

INSTRUCTIONS TO LIBRARY FOR THESES AND PRIZE ESSAYS

U

Statement by
Referee

(Not Necessary
for Ph.D.
Thesis)

AUTHOR Robert M. Scott

TITLE "The Transition from Classical Reform to
Neo-Reform Judaism as Reflected in Synagogue
and Other Publications Between 1930 and 1948"

TYPE OF THESIS: Ph.D. ☐ D.H.L. ☐ Rabbinic ☒
Master's ☐ Prize Essay ☐

1) May (with revisions) be considered for Publication

☒ yes ☐ no

2) May circulate ☒

3) Is restricted ☐

III-14-66
Date

[Signature]
Signature of Referee

Statement by
Author

(Please consult with Librarian if copyright protection
is desired.)

I understand that the Library may make a photocopy of
my thesis for security purposes.

The Library may sell photocopies of my thesis.

☒ yes ☐ no

March 4, 1966
Date

Robert M. Scott
Signature of Author

Library
Record

Microfilmed

5/66
Date

Maira Stines
Signature of Library Staff Member

DEFINITION OF THESES

This thesis deals with the changes that took place in American Reform Judaism between the years 1930 and 1948.

THE TRANSITION FROM CLASSICAL REFORM

The type of Reform Judaism that was in vogue at the beginning

TO NEO-REFORM JUDAISM AS REFLECTED

of this period is termed "Classical Reform" while the

IN SYNAGOGUE AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

type that prevailed at the end of the period is termed

BETWEEN 1930 AND 1948

"Neo-Reform." The changes which occurred during this

by

eighteen-year period are documented first on an organization-

Robert M. Scott

al level (i.e., the Union of American Hebrew Congregations

and the Central Conference of American Rabbis) and then

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Hebrew Letters and

Chapter I Ordination Classical Reform Judaism. It

describes the Pittsburgh Platform in some detail. There are

detailed illustrations of the characteristic features of

Classical Reform Judaism such as the Sunday morning service,

the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion

toward ceremonialism and Zionism.

Chapter II deals with the changes that occurred in Reform Judaism between February, 1930 and 1948. In pointing out the

reasons for dissatisfaction with Classical Reform Judaism

this chapter Referee, Professor Jacob R. Marcus European

Jews and their philosophy of Judaism, and the effects of

World War II. Any proceedings of the Union of American

Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American

Rabbis which show this change are included here. There is

a description of the specific changes in ceremonies and

symbolism, music, Zionism, and Jewish education.

Chapter III is an analysis of the changes which took place in Reform congregations during the period under consideration. Congregational bulletins have been analyzed and

DIGEST OF THESIS

This thesis deals with the changes that took place in American Reform Judaism between the years 1930 and 1948. The type of Reform Judaism that was common at the beginning of this period is termed "Classical Reform," while the type that prevailed at the end of the period is termed "Neo-Reform." The changes which occurred during this eighteen-year period are documented first on an organizational level (i.e., the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis), and then on a congregational level.

Chapter I deals with Classical Reform Judaism. It describes the Pittsburgh Platform in some detail. There are detailed illustrations of the characteristic features of Classical Reform Judaism such as the Sunday morning service, the music used in the worship service, and the attitude toward ceremonialism and Zionism.

Chapter II deals with the changes that occurred in Reform Judaism between 1930 and 1948. In pointing out the reasons for dissatisfaction with Classical Reform Judaism this chapter mentions the growth of the Eastern European Jews and their philosophy of Judaism, and the effects of World War II. Any proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis which show this change are included here. There is a description of the specific changes in ceremonies and symbolism, music, Zionism, and Jewish education.

Chapter III is an analysis of the changes which took place in Reform congregations during the period under consideration. Congregational bulletins have been analyzed and documented to show the specific changes. There are representative congregations here from the Northeast, the South and Southwest, the Midwest, and the Pacific Coast.

Chapter IV presents the conclusions which this study reaches. It shows how changes occurred in American Reform congregations during the period from 1930 to 1948.

This chapter attempts to show what factors influenced changes within a particular congregation.

