea of rest on a tenth day was not of long duration.(16)

With the supremacy of Napoleon and his great sweep over Europe, the French spirit of freedom spread among all the peoples of Europe. The Jewish people, especially of France were forced to accept the terms outlined by Napoleon to the Great Assembly and later the Sanhedrin. The twelve questions, the body of Jewish notables of France and Italy had to answer, were a sign how far the Jewish religion was influenced by states rights. And the Consistory bodies that govern Jewish in all the French occupations and in France proper, remained the governing bodies of the Jewish people until the separation of Church and State in 1905.(16a)

The inner life of the Jews of France, however, showed more concretely what this spirit of the French Revolution had accomplished. The Westphalian Jews took the lead in this modern trend. Under the leadership of Israel Jacobson, who was named president of the Westphalian Consistory, modeled after the French consistories, since this territory was now under the rule of Jerome, Napoleon's brother, the great concern was the education of the Jewish youth along modern lines including the Jewish learning with the secular and thereby including also some form of Sabbath observance. Jacobson consulted the leading Rabbis of his time viz., David Friedlander of Berlin, Aaron Wolfsohn of Breslau, and David Fränkel, director of the Francis school of Dessau. Following their

such reforms as that were necessary to avoid the cleavage between the old time practices and the new conditions of the times. Men like Einhorn, Zunz, Geiger, Holdheim etc. as Rabbis also joined ranks with the laymen, who now began to reformulate a new interpretation of Judaism, especially with reference to the observance of the Sabbath and the holidays. See Graetz, Hist. of the Jews, Vol. V., ch.11

13. The French Revolution is considered as the great even that stirred European Jewry to the realization that they are also a part of the so-called modern tendencies for freedom of thought. See Sombart, The Jews and Modern Capitalism, p.379
14. We read of a temporary innovation by the French Tosefists as early as the 12th century, other wise known as the very rigorous French

advise a school was established at Cassel, the seat of the Westphalian Consistory, in which instruction was given in secular and religious subjects. But what was of great importance was that this school held Divine services every Saturday in its chapel. The prayers were partly in Hebrew and partly in German and with the service an address was offered in the vernacular either by the president of the Consistory or some other member; at this service German hymns were sung.(17) These slight innovations, primarily directed to revive a greater love for the Sabbath service among the younger generation, were the beginnings of the Reform movement.(18) The three Rabbis of the Consistory took great pains to show that these apparent innovations in the Sabbath service were not in any way transgressing any Rabbinical enactments. And as a result of this progress in the service, several years later led Israel Jacobson (July 17, 1810), to dedicate a Temple at Sessen, built at his own expense, including the same innovations he had established at the school at Cassel. This event of the dedication of the Temple at Sessen had been termed as the "Festival of the Jewish Reformation".(19)

But in France proper very little has been accomplished to forestall the new spirit of freedom and industrialism. Even the emphasis of the Sanhedrin that Rabbinical jurisdiction has to give way for the rights of the state did not show any improvement in the life of the religious practices and of the French Jews. External reforms were very slow in being adopted in France especially

school of Talmudists, not to prohibit the wearing of jewelry on Sabbath because the women would not obey such a rule. See G. Deutsch, Jew. Ref. Hist. Considered, p.5

15. Margolis and Marx, Hist. of the Jew. People, p.610
16. Sardiner, Epochs in the French Revolution, pp.74-78 claims that this inauguration of the Republican Calendar was never carried out, at least it existed no longer than two or three years, since the Catholic Church also opposed such a measure as interfering with the Sunday worship for the Christians. The religious problem abated with the introduction by Robespierre of the Deistic cult of the Supreme Being in 1794, permitting everyone to practice his own religion.

with respect to the observance of the Sabbath. The Tzarphati letters bring this emphasis to the foreground when saying: "If reforms are not introduced the Jews of France will either become absolutely indifferent toward their religion or enter the Christian Church".(20) And the prediction of these letters came true in many cases.(21)

C. In Italy

It hardly needs a proof that in Italy the same prefading conditions affected the religious life of the Jew. First of all the spirit of the Renaissance that began in the Italian cities also brought its influence on the Jew. With it also came the renaissance for the study of the classics, a general influence toward modernity and industrialism. In the Jewish circle there was Leon Modena, (1571-1648), whose works were not exposed until the early part of the nineteenth century. In his "Behinat Ha-Kabbalah", he attacked everything that was advanced by the Rabbinical rule as travesty of religious sentiment and suggested the best way to solve the situation by the advancement of a new ritual after the modern Union Prayer-Book style. He also attacked the rigorous Sabbath laws and the strictness with the peculiar innovations by the Rabbis in reference to the גכ"ב and the דכ"ג.(22)

It was this liberalism that was growing from within the Italian ghettos that seemed to be the leading power since the fall of Rome, Sept. 20, 1870. From this event on it meant that the Jews of Rome would be considered members of the nation, differing merely in the religious affiliations.(23)

17. A.Z.J., Vol. LXVIII, (1904), pp.392-393 gives a reinterpretation of Jacobson's activities as a pioneer reformer.

18. D.Philipson, Reform Movement in Judaism, p.21

19. Ibid

20. A.Z.J., Vol.III, p.151

21. D. Philipson, Ref. Mov. in Jud., p.31

D. In Austria-Hungary

The sister country to Germany, Austria fared the same lot as Germany in this sweeping growth of industrialism and the continual onslaught for civil^u emancipation.(24) And while the same stress in the waning of religious observances was experienced in Austria and Hungary, yet in neither of these countries was there the same progress ever achieved as in Germany proper.

Emperor Joseph II's Edict of Toleration in 1782 certainly was a sign of relief for the Austrian Jewry. But it was by no means a sign of perfect freedom. What it actually amounted to was that the old restrictions of residence were to remain in force and that the Austrian Jews, particularly of Vienna, constituted just so many tolerated family. Nevertheless, the note of freedom was sounded. Many of the old nasty ghetto features were done away with and the Jew was at last tolerated as any other Austrian citizen with a restricted religion. The fact that the Jew could not enter all the trades on par with the Christians(25); the Jewish children could now attend the public schools, but they had to go to school on Saturdays; and the Jewish students could also attend Austrian universities with the same religious problem.(26) All these emphasized a new era in the mode of Jewish life in the eighteenth century.

In spite of the fact that Emperor Joseph made it clear that the Edict meant that Jews must divest themselves of such of their laws and customs as ran

22. A.Geiger, Nach. Schriften, Vol. II, pp.189-194

23. G. Deutsch, The Jewish Reform Movement Historicall Considered, p.14, Note 28

24. The prevailing language in Austria and in Hungary was at that time the German and therefore the Austrian Jews were closer allied by virtue of similarity of language to the German Jewish communities.

25. The trade guilds still withheld the right of becoming a master tradesman from the Jews. See Margolis & Mard, Hist. of the Jewish People, p.597

26. Ibid

counter to the imperial legislation and eventually would hurt his plan for greater German culture, the Rabbis of Austria, men like Ezekiel Landau of Prague and others, were decidedly hostile to all innovations, which they instinctively felt would break down traditional Jewish practices.(27) Even the letter of Hartwig Wessely addressing himself to his Austrian friends, advising them to take advantage of this great opportunity of educating the younger generation along the lines laid down in the Toleration Edict, carried little influence with the Austrian Rabbis. Instead we find that Ezekiel Landau pronounced a ban upon the German translation of the Pentateuch.(28)

Yet the Tirolenian Rabbi, Abraham Kohn did express his desire to bring in changes in the religious ways of his country, for which his own colleagues committed the horrible deed by poisoning him as a means of removing this dangerous teacher of modernism from their midst. He advanced his view on the Sabbath which is of importance and in a way characterize his opinions on religious tendencies of his day. He claimed that the institutions of the Jewish faith are not unchangeable, and illustrated this statement by pointing out the many stages that the public worship had passed through. He said:"The statutes of rabbinical Judaism, despite their manifoldness and their particularity, were never applied so strictly as to overlook the demands of life; in truth one of its main principles is 'that man may live through them, and not die through them'(Lev.18.5). From these we learn, says maimonides, (Hil.Shab.II.3) that the commandments of the Torah were intended to bring into the world not inconsiderate severity but mercy, consideration, and peace; and Scripture says of such heretics as declare

27. Margolis and Marx, Hist. of the Jew.People, p.598

28. D. Philipson, Reform Movement in Judaism, p.14

an act done to save a human life to be a desecration of the Sabbath..... The Jews of our century in Europe find themselves living under new conditions, such as could not be imagined in a former day, and for which no provision could be made; analogies must be sought, and, in accordance with them, such alleviations as were granted in exceptional cases must be permitted, not in order that we may make our life more convenient, but in order that we may fulfill our duties to ourselves and our new surroundings the better without breaking with our religion." (29)

Identical conditions prevailed in Hungary. And the same opposition on the part of the great majority of the Orthodox Rabbis was experienced as in Austria. In fact in no country was the opposition more bitter than in Hungary. (30) The strife for the improvement of conditions of the Hungarian Jewry came about fifty years later than in Germany. The civil, educational, and religious emancipation together with the growing industrialism came about the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, when in 1839-40 the Diet passed such emancipatory laws, giving the Jewish people greater freedom than ever experienced. (31) This act was all that was needed to double the efforts to Magyarize. Soon schools opened giving instructions in the language of the country and the growing tendency toward emancipation also affected the religious life, even though the religious leaders never admitted this fact. These even threatened to put under ban any "bachur" should he be discovered as having touched a German book. (32)

But progress will have its way in spite of the overwhelming opposition. Among the earliest liberal minded in Hungary stood Aaron Chorin (1766-1844). His liberal tendencies were expressed in all religious problems including the question of a proper Sabbath observance. Chorin was in favor of riding on the train on the Sabbath. Similarly he expressed his desire to have a Jew play on

29. A. Kohn, sermon on the "Sabbath" in Rabbinische Gutachten, I p.114

30. D. Philipson, Ref. Mov. in Jud. p.380

31. A.Z.d.J. Vol. I, (1837) p.653

organ on the Sabbath, and even of permitting the head to be uncovered during the services in the Synagog on the Sabbaths and holidays.(33)

Dr. D. Philipson in his book "Outline of Reform Movement in Judaism" relates that an interesting document was found in the form of a communication addressed to Holdheim on April 23, 1848. The Hungarian Jewry of Arad, the place where Aaron Chorin served as Rabbi, asked of Holdheim to render his opinion on a number of questions. The first and probably the most important question of this communication was in reference to the TRANSFER OF THE SABBATH TO SUNDAY.(34)

Holdheim's answer to this questionnaire is extremely interesting, graphically portraying how the great leaders of this time groped with the ever vital problem of the Sabbath and its proper observance. "To the special question notably: That touching the transfer of Saturday to Sunday, I answer thus: Since we cannot assume that God pronounced one particular day holy once for all, and since we consider the Biblical account of the exclusive sanctification of a special day, naturally no religious reason prevents the transfer of the historical Sabbath to any other day of the week, notably if such a transfer is urgently demanded by the conditions of civic life, yea, even in the interest of the preservation of the Sabbath institution and its influence on the religious life of the Congregation; hence ~~in the~~ in the interest of religion itself.".(35)

Only in Pesth, the Hungarian capital, did the Sabbath question give final expression in actual deeds and action. Like in the larger cities of Germany the more cultured Jews found themselves at the time of the Kossuth Revolution also giving expression to their religious views. In 1847 a society was formed under the leadership of Ignatz Einhorn who modeled this society after the Berlin Reform

32. A.Z.d.J. Vol.VIII, p.583

33. Dr. E. Schreiber, Reformed Jud. & Its Pioneers, p.85

34. The complete communication is given in the "Interes der Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1848, pp.164-5 but as was unable to obtain this ~~from~~ source the writer used the secondary source. See D. Philipson, Ref. Mov. in Jud. pp.337-8

Congregation.(37) This congregation adopted the ultra-radical innovations in its religious program even to the extent of the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday. This idea was a complete copy after the "Berlin Reform-Gemeinde".

Thus ended the activities of the growing modern tendencies ^{how} and/the more enlightened attempted to solve it. Not until 1868 have we anything that would show an attempt to consider the conditions and to conciliate religious thought with the times. This Hungarian Congress of Jews in 1868 found four camps(38), each distinctly at opposite poles, fighting the other parties and not doing anything for the benefit of the people who had to reconcile the religious practices with the new conditions of life. Had some form of reconciliation taken place the Jewish religious life would have been a more living force among the more educated classes, instead of something foreign to the life of the Hungarian Jews, as is now so generally in Hungary as well as in the other European countries (39)

35. D. Philipson, Ref. Mov. in Jud, p.338

36. A society was organized since 1826 in Pesth under the name "Cultus-tempel" where no radical changes were introduced outside of a choir song and a sermon was delivered in the vernacular. But in 1847 the real change came full force.

37. I. Einhorn, Zur Judenfrage in Ungarn, p.17

38. The four camps were: the "Congress Party" i.e. the Liberal Jews, the Orthodox, the so-called "Status ante-quo, and the Chassidic.

39. D. Philipson, Ref. Mov. in Jud., p.395-397

CHAPTER FIVE

HOW THE RABBINERVERSAMMLUNGEN COPE WITH THE SHABBATH PROBLEM

- A. The Braunschweig Conference. B. The Frankfort-on-the-Main Conference.
C. The Breslau Conference. D. The Influence of the Conferences on Entire Europe.

The year 1844 finally brought together the Rabbis of Germany. The constant harpings of Ludwig Philippson on the necessity for a gathering of Rabbis through his most widely popular Jewish-German publication, the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthum, did bear its influence on German Jewry to the extent that many Rabbis and laymen responded favorably for just such an event.

In one of the editorials Ludwig Philippson issued a proclamation to the great need for just such an annual conference, saying:

"...We have to repeat again and again and prove that the main defect of the Jewish communal life in our time is: THE FALLING APART; the standing aloof which is called for the spiritual leaders, its isolation. In all these there is the dire need on every plan of action for union. The coming together alone will not be a dead letter; this hindrance of every coming influence, every congruity of the views on life, every friendly touching up, that alone will be the achievement sufficient unto itself.....

"Judaism not only is working in discord but everyone works for himself. Only a short time and the break will be unable to be mended, and there are positions where the conciliation is even at present impossible.... Let us speak plainly. The issue is no longer the permissibility of this or that Synagogal institution, of this or that alleviation for civil and social life. Judaism is weakening in its hold upon its followers day by day, and every layman is asking us Rabbis and leaders of Judaism, 'What are you doing?'....

"Therefore the purpose of this proclamation is: THE CALL OF AN ALL RABBINICAL AND JEWISH CLERGY OF GERMANY TO A YEARLY CONFERENCE.....

"The purpose of the Conference is to consider:

1. The possibility to learn and the bearing of one another's opinions of the Jewish clergy.

2. The general discouraging manner how the office of Rabbi is carried on, and therefore to promote unanimity in the conduct of the Rabbinical office.

3. To further communal undertakings and religious institutions.

and 4. To take counsel together over all Jewish present day problems with respect to a proper observance!(1)

The time for a general conference was ripe. With the rapid progress in the new means of conveyance by railroad it was now possible for Rabbis from

the different provinces to get together without much difficulty.(2) The seed for a reevaluation of the important religious observances has been planted and the work of the Rabbis was now to take concerted action as to what should be the fate of the modern tendency on the Jewish world.

Many noted Rabbis answered this proclamation with articles of praise.(3) And to take on a more intimate picture of the propaganda for this conference there was now the confidence that from the very outset the object was to check "this fearful INDIFFERENCE of the Jewish heart that has eaten up wholly the Sabbath and holidays". Now there was the high hope that there will be a greeting with joy and with a spirit of helpfulness for a definite understanding what is meant by Jewish life and the observance of its institutions.(4)

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1. A.Z.d.J. Vol.VIII,p.27 . This idea of an annual conference was not original with Philippson. Dr. Max Lillienthal a year before asked for
 2. Graetz characterizes the call for a conference most vividly when he said: "At that time the fashion of conventions and meetings came in vogue. The establishment of the railroad had facilitated travel to a greater extent. Thus the call for a Rabbinical convention received favorable attention. See Hist. of the Jews, Vol. V, p.327
 3. Among the many favorable replies to L. Philippson's proclamation the one sent by Joseph Kahn shows exactly the underlying thought how this idea was accepted by the Rabbis of Germany. "This call is one of the greatest achievements of the age - gives opportunity to work for the great common cause. The cause will be important: First, through yearly voluntary counsel of Rabbis there will be a better understanding. And second that some action and agreement is bound to come from such a gathering. זו כנסיה שהיא לשם שמים טובה להתקיים
A.Z.d.J. VIII,p.133
 4. Philippson also gives a motive for calling this conference: "The striving of the governments of Europe is at present purely national; Spain suppresses its Basques, England its Irish, Belgium the Flemish, the Danes want to dominate Holstein, Switzerland was to turn in the Laplanders, Germany is dreaming of a national unity, Prussia is germanizing its Wends, its Poles, Hungary cries for its language, and Judaism?...I would say is ready at least to answer for its existence in a dignified manner and strengthen those necessary observances in the Sabbath and the holidays that life will hold to the true fait. In spite of the promise of the eighty Prussian communities for a national unity (this was the time when Prussia was ready for national unification of all the German provinces) what have we as Jews to expect, to further our cause in this rapidly growing nationalism? See A.Z.d.J. VIII,p.119. Here we see the growing consciousness on

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The inception of the idea of a Rabbinical conference was first approached by Abraham Geiger in 1837 when immediately after the Bavarian District Assembly met in 1835.(5) Geiger struck the keynote to the grave situation as it appeared to him. He desired not to have a conference with the powers of a synod but merely a deliberative body that would take up all the question of the day pertaining to Jewish institutions and practices; what is to be considered as essential in the observance of Judaism. Thus he hoped that by means of a conference many of the German Rabbis would give expression.(6) What was wanted, then, was to have all assembled Rabbis arrive at some agreement on the practical problems that agitating German Jewry. And although the Wiesbaden conference exerted scarcely any influence, still the idea of its originator was taken up seven years later with great hope and enthusiasm.