II. THE TENDENCY TOWARD CHANGE IN AMERICAN REFORM JUDAISM. 15

Growing Dissatisfaction with Classical Reform Judaism
New Ceremonies and Symbols
Music
The Change from an Anti-Zionist to a Pro-Zionist Position
The Change Within Jewish Education

III. THE CHANGES WITHIN THE VARIOUS CONGREGATIONS AROUND THE UNITED STATES. 63

The North East: New York City
The Free Synagogue
Rodeph Shalom Temple
Temple Ahavath Shalom

The South and Southwest
Baltimore, Maryland
Baltimore Hebrew Congregation
Har Sinai Congregation
Oheb Shalom Congregation

Charleston, South Carolina
Temple Beth Elohim

Louisville, Kentucky
Temple Adath Israel

CHAPTER

Page

San Antonio. CONTENTS
Temple Beth El

The Midwest
Chicago, Illinois
F.A.M. Temple

Page

Introduction. 1

CHAPTER

Cleveland, Ohio

I. CLASSICAL REFORM JUDAISM AND
ITS CHARACTERISTICS. 3

The Pittsburgh Platform
The Sunday Morning Service
Lack of Ceremonial Observance
Music in the Reform Service
The Anti-Zionist Attitude of Reform Judaism

II. THE TENDENCY TOWARD CHANGE IN AMERICAN
REFORM JUDAISM. 16

Growing Dissatisfaction with Classical
Reform Judaism
New Ceremonies and Symbols
Music
The Change from an Anti-Zionist to a
Pro-Zionist Position
The Change Within Jewish Education

III. THE CHANGES WITHIN THE VARIOUS CONGREGATIONS
AROUND THE UNITED STATES. 68

The North East: New York City
The Free Synagogue
Rodeph Shalom Temple
Temple Ahavath Shalom

The South and Southwest
Baltimore, Maryland
Baltimore Hebrew Congregation
Har Sinai Congregation
Oheb Shalom Congregation

Charleston, South Carolina
Temple Beth Elohim

Louisville, Kentucky
Temple Adath Israel

CHAPTER

Page

San Antonio, Texas
Temple Beth El

The Midwest
Chicago, Illinois
K.A.M. Temple
Isaiah Israel

Cleveland, Ohio
Euclid Avenue Temple

The West Coast
Los Angeles, California
Temple B'nai B'rith

San Francisco, California
Temple Emanu-El

IV. CONCLUSION 121

FOOTNOTES. 125

BIBLIOGRAPHY 138

INTRODUCTION

This work will endeavor to treat the transition from Classical Reform to Neo-Reform between the years 1930 and 1948. Various sources have been utilized for this purpose. These sources include official publications of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, parent body of all Reform Temples in America, yearbooks of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and individual bulletins from selected congregations.

The publications on the national level will first be dealt with. These works will show the changes which occurred in the thinking of the individuals who suggested the policies which should be followed in Reform institutions. Reference will be made to the specific recommendations in the areas of ritual, Jewish education, and Jewish music. Finally, it will be shown how these suggestions were implemented on a congregational level. An attempt has been made to obtain a geographical distribution of congregations throughout the country as well as to include congregations of various sizes. In this way it is possible to give a fair analysis of these changes within the various congregations in the United States.

Before proceeding with the rest of this work, the terms "Classical Reform" and "Neo-Reform" must be explained since this thesis rests upon the clear understanding of these terms. "Classical Reform" has been used by Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, Professor of American Jewish History at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion to refer to the type of Reform Judaism which came about in the United States as a result of the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885. The term "Neo-Reform" is used by Dr. Marcus to describe the variety of Reform which was officially born with the Columbus Platform in 1937 and characterizes American Reform Judaism today. This thesis will therefore range from the beginning of Classical Reform Judaism, in 1885, to the birth of the State of Israel, in 1948. The lines of divergence between the various philosophies of Reform Judaism will thus be clearly drawn.

CHAPTER I

CLASSICAL REFORM JUDAISM AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

The Pittsburgh Platform

Classical Reform Judaism is a term which originated as a description of the type of Reform Judaism which was prevalent in the United States after 1885. This Judaism was characteristic of American Reform, as will be shown later in this work, until the 1930's. In some instances it still exists at the present time.