A. The Braunschweig Conference

From June 12-19, 1844 the first Rabbinical Conference was held and was attended by twenty-five of the leading Rabbis of Germany. Geiger, who was unable to attend the opening sessions of the Assembly sent word in a letter just what should be the policy at the opening of this convocation. He imparted in this communication urging the members to make this Conference merely a preparatory and not a resultatory Convocation; that it would be best if the body would con-

the part of German Jewry to have this Conference answer the growing Jewish strength through its religion. Therefore, at no time previous was Germany more prepared to deliberate over all Jewish religious questions, hoping that through this means greater strength will come to the individual Jewish communities and eventually would strengthen the Jewish Sabbath and the holidays.

5. This was not in the stricter sense a Rabbinical conference since this assembly was attended by as many laymen as Rabbis. See. J.E. art. "Rabbinical Conferences"
6. Geiger in his Nach. Schriften Vol.V, p.97 states: "I confess that I cannot conceive how we can hold up our heads if we will not stand courageously for our innermost convictions; for our rightful observance of the Sabbath; I cannot rest satisfied to continue to wear a mask any longer, politic

cern itself with the practical issues of the day and by all means avoid laying down any hard-and-fast rules.(7)

J. Maier, of Stuttgart, was elected president. In his acceptance speech he repeated Geiger's wishes instructing his constituents "that the Conference bear in mind constantly the practical requirements of the day, and confine its attention to solving as far as it could the vexing problems that were agitating Jewish life. Since the Rabbinical Conference was expected to become a permanent institution it was necessary to declare from the very outset what its purpose was to be; that the members take counsel together in order to determine by what means the preservation and development of Judaism and the enlivening of the religious consciousness can be accomplished for greater observance".(8)

Whatever may have been the discussion on the question as to what policy this Conference should pursue - and much discussion was held on this point - the general feeling was that the Conference did not have a Synodal character. Hence all resolution passed by this body could not be enforced. Nevertheless, and here was the important issue, that Rabbis, who were members of this body, who voted with the majority on any particular issue were in duty bound morally to attempt to carry out such resolutions in the practical administration of their office.(9) This was very important for the later Conferences when in 1846 the great controversy over the Sabbath question was finally taken up. It was this confidence that was the chief moral influence affording a lasting cha-

as such a course would be undoubtedly. I leave it to your own conscience to decide how friends of truth and integrity will judge us, and by what name posterity will stigmatize us if we continue to speak the high-sounding phrases but to enact weak deeds."

7. A.Z.d.J., 1848, pp.338-339

8. Protokolle, I, p.4

9. Ibid, p.18 The first paragraph on the rules of the Conference this idea is incorporated. "The Rabbinical Conference would have as its purpose that the members shall take counsel together in order to determine by what means the preservation and development of Judaism and the enliven-

racter and eventually bearing a somewhat authoritative stamp. This idea Holdheim excellently expressed: "The purpose of our gathering is to work for the preservation and development of our holy religion; all our deliberations are concerned herewith, and we pass resolutions as to how this is to be accomplished. Have we any synodal justification? No. We as little as the Rabbis of former times. What gave them their power was the confidence of the Congregations, and this confidence was placed in them because they were scholars and adepts in the law. The same holds with us." (10)

What transpired at this conference need not be considered here, outside of the fact that all questions taken up were in the spirit outlined in the opening session. But at the last session Dr. Samuel Hirsch of Luxembourg proposed "that the Conference take steps to reconcile the difference between Jewish doctrines and practice by the abrogation or the amelioration of a number of the Sabbath and dietary laws. To settle the "Kluft" between life and study is the practical issue elevating or altering of this great Jewish institution." In making this motion he stated that the matter would ^{not} be so grave were the Sabbath laws disregarded only in the household economy, but that the public desecration of the Sabbath demanded that something be done to save the situation. If the members of the Conference would address themselves to this subject in full earnestness they would give evidence to the world that they are not negativists and destroyers, but conservers and builders. (11)

Dr. Hirsch after making this motion wished discussion be taken up at once. After dwelling at length on the motion proper the arguments that followed were whether the discussion on this question is quite ripe. Hess proposed that

ing of the religious consciousness can be accomplished." See Protokolle, I, p.7

10. Protokolle, I, p.53

11. Ibid, pp.87-88

that the matter proposed by Dr. Hirsch is too important to have the subject taken up from one point of view, since it is necessary at least to spend week of investigation and deliberation prior to entering in such debate. He, therefore, asked the motion be retracted.(12) To this Dr. Hirsch replied that he considered the motion of extreme importance; and that he did not consider this gathering to have the audacity, "Keckheit" even to appoint a commission for the consideration of this subject. (Dr. Hirsch was asked to withdraw the word "Keckheit" and substituted "courage".)

Holdheim saved the situation when he stated that this motion is very important and needed the appointment of a commission for greater study of the question. Similarly did A. Geiger approve of having a Commission appointed on the Sabbath question with the provision to have the Commission take account of this present controversy. The suggestions the president, J. Maier summed up that the question was of extreme importance and therefore, advised two separate Commissions be appointed: one for the Sabbath question and the other on the food problem.(13)

The more conservative element of the assembly asserted itself on this question when Wechsler remarked that the matter is important enough but as yet the time is not ripe for a Commission to report on the matter. To be more discreet it would be advisable this motion tabled for future date, when conditions would be more suitable. Also the ultra-conservative, Schott of Randegg claimed that no action was necessary since Sabbath laws do not conflict with their duties as men and citizens, and that Rabbinism permitted certain ameliorations. "I hold the view that there is today a cross position between Sabbath laws and the compliance of men and citizens' duties, but they do not collide. Therefore, we cannot evade the question. Then where is the religion that makes no sacrifices?"(14)

12. Protokolle I, p.88

13. Ibid, p.89

14. Ibid

This remark A. Adler followed with a rejoinder: "The Talmud as it stands before us is not endurable with a moral exactitude of ceremonies. We, therefore, do not need to convert. The Talmudic presentation was spoken from God contrary to the knowledge of our times.... No there is the conflict between life and the Sabbath and the rigid post held it united until now. We have to straighten out this conflict, but not to support this condition. I am of the opinion to have this Commission treat also this counter view that there is a cleft between life and the traditional Sabbath observance. We must reconcile this difference, not continue it."(15)

Kahn continued with the same conservative idea that the motion on the Sabbath question to him meant that the only and simple plan this assembly should adopt would be that work on Sabbath is done by a non-Jew is quite proper. Any other part of the Sabbath laws should not be let up.(16)

The more the question was debated the more the assembly realized the vast importance of this problem. Herxheimer called attention here to the difficulties which were constantly confronting the Rabbi because of the practice of the people bringing inconsistency between the Rabbi's preaching and teaching and the practice of the people. This he claimed would continue until life and profession would be conciliated; until something would happen, where life and Law would be evened out. He, therefore, concluded that he approved of the appointment of a Sabbath Commission.(17)

Once more Holdheim declared:

"We cannot adopt the Rabbinical conception of the Sabbath. We, therefore, must attempt to save the Sabbath as soon as possible and the reconciliation of the Sabbath laws with life and with our age. We must ask our conscience what is the intent of Sabbath observance. Perhaps we can preserve the Sabbath without Sabbath rest. Of the Rabbinical non-remedial policy to straighten out the proposed double controversy we must destroy a part of it, then let us not blunder. The reading into this motion of a difference that exists will never do when the correction will come through others. If what one does is not right, it will not be made right when someone else does it for our generation. We cannot adopt the "Auffassung", the rigidity of the Rabbinical Sabbath. Perhaps we may hold the Sabbath consecration without the Sabbath rest."(18)

15. Protokolle I, p.89

16. Ibid

17. Ibid, p.90

18 Ibid

The session almost came to a storm when the assembly realized that Holdheim was ready to bring in his view of the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday.

The president of the assembly, therefore, asked whether the motion of Dr. Hirsch was timely. Klein claimed that such a question is no question at this hour.

And Herzfeld followed saying:

"The question is very timely; but I think the Sabbath Commission should concern itself with the abolition of Rabbinical restrictions and not Biblical." The latter point once more raised new discussion as to what powers shall be vested with the Commission.

Wechsler, the last speaker on this question finally wound up:

"In reference to Holdheim's remark, I am of the opinion that everything that is considered work on the Sabbath is a difference between things done by oneself and things done through others. But the real difference is concerning ceremonial observances and not with respect to the mannerism of religious nations. I must oppose also Herzfeld because the Bible is much more strict on the Sabbath desecration than the Talmud where the precepts in this case are easy to find. But from that angle there is no question. We must find ways to save the Sabbath in our day. And we must strive to bring the Sabbath in harmony with life and with the times. Is it not exactly this that life is regulated through religion? Also the Bible is a regulating body of facts of times. Through such a sense God speaks to Israel. We cannot heal the heavy burdens that are tied up with the marvelous modification of the Sabbath laws. And when we bring attention to the remarkable phrase of the Talmud: השבת מסורה בידיכם ולא אתם

מסירה בידים, "The Sabbath stands before you but you are not forced in its force", we see a fruitful suggestion for our day. Similarly we have on the other side to consider the question: שקולה שבת כנגד כל התורה "The Sabbath is as weighty in its observance as all the Torah",... for after all the object of religion must be to regulate and permeate life." (19)

The question came to a vote and the majority were in favor for the appointment of a Commission to report on the following year on the question considered.

The following were to serve on this Commission: A. Geiger, chairman, A. Adler, S. Adler, Holdheim, and Herzfeld. The last two were substituted by Wechsler and Kahn due to their inability to serve on this commission. (20)

19. Protokolle I., p.91

20. Ibid. When the question was referred to the Commission the motion was worded as follows: "If there were any means, and if so, what, to reconcile Jewish doctrines and the demands of modern life in reference to the Sabbath."

The president, J. Maier gave a very excellent suggestion and in spite of its being negatively it is important because of its democratic note and the realization that so important a question be well deliberated and widespread before any action in the form of a resolution be passed by the Conference. He suggested that the report be postponed for the next Conference when more time could be devoted to the report; that the report be treated as a whole; and a

Thus we see so important a question, possibly the most important among the practical problems in Jewish life, demanded the most thorough discussion and consideration. Because of that this question could not receive the proper treatment in the closing hours of a Conference. The Commission, therefore, was to have a year to deliberate and report to the Rabbinical Conference at Frankfurt-on-the-Main

The results of this Conference were many sided. The Orthodox element accused the Conference of having undermined the very foundations of Judaism. On the other hand the more liberal wing ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ claimed that this body gave voice to the true spirit of Judaism of the day. In fact no event in that agitated period stirred the Jewish communities more than did this Conference and particularly the discussions on the Sabbath question and the acknowledgment of the fact that there is a conflict between the Sabbath and life.

The most striking criticisms were advanced by two of the great men of this time; by Ludwig Philippson, the very man who was in a great measure responsible for the bringing together the Conference and Zacharias Frankel. The former claimed that the Conference went a step too far, namely that instead of devoting itself primarily to the task of reviving old traditions like the Sabbath and holiday observances, it criticized existing conditions without offering any solution to the practical needs of the people. The result was that instead of strengthening the position of the Jew it weakened its own cause by creating greater differences among the Jewish leaders of the day.(21) On the other hand Zacharias Frankel claimed that the Conference went beyond its powers. Only a synod has the power to pass resolutions and all a Conference can do is discuss and deliberate. In his attack, however, he did not refer to the discussions on the Sabbath, assuming that in so far as only discussions took place on this vital

printed report of the Commission be distributed among the Conference members who would be better prepared for the discussion of the question. See Protokolle I, p.87

problem, and no definite action.

It was Frankel's criticism that brought forth answers and justifications from the president, J. Maier(22), from Holdheim(23), and from Samuel Hirsch(24). All these replied almost in the same tone that Zacharias Frankel has taken a peculiar stand on the activities of the Conference; that their position was in a way to safeguard and harmonize religion with life, the life of their day just as much as the Talmud attempted to safeguard the religion with their day. Furthermore, that religion was not in conflict with life but only Talmudism is and, therefore, we must conciliate religion with our times.

B. The Frankfort-on-the-Main Conference, 1845, July 15-28

The Conference was attended by a larger number than the first, outwardly implying that the Conferences were gaining in popularity and strength. To be sure this was a victory, since the great protest against the first Conference was signed by 116 Rabbis.(25) Another feature of a more encouraging character was the evidence shown by many Congregations and religious societies who sent letters of confidence, congratulations, and sympathy with this assembly. The most important address from the standpoint of influencing this body on the Sabbath question was the ^{letter} ~~xxx~~ sent by the then recently formed "Berlin Reform-gemeinde", organized with ⁱⁿ the year 1845, between the Braunschweig and this Conference. This body of laymen laid down the law in their constitution to transfer the Sabbath to Sunday, a clause that caused a great stir throughout Germany. Now, this body addressed itself to this Conference with the hopes that these two bodies could form a synod, thereby succeeding not only in passing resolutions for this or that particular practical problem of the day, but together could

22. "Die Erste Rabbinerversammlung und ihre Gegner", Stuttgart, 1845

23. "Die erste Rabbinerversammlung und Herr Dr. Frankel", Schwerin, 1845

24. "Erwiderung auf Herrn Dr. Frankel's Angriff gegen die Rabbinerversammlung", Orient, Vol.V, 1844

pass such regulations as a synod only is empowered to carry out. They declared that "the Berlin Congregation represented the laity and the Rabbinerversammlung the Rabbinate". (26) Then again, from the work achieved at this Conference there showed the result of concerted action. Many of the commissions appointed the year previous, including the Sabbath Commission, were now ready to report for final action. It was this constructive practical work, done for the great cause of Judaism of their day, that marked this Conference so important and prominent.

Before the report of the Commission on the Sabbath question was taken up, another issue which was indirectly connected with the Sabbath was considered, whether the organ may be played on the Sabbath by a Jew. (27) The decision on this question was also unanimous that a Jew may play the organ on the Sabbath on the grounds that *אין שבות במקדש*, that there was no cessation from work on the Sabbath in the Temple, and since the Synagog of today were considered on equal footing with the Temple of Jerusalem, then there was no desecration of the Sabbath by playing on the organ. Here we see that the idea of work on Sabbath was not considered a breach of the Law, since the work done was for the edification of the Sabbath service.

The report of the Sabbath Commission was read by A. Geiger as the chairman of the Commission. Because of the thoroughness and the elaborate treatment of the question it would be advisable to quote the most important parts: (28)

"Your Commission found the problem in reference 'The straightening of the conflict between the teaching and life through lifting or changing more of the Sabbath laws' as was proposed by Dr. Hirsch the year previous. From last year's Conference discussions it was shown plainly the general discord and the sore difficulties which also on similar paths may be contested today because of the brevity of time. Yet it leans more after the investigation whether the con-

25. D. Philipson, Ref. Mov. in Jud., pp. 226-230. This report was a most bitter attack by the Orthodox party making the criticism: "Neither we nor any person have the power to abrogate the least of the religious laws, especially when we touch the question of the Sabbath. Judaism is landered by men who call themselves its protectors and its teacher." Among those who signed this protest were some of the most influential Rabbis of Germany and Austria-Hungary

26. J.E. art. "Berlin Congregation", by D. Philipson

ciliation proper, and the search, is quite in place to force a consideration. It was found from the work done less of a holding ground than anticipated. You have now the whole meaning which you recognize in this problem, but also the hardship of the opposition or the contrary view wherewith you can go to work. The majority of the Commission (consisting of Wechsler, A. Adler, and myself), has in spite of that, after the individual members, everyone on his own accord, has this problem weightily considered, while the short time of your convocation has comprehended the following; what is your approval and concluding decision demand to be proposed. While Kahn and S. Adler are to give a minority report.

"The Biblical conception of the Sabbath is the celebration of the day. It is a שבת, the cessation from work, which complete the work days, as a difference from rest, which is marked by complete abstention from work. The celebration is a consecration, over a removal from the industries, to the reversion from the care of business. While according to the Prophets the consecration of the day steps in through the order of the Commandments, yet it is in the legal part of the Bible that prohibition of work (מלאכה), which is united with holiness of the day, otherwise elevated and celebrated as a שבת, to cease from the daily toil as designated.

"The Bible does not speak more plainly about the conception of work. Yet we believe in the single ~~the~~ preparations, the part conclusively proved for our conceived agreement as a part conveniently handled, when we only work in the field בְּחַקְלֵינוּ, and the prohibition of the lighting of fire seems similarly as a parallel prohibition in the preparation ~~a~~ for the least heavier tasks. Similarly the Bible deals with the falling of the Manna, the falling of the trees. It impresses the handling and the doing away with the burden of Jeremiah, and similarly the prohibition of market dealings in the days of Nehemiah.

"In later times the conception of the Sabbath appears differently as it is expressed in the Mishnah and Gemara, partly completely told. As a foremost foundation stands here the prohibition of work, which must have been a self consisting problem and in most cases concerns the consecration which cannot be denied, all of which is noticeably ordained laws. The conception in reference to the prohibition of work lies here in the result and aim thereof; revenge and victory is a duty to be avoided as the repeated duty of religious uplifting is put aside or is really preoccupied, as long as the immediate result is a production. But it is also the reverse. As soon as production is not considered as work, which from the Talmudic standpoint is a Biblical prohibition, therefore the very business worry, as long as later it is nothing more than the turning over of ones property from one hand to the other could not be considered as a Biblical prohibition.

Singularly, from the point of work one may include another phase that might include a broader territory. So it considers another point after the fundamental that as the Beraitha (Mechilta) has proven, having Biblical support, without any consequences, at least as forceful as the Gemara expresses it. The Biblical authority may speak about, namely the external rest, the quiet, and the immobility, which according to the Mishnah and the Beraitha are considered as a separate externalities of שבת, the law of rest is designated, where the Gemara, which ~~also~~ strove for the same cause, gave a new vision ~~that~~ of life and would not permit such authority, except for the externalities of the

27. Protokolle II, pp.326-334. It is interesting to note that when the question was brought up for consideration no discussion was raised as to whether an organ may be used in the Synagog. And when the question on the use of an organ was brought up it passed unanimously.

28. Protokolle II, pp.349-358

same as those that flow from the conception of the Bible and to establish the very letter of the law does not wish here to establish a different category than the law of rest, except that it looks into the prohibition through which one cannot come to the conclusion to correct the Biblical prohibited tasks. Therefore, it is a **חוק שרירות**.....

"In this the Commission herewith briefly outlines the historical setting of the Sabbath. The Commission fully believes in the absolute right of the Conference to establish the general basic principles that we have to live by the conception of the Bible, that if only the singular consequences warrant action, then we must suffer a modification. When these very similar unprecedented view necessitates to quieten the same conception as the Talmud needs speak only of an historical consideration, and only in so far as its consequences it has purpose, so the same may have root for us forcibly in life. Here then, in this sense the Talmudic version harmonizes with the modern conception that it is necessary for the consequences of Judaism.

"Apply this basic principle to the above then you will turn back to the Biblical Sabbath conception, which, as the godly truth, is the same for all times, but the Talmudic version in so far as it is not the development of the Biblical thought, but conversly, in opposition with this thought as our religious knowledge stands, we have a right not to include in our consideration. We have again agreed to uplift and to reestablish the Biblical basic laws, **THE SABBATH IS A DAY OF CONSECRATION AND CELEBRATION**, a day, which through our holiness and uplifting will be consecrated, which by celebration, by cessation from the industrial life we should express as Israelites. The conception of prohibited work has to shrink backward because of the necessity of making a livelihood, to the specially proper law which to repeat served as a means toward holy uplifting, which draws us to the narrowed sphere, and places us in a higher voice, the divinely truly human, sincerely Jewish in us. That law is awakened and not the one concerning the phase of forbidden tasks.

"The concept of prohibited tasks agrees also after the aim and results, but not after the Talmudic lore, whether a genuine production is done and is demanded. We cannot enter in the enumeration of the taxation of the individual work and tasks. First we notice especially, until the minutest restriction is carried out in its detail so here in the agreement of a single prohibition or permissible duty a deduction which belongs more to the external juridical method, than the inner religious life. But secondly, it depends on our interpretation of the Biblical conception of the Sabbath, in what way the Sabbath consecration may be disturbed or stands; where it is important to have a detailed analysis of the purpose at each individual case...

"We see in practical life and we ask about these necessities or even more after the conflicts, about the treatment of the Sabbath and after the demand the Law places; so we cannot bargain for our deep necessary knowledge, which the extensive reasoning as also the demands of life itself the true knowledge of the Sabbath, as we have established the proof for them great impediments still lie in the way. Through the method of Sabbath celebration, up till now, has killed the sense for the same for the most part of Judaism and life is through that, as through a "Vielfachen Mangel", ~~which~~ which teaches to endure only sacrifice and uncomfortableness, in that concern of the Sabbath as well as every festival to get in the way with life thus becoming undesirable and lacking taste. But on the other hand, we do not complain that life is too hard. Our social standing, through which we as a small minority find together with other religious institutions of the over weighty majority, is for the concern and the necessary search for a living, the most earnest concern to one another, of another weekly celebration, which the overwhelming majority is celebrating, having difficulties, because one is not growing and the other to permit growth is lax. But we do not

forget that we wish to receive the festival of the Sabbath, that it will not suffice when we also express controvertially, in spite of the influence of each one of us in his particular community must follow, to establish the higher conception of life, through which to establish a more truthful celebration of the Sabbath, that the fruit grow and become ripe and is not on the opposing side of the fundamental difficulties, whose influence we must yet await.

"We hope much more, that through the strengthening of more important staging of the Sabbath, through showing the inner way of living, which through such sincere celebration, the same to arouse, through the fixing of an important service, will also regain the strength, the foregoing of comfort and the tides of the times.

"When we have to make the impress of taking a stand of an important Sabbath celebration, so we have to put aside all necessities, which the recall of the divine celebration as the most forceful plan, the idea of the Sabbath to reinforce the courage. When the Talmud only for particular instances from its own standpoint orders the higher life's consecration, as *עבודת בית המקדש*, and circumcision, even the suspension of the Sabbath, so we do not have to halt, in this case to go a little further, and the life's consecration which the Sabbath should serve, in our days, when we need one of such character much more, in order to retrench even further. In this case we figure in particular:

1. The prohibition of the music. It is observed on weak foundations. (The music is *גזרה שמא יתקן כלי שיר*), and *חכמה ואינה מלאכה*, is an unfounded restriction, hindering this prohibition of a fixed religious point as well as in the house as in the Synagog. The escort of song with the tune of instruments, as was found in the Temple of Jerusalem, must be entirely different from the festival organ playing, which is so important a necessity.

2. At the destruction of the Jewish commonwealth, at the respective tribal census of the rural districts it is worthy in high grade, that the constituents of smaller communities were in a position to tarry longer at the Divine service; in that case the law of *תחומין* hinders with the idea of Sabbath boundaries.

In this case we discourage the importance in so far as big journeys, acknowledge quite well, but we must, as long as a part of the day must be spent in journeying and the journey has a higher purpose, as the divine service, then the fundamental prohibition is lifted, no matter whether the journey is by foot or wagon, by boat or railroad. Then it is natural that the fiction of the *ערוב* herewith is put aside, and also the prohibition of the similar carrying of burdens in so far as it is necessary for such a journey find no move or other way out. ...Here then we understand the Talmudic mention: *השבת מסורה כולם ואין* ✓

אתם מסורים לשבת.....

"The Commission therefore, recommends here:

1. The Assembly should undertake to explain that the present issue is one of greatest importance; to exert all efforts to reestablish a true Sabbath celebration.

2. This meeting wishes to explain, that those duties prohibited on the Sabbath as the industrious life demands, which concerns the ordinary earning of a livelihood does hinder the Sabbath celebration, while every task which serves to elevate religiously especially such duties that will awaken a religious sentiment does not push aside the Sabbath celebration.

3. The Assembly wishes to explain in particular that everything which belongs to an important task for the edification of a divine service, or that make possible for the religious execution should also be carried out wherever possible through a Jew. This concerns particularly, that playing on the Sabbath be permitted whether in the home or in the Synagog. Also the walking beyond the so called Sabbath boundaries; riding on the Sabbath either horseback or otherwise, in so far as it is not for the purpose of business, yea even moreso, is done for the purpose to attend a divine service or any other religious motive, is permissible. It explain also the *ערובי תחומין*, the enclosing space boundaries, either as

uncomely, or as unnecessary for the particular edification of the religious purposes. It also explains the prohibition of carrying a burden as outworn, in so far as it is not in reality a true carrying of a burden for business enterprise, and in this law of *עֲרֹבֵי חֲצֵרוֹת*, the boundary of court-yards it considers as abrogated.

4. The Assembly also wishes further to explain that it does not have to ignore the Sabbath celebration over the worry over a livelihood and the welfare of the times and that wherever there is danger of life it is self-inferred permitting to do the same, nay, is even demanded, because it is dealing with such circumstances which are about to undermine life itself. And work through non-Jews is certainly permitted. But also the help of a Jew in case of danger of life is absolutely necessary, and also from these exceptions the Sabbath is suspended.

5. Finally, the Commission wishes to explain that the participation in the welfare of the state is so high a duty that it cannot step aside when in collision with the Sabbath celebration. It therefore explains, that soldiers, as long as military discipline demands it, be excused from observing the Sabbath; it explains that the officers, in so far as they are unable to carry out their duties on the Sabbath, must also execute dutifully their office to the government. But it also sets up as important that when these officers and soldiers are in other circumstances, namely when at home, they are in duty bound to observe the Sabbath.

"In which the Commission thinks herewith briefly to have outlined its propositions, it permits itself to notice, that the celebration of the Sabbath stands entirely in coordination with its duty ascribed the year previous. It shall, therefore, consider this report open for discussion and final agreement.

signed by A. Geiger, Wechsler, and A. Adler

The minority report was also given separately since Kahn was partially in favor with the Commission's report. But S. Adler presented an altogether different viewpoint.

"In consideration of the report of the Commission concerning the Sabbath question I believe the following explanation necessary. I hold with the majority of the Commission on the question of reestablishing of a better desire and the setting up of a revived idea of the Sabbath as well as with all the deduced positive consequences. But I oppose the negative results as deduced as absolutely essential for a proper Sabbath celebration....

Signed Joseph Kahn

S. Adler's report read as follows:

"As member of the Commission concerning the Sabbath question I feel it necessary to explain that I cannot come here to explain the Commission's report with regards to the view outlined over the Biblical Sabbath and its consequences because such a view does not appear to me well sustained. Some prophetic word may have it for itself opposite to the spirit of the letter to explain an altogether different thought than expressed in the Pentateuch. And because, furthermore, to give a 2,000 year old traditional concept is of necessity an undoubted knowledge of its futility."

Signed S. Adler

In the last report we see that the traditional view was of such import that in spite of the realization that time may not warrant the execution of a constructive Sabbath celebration, yet when it came to abrogate certain laws on

a positive platform some of the outstanding principles of the Sabbath, it was more than any body of Rabbis could undertake to accomplish. Wechsler insisted also that the report include that the Sabbath and the holidays should begin with evening as it was practiced. The demands as to what should be done with the reports were most varied. Even now there was a desire to table the whole matter fearing that there is great danger of a condemnation should the report be accepted as reported. On the other hand time did not warrant to take up this report point by point, because the same thing that happened the year previous occurred once more. (29).

The president wound up the discussion by placing three question before the assembly. Upon each one of these question the fate of this entire question was suspended:

1. That it should be settled conclusively, whether each point of the five be taken up in counsel? (This was ~~xxxxxx~~ voted down)

2. Should these five points come for deliberation at this Conference? (This also was voted down)

3. Shall the Sabbath question be the first order of business at the third Conference at Breslau? (This was passed unanimously). (30)

C. The Third Rabbinerversammlung at Breslau, July 13-24, 1846

There was a particular reason for calling this Conference at Breslau, the town far removed in the east-Prussian section near Silesia. By doing so the Conference wished once and for all to take a direct opposition against the Orthodox

29. Protokolle II, p.175. Quoting Dr. Hirsch's remark on this idea of tabling the report: "It is true that everything concerning the Sabbath law as noticeable ~~is~~ speaks with importance but contrary to some of the points in consideration. The report demands the same, uncontested and ever so earnest, The whole report of the Commission must be considered point by point without the consideration of the whole." See Protokolle II, p.175

30. Protokolle II, p.179

who two years ago sent that famous protest against the Braunschweig Conference.

It also wished to defy the spectacular action of Zacharias Frankel who stepped out of the last Conference and organized the positive historical school of Judaism, calling for a separate Conference at Dresden ~~for~~ on Oct. 20, 1846.(31)

And above all this Conference wished to inform the radical liberals, who were dissatisfied with the outcome of the last Conference, because it dared not declare itself against the whole ceremonial and traditional system.

Hence it would be expected that a smaller number would assemble at Breslau than at the previous assemblies,(32). and therefore this Conference was in more than one sense the most important. First because of the astounding opposition, and second, and above all, because the main concern of this gathering was the all absorbing Sabbath question. Thus Geiger, as chairman of the Executive Committee truly named this Conference "The True Jewish Reform". In his opening address paving the way for the work to be done at this convocation he concluded with this statement:

"It is to be assumed that in the treatment of so radical an evil many a member of the Conference, as a pure matter of theory, will present drastic remedies, and in consequence utterances will be made, which, to some appear sarcastic or offensive. But, if anywhere, freedom of speech must remain unassailed, it is here and everyone must be permitted to express his opinion. From the other side we may here that, just because of the difficulties of the times, it is so much more necessary to cling to that which obtains and that just on that account, concessions are not to be tolerated. These conflicting opinions must be considered but from one point of view - the effort to sanctify life through days of rest and devotion. While we will remember what sacrifices the Jewish people since former days, gladly and willingly have brought, we dare not ignore the chasm that is now in existence. Let us, therefore, to our labors with courage, but also with caution..It is of course to be anticipated that we may not arrive at a completely satisfactory solution of this great Sabbath problem, and that, therefore, we cannot bring about a complete restoration, But here, too, applies the old adage: לא עליך המלאכה לגמור ולא אתה בן חורין ליבטל הימנה

31. D. Philipson, Ref. Mov. in Jud. p.273

32. The Breslau Conference was only attended by twenty-six Rabbis.

'Not upon thee rests the duty to complete the work neither art thou at liberty to withdraw from it'. What we commence later conferences will continue, and out of the principles we shall be able to enunciate, the future will extract the necessary conclusions." (33)

Possibly in no other instance do we know of so great a conflict between the commands of rabbinical Judaism and the demands of life, so apparent as in the matter of Sabbath observance. Talmud and Rabbinism were now regarded as inadequate to cope with the new situation and the obvious conditions of life. To observe the Sabbath as the Talmud and codes demanded was found impossible and, therefore, many disregarded tradition without any scruples. But that was not as severe as the true situation that thousands were sincerely troubled over the existing condition because the basic institution of Judaism was the Sabbath. And the more serious-minded desired to observe the Sabbath but were unable. Was there any method of conciliation? Could the Sabbath be preserved and at the same time the demands of life be satisfied? Here if anywhere, the people looked for help and guidance from their religious leaders. Thus Geiger stated:

"The Sabbath and holidays are the bone and sinew of the Jewish religious life; our aim must be to restore the sanctity of these days for the Congregation and the individual; this purpose appears in both reports of the Commission. The matter is extremely difficult, for here if anywhere a great conflict is apparent between doctrine and life. Lamentations avail not. We must face conditions, as they are, even if we do not succeed entirely in reaching a solution. Let us begin bravely; later we will continue where we have begun." (34)

But what actually transpired at the Conference? Geiger, as chairman, informed the Conference of some of the modification in the report of the Commission. The modification arose from the fact that in the first report the idea of rest

33. Protokolle III, p.38

34. A. Geiger, Die dritte Versammlung deutscher Rabbiner, ein Vorläufige Wort zur Verständigung", Breslau, 1846, p.7

on Sabbath, through which the consecration of the day was made possible, was conceived only to be cessation from daily toil. Now the Commission regarded the abstention from all activities requiring exertion just as necessary if the Jewish conception of the Sabbath is to be realized and the true consecration of the day to be achieved. Therefore, the Commission proposed the following:

1. That the Conference declare that attention must be directed to arouse among the people an ever livelier consciousness of the holiness of the Sabbath through the means of a lofty divine service and that it is necessary for the proper consecration of the day to abstain from all labor whether it be the nature of the daily occupation, or, any activity which is not for gain and does not require exertion is permitted.

2. That the Conference declare that the celebration of the Sabbath by a worthy service is of such supreme importance that no activity, however much exertion it may require, is not prohibited if necessary for this purpose; hence any task which conduces towards dignifying the service or makes it possible for the individual to participate in an edifying service may be undertaken also by a Jew.

3. That the Conference declare that anything and everything is permitted nay, commanded to be done, where necessary to avert danger of life.

4. (This paragraph was the same as the fifth of the former report)

The majority of the Commission believed that consecration of the Sabbath was the most important issue and therefore stressed the divine service. For surely when a Jew could be made to come to worship he would soon find a unique difference between Sabbath and the rest of the week. Thus by stressing the consecration of the day rather than the rest idea, the Sabbath was cut loose from extravagant casuistry where people must abstain from all and everything that ingenuity of mind will declare as work. Here we see that the main object of the report was not to give a complete or final opinion but to land the first shot of the canon against the Sabbath as it existed. On the other hand, the report as rendered showed a distinct difference from the preceding one. In the Frankfort report there was a bold declaration against the existing problems with an attempt to meet the situation by a readjustment all along the line of Sabbath observance. Now this report showed amendments as a hesitancy to meet the situation face to face. Here we can realize the influence of the criticisms to which the original report was subjected

during the year intervening between the two conferences. After taking account of the criticisms the report was changed so as to give satisfaction to none in the end. Neither the radicals, the moderates, nor the traditionalists found in this report everything they sought.

The theories and debates in the discussion of the problem ran high and quite lengthy. The underlying motive in the entire discussion was the same as what Geiger said in his resumé after the debate on the question that something must be done to preserve the Sabbath. But a Commission like the one serving in this capacity could only suggest ideas but could not satisfactorily remedy the
(35)
great collision between the Sabbath observance and life. We could hardly pass up some of the discussion that transpired. Declaring in the same tone with Geiger, Auerbach said:

"Our civil day of rest is another than our traditional Sabbath. This constitutes the chief collision. The Commission has offered no suggestion how this is to be removed; I, too, have none to offer either!" (36) And later he added: "Judaism lives not in the abstract creed, but in its institutions; it is not merely doctrine but a religion of deed. Israel itself is a divine institution, standing forth prominently in history, affective through its very existence. The Sabbath institution permeates all of Mosaism, hence sanctification of the seventh day. (37)"

The most striking statement of the entire discussion was made by S. Holdheim, who sponsored the idea of the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday. He argued as follows:

"....Since rest is fundamental idea of the Mosaic conception of the Sabbath and the reason for its institution is connected with the highest and most important i.e. 1) God's rest after creation, 2) the covenant of God with Israel, and 3) the deliverance from Egypt....

"Rest, therefore, is the symbol or ceremony and the presentation of the Sabbath idea is intimately connected with the whole symbolism of the Mosaic law. Therefore, all work which disturbs rest is forbidden in the Bible on the Sabbath; were the celebrations the chief moment as the Commission asserts, then only such work would be forbidden as disturbs the celebration; but rest is the chief argument and everything opposed to it is ~~not~~ forbidden....