The Pittsburgh Platform gave birth to this expression of Judaism in the nineteenth century United States. Most of the features of American Judaism until 1937 were modelled after the plan approved at this Pittsburgh Conference. Therefore much of this chapter will explain this important milestone in the development of Reform Judaism.

The Pittsburgh Conference was called by Dr. Kaufman Kohler in order to "discuss the present state of American Judaism, its pending issues and its requirements, and of uniting upon such plans and practical measures as are demanded by the hour..."¹ To a large extent this conference was born because of a growing controversy between Dr. Kaufman Kohler, rabbi of Temple Beth El in New York, and Rabbi Alexander Kohut of the Ahavat Chesed Congregation in

New York. Kohut, who had recently arrived in this country from Hungary, took up the battle cry against Reform Judaism. Dr. Kaufman Kohler, after defending Reform Judaism in a series of five discourses,² decided that it was time to call a conference to which, he hoped, "...supporters of the cause of Reform and Union in American Judaism..." would come.³

Nineteen rabbis attended this conference, which was the first important gathering of Reform rabbis since 1869 when a group of rabbis met in Philadelphia. The nineteen rabbis who attended the Pittsburgh Conference were: Israel Aaron, Fort Wayne; J. Bloch, Youngstown, Ohio; Dr. Adolph Guttman, Syracuse, New York; Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Chicago; Dr. Kaufman Kohler, New York; Dr. Joseph Krauskopf, Kansas City; Dr. Adolph Moses, Louisville; Dr. L. Mayer, Pittsburgh; Dr. David Philipson, Baltimore; Dr. S. Sale, Chicago; Dr. M. Schlessinger, Albany; Dr. S. Sonneschein, St. Louis; M. Sessler, Wheeling, West Virginia; Samuel Weil, Bradford; Dr. Isaac M. Wise, Cincinnati, Ohio.⁴ There was thus a wide geographical distribution of rabbis at the Pittsburgh Conference. A committee of five rabbis was drafted composed of Rabbis Kohler, Sonneschein, Hirsch, Krauskopf, and Philipson to report on the suggested resolutions submitted by Dr. Kaufman Kohler.⁵ Their report, which was submitted and approved by the Conference on

November 17, 1885 became known as the Pittsburgh Platform.

This Platform read as follows:

In view of the wide divergence of opinion and of the conflicting ideas prevailing in Judaism today, we, as representatives of Reform Judaism in America, in continuation of the work begun in Philadelphia in 1869, unite upon the following principles:

First: We recognize in every religion an attempt to grasp the Infinite One, and in every mode, source or book of revelation held sacred in any religious system the consciousness of the indwelling of God in man. We hold that Judaism presents the highest conception of the God-idea as taught in our holy Scriptures and developed and spiritualized by the Jewish teachers in accordance with the moral and philosophical progress of their respective ages. We maintain that Judaism preserved and defended amid continual struggles and trials and under enforced isolation this God-idea as the central truth for the human race.

Second: We recognize in the Bible the record of consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as priest of the One God, and value it as the most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction. We hold that the modern discoveries of scientific researches in the domains of nature and history are not antagonistic to the doctrines of Judaism, the Bible reflecting the primitive ideas of its own age and at times clothing its conception of divine providence and justice dealing with man in miraculous narratives.

Third: We recognize in the Mosaic legislation a system of training the Jewish people for its mission during its national life in Palestine, and today we accept as binding only the moral laws and maintain only such ceremonies as elevate and sanctify our lives, but reject all such as are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization.

Fourth: We hold that all such Mosaic and Rabbinical laws as regulate diet, priestly purity, and dress originated in ages and under the influence of ideas altogether foreign to our present mental and spiritual state. They fail to impress the modern Jew with a spirit of priestly holiness; their observance in our day is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation.

Fifth: We recognize in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect the approach of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the administration of the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state.