"How is it with us? Can we with our modern culture accept the notion of antiquity that the Sabbath rest in itself implies all these fundamental doctrines of God as Creator, Israel as the covenant-people etc., and that by resting we confess these things, and that not resting is equivalent to a denial of these most important religious truths? We certainly answer, no! If we wish to be honest. We have left behind us the symbolic age. A religious truth is significant for us not because we symbolize it by some ceremony, but because we grasp it intellectually and it becomes a very part of our nature. Hence we

cannot consider that he really observes the Sabbath who passes the day in indolent rest, although according to Biblical and later ideas he would be doing so. Rest in itself contains nothing positive, and is significant for us only as the negative condition, and means making possible the observance of the Sabbath by spiritual uplifting...."(38)

Thus Holdheim argued that according to the Mosaic conception rest is the fundamental idea of the Sabbath, but that in the development of Judaism, consecration became the positive element of Sabbath observance and that at present this was the essential feature. Therefore, the transfer of the Sabbath day to the civil day of rest is the only suggestion to carry out this idea of rest. (39) But on the fourth day of the Conference Holdheim stated that it would be worthless to ask the Conference for the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday because the people would not follow such suggestion and therefore he concluded:

"All our efforts for the restoration of a worthy celebration of the Sabbath is fruitless and there is unfortunately no thorough remedy whereby the conflict between the Sabbath and the demands of daily life can be removed other than the transfer of the Sabbath to a civil day of rest. I deny that this is a conscious concession to Christianity; I have in view the only possibility of a worthy celebration of the Sabbath. The wounds from which our religious life is suffering a fact most powerfully and perplexity will be the result of all our endeavor until the time shall come when the only possible remedy for the disease will be applied....We wish to save the Sabbath for Judaism and Judaism through the Sabbath even at the cost of surrendering the symbolical shell of transitoriness."(40)

An altogether different view is presented by Einhorn who claimed that the Sabbath is a symbol and therefore stands for the observance of the Sabbath on the Sabbath day. Thus said Einhorn:

"Throughout the Bible the Sabbath is designated as *אות*, a symbol. In Deuteronomy it symbolizes freedom from labor and in Exodus it represents the rest from creation, *שבת מורה על מנוח העולם*. Therefore, all productive labor must be intermitted. Similarly in Post-Mosaic Biblical writings the Sabbath is emphasized as a symbol of Israel's holiness and contrasted with the people of the world. In the Talmud the Sabbath is also the symbol of creation. (41)

Thus the open discussion and the powerlessness of so many able Rabbis to solve the grave problem was indeed a sign that the Commission and the Confe-

35. Protokolle III, p.160

36. Ibid, p.131

37. Ibid, p.146

38. Ibid, pp.59-73

39. " p.74

40. Ibid, pp.70-73

41. Ibid, p.57

were absolutely helpless. Only one solution, the one offered by Holdheim, that the Sabbath be transferred to Sunday was indeed not a makeshift whatever else it may be considered. Therefore, the Conference could not introduce any intelligent remedy. It was only hoped by all that they made a beginning and further Conferences will perhaps make further progress. But this was the great hope of the entire body, and particularly of the Commission. They had believed if the divine service in the Synagog would be emphasized and made the essential feature of the Sabbath it would gradually react upon life and edify the people, who would be willing to make material sacrifices and perhaps of even deserting their business tasks, thus give the Sabbath its proper place as the weekly religious consecration. How the Conference decided on this question can best be inferred from the resolutions adopted on the Sabbath question. The resumé of the conclusions ^{are} including paragraphs as they were settled by the Conference/explained in the following eleven statements:

declared
"The Conference explains:

1. That the reestablishment of an important celebration of the Sabbath, as a day of rest, and of holiness as one of the holiest duties as well as Israel's teaching of the people, is the duty of every individual Israelite, and because of that in the negative consideration must be fixed through heightened divine celebration and through the demand that the Sabbath consecration in the homes to call to mind the holiness of Sabbath, as always more lively. (42)

2. That the true divine celebration of the Sabbath by a worthy and dignified divine service is of such marked importance that activities, otherwise prohibited may not be forbidden in connection therewith, and that therefore everything which is conducive toward a worthy celebration of the services and makes the participation of the individual in an edifying service possible is permitted, particularly as a part of rebuilding of the divine service. (43)

3. That no spiritual activities detract from the Sabbath celebration. (44)

4. That if a cessation from one's occupation jeopardizes the dutiful means of existence, it may be conducted by a non-Israelite on the Sabbath. (45)

5. That in cases where the entire temporal well-being, where property and possessions, (Hab und Gut), where the means for future livelihood are threatened, no religious duty is violated, if precautions to save these are taken on the Sabbath; nay, if even the actual work of saving is done on the Sabbath. (46)

6. That where there is danger of life or fear of danger, that such tasks be carried on, may it be for one or another person, for Jews and non-Jews everyone is permitted even commanded, in order that he may do away with the danger of life.(47)

7. That the overwhelming rigor be considered the same for the celebration of the Sabbath, is injurious to such observance, therefore, those far-fetched hedges which are intended to produce complete leisurely rest are not binding.(48)

8. That the agreements are superfluous which tend to reduce from the previous teachings, but in form were not, which a cause may appear similar, as *עניני חצרות*, and *עניני תמימים*, are for us unnecessary - notably the latter in the matter of short journeys undertaken for non-industrial purposes.(49)

9. That the Jewish soldier must carry out even on the Sabbath his military duties.(50)

10. That the Jewish government official, in so far as he cannot stop his business on Sabbath, must satisfy his duties, but that he must not be less troubled in other ways, to establish the consecration of the Sabbath, namely, in the home.(51)

and 11. That the Conference, therefore, is of the opinion that this organization is to encourage the establishment of a more forceful Sabbath observance under more wholesome possibilities.(52)

Thus we see that the resolutions adopted by the Conference were to a large extent inadequate. While it did denounce the Talmudic casuistry of *עניני חצרות* and *עניני תמימים* it substituted new casuistry in almost similar way by not taking a more definite stand. This Conference turned out differently than anticipated, for the Assembly showed a halting fear to grapple with the problem, demanding greater prowess. They had hoped for later Conferences to accomplish that difference but none came after 1846.

42. Protokolle III, pp.166-172 where all discussion on this paragraph took place

43. Protokolle III, pp.172-173 44. Ibid, p.195 45. Ibid, pp.173-174

46. Ibid, p.174 47. pp.174-175 48. Ibid, pp.175-176 49. Ibid, 177-9

~~XXXXXXXX~~ 50. Ibid, pp.195-197

51. Ibid, pp.197-207

52. Ibid, pp.179-180

D. The Influence of the Conferences on Entire Europe

This happy compromise of the Sabbath Commission and the Conference resolutions had its results. From the emphatic debates and the impressive deliberations the entire trend of thought attached greater importance to the Sabbath of the Sabbath as upheld in the chief contentions of the resolutions. Moreover the Conference wished to impress by omitting from the resolution all references on the entire subject of the Sunday service.

In spite of this Sunday services were introduced in a number of Reform Congregations, with the Reform Gemeinde in Berlin as pioneer. Koenigsberg also adopted similar services on Sunday in addition to the Sabbath services, instituting this idea on May 30, 1847.(53) The Orthodox party, at this point, could not remain a silent onlooker and resorted to an old practice of reporting^{to} the government their protest, appealing to the ministerial rescript forbidding a change in the mode of worship. The government thus ordered the cessation of services on Sunday.(54) But this did not stop the progressive innovators. The officers of the Koenigsberg congregation succeeded in having the prohibition withdrawn and on the month following, June 13, Sunday services were resumed even though they were threatened with heavy fines and imprisonment under renewed prohibitions.(55) Also at Offenbach Sunday services were instituted on Sunday afternoons with much opposition from the Orthodox, for their protests for government interference did not succeed.(56) Similarly in Brussels the congregation asked the government to have Sunday services so as to enable attendance to a religious service at least once a week with the entire family.(57)

53. D. Philipson, Ref. Mov. in Jud., p.298

54. A.Z.d.J., 1847, pp.378, 428-429

55. Ibid

56. Ibid, p.504

57. Ibid, Vol.X, (1848), pp.264-5

Even outside of Germany in Pesth, Hungary, the newly organized Congregation in 1848 specified for services on Sunday.(58) And in France also under the influence of a Parisian banker, while he served as member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1843 suggested the practicability of such a compromise by holding services on a Sunday.(59) And the very same thing happened in Vienna when on Dec. 8, 1850 Sunday/services were instituted for the benefit of those apprentices ~~w~~ whose occupation did not permit them to attend services on Saturday.(60)

Turning away for a moment from the Continent we find in England the same prevailing conditions force a change in the Sabbath observance. In 1828 a Committee for the Promotion of Religious Worship was appointed to inquire into and recommend the best means of raising the tone of the public service and infusing therein greater devotion. This committee urged to adopt a more elaborate Saturday afternoon ~~xx~~ service with a sermon in English.(61) This was the nucleus for the "West London Synagog of British ~~Jws~~", who after much struggle and opposition from the Spanish and Portugese element some twenty years later established this Saturday afternoon service as an approaching solution for a better Sabbath observance.(62)

A far greater influence was exerted by the Rabbinical conventions from the individual members that were present at these Conferences. Holdheim was one of the most striking figures. His modesty and kindness, his independence and earnestness won him more favor and popularity than any other member of these assemblies. He never stubbornly insisted on his opinions, even on his suggestion to transfer the Sabbath to Sunday, but modified his view and stood corrected whenever the occasion demanded. But greater surprise was witnessed when men like Hess, Samuel and A. Adler, Herzfeld and many others who came out

58. A.Z.d.J., 1848, p.267

59. Voice of Jacob, III,p.214

60. A.Z.d.J., Vol.XIV,(1850), p.712

61.Jewish Chronicle, July 9,1897

boldly with their views on prayer, ceremonies, dogma, and the Sabbath question with its Talmudic demands. It was the Conferences who now declared that "the right of living, progressive development is deeply rooted in the Synagog." (63)

We are made to understand this viewpoint more clearly when we look into the writings of Holdheim who did believe in the Sabbath as a determining influence on the preservation of religion. In his "Predigten" he treats the Sabbath as a "ceremony and an institution", and like other ceremonies and institutions are subjected to change as soon as they do not fulfill their task and mission. "While Judaism is not embodied in the Sabbath, the Sabbath is a ceremony, an institution, one of the many ways leading to the aims of sanctity... The embodiment of Judaism is solely and merely its ethical law.... And while this day might not have the same power as the old Sabbath for the present generation, it will have it for your children and your children's children." (64)

In a similar strain Abraham Geiger, although an opponent of the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday said: "We have a week day which is especially adopted for divine services, namely, the Sunday. Let us make use of it, if not every week, so at least from time to time.... Let us not go too far through fear of concession ~~XXXXXXXX~~ to another creed.... You make the Sabbath a day of work, the Sunday a day of recreation. Religion, however, should yield entirely on the Sabbath to the ardent demands of the present and on the Sunday to a stubborn clinging to the past. This is self-deception, through which the religious life is being wholly extinguished." (65)

But Geiger's position was based on a more rational basis. When he criticized the "Nineteen Letter of S. R. Hirsch, he arraigned the disgusting idolatry of the Jewish ceremonies as they are emphatically prescribed in these letters. To these demands Geiger claimed: "It is very funny indeed to call a

62. Voice of Jacob Vol. IV, pp. 66-67

63. Schreiber, Pioneers of Reform Judaism, p.217

man an atheist because he writes or touches a candle on Sabbath." Thus Geiger claimed that holidays when celebrated in a more dignified form, will surely attract a larger part of the congregation to the houses of worship. But altogether different is the lot of the Sabbath. "It will always carry only a comparatively small circle who will attend the divine service on this day, even if it should be conducted so as to answer all the demands." (66)

These were certainly words spoken like a prophet. His claim was with respect to the divine services on the Sabbath that it is already too late.

And thus he added:

"The time for action should have taken place at least a generation or two before this time so as to prevent the rapidly growing indifference among all classes of Jewish life. Then the houses of prayer were yet powerful enough to draw people on the Sabbaths in spite of their obstacles. But now the stream of life has overflowed its dams. Therefore, no complaint or reproach will be strong enough to lead the people back again to its old channel. The grown people attend to their business, the children go to school, and the houses of God have to rely upon a small, firm circle, of accidental visitors.... Now we ask ourselves: 'Shall we, therefore, bear ill-will against life?' Shall the House of God not offer its blessings, because they are not appreciated as they ought to be at the time and hour when they are offered? Shall the youth be punished by being deprived of all edification, because the parents send them to school on this day?... Should we rather utilize every opportunity offering itself to us in order to win back the masses to the House of God and to religious life though it be at a time when so far has not yet been used for this purpose? Our ancient teachers thought so. For those, who could not attend services on Saturday morning, they substituted a solemn service on Saturday afternoon, and Monday and Thursday mornings. Let us follow their example. There is one week-day, which is especially appropriate for divine service, because the general business pursuits are suspended on that day, namely Sunday. Let us make use of it, if not regularly every week, but at least from time to time. A solemn Sunday service (and be it only once a month) will answer the purpose of giving to a large part of the Congregation the opportunity of a common devotion, without infringing upon the right of the Sabbath. Do not go too far in your apprehension, that such a service might be construed as a concession to other denominations. I honor this shyness, whenever urged in opposition to the shallow spring, the begging before the doors of others. But when you once have given way to the general custom in all other affairs of life, then do not boast of a steadfast perseverance and of insisting upon your peculiarity just in that one point, which concerns neither your gain nor your pleasure, but the religious food of so many. You make the Sabbath a day of work, the Sunday a day of RECREATION. Religion, however, must yield ~~to~~ on the one hand to the needs of life, on the other to the prejudice of the past. This is self-deception, through which religious life is being stifled entirely." (67)

64. Holdheim's "Predigten", Vol. II, sermon "Die Risse und Spalten im Goteschause", pp. 274-277

65. A. Geiger, Nach. Sch., I, p. 226

66. Ibid, p. 228

But when it came to express an opinion on the revolutionary religious tendencies like those inaugurated in Frankfort, Geiger took a definite position with a more constructive outlook, which temporarily estranged many friends from him, and in later years proved to be the sanest attitude. In a pamphlet "Nine Years Ago and To-day" he boldly advocated his view:

"Within the Congregation I struggle, I conquer or succumb, and have the good consciousness that struggles have stimulated powers which after my strength will produce fertile development.... I ~~have~~ have declined such a position as Rabbi of Frankfort several times. I have refused the position as preacher in the Temple of Hamburg at a time when I had resigned my position in Wiesbaden, and when the chances for my naturalization in Prussia and of entering upon my position in Breslau were very doubtful. I have twice declined the position in the Berlin Reform Congregation because their reforms were revolutionary...(68) But today also a revolution was not wanting. Those who had been separated long ago from the Jewish congregation desired at last to give full and public expression to their views. But removed entirely from the historical ground this task became rather difficult. The "Reform Society" of Frankfort and the "Friends of Reform" in Berlin were right in their struggle, but as soon as they intended to build up, they were not capable of constructing a new building out of mere negotiations which offered nothing new.... It is for this reason that I would not serve as Rabbi even if a retransfer of the Sunday to the Sabbath is made again." (69)

Thus the great work of such men in the interest of this Sabbath institution paved the way for greater progress. But this did not come immediately because after the revolution of 1848 general reaction set in that ~~re~~ prevented the materialization of the fourth Rabbinical Conference scheduled to be held in Munich. All liberal religious activities as a result of the political conditions could not hope to be successful. And with this the problem of the Sabbath was not touched until the Synods were held, one in Leipzig (1869) and the second at Augsburg (1871). But these two Synods could not continue the work ~~at~~ started by the Conferences, because the religious question in Germany, as well as through Europe became so miserable that there was hardly any hope for a change for the better in the near future.(70)

67. Geiger, Nach. Sch. Vol.II,p.272

68. Geiger, Nine Years Ago and To-day, Breslau, 1846

69. Geiger, Nach. Sch. Vol. V.,p.246 in a letter to Wechsler Geiger states that it is for this reason that I twice refused this position of Rabbi

At the Augsburg Synod in 1871 the Sabbath question once more came up for discussion. Only two Rabbis (Geiger and Wechsler) were present who were members of the Breslau Conference of 1846. But hardly any bold statements were made when the discussion of the Sabbath question was debated. Dr. A. Wiener's statement was probably the only whose spirit touched the cord of the existing conditions. "We do not desire to hold fast to all old petrified formulae, but to preserve the living element in the proper religious observance of the Sabbath..."(70)

Once more Geiger brought the true spirit to the discussion of the Sabbath problem when he said. "Let us not forget that we must have in mind the consecration of the Sabbath and the efficacy of the religious institutions of Judaism... The whole method and manner in which the Sabbath observance has been developed during decisions on the points before us, but with the idea of the Sabbath, with the needs of our age."(71)

The pronouncements of the synod on the subject of the Sabbath observance were:

1. If the distance from the residence to the house of worship, or age and delicate health prevent attendance at divine services, notably if this be of an elevating and edifying character, it is permissible to remove this obstacle by riding on the Sabbath and holidays, either on the railroad or in a vehicle to the place of communal worship.

2. This permission extends also to the practice of charitable acts in such cases where delay would be dangerous.

3. The same permission holds where the purpose is educational or recreative.

70. Verhandlungen der Zweiten israelitischen Synode, p.181

71. Ibid, p.172

4. An Israelite may play the organ in the house of worship on Sabbath.(72)

Dr. Wiener's resolution which passed unanimously should also be worth mentioning:

"In consideration of the fact that the children in the public services are intended for the benefit of the younger generation, but the youth remains away from the house of worship because of attendance at school, the members ~~in~~ of the synod resolve to bend all their efforts towards inducing parents to have their children, girls as well as boys, excused from school for one hour in order to enable them to attend divine services. Only by this means can a choir be formed and maintained in small congregations. The members of the synod shall also request the school authorities to have instruction imparted only in the less important subjects during the hour of divine services on the Sabbath, so that the Jewish children will not miss much during their absence."(73)

Thus the Augsburg synod concluded the more instructive influences as time developed toward a better Sabbath celebration. The healthy sign was shown by Dr. Wiener who was instrumental in bringing the resolution to direct greater attention on the Sabbath observance upon the youth and the growing influences in future Judaism.

72. Verhandlung der zweiten israelitischen Synode, pp.174-204

73. Ibid, p.215

CHAPTER SIX

AMERICAN JEWS AND THE SABBATH

Since the time of the three Conferences in Germany the Sabbath question together with all religious reform practically came to a standstill all over Europe. The all-absorbing question of emancipation was the more intimate question demanding more and immediate attention. The storm of 1848 with its great spirit of revolution and freedom did not remove some old barriers; and even where they had been removed, governmental power, still in the hands of the privileged classes practically perpetuated the discriminations which had vanished from the statute books only. Hence, most of the work of the reformers with respect to the Sabbath question in particular and all the other Jewish problems in general was held at bay.

So the work of the modernists was continued only in America, whither it has been transplanted from England, for America was the only country where a state's religion had not even historical claims. Only in America does Judaism represented that freedom, from all fetters, striving to harmonize its views with the needs of time. But even this equalizing freedom did not come until after the war of 1812, when the last state of Maryland finally granted all rights to the Jews after the influences of the Jewish families in Baltimore, particularly the Cohen family, who were instrumental in aiding the government financially in that war. (1)

But the Sabbath question was not given expression, though it was equally as aggravated in the United States as in Europe until Max Lillienthal (1814-1882), who came to the United States in 1845 and after serving as Rabbi in New York City for several years, retired from the active ministry, entering the arena of active

1. Margolis & Marx, Hist. of the Jew. People, p.648 It was the patriotic services of this Cohen family that helped in the defense of Baltimore that gained

Jewish life by writing for "The Asmonean". In one of his editorials he wrote:

"We are tired of seeing men violating the Sabbath until they have accumulated an independent fortune, and calling themselves orthodox nevertheless; we are disgusted at seeing men transgressing every religious ceremony in public life, and yet clothing themselves with the halo of sanctification. We wish to see this contradiction solved: we wish to know when religious ceremonies have to yield to the necessities of life and when they have to be kept at any price, and subjugating life and its exigencies. In a word, we wish to know what in our Law is God's command and what is the transient work of mortal man. Such an investigation will solve the contradiction between life and religion; will do away with all the unfounded conglomerations of different ages; and will surely reunite the now distracted body of Israel in peace and harmony...."(9)

Here we see a conscientious diagnosis of the existing religious problems, placing the Sabbath question as one of paramount necessity for consideration.

The Sabbath desecration was becoming an aggravated problem among all the thinking religious guides in the United States. Yet in this statement of Dr. Lilienthal there was no suggestion or constructive plan of action as to how this situation may be solved. To his aid came the more constructive statement of Isaac M. Wise who wrote in the "American Israelite" in the same year:

"We must inform our friends and opponents that there is a Judaism independent of its forms, and that this is Judaism emphatically. It is, therefore, our principle...that "All forms to which no meaning is attached any longer are an impediment to our religion, and must be done away with." But before we propose to abolish anything we should inquire, what is its practical benefit? If there is none it is time to renounce it, for one dead limb injures the whole body...Another principle is this, 'Whatever tends to the elevation of the divine service on the Sabbath and on the holidays, to inspire the heart of the worshipper and attract him, should be done without any unnecessary delay', for the value of divine service must be estimated according to its effect upon the heart and understanding.

"Another principle is this, "Whenever religious observance and the just demands of civilized society exclude each other, the former (meaning the religious observances) have lost their power; for religion was taught for the purpose 'to live therein and not to die therein'; our religion makes us active members of civilized society, hence we must give full satisfaction to its just demands."(3)

the sympathies of a group of distinguished Christian citizens, who succeeded in 1825 to remove the last distinction of a discriminating character against the Jew. He also was active in the congregational work of Baltimore.

2. The Asmonean, Vol. X, (1854), p.85

3. The American Israelite, Vol. I, (1854), p.20

Whatever else may have been in the mind of I. M. Wise this statement certainly emphasized that if the Sabbath was to be observed it can best serve the American Jew through a most dignified service that should inspire the heart to higher religious understanding. And in the year David Einhorn, a man who served also as a great influence in the German Rabbinical Conferences, and who participated in the discussions on the Sabbath question then, gave in his inaugural sermon before the Har Sinai Congregation in Baltimore his view how the Sabbath question should be treated in the United States.

"Like man himself, the child of God, the divine law has a perishable body and an imperishable spirit. The body is intended to be the servant of the spirit, and must disappear as soon as bereft of the letter. This spirit is the doctrinal and moral law of Scriptures, whose fundamental principles ~~is~~, the Ten Commandments set forth exclusively; TO THEM BELONGS ALSO THE SABBATH, which has a symbolical significance only in reference to the choice of the day... This, therefore, is binding for all times, places, and peoples, and was destined to become from the very beginning the common possession of mankind through Israel... Not that man will ever be able to dispense altogether with visible signs, but the expression and form of these must necessarily change with different stages of culture, national customs, industrial, social, and civil conditions, in short, with the general demands of the inner and out life. As little as the ripe fruit can be forced back into the bud or the butterfly into the chrysalis, so little can the religious idea in its long process from generation to maturity be bound to one and the same form..." (4)

But what was actually done to help the Sabbath question in the United States? Certainly the idea of transferring the Sabbath to Sunday was not yet a popular desire by the middle of the nineteenth century. Dr. Samuel Hirsch wrote in his reply to a circular letter addressed to the Rabbis that such a policy should not be considered. (5) His plan was not to transfer the Sabbath to Sunday but to utilize the Sunday for an additional divine service, because on Sunday there are a great number who would participate in a service who would otherwise never partake of any divine service. This then was his distinction and suggestion. But in addition he also hoped to introduce a Friday night service which might

4. Dr. David Einhorn, Antrittspredigt gehalten in Tempel des Har Sinai vereins, pp.6-10, translation copied from D. Philipson, Ref. Mov. in Jud., pp.479-483 because of inability of obtaining the direct source.

5. This circular letter was sent out by the U.A.H.C. May, 1885 stated in XIIth Annual report, p. 1026

take the place of the Sabbath service, thus satisfying all concerned by arranging for an evening service when it will not interfere with the business life. He stated:

"What is the Sabbath idea? Certainly no one thinks of transferring the Sabbath to Sunday. That would be as sensible as if you would transfer Monday to Wednesday. Further, nobody thinks of interfering with those who observe Saturday as Sabbath. When or where Jews were persecuted, it was easy for them to celebrate Saturday as Sabbath. Every occupation was denied them, except such as were despised that a Christian would not undertake them. Therefore, the Jews had a monopoly in their occupations, and people needing what could only be found among the Jews, had to choose a Jewish working day. But how is it today? Thank God, every honorable calling is open to us, but we have ~~no~~ a monopoly of none. In most cases this cannot be denied, not working on Saturday would be the ruin of the whole business. In no case would and could the Jews fulfill their whole duty - that great duty to work six days for the sake of humanity. Judaism proclaims two foremost and fundamental principles: First, man is on earth to work. Working constitutes his nobleness - distinguishing him from all other earthly creatures, who find their food prepared..... These Sunday services were not proclaimed as Sabbath services and no Sabbath prayers are included on such occasions. These Sunday services may be decried as imitation, as concession to Christianity, But the Friday night lectures should be the watchword, and then it shall be declared, 'Let people work seven days; God has to be satisfied with fifty out of a hundred part of religious intentions.'"(6)

Nevertheless Sunday services were encouraged by some Congregations. Probably the greatest exponent of Sunday services in the United States was Dr. E.G. Hirsch, Rabbi of Sinai Congregation of Chicago. For thirteen years, from 1874 to 1887 this congregation held services on both day, Saturday and Sunday, but since then Saturday services were discontinued. But to Dr. Hirsch the policy of his Congregation was not a transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday but merely an arrangement whereby the people could be reached for higher instruction on the day when most people rest. His direct stand on this question he offered in his own statement:

"The Sabbath is a human want. Regardless of historical associations, it is planted in human necessity. Man need the periodical rest it brings. And as the day of rest it is the best opportunity to impart instruction on the higher questions of our nature - instructions which require a teacher trained to im-

part it, - the service on that day again correspond to a human seclusion on the part of the Jews from the outer world but it would by no means be the price of a new ghetto. We cannot afford to pay that price and therefore, to satisfy a purely natural craving we utilize the day of rest, - commonly observed - for the purpose indicated. Our Sunday services are not a transferred Sabbath but a new creation."(7)

Many suggestions were offered by many leaders how the Sabbath problem could be met in the United States. Once more I. M. Wise in 1866 realized the necessity for the solving the question. When he took notice that many could not attend the services on Saturday morning, he instituted a late service with a lecture to accompany it on ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Friday night.(8) This innovation made rapid headway, for it seemed to meet the double desire of retaining the Saturday Sabbath and to furnish the opportunity for all to attend divine services at a leisure hour. On the other hand many felt that by such an innovation, however helpful it may be to meet the situation, seemed to be more harmful than helpful in the preservation of the Sabbath spirit, since it induces a feeling that by the attendance of this service the whole duty to the Sabbath has been performed, and the day itself may be spent in accordance with the individual pleasure or necessity. Thus said Dr. K. Kohler: "Late Friday night services are altogether an innovation - an innovation of a dubious character, in so far as they make those who attend them feel that they have done their duty toward the Sabbath...."(9)

Hence the other remedy applied to meet this situation was the only way out, namely, the introduction of a Sunday service. Once more David Einhorn in 1871 gave a reason for the periodic Sunday service: "This we can, should, and must do in order to arrest the evil, namely, to introduce a monthly Sunday service of a non-Sabbatharian character. Such a measure can not, justly be attacked

7. Julius Rosenthal, Extract from Proceedings of Chicago Sinai Congregation, March, 26, 1885

8. D. Philipson, Ref. Mov. in Jud., p.504

9. C.C.A.R., 1905, p.62

from any point of view and will at the same time bring forth great blessing."(10)

It was at the Pittsburg Rabbinical Conference when this question once more came to the foreground. After much discussion the "Pittsburg Platform" records that Sunday services are not contrary to the spirit of Judaism if any Congregation should desire such a service. Here again this body had to acknowledge that the Sabbath as the Jewish institution must remain as the historical day of rest for the Jew, even though a declaration was made permitting Sunday services. The resolution adopted on Nov. 18, 1885 which was unanimously adopted reads as follows:

"Whereas, we recognize the importance of maintaining the historical Sabbath as a bond with our great past and the symbol of the unity of Judaism the world over; and,

Whereas, on the other hand, it can not be denied that there is a vast number of workmen and others who, from some cause or other are not able to attend services on the sacred day of rest, be it

Resolved, that there is nothing in the spirit of Judaism, or its laws, to prevent the introduction of Sunday services in localities where the necessity for such services appears, or is felt."(11)

Similarly the Conference of Rabbis of Southern Congregations held Dec. 30, 1885, just one month after the Pittsburg Conference declared in a similar resolution, but more directly answered that the Sabbath must be retained and must remain as the binding influence for all assembled Rabbis to carry out this demand in their respective congregations. This recommendation was assented by all members assembled except Rabbi Samfield, who claimed that according to his opinion there existed no necessity for such a declaration at the present time.

The Recommendation reads as follows:

"Referring to the report of the President, we, the members of the Southern Conference, do hereby declare that the observance of the Sabbath of the Decalogue and the practice of the Abrahamitic rite are just as binding today upon Israel as they ever were."(12)

We must remember that this Resolution of the Pittsburg Platform and the Recommendation of the Southern Rabbis created much discussion and debate. The Jewish Spectator carried much of this question in its columns. There were certainly men who conscientiously answered those attacks with many types of arguments. Dr. S. Samfield, the man who opposed the Recommendation of the Southern Conference certainly is a very good example of the opposition party. He stated:

"It is remarkable how ready and eager our modern Rabbis in America are to call in question, to discuss, to abrogate and to lay low the "Covenant of ethical import and sublime moral value", THE SABBATH; How courageous and bold they are in setting aside ancient authority and landmarks, Biblical and Talmudic rule, when the question of Sunday services arises, when mines are laid in the congregation eventually to overthrow the sacred pillars of worship on the Sabbath...

Now if any covenant decreed in the Bible is greater and higher than any other, it is the observance of the Sabbath; it is commanded in the Decalogue, it has an ethical *raison d'être*, it has a claim and an authority and yet it is broken, desecrated, abrogated and done away with. Let us realize and mend according the demands of our time."....(13)

Here we see, as in Europe so in the United States the question of Sabbath observance has long been acute. Economic and social conditions compelled the great mass of people engaged in mercantile pursuits to follow their ordinary vocations on the Sabbath. The conflict between the religious observances and life was equally as constant on the American shore. And just as it was necessary for of Germany, the religious guides/to take necessary steps how to indicate the practical solution of the problem, so in the United States, once more at the end of the nineteenth century, the same question was debated and almost the identical resolutions were passed.

But these recommendations and resolutions were by no means solutions. the next century once more opened the question at its Central Conference of American Conference Of American Rabbis. This task, then, will be shown in the next chapter just how this body coped with this problem.

10. Steiger, Einhorn's sermon delivered on Shabuoth 1871 in Temple Adath Jeshurun, pp.312-313

11. C.C.A.R., Vol.I, (1890), p.122

12. Ibid, Vol.II, p.63

13. Jewish Spectator, Sept.12, 1890

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONSIDERATION OF THE SABBATH PROBLEM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

- A. How the Central Conference of American Rabbis attempted to Solve the Question.
- B. The Consequences of the Decision of the C.C.A.R. on this Question

In the very opening year of the twentieth century the Central Conference of American Rabbis took up this question of the Sabbath. The Executive Committee instructed Rabbi Voorsanger to prepare a detailed paper to be submitted to this body on the following year with the attempt to bring to the foreground the prevailing opinions what this body shall do in an attempt to meet the situation. As this body thought and as it actually is "the greatest problem of the day" must be brought for deliberation.

But there was a great difference in the matter of treatment of the Sabbath question between the German Conferences and the American. The discussion was ~~not~~ not started in a negative way with an attempt to justify the action of this or that particular Rabbinical law as it was done in the German Conferences, but instead the whole object was to call attention to the public against the gradual lessening of respect towards the Sabbath observance. Nor was the project directed merely to ask for more time-honored loyalties for the Sabbath institution. Therefore, the question ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ uppermost in the treatment of the question was now whether this Conference could feasibly change the Sabbath to some other day, namely to Sunday. Moreover, the European question was treated, by virtue of their position taken of treating the question with the idea of preserving the Sabbath, from the theoretical and religious side, while the Central Conference treated the problem more from the practical, hence the political, social and educational values of the Sabbath.

To entertain such a problem as the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday was conceived as a schism, leading perhaps to a break with traditional and historical Jewish life. Therefore, the outspoken discussion pro and con certainly stirred American Jewry. Yet the undaunted fervor on the part of American religious leaders prompted them to take up the question and settle as much as possible, if not the whole matter, once and for all, before a body of liberal Jewish guides.

In a very scholarly and extremely interesting paper Rabbi Voorsanger opened the Sabbath question in 1902 before the Central Conference of American Rabbis. In his introductory remarks he even questioned whether a body like this could entertain such a question, because "as liberals we do not break with tradition, but if we act in the affirmative and wish to settle this question once and for all we may be declared sectarians or schismatists." (1)

Thus he outlined the main object of his paper in a very careful analysis where the American Jewish communities may contribute some suggestion whereby the historical Sabbath may remain a heritage for future generations. And therefore "this body should consider well, treating the Sabbath as the new social and economic environment of our people can justify the surrender of the question. For the historical Sabbath has no more vitality today than for the prophet Ezekiel the pile of bones just before resurrection." Thus by bringing the question for consideration Rabbi Voorsanger asked this body to find the means to resurrect this great Jewish institution. Quoting from this paper in part he said:

"Our first business is to make a correct diagnosis of the present situation - no matter how lamentable - let us hide nothing.....

Some keep the Sabbath but that by no means affects the general statement, namely the Sabbath is kept only in large centers in America and Europe like Berlin and Paris. But in these very centers Jewish banks and counting houses are open. Professional men are busy, artisans pursue their toil, and many who accept the Sabbath theoretically ignore it practically and pursue their daily avocation. What's more the sanctifying influence of the Sabbath is getting lost, lost hold of sanctification on the household. Saturday has become a day to discharge all postponed duties of the week. The Jewish woman preferably will do her

shopping on the Sabbath.

In reference to public celebration the principle of rest is lost by pointing to our audiences. The attendance of women is out of proportion to men and continuance of this will make change in type of sermon to one sex.

Men are reduced to the position of contributor and business administrators and women sustain the burden of public celebration and domestic practices. What led to this deplorable condition?

1. Convenience is not a true cause. Even if there are people who base their religious life on accommodations. Yet people always imbued with religious sentiment of right are loyal to its institutions, noted for strength of domestic virtues, ready to sacrifice for the principle of right - capable of most enduring affection for traditions. Legacies could hardly be negligent....

Then 2. Indifference is an effect and not a cause. It is an effect of many cause of harmonious environment of social happiness. When men and surroundings do not harmonize, then there grows indifference into passiveness but we must know whether this indifference is: a) Paralysis of spiritual emotions, or b) an inability to determine the processes when principles can become vital again. If the indifference is due to a spiritual paralysis then let us adjourn the case sine die. But if it is inability, then let us classify the causes, AND DETERMINE THE MEANS OF RESTORING THE HARMONIOUS JEWISH FAITH AND PRACTICE. Then, perhaps, the classification is

3. The spirit of the times is not an invoking account for all the ills our religious practice has fallen heir to. It is not fair to denounce men, because they are caught in a vortex of operating causes. Therefore, blame the obstinacy that prevents a full and free consideration of the processes that have their play with us; - that mould our activities we dare not look in the face, forcing to conclusions we lack the courage to acknowledge and carry into operation. Then the cause are SPIRITUAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL.....

I. Why then, has the Sabbath not the same effect on us? Because spiritually and spirituality has been on the decline. At one time the spiritual Sabbath was enforced by political legislation i.e. the Sabbath was a Palestinian state institution. It was recognized by law as a valid factor for main happiness. It was expounded by an authority acknowledged of Divine origin. It presented safeguards that can never possess the moment it step forth from these classical environments. Then, how can such a law be enforced today that has no authority and is not in conflict with the law of the state?

Do we Rabbis and teachers recognize any authority from which aforesaid proceeded moral and physical directions regarding this day? This Central Conference must deal with a question that never confronted deliberative bodies of this character. The question in reality is whether we can exert authority, define and interpret new aspects of thought adopted to our religious economy? The answer is we can.

As yet we are affected by a decline of authority brought about by the changes of the new school. For example if we accept evolution then creation must be much older than recorded and the Sabbath if it is a copy from a Babylonian institution, then how can we endow it with traditional interpretation of a divinely ordained institution as a result from a pledge between God and His people, and yet remain inextinguishable as long as Judaism remain an affirmative expression of the relation between God and man?.....

II. Now it is all well enough from the religious point of view to insist on a traditional day of rest as being the only one worthy of celebration and observance, but religion will not suffer if it keeps with economic questions involved in such insistence. To demand compliance would be to observe two days of rest a week. To make such an appeal in the courts of America is poor policy even if it may equalize the losses of working Sunday for rest on the Sabbath. But no one can compete with five days of energy against six days of his neighbor. Sunday aside from any consideration is the popular day of rest. No business, no in-

dustry, and not a religious consensus can alter the situation, since the Jewish people are but a very small minority, only three percent of the total population. And business has no soul. The energy of man in business stops only when hampered by law and not by religion, conditions of the Jew in America is different from the Jew abroad.

The spirit of the American Sunday is more rigid, more intolerant, more exacting. Even if the spirit of the American Constitution dictates no conscience of religion, yet tradition of Sunday demands advisability of training the conscience in harmony with that of the people. Labor on Sunday will not be offensively resented but passively discouraged. No one can succeed in his energies when all about him all energies are suspended and success is an element of life even religion dares not underrate....The problem, then, in a way is the same as was expressed at the Breslau Conference of 1846 where it was said: 'to throw a 3,000 year old tradition overboard' seems impossible. And as yet we cannot say that the future has nothing possible for our Sabbath but an assimilation with the national day of rest.

III. The social aspect of the problem

The old time restrictions of labor harmonized with the social life of old Israel. The Sabbath rest needed a social atmosphere. Both principle and law were made concrete by pronouncements and by custom. Therefore, any halacha admitted in theory derived its vitality from *מנהגים*, *מנהגים* and *תקנות*. Now compare this to the modern law which is fixed by popular practice and decrees of court. The above fixed the statute of practice with the life of the community. Therefore two elements come in conflict in consideration of the Sabbath question. First the traditional practices refer to the status of olden times and second the modern conditions refer to the changes affecting the old status.

Popularly it is believed that in matters religious, custom must be concrete. The question is can there be a possibility to live in two distinct atmospheres, namely the national and the religious, i.e. living with the practice of bygone times? Theoretically, yes, but practically only in individual cases one can be assimilative in national life and withdraw from the community into an esoteric religion. But in most cases to withdraw from communal life is impossible. It is our duty to assimilate into the nation, where the Jew be welded into the body of citizenship sharing the welfare of responsibilities for the common good. Without restrictions on his social freedom, the atmosphere of social and religious freedom must harmonise....

Can we restore the Sabbath? Can we reconcile progressive forces of our own time with the historical influences, from which in some degree we find impossible to alienate ourselves? The answer cannot come from an individual. The task of presentation of causes, hinder general observance of the traditional Sabbath. These causes do not validate synodical action when looking to assimilation of Jewish rest with that observed by other people. Because in lack of observance lie the historical principles and the Sacrifices of historical principles are more to be feared than the decline of discipline....Therefore the Conference should act on:

1. Authorize an official statement regarding the position in the matter of the Sabbath.

2...should define as a matter of information ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ to the people the difference between a mere Sunday service and the endowment of Sunday with the characteristics and significance of Israel's historical Sabbath.

3....define, if possible, the spiritual authority that guides and directs the religious practice of our people.

4....inquire whether the ideas of rest involved in the Sabbath can at all be made adjustable to the present economic conditions, and whether, in view of our present difficulties, other ethical interpretations than those that have

hitherto obtained, may not be suggested.

5...inquire whether the institution of a Sunday Sabbath is, or is not inconsistent with the historical and theological principles underlying the same, and whether or not such an institution would not be productive of schismatic action by which its advocates would expose themselves to the possibility of creating a new sect in the midst of the Jewish people.

6....particularly look for the means whereby the domestic character of the Sabbath can be enhanced and endeavor, by incessant appeal and unremitting instruction, to preserve within the domestic environments the spirit of the Sabbath rest and devotion.

Time will tell whether in these considerations there is remedy."(2)

From this extract of Rabbi Voorsanger's paper we can conceive in what a state of mind the assembled body was in at its conclusion. The whole body was ready to jump to conclusions, offering suggestions and on the various phases of the paper. Once more the deliberations brought to the foreground all the detailed arguments that were advanced at the German Conference in 1844 and 1846. And although in Germany the problem was treated more exhaustive^{ly}, this body attempted to follow the same policy Geiger suggested to the Breslau Conference in his opening address: "While it will be impossible for this Conference to come to any practical conclusion, discussion may be the means of fixing certain principles, as a part of the practice of our people."(3)

The discussion took on a peculiar turn. The importance of the paper was that it showed conclusively that the study of the Sabbath problem contain the elements governed differently in different communities. There was no true and outspoken favoritism for a Sunday Sabbath, though there was a decided tendency that instructions and teaching Judaism on Sunday may be a good thing. Above all this paper asked from the Conference to fix a few principles about the Sabbath leading to discussion and perhaps may come to an agreement based on the discussions. But the true spirit of the paper was emphasized with a challenge when it asked this body to do something to revitalize the Sabbath and to make this day once more an integral portion of the religious life of the people in America,

2. C.C.A.R., 1902, pp.104-122

3. Protokolle III, p.9

because as conditions are in America all Jewry is a body of Sabbath breakers who theoretically only uphold the Sabbath. If we are to summarize the paper three propositions were submitted for consideration:

1. Whether the ^edeline of religious authority is a reason for the decadence of the Sabbath. Is there a difference between the Sabbath as an expression of the social order and the Sabbath as a pledge of Divine authority? Or whether teaching of the times do not contain an element endangering the popular belief even concerning the Sabbath

2. Then, economic reasons force the breaking of the Sabbath and the Conference should say expressly whether this action is right or wrong.

and 3. The social environment of our people in the United States do not encourage old-time sentiments.

Thus we can see the challenge was between faith to religion and the clamor of tradition. To those who expressed the wish of the stirring Jew, the Sabbath was made a question of principle. To others the Sabbath was no more than a logic of events, and then again to many the Sabbath was reduced to an expression of sympathetic attitude toward maintaining the integrity of the historical institution.

When it came to the consideration of the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday there was greater anxiety to reply in the negative than at the German Conferences, because there was the realization that by such a declaration on the part of the Central Conference of American Rabbis it would mean once and for all the severing all relations with the fraternity of Israel.

These questions was placed for solution and no one cared to give immediate decision on this all-embracing problem. The Conference as a body could not hand down the authority to settle a fundamental question in Judaism. And above all there was the realization that to hold adherents to faith there must be something to hold adherents with, namely, basing faith on historical principles on a positive ground, hence accept the Sabbath.

Thus an entire American Jewry centred its attention on this Conference, awaiting the answer what this body will say and how it will decide this ever perplexing problem, namely what can be done for this Sabbath which is being killed by its non-observance.

Some of the interesting remarks in the course of the discussion will aid in the bringing to light the general trend of thought on the part of the general assembly and their reaction to the paper. Thus J.S. Reisin said:

"The predicament of discussing this problem is like the reply the Gaon of Vilna made, when asked to intercede in the Emden-Eybeschitz controversy, 'I can't put my head between two crushing mountains.' The indifference in Reform Judaism with reference to everything Jewish is not a cause, but the result of a deplorable state into which the Sabbath has fallen. And since Saturday Sabbath cannot be maintained, let us substitute a Sunday Sabbath. Let us transfer the day of rest to a day or rest, the day recognized by the state, by the majority citizens.

This means uprooting of one of the most vital and salient institutions. We endured hardships for preservations of the Sabbath. The Sabbath alone, above all other commandments, we are enjoined to keep holy, to be a covenant between God and Israel forever. The sages of the Talmud consider the Sabbath of supreme importance and the Sabbath if properly kept is enough to redeem Israel from all suffering.

Again historically the transference of Saturday to Sunday is impossible. The Jew after 4,000 years is no more able to observe Sunday than to believe in a trinity or a duality. Though robbed of the Sabbath he will never recognize Sunday. What about the economic and social problems? What about saving at least part of the Sabbath by holding services on Sunday? Every day services are good but the transfer of Saturday to Sunday - no. Shall we give up tradition because we live in a Christian country? Minorities never give in to majorities. We just as well accept all superstitions even the trinity. The mission of Israel where it could reach all must first come to our own flesh and blood. The orthodox Jews come to Reform temples on Sabbath no on Sunday, with talethim and handkerchiefs on their necks. Can we expect to be more successful than the Church on Sunday, for more than fifty percent of the American people do not enter the Church.....

Every law of the Torah has a legend for its existence. "When thy child will ask thee". What will be the answer when we will tell our children we have abandoned the Sabbath for Sunday because the principle of the Sabbath is below pleasure, convenience is above conviction. The change of the Sabbath will bring a schism in the Jewish camp. Therefore, ~~xxxxxxx~~ let us decide to hold on to the Sabbath as a day of rest. At no convention, 1844, 1846, 1869, 1871, at which Geiger, Adler, Einhorn, were such advisable pioneers of a different country, did attempt to inaugurate a different Sabbath, a 'ש ש ש ש (4)

The discussion took a different trend when Rabbi I. Levinthal was more concerned with the revitalizing and the reinstituting of the Sabbath. Though well aware that work must be carried on the Sabbath, hence there will be a grea-

ter distribution of labor when some will work on Saturday and others on Sunday.

But the greater need for the Sabbath to the Jew was not the idea that the Sabbath is so much a day of rest as a day ~~of~~ "for communion with God." Hence the sacredness of the Sabbath is the phase that must be preserved. Since the Sinai revelation Sabbath was declared as the day of edification, the testimony of God's creation, and His covenant with man. Therefore, if we follow Christianity in changing the Sabbath we lose the most precious boon bestowed by God to his faith. (5)

This remark was answered by H. G. Enelow. He claimed that such a thing as a revitalizing and reinstating the Sabbath is only an other way of evading the true question of the problem. Sabbath audience and Sabbath services are not the pivot of the case. No matter how we turn it, Sabbath services or Friday night services, "we have no Sabbath, no day of rest". It is hypocritical to stand up on the Sabbath and pray: "Grant, O Lord, that our rest on this Sabbath be acceptable to Thee." "This rest - what rest? This Sabbath - what Sabbath?" was his cry. How many Jews really want rest, want the Sabbath? For whom are we praying? We should interpret the law and religion in the light of the present and not of the past as our problem is to interpret law in the light of the future for the sake of our children. If we could view it like the Orthodox who looks at the present life of the Jew only as a temporary life then it is worthy to retain this anemic life of our religion. "Our life is the Occidental forever and the longer we wait the more we drift our children away from our religion." A Sabbath without rest is no Sabbath. Hence Sabbath rest must be the underlying idea. In our own day the Sabbath is untrue, unholy, a mere form. Therefore, the Sabbath as we have it today is an abomination to God. (6)

Even Dr. Deutsch added that by transferring the Sabbath to Sunday we make no concession to Christianity. But Sunday to Church was not and will not be a

4. G.C.A.R., 1902, pp.123-127

5. Ibid, pp.128-130

continuation of the Jewish Sabbath but of Christian innovation. Therefore, Saturday is our so-called day of rest and worship but in actuality it is no Sabbath. Sunday is our real day of rest. Then the question is shall we have an official worship without the day of rest, or shall we have the day of rest with worship.(7)

And so we can reduce all the discussions into three types. First and foremost was the question of Sabbath rest and Sabbath worship. Second, that by the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday the problem would meet with the solution temporarily. And third, that the emphasis is not so much on the idea of Sabbath rest as the idea of divine worship and certainly by adding additional services to Sunday, the Sabbath will be greatly improved.

As to the idea of the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday it would interest us to note what Rabbi L. Wolsey offered in this direction. His contentions were that the Sabbath day non-observance was due to the present industrial conditions. The reconciliation of the Sabbath with the times was not and never will be the real problem. But the reconciliation of the Sabbath with Rabbinic conditions that is the sore spot. The retention of the Sabbath is based solely on history. The whole Jewry is breaking away from authority. "We are not consulting the past today, we consult reason. Even the Bible is only true when it coincides with reason." The real question as Rabbi Voorsanger asked in his paper is whether the transfer of Sabbath to Sunday would break with the past. "The answer is most decidedly". But is not all present-day Judaism breaking with the past? What is Friday night services if not merely an opportunist movement to avoid Sunday transference. "By retaining Saturday Sabbath we compromise reason showing the inconsistency in religion. Therefore, the change should be in the idea of the Sabbath - not a Sabbath of REST but a Sabbath of WORSHIP. But this is perverting the idea of the Sabbath." Sabbath always meant rest and because rest can only be had on Sunday, therefore, we should have Sunday Sabbath. The seventh day Sabbath can only be a true Sabbath if it can be a Sabbath for women and children as well as for men. Thus if Sabbath means rest then have it on Sunday when

when modern business conditions would permit a rest. And if religion would be based on reason and logic there is but one thing to do; change the Sabbath to Sunday. (8)

A far more constructive argument was advanced by the group who were interested in the idea of adding an additional service on Sunday. J. Krauskopf claimed that from experience he was for twelve months a Saturday Jew and for seven~~th~~ out of every year a Sunday Jew. In Philadelphia, where he served as Rabbi, for fifteen years Sunday services have been instituted and found great success. "I am a Jew, I love Judaism. I have been ordained to preach Judaism to all Jews and Gentiles and I saw the hypocrisy in my Temple. I could not teach my children an empty Sabbath. I did not desire the Sabbath Kaddish Jews, therefore I saw obstacles in holding the Jew from observing the Sabbath impossible to preach Jewish principles on a most intensely materialistic day. I came to Philadelphia, the hotbed of Orthodoxy and found ethical culture working among the Jewish youth. So I changed to Sunday services if I wished to preach to a Temple crowded with men and women." This then is the main reason. Large crowds came to hear Krauskopf on Sunday and thereby the membership in his Temple has been doubled. Moreover, by reason of the Sunday services the Sabbath services have grown stronger. Surely on this score no one will say that Sunday services will kill the Sabbath observance. There is but one Temple that is actually closed on Saturday since it opened Sunday services. (9)

6. G.C.A.R., 1902, pp.131-133

7. Ibid,

8. Ibid, pp.133-135

9. The Sinai Temple of Chicago where Dr. Emil G. Hirsch was acting as Rabbi was the one Temple Dr. Krauskopf had mind. See C.C.A., 1902, pp.137-139

But merely speaking of the rehabilitation of the traditional Sabbath without giving details what this should be like was due to the fact that there was a lack of a plausible suggestion. The American Jewry faced a condition and not a mere theory. All the Rabbis realized that in the smaller communities services on Saturday morning had to be dispensed with because of lack of attendance, and the future outlook seemed that even larger cities will have to follow the same sad example within a short time. The entire assembly was willing to restore the Sabbath to its old positive glory but the question was, "can it be restored"? Hence there was no reason to object to a supplementary service on Sunday where such was felt a necessity because it was necessary to give the people an opportunity to attend services when they could come. "Surely closing the doors on a day when they can come is a poor way to teach religion". Hence a supplementary Sunday service afforded a means to bring Jewish teachings even to non-Jews.(10)

The problem was taking a different turn when Rabbi Joseph Silverman asked "are we contending for the Sabbath or for Judaism?" The Sabbath should be used for the benefit of the Jew, for the benefit of the Jew, for the benefit of religion and therefore all ceremonies and traditions connected are only secondary to the main object. If we cannot bring our people to the Synagog because of conditions we must bring them on a day best possible be it the Sunday even to supplement Saturday. In reality what was asked was to devise a service for a leisure time and that was not considered detrimental to our faith. In fact Friday night services did more harm than Sunday services because some believed that by attending such a service for thirty minutes they observed the Sabbath while the same people when they attended the Sunday services only with the idea of instruction and not of observance of the Sabbath was not mistaken by ^{any} one the true motive. Orthodoxy claims that the Sabbath is from sundown to sundown; what other

Synagogues were doing, when instituting an additional service, was merely extending the Sabbath from Friday eve to Sunday noon, thus affording three opportunities for divine services.(11)

The most conducive argument was advanced by those who were insistent on the retention of the Sabbath, utilizing the opportunity of the Conference discussion as a means to devise better ways to revitalize this day as the great day of Israel in history and in its religion. Thus Rabbi Max Heller suggested that greater unanimity of opinion would be gained if more time would be granted for the deliberation over this problem. The interest of the Conference was not the immediate present but the future. And it would be wrong if Jewish problems were judged by conditions in the light of the last fifty years instead of the last 3,000 years. The difference between Occidentalism and Orientalism was not between retrogression and progress but between a hurried and a meditative life. Hence it is better to retain only a fragment of the Jewish Sabbath until better times and then we could return to a better Sabbath, because the Jew will realize his religion when standing and upholding the principles of his faith.(12)

But of greater importance was the fact that we could not sanctify the first day for the seventh day and yet be in harmony with the fourth Commandment. Of course addresses and lectures at the Synagog could be had at any time, "but how will be able to explain our children that because of convenience we have changed the Sabbath to Sunday. That is an impossibility." therefore, let us suggest how best to sanctify the Sabbath with a Pentateuchal spirit. As Jews we must have in mind that we could never substitute the Sunday for the Sabbath. Such an attempt would fail and bring destruction to Judaism.(13)

"If the Sabbath then as a day of rest can be reinforced and the object was to make a day of worship at a convenient hour, then more experienced in con-

11. G.C.A.R., 1902, pp.145-146

12. Ibid, p.135

13. Ibid, p.136

gregational affairs will have to solve the problem", was a statement made by Dr. G. Deutsch. "But in deliberating over this question it should ever be kept in mind that Sunday as a day of resurrection is a mistaken conception. Sunday is the Christian Sabbath and for Jews, a Christian Sabbath cannot exist, because to the Jew the Sabbath meant living within the Jewish national aspiration. Now, the Roman Catholic Church does not look on Sunday as a day of rest. It is only a day of worship and only to make possible attendance to worship that abstinence from work is necessary. The Jewish position is the very opposite. The Sabbath of Judaism is primarily a day of rest and secondarily only a day of worship as the village Jew who could not attend services was never a bad Jew, only an unfortunate one. Therefore, the idea of Sunday must neither be refuted nor advocated because it is the Christian Sabbath and can never have any Jewish meaning." (14)

Dr. I. M. Wise said at a dedication of a Temple in 1868 that would add to the attitude that the Sabbath day has to be preserved, stating: "One thing is certain and that is Israelites today know that they do wrong but they cannot help themselves. Let us try our utmost to say all we can for the Sabbath and as much as we possibly can." (15) Surely the idea of the Friday night services instead of Sunday was a considerably more constructive policy since it would discourage congregations from Sunday altogether. "People will rest on Sunday but will not sanctify it." Therefore, it would be best at least to sanctify Friday nights and teach the people the sanctify of the Sabbath. (16)

The Conference, then, asked that a Sabbath Commission be appointed to present on the following year a "Gutachten", an expert report to the seven question presented by Rabbi Voorsanger in his paper. The following accepted the offer to serve on this Commission: Rabbis Voorsanger, chairman; Sale of St. Louis; Max Heller, of New Orleans; G. Deutsch, Cincinnati; Sonnenschein, Des

14. C.C.A.R., 1902, pp.142-143 Dr. Deutsch's opinion

15. Jewish Pulpit, 1879, p. 142

16. C.C.A.R., 1902, p.145

Moines; Harrison, St. Louis; and Enelow, Louisville. Thus ended the first attempt to solve the grave problem of the Sabbath before a Rabbinical body in America.

II. The Conference of 1903

The year following the Commission was to decide and present conclusions, each member was to treat one of the seven questions, but all the members of the Commission were to decide on the entire question and the fundamental problem: WAS THERE REALLY A SABBATH PROBLEM? WAS THERE A QUESTION OF A VIOLATION OF THOUSANDS OF OUR PEOPLE? WAS THERE THE QUESTION OF EFFEMINIZATION OF THE SYNAGOG, resultant from the neglect of our men to attend services, and THE PROBLEM OF REVITALIZING THE DOMESTIC CHARACTER OF THE SABBATH. But was there really a question about the day itself? Even if Jews did rest on the day they declined to call this day the Sabbath and in spite of the fact that they labored on the day of our Sabbath it was merely raising an inconsistency to a moral problem and the question before the Conference was now, can this body change this attitude by a dictum of the Conference.

The paper of Dr. Voorsanger of the year previous gave reasons for the Sabbath breaking, but did not in any way attempt to break away from the historical foundation. The fact was the CONFERENCE CANNOT CHANGE THE SABBATH. There was no body of men that could make so radical a change until USAGE of the people would fix conditions and convert the law and practice. And the Commission, therefore reported that the Sabbath problem was only an American question and from this aspect only was it to be considered. "We deal with American conditions. Our authority only reaches American shores", was the main statement of the report.

The German Conferences discussed means of preserving the Sabbath and not of changing it, an example the American body was now ready to emulate. Indeed Geiger's view on this question was once more the guide "that there could be but one Sabbath and that the means must be found to maintain it." But if American Reform Congregations by concerted movement would change or go on record in favor

vor of displacing the Sabbath it would have meant that the Conference was ready to declare a difference of faith, practice and discipline. Therefore, any change in the Sabbath would be a schismatic move and would tend to the estrangement in the confraternity of Israel. Here was there the Commission realized its duty. For even liberalism has its bound.

"...As Rabbis," the report stated in part, "we must still declare the Sabbath of the Decalogue is still the Sabbath that the historical instance of ~~us~~ making Sunday a day of rest.... The Conference though powerless in jurisdiction can influence in maintenance of the historical position and conditions. We may win over the more conservative element by this move...

In effect by identifying the C.C.A.R. with the U.A.H.C. and coordinate the action of both, the position will be strengthened and the Sabbath problem would yield if there was such strong body to treat the problem. This is the basis of the third proposition of the seven points. Certain issues in reference to the spiritual, economic, and social phase of the Sabbath can be treated. If the Sabbath is to remain then we can study how much can be vitalized. If the Sabbath breaking is an individual affair then influence on the question can come from within. Therefore, it is our duty to find correct ethical interpretations... We Rabbis must give exact position of the Sabbath through encouragement of services when men can attend and through revitalization of the Sabbath practices and these will help to restore the moiety of the Sabbath as long as we stand for the historical basis of the Sabbath." (17)

As a result of this communication voluminous correspondence developed in reference to the power of the Commission. All the members except Rabbi Enelow agreed that the Sabbath itself be not even discussed but only the problems of the Sabbath. Rabbi Enelow, therefore, asked the privilege to review the entire problem from his own point of view delivering a very learned and exhaustive paper as an individual report of the Sabbath Commission. It was this report that stirred the Conference of 1905. It would, therefore, be advisable to quote in part the more striking statements:

"The history of Reform Judaism can find no better illustration of how fast we have moved away from the older phases of our religion than is offered by the treatment of the Sabbath question. The Breslau Conference found the question grave enough to engage most of the time of the assembled Rabbis. Then the Reform followers were novices in the Western civilization; but two or three decades passed since the admission in the participation of the industrial and intellectual life of the respective countries; the generation of the ghetto was then still living and yet even then THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE SABBATH AND LIFE OF THE PEOPLE WAS FELT. The discussion of the Breslau Conference are the testi-

mony of the anxiety of the age in reference to the Sabbath....

Today this looks like an attempt to get rid of an old friend without open offense. The immediate surgical work was necessary but none except Holdheim had the courage to come out and declare it. Geiger, whose radicalism was tempered and cautioned by scholarship, admitted the problem could not be disposed by thimble-rigging and finally said; 'We all know that we have effected no perfect reconciliation (between the Sabbath and the new life); that we are but preparing the way for the future and must leave it to the power of pure and reinvigorated Judaism and of history, which is also a revelation of Divine Providence, to bring about a complete adjustment. Yet by the very opening of the path, by emphasizing the eternal and essential and discarding the effete and useless, the fermentative process is accelerated, and maladies of the age are put in the way of a speedy healing'.

Fifty years passed, and what to Geiger was the future is to us the present. And yet we are not solving the Sabbath problem. American life is what Geiger called the future. It has freedom of life; even Orthodoxy is radical in the United States and the Sabbath problem of 1846 is more complex and numerous. The American Jew entered with his heart and soul in the social and economic life; his ideal is to strengthen his position.... The breach between the Sabbath and the ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXX~~ German Jew of fifty years ago and from the Talmudic viewpoint were contemplating on work on the Saturday Sabbath is Sabbath-breaking. The feeling of the sanctity of the Sabbath has vanished and the Rabbi is no more asked to heal the sore, i.e. he is not asked what labor may be done on the sacred day like in the Conferences of 1844 and 1846. We know that the Sabbath observance since 1846 has grown worse and worse. In spite of the expedients as: Sabbath unions, Friday night services, Saturday afternoon addresses, and family reunions. We stand today in solution of the problem like the men of 1846 at Breslau and men interested in world's work cannot observe the Sabbath. Therefore, to avoid hollow ceremonies and to avoid hypocrisy we must define and ascertain the real purpose of the Sabbath and possibly of its preservation in the modern environment as part of progressive Judaism....

Our age could not enrich the Sabbath as it has enriched other feasts still observed but before we can have a symbol we must have the object. The present age will not hold to a detached symbol without a practical tangible religious institution... Reform Judaism believes in the Sabbath as an institution, a religious institution on which day to strengthen, purify and exalt its devotees. This can be detected in modern religious literature, in our prayer-book, in our popular religious consciousness. Then either we divine a way to repossess the Sabbath or we must look for other ways to fortify our religious life. Therefore, either the Sabbath must be regained in its genuine strength or the Sabbath must be declared as unessential to the continuance of Judaism...

Those who make the Sabbath a symbol can do anything with the Sabbath but to those who consider the Sabbath an institution for hallowing religious life, Sabbath today means nothing. The old Sabbath is gone. The Saturday Sabbath is a work-day. The Jew did not sacrifice the ancient day wilfully. It is not the immolation of an ideal on the altar of Mammon; it is the natural result of changed circumstances and a new mode of life. As long as the Jew lived in the ghetto he could hallow the day he wanted. As long as rabbinic dictum held good that Israel can make a livelihood among themselves:

אֵין יִשְׂרָאֵל צָרִיכִים פִּינְסָה לָבוֹ (Ber.3). But the destruction of the ghetto walls brought a change and ended the industrial, political, and even the social isolation, and made the observance of the weekly day of rest an impossibility, and participation in Western civilization made Sabbath-breaking compulsory. The future will not change Sabbath-breaking without a detriment to the people. But we need the Sabbath for furtherance of religious conscience. The Jew today needs a day of consecration to higher purposes as a part of the mission of Israel. Without worship

and continual neglect of the Sabbath the Jew is doomed to spiritual decay. Now the old time conferences sought means to preserve the old Sabbath but failed to restore it so far, and we, either stand by tacitly and watch for Saturday improvement which may never come or change the Sabbath day at once to a day most feasible for true observance!" (18)

This then according to Rabbi Enelow had to be decided: whether the Sabbath was essential for the needs and demanded a change of the Sabbath day. Because to him the Sabbath was to serve as in the beginning as a day of worship, as a day of religious edification and must be adjusted with modern life, especially for those who never expect to live in the ghetto or separate Jewish state. "Naturally such a change in the entire idea was received with awe and ejaculation by the untrained masses and by the amateur journalist. Thus the Jewish Exponent declared that the Conference "is ready to join the ranks of Christianity" (19) and the Reform Advocate clamored against such daring statements that tend to undermine the very bottom of Jewish life and practice. (20)

But the Judaism as perceived by the Jewish leader was greater than ceremonies or institutions. It is founded on spiritual ideas expressed by doctrine and at all times the idea was superior to form or expression. Hence the main issue before the Conference was now as Rabbi Enelow claimed: "Not the Sabbath shalt thou fear, but Him in whose honor Sabbath was instituted.", לא מן

השבת אתה מתירא אל א מאי שפקד אף השבת (Sifra, Lev. 19.30)

This, then, was the attitude toward the complex problem. The Sabbath should not be dismissed from petty parochial standpoint. It was better to speak on the question openly and give expression than to glose the difficulties with indifference and hypocrisy. Better to cling to a true day of Sabbath rather than a Saturday Sabbath in no way save by word and mouth.

18. C.C.A.R., 1903, pp. 155-171

19. Jewish Exponent, July 12, 1903

20. Reform Advocate, July 17, 1903

A Another phase of the Sabbath question was emphasized; whether the Conference as a body had the right to take action in such an important religious problem. This Rabbi S. H. Sonnenschein reported separately in his report on one of the seven points dealing with the Sabbath problem. Here, Rabbi Sonnenschein definitely declared that the Central Conference of American Rabbis was a deliberative body, academic and endowed with qualitative and quantitative confidence of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which by all means gave the authority to render a decision with respect to any point of reconstruction even in a most fundamental religious ceremonial. There was no *הלכה למעשה* that could not be approached from the modern interpretation when Rabbinic and Talmudic decisions clash

(21) *רשות לכל בית דין בכל דור ודור לדון לפי מקומם וזמנם*

To sum up the Commission's report there was a unanimous opinion with regard to the second paragraph that Sunday services were in absolute accord with all Jewish precedent and Judaism ¹⁸⁷⁴ regarded religious services and instruction on every day of the week equally essential. Hence if the Conference would have accepted this point it would have meant that all the other six questions were not necessary. Therefore, it was of importance the way Rabbi Enelow deliberated in detail on this one question. And in a way this was an answer to the Conference from the Commission whether Sabbath instituted on Sunday would be consistent with historical and theological principles underlying Judaism, and whether such institution would not create a schism that might bring a split of a new sect. (22)

Since this report was only signed by three members of the Commission (Sonnenschein, Voorsanger, and Enelow) the report was not accepted on a technicality because it was not a majority report and therefore had to be postponed for another year, when more adequate reports will be prepared, bearing the decision of the majority of the commission.

21. C.C.A.R., 1903, pp. 147-148

22. Ibid, 1904, p. 57

Thus the stand on this great proposition was postponed for another year. This question of the Sabbath was awaited eagerly by the multitude on the outside and the very future of Judaism, it might be said, was dependent on the decision of this grave question.

And to recapitulate the entire situation it was now found that as a result of the paper delivered in 1902 by Rabbi Voorsanger on the Sabbath problem, after twelve hours of discussion, it was decided to have a Commission to report when in 1903 on the Sabbath problem every one could give final expression. The 1903 Conference found the Commission's report inadequate and one more member was added to the Commission. The report was still inadequate and ambiguous. Only the first half of point one of the seven points of Voorsanger's paper was now considered gratuitous since it claimed that we have a difference in our personnel and the second part referred to the problem of a stronger body than the Central Conference of American Rabbis should answer this Sabbath question. Now this body declared that Sabbath must remain undisturbed until a stronger voice could demand inquiry into the problem of the Sabbath. Therefore, it was proposed that the Conference should state exactly what was the American attitude in reference to the Sabbath question and that this assembly should declare and accept the Sabbath regardless whether we should have Sunday services or not. (23)

III. Conference of 1904

The next year brought no results whatever. The Sabbath Commission was reduced from nine to four members, including: Rabbi Voorsanger, chairman, K. Kohler, Dr. Deutsch, and Enelow, who were to report on the instructions of last year that "This Conference declare itself in favor of maintaining the historical Sabbath as a fundamental institution of Judaism and of exerting every effort to

improve its observance." It was also instructed this new Commission should study the methods of carrying this declaration into effect and to report to the Conference of 1904.(24)

This Commission, however, could not come to a definite agreement and once more we find the Conference asking for another report on the question this same body passed the year previous by a large majority, namely, the adherence "TO THE HISTORICAL SABBATH, and that all efforts be exerted for the restoration and better observance of the historical Sabbath. The Executive Committee, therefore, appointed a new Commission composed of Rabbis Joseph Silverman, chairman, R. Grossman, Harris, and Sammfield.(25)

IV. The Conference of 1905

Thus point by point the road for the advancement of Judaism was progressing. The grave crisis of 1903 when the danger of a schism was averted in the last hours of the Conference by changing the Commission and by not acting on the question of the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday, now two years later, a new Commission with an entirely different personnel, was ready to report on the more constructive problem, namely to devise means how to advance better observance of the historical Sabbath. The new Sabbath Commission reported and recommended:

I. That the observance of the Sabbath in the home be revived where it has been abandoned and encouraged where it seems to be declining. Let the Conference urge that, in addition to welcoming the Sabbath by Friday eve services, it be also welcomed in the home by the "lights", the "Kiddush", the blessing of the children by the parents, and the gathering of the family and the kindred.

II. That Sabbath observance leagues be organized, composed of adults as well as of children.

III. That such literature on Sabbath observance, as shall be deemed helpful in this propaganda, be made available by proper index or reprint.

24. C.C.A.R., 1903, p.76

25. Ibid, 1904, pp.89-94

IV. That appeals be made to business and profession ^{men} to observe the Sabbath and to respect the scruples of Jewish employees who desire to keep the seventh day holy.

V. That congregations be requested to induce their leading members and especially their officers and trustees to observe the Sabbath, and that members of religious schools committees and teachers of religious schools be urged to set an example in Sabbath observance to the children of the schools.

VI. That the Jewish Women's Council, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Southern Rabbinical Conference, and other societies be invited to cooperate in this movement, making for better Sabbath observance.

VII. That parents be urged, when making arrangements for private instructions to be imparted to their children, to have regard for the Sabbath and that Jewish private schools of a secular nature be requested to hold no sessions on Sabbath or holidays.

VIII. That strenuous efforts be made for a better observance of the Sabbath, at summer resorts, and that the Director of Synagog Extension, or, someone else qualified for the task, be appointed to undertake the organization of Summer Congregations, and when this plan be not feasible, that the guests at summer resorts be requested to assemble in groups for religious services on the Sabbath.

IX. That in order to protect individuals or business houses that observe the Sabbath, steps be taken, when necessary, to secure for them immunity from the enforcement of Sunday legislation.

and X. That a standing Commission on Sabbath observance be appointed, whose duty it shall be to carry out the recommendations adopted by the Conference, and report annually, and that the Executive Committee be informed to make the necessary appropriations for the maintenance of this propaganda.

This report was signed by all the four members of the Commission. One can see the different trend of thought and the more stable measures recommended for adoption by the Conference. Indeed a constructive program was now devised and was presented for discussion. As the body so ordered, every one of the ten paragraphs were discussed and voted upon separately. The first paragraph called forth considerable discussion once more. Some claimed that such an idea as a late Friday night service is again an innovation that may perhaps be taken that the Conference goes on record suggesting this idea as the completion of the observance of the Sabbath.(26) Then again it was suggested that for home use the Friday night service found in the Union Hymnal was very feasible and should also

be included in the recommendation of the Sabbath Commission.(27)

The second paragraph was adopted unanimously. But the third paragraph created more than the usual discussion. Here was once more the challenge what was meant by a "Sabbath observance League"? Dr. D. Philipson's remark will show characteristically what was wanted by the assembled body.

"I would like to prevent another catastrophe as in Detroit in 1903, when such important a problem as the Sabbath was taken up in the last hours of the Conference and rushed through. Today we are about to go down on record that we disapprove of Sabbath Observance Leagues. It is because this subject was brought up in such manner. Sabbath observance Leagues are a farce. For example New York has such a league with Dr. Mendes making pleas yearly about such observances and are wasteful. At the Breslau Conference in 1846 similar recommendations were made and similar objections were raised because they saw that this is not a way to revive the Sabbath."(28)

This recommendation was lost and the next three passed without much comment. But paragraph VII was asked to be reconsidered, because therein was involved a dangerous precedent when the Conference was ready to pledge itself as ready to ask from universities and colleges the special Sabbath privilege for Jewish students. This resulted in dropping the most emphatic part of the recommendation when only the other half, bearing no important issue on the question of the Sabbath, was accepted, but was referred to the Commission on Sectarism.(29)

The Conference has taken official recognition of the Sunday service. The members, with the fewest exceptions, believed that the Saturday Sabbath IS THE ONLY SABBATH FOR THE JEW; but many of them likewise believed that by an additional service on Sunday hundreds and thousands can be reached who would otherwise stand altogether outside of Judaism's influence. It was no more the idea of the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday that was advocated, but a way out of the supreme difficulty presented by the conflict between Sabbath observance and the

27. G.C.A.R., 1905, p.61, Rabbi Stoltz's remark

28. Ibid, p.62

29. Ibid, pp.60-76

demands of life, and this, it was hoped would be achieved by a supplementary service on the civil day of rest.

The conclusions reached by a committee as a result of all the investigations were finally reported and adopted in the Conference of 1906. The following were the final clauses adopted:

I. The Sunday service is found helpful to the maintenance and cultivation of the religious spirit among the people, particularly the men and the young people.

II. In view of the non-attendance of the people in general on Saturday, the Sunday service afford a weekly opportunity for worship, apart altogether from the question of Sabbath observance.

III. The Sunday service brings the congregation, especially the male portion thereof, under the more direct and more constant influence of the pulpit, which often leads to a more energetic communal and congregational activity.

and IV. The Sunday service, in almost every instance, is attended by a considerable number of non-Jews, who in that way are given enlightenment on Jews and Judaism, and are afforded an opportunity for possessing themselves of our conception of religion. (30)

Though this Conference gave the indorsement that Sunday services may be essential but it was not the Sunday service that was to replace the Sabbath but merely a service to supplement the religious activities and thereby bring greater force to the Jewish synagogue.

Thus the question of the Sabbath ended in the Conferences. On this great proposition where the stand of the Sabbath question was, depended the future of Judaism. If the decision of the Conferences would have been otherwise many members of this body were ready to resign from the Conference, if a radical view were adopted. (31) Hence by taking this stand it showed that the Central Conference of American Rabbis were not giving the impression as evading the issue as the Conference of 1902 tried to do. Here American Jewry received a clear and brief statement of a Rabbinical view on the Sabbath question without entering into any theological treatment of the subject. Certainly every man may decide whe-

30. C.C.A.R., 1906, pp. 87-113

31. Ibid, 1903, p. 78 Rabbi Silverman's statement

ther the Sabbath was a symbol or not, and though some may believe that the Sabbath is something else, from a practical standpoint, the Conference wisely declared that it is in favor of the observance of this historical Sabbath demanding greater observance, thereby acknowledging the necessity of upholding the Sabbath without any definite settlement of the particular importance of the Sabbath itself is for us today. And by taking this stand, once and for all times, the world knew where proper influence should be exerted for a better Sabbath observance.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RESUME

A. In spite of existing forces tending toward recognition of the Christian Sabbath, Judaism goes on record as upholding the historical, traditional, and spiritual Jewish Sabbath. B. The Problem is far from solved and leads to a mere reduction of Sabbath observance to a minimum. C. But the Jewish Sabbath and no other Substitute can remain the Sabbath for the Jewish people, basing deductions upon the examination of the Question.

Thus the Jewish Sabbath, with its elevating and ennobling influences, has once more insinuated itself into the hearts of all civilized nations. That law engraved in the fourth Commandment has become the common law; it cannot ~~be lost~~ be lost any more. After it has been declared a day of communion with the Divine Source, it will forever testify to Israel's truth.

To us, in spite of all the different crises, the Jewish Sabbath has become endeared as the messenger of hope and comfort amidst cruel persecutions heaped on us by other peoples during the Middle Ages. It was the Sabbath that was the bearer of light unto us, disclosing the golden treasures of knowledge and mental freedom amidst a world benighted with ignorance and superstition. To medieval Judaism this day was the fountain of living water, rendering every Jewish household a garden of God, looking on its followers and observers with the truest hope of every virtue.

But ever since the walls of the Jewish ghetto have fallen the pristine glory and brightness of the Jewish Sabbath day has partly disappeared. The blast of the new era of freedom, opening the arena of commercial and industrial enterprise to the Jew and non-Jew alike, the holy Sabbath has been violated by the din and care of labor and business. It was this analysis of the situation that

made some discry "NOR IS THERE ANY HOPE OF SEEING THE SABBATH RESTORED UNLESS NEW WALLS WERE TO SHUT THE JEWISH PEOPLE OFF FROM THE INTERCOURSE WITH THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS." (1) None the less many suggestions came forth whereby the hope for the revitalizing and rehabilitating of the Sabbath was given a brighter outlook. By that glow of enthusiastic anticipations, which always inspired to greater religious activities, there is the hope of recovery, if not completely, at least some phases of it.

And as the years advanced, in this twentieth century, many remedies were proposed both effective and practical. Among the many outstanding suggestions, Rabbi Barnet A. Elzas offered the "creation of a Sabbath sentiment in the homes, by means of family reunions, or by the restoration of the domestic observances of the Sabbath." (2) Now this remedy was rather a reversion to type, easy of accomplishment, because it would be working along the lines of least resistance. This idea brought forth criticism even from Dr. Deutsch who claimed that the so-called Sabbath ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ sentiment which united the family at the domestic altar on Friday evening was the cause of Sabbath observance. As a matter of fact, it was merely its result. (3) In actual experience with the average Jew, the home observance and the accompaniment of Sabbath worship was and still is the true observance of the Sabbath. Domestic observances, worship, and Sabbath sentiment were and still are the indissoluble factors so interwoven that their separation becomes impossible for the revitalizing of the Sabbath.

In England a similar effort was made in the same direction basing their method of Sabbath observance on the same identical remedies proposed in the United States. "The importance of the Sabbath can hardly be exaggerated. And a

1. Dr. K. Kohler, Origin of the Sabbath, p.14

2. American Israelite, July 8, 1902

3. Ibid, July 17, 1902

very heavy responsibility rests upon all Liberal Jews in the matter of its observance." was the statement of Claude G. Montefiore.(4)

In this book, *Outlines of Liberal Judaism*, the author admitted, much differently than previous authors like Morris Joseph's "Judaism and Creed" that there is a grave difference between the violation of the Sabbath in order to do one's work and to fulfill one's calling well, and violating the Sabbath for the sake of pleasure and convenience was not wanted. "The lawyer who goes to chambers, the shop-assistant who goes to his shop, the clerk who goes to his office on Saturday may have no choice. They can go to chambers, shop and office with a perfectly clear conscience: they are none-the-less Jews because they go. But if on Friday evening they voluntarily go to the theatre or the music-hall, then they ARE the worse Jews, then.... they are guilty of deliberate wrong-doing."(5)

A remark of this character in a book prepared for teachers and parents who are to use this book for the instruction in the Jewish religion certainly showed the honest admittance and how the situation can be best met with in our present day religious instructions. This must be the teaching and this must be the practice for the development of a Sabbath sentiment. It was just here that restraint and discipline and a modicum of self-sacrifice were so essential. It was just here that Liberal Jews in England and Reform Judaism in the United States have so grave a responsibility cast upon them; and it was here that Liberal Judaism showed that it did not stand for mere convenience, but for greater righteousness and sanctification in the observance of the Sabbath.

Once more the positive observance of the Sabbath should start within the home was the modern emphasis. Of great and enduring influence, especially on the child may be the ceremonies connected with the incoming of the Sabbath, adopting

4. Claude G. Montefiore, *Outline of Liberal Judaism* p.248

5. Ibid, p.249

those ceremonies that will preserve the historic and traditional character.

And whatever there was no synagog or services on the Sabbath the family should hold a service in the home to suit every member of the household. Such a service, if arranged to suit every member, was essential; certainly it will remind and give an opportunity, thus stimulating Judaism and thereby even tend to sanctify the whole week-day life of the Jew.

Meanwhile the Orthodox Rabbis of America also joined ranks in an attempt to solve the Sabbath problem. In 1907 the Orthodox Rabbinical Convention appointed a Sabbath Commission, with Dr. Bernard Drachman as chairman(6). This Commission invited Dr. Cyrus Adler, then of the Dropsie College, now President of The New York Theological Seminary, who offered many suggestions on the Jewish Sabbath and its observance. It was at this convention that Dr. Cyrus Adler suggested a five day work-week, thereby alleviating the problem of Sabbath observance.(7)

From Dr. Adler's statement at the convention we get a glimpse of the arguments advanced in favor of Sabbath observance from an Orthodox point of view.

"The outward expression of Judaism is the most important question. With the Sabbath Judaism will live and I do not believe it will live without it. Now people are easily misled by catchwords, the present one so far as the Sabbath is concerned is "Economic conditions".

Through the terrible persecutions in Russia involving the migration of a people there have been conditions in which it was a case of work or starvation and for those who are placed in this way I have the most profound sympathy.

Too often, however, the phrase 'Economic conditions' is used as a cloak to solve the conscience of the unmoral or the derelict and in this the rich and the poor man, ~~xxxxxxx~~, are equally culpable, though I feel bound to say that the poor man, at least, has a better excuse than has his well-to-do neighbor. It would be an evil day in Judaism as it would be in the world, if philanthropy should become the sole virtue and serve as a substitute for religion, morality and justice...

But it seems to me that there are certain aspects of the economic conditions of the present time which favor the observance of the Sabbath. The great bulk of our working people, as of all working people, are engaged in large industries managed by combinations or corporations. The working people have themselves effected organizations. The whole trend of both is toward the shortening of the hours of labor. The eight hour day will probably become the rule among working people. What economic or other conditions would prevent, the dis-

tribution of the forty-eight hours along five days instead of six days. Therewith you will have noticed that many manufacturers are having a Saturday half holiday. And I believe it to be fully within the realm of practical things to have Saturday a whole holiday. I invite to give greater and more justifying deliberation on this idea....

This statement is not purely theoretical. One of the largest publication concerns in Philadelphia, a concern that issues a weekly paper, which I believe to be one of the most widely circulated in the United States work but five days in the week... They believe that they get better work from their people by giving two consecutive days of rest in place of one. This is the economic condition which I must take for this Sabbath and not against the Sabbath observance...."(8)

In consequence of this plan of Dr. Adler, a Jewish Sabbath Alliance was formed that has been in active operation since that date. Under the leadership of Dr. B. Drachman this organization has been exerting all efforts to help Jews in the observance of the Sabbath. They have interested many organizations in favor of a "five day work-week"; i.e. people should not work on Saturdays nor Sundays.(9) Even William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has recently declared in that the Federation is in favor of the "five-day-work-week", which is already in practice in a number of industries.(10) The movement, if successful, would certainly make it possible for Jews to observe the Sabbath day.

The move to introduce a "five-day-week" was planned by greater manufacturers and economists throughout the country. This demand is at present sponsored in many section of the United States. J. C. Royle in collaboration with Taussig and Saeger, all noted economists, claim that purely from an economic standpoint this policy would afford more enthusiasm in trade employments.(11) But the influence of William Green was shown when the Chicago trades Unions declared that after May 31st, of this year, when their contracts with the employers will expire, they will attempt to negotiate on a five day week basis. Also, the members of the painters union voted 7,000 to 2,000 in favor of this five day work week.

7. Jewish Exponent, Dec. 10, 1909

8. Ibid

9. American Jewish Year Book, 1925, p.233

10. Jewish Current Events, Phila. Feb. 17, 1928, p.67

The situation in Detroit with respect to the five-day week is being closely watched. The Ford plants have inaugurated this idea last year and are still working on this five-day basis. But just how the plan is working out can not be told as yet, because for the short time the move has been in effect it is only in the experimental stages as yet.

And while the five-day week may give an opportunity with an optimistic expression for greater Sabbath observance there is also simultaneously another factor working at opposite poles. In nearly every state of the United States there are laws which tend to forbid all forms of work on Sundays, a law that affects the Jewish merchant who would be willing to observe Sabbath and work on Sunday. However, the danger is not so great on this score, since these laws are not strictly enforced. In juxtaposition to the Jewish Sabbath Alliance there is a "Lord's Day Alliance," sponsored by many church organizations who have been trying for many years to compel people to rest on Sundays. This organization, each year, introduces bills in the state legislatures providing for compulsory rest on Sunday. Thus in the year 1927, two bills were introduced to Congress and sixty-seven similar bills were sent to the state legislatures. Fortunately not a single one of these bills have been passed.(12)

This year, a Sunday bill was introduced in Congress. It aims to prohibit any kind of work in the District of Columbia on Sundays. If this is passed, it will be used as a model for similar laws in the various states. The Jews in America are vitally interested in not having such laws. Compulsory Sunday rest makes it difficult and often impossible for Jews to observe the Sabbath. Forcing the Jew to observe Sunday, when he would rather rest on his Sabbath, is almost a case of discrimination, and this factor is what is necessary to prevent.(13)

But the economic phase only shows a one sided view on the Sabbath problem as it is today, with the danger of overestimating this influence over the reli-

gious observances as it is operating in the United States today. Thanks to the courtesy of the office of the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, the writer was able to obtain some very interesting data for a questionnaire prepared by this office. In this questionnaire we have the first opportunity to ascertain what the laymen's point of view is toward the Sabbath and how he actually observes the holy day of the week. Moreover, from the replies we may gather what the layman considers as important for the observance of the Sabbath and how comparatively affective the Sabbath is toward the building up of the Jewish religion at large.

This questionnaire covered 124 congregations, approximately one-half of the Reform Congregations in the United States, taking a cross-section from coast to coast. And therefore, shows a fair estimate how conditions exist with respect to Sabbath observance both in the Synagog and in the home.

64 i.e. about one-half of the congregations represented state that Friday night services and Saturday morning services are conducted and 13 more hold services Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Only 29 have religious services only on Friday night; seven on Saturday mornings and Sunday mornings and four only on Saturday morning. Most gratifying of all is the fact that only three congregations have services on Sunday only, a fact that in spite of all the danger and the various demands for the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday, only three congregations in the United States have adopted this plan, and that only 28 out of the 124 congregations, i.e. about one-sixth have an additional service on Sundays.

Whatever else we may deduce out of these figures, the fact remains that in the American synagogs today the Sabbath is favored as the day of edification and for religious instructions.

What is of greater significance is that 499, nearly one half of the replies to this questionnaire attend services regularly at the respective synagogs and that 502 are frequent attendants to synagog services, with only 113 out of a total of 1,114, who attend services on the High Holy days only. Which proves

that ninety percent are attendants and participate in the worship of the weekly religious service.

Now comparing these numbers of the Sabbath service attendance with the holiday service attendance, it shows that the Sabbath is observed to a greater extent even than the holidays. Out of 1171 replies Pesach was attended by 403, Shavuoth by 377, Succoth by 346, Chanukah by 321, and Purim by 287. Here again we can note that the major holiday are better attended than the minor holidays and that the Sabbath is attended more frequent^{ly} than all the holidays except the High Holy Days, the former claiming 906, and the latter 932, which show that even the greatest day of the Jewish year is not attended by all synagog members, assuming that all Brotherhood members are simultaneously members of the respective congregations.

Also with respect to the home observance of the Sabbath other figures will disclose very interesting facts. 280 out of 1171, or over a fifth of the replies, did specify that they have home observance on the Sabbath and the holidays in the form of Kiddush, lighting the candles etc., and that only 525 out of a total of 781, who answered on the question, claimed that they close their business on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur. Also that 624 expressed specifically that they fast on Yom Kippur. Hence comparatively speaking the influence of the home is a factor necessary to take account of. (14)

When comparing this survey with the one advanced by Rabbi Morris S. Lazerson who reported on "The Religion and the Synagog" to the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1920, we get the average of 36 percent as Sabbath observers and 64 percent who do not observe the Sabbath, (15), showing that the later survey claims better Sabbath observance than figures show of conditions eight years ago.

12. American Jewish Year Book, 1925, pp.21-23; C.C.A.R., 1925, pp.334-6
These Sunday bills were and still are consistently fought by the Seventh Day Adventists and the Congressional Record published innumerable letter of protests from every state of the Union.

13. American Jewish Year Book, 1927, p.23

What then can we deduce from the above? We dare not close our eyes to our critical position in regard to the seventh day Sabbath, as far as the youths and men in Israel are concerned. The Jew, formerly, so rich in Sabbaths and festivals, now finds himself destitute of Holy Days, or sees the time fast coming, when he will be stripped of these precious possessions. If the Sabbath were naught but a day of physical rest, its sole aim to afford the wearied body an opportunity for repose, then the question could be well dismissed without more ado. But the Sabbath is the pillar upon which rests our belief in one God and the entire ethical concept of the Brotherhood of men can be built upon it, with all the blessed consequences resulting from such a doctrine. Therefore, we cannot cease to hope for a better condition of affairs in Israel. We can safely admit that a crisis in the Sabbath problem has been reached, but not that the Sabbath has been lost to Israel forever.

And so we may conclude that this divine institution changed not. This Sabbath day, when husband and wife, parent and child, friend and friend, neighbor and neighbor join hands and hearts with one another; wherein love gives renewed strength to the youth, will remain the immortal day on earth as long as Israel stands supreme for its principles of faith.

14. The writer received the figures from Mr. Arthur Reinhart, Executive Secretary of the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods.

15. This survey was made in 1920 as a house to house survey in East Baltimore by a number of Johns Hopkins students, together with the members of the Madison Ave. Temple. See C.C.A.R., 1920, pp.249-267

16.