Sixth: We recognize in Judaism a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason. We are convinced of the utmost necessity of preserving the historical identity with our great past. Christianity and Islam being daughter religions of Judaism, we appreciate their mission to aid in the spreading of monotheistic and moral truth. We acknowledge that the spirit of broad humanity of our age is our ally in the fulfillment of our mission, and therefore we extend the hand of fellowship to all who co-operate with us in the establishment of the reign of truth and righteousness among men.

Seventh: We reassert the doctrine of Judaism, that the soul of man is immortal, grounding this belief on the divine nature of the human spirit, which forever finds bliss in righteousness and misery in wickedness. We reject as ideas not rooted in Judaism the belief both in bodily resurrection and in Gehenna and Eden (hell and paradise), as abodes for everlasting punishment or reward.

Eighth: In full accordance with the spirit of Mosaic legislation which strives to regulate the relation between rich and poor, we deem it our duty to participate in the great task of modern times, to solve on the basis of justice and righteousness the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society.⁶

The question of holding services on Sunday morning was discussed at great length during the Pittsburgh Conference. Finally, on November 18, 1885, the following resolution was unanimously approved by the Conference:

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 cannot be denied that there is a vast number of working men and others who, from some cause or other, are not able to attend the 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.⁷

This Platform is, in the words of David Philipson, one of the rabbis in attendance "...the utterance most expressive of the teachings of reformed (sic) Judaism."⁸ Emphasis was placed on social justice, or the need "...to solve on the basis of justice and righteousness the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society." The importance of the Oral Law was therefore diminished by this Platform since the Mosaic cult and any ceremonies not adapted to modern life could be dispensed with. Likewise, this Platform could reject the dietary laws, which have a Mosaic prescription since, as stated in Plank Four, "their observance in our day is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation."

Regarding worship in the synagogue, any prayers expressing a yearning for the return to Zion were deleted according to Plank Five "since we expect neither a return to Palestine nor a sacrificial worship under the administration of the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state." Sanction was also

given at this Conference for the conducting of worship services on Sunday morning where it was felt that conditions warrant such a change.

As a result of this Pittsburgh Conference certain features began to characterize Classical Reform Judaism in the United States. These features are as follows:

The Sunday Morning Service

As noted above, sanction was given at the Pittsburgh Conference to hold worship services on Sunday morning where conditions warranted such a move. By 1933 it was reported in a national survey undertaken by the Bureau of Synagogue Activities that Sunday morning services were held in 30 per cent of the large congregations, while they were usually uncommon in the medium size and smaller congregations.⁹ In some cases the custom of taking up collections at the services was also followed. Har Sinai Congregation of Baltimore, for example, instituted the practice of taking a collection at the Sunday morning services to which the unaffiliated especially could contribute.¹⁰ In the early 1930's though the idea of a Sunday morning service was popular among Reform Jews in the larger cities despite the above figures. A survey undertaken by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations among Reform Jews in eleven cities revealed that two out of every three people who answered the survey preferred the Sunday morning services.¹¹

Lack of Ceremonial Observance

Plank Three of the Pittsburgh Platform stated:

"We recognize in the Mosaic legislation a system of training the Jewish people for its mission during its national life in Palestine, and today we accept as binding only its moral laws, and maintain only such ceremonies as elevate and sanctify our lives, but reject all such ceremonies as are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization." This statement permitted a great deal of leeway in the area of ceremonials. An individual or a congregation was free to choose whatever ceremonials it was felt would elevate and sanctify human life. Thus there was implicit in this philosophy the right of freedom. This freedom, though, gave one the license to observe a minimum amount of ceremonial, substituting instead the need to "solve, on the basis of justice and righteousness, the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society."

The extent to which this license was used can be estimated by the statistics of observance among Reform Jews in the urban centers published in 1931. Although many homes of Reform Jews had various ceremonial objects, very few used them for ceremonial purposes. For example, this survey pointed out that in 60% of the homes Sabbath candles are never lit. Kiddush is not observed in 80% of the homes. In half the homes which were included in the survey

there were no Chanukah candles and no Seder was conducted on Passover. On a personal level, 50% of the individuals responding never recited private prayers while 90% hold no kind of family worship at all.¹²

Many Reform Jews during the period from 1930-48 were Jewish only by virtue of their birth, and not because of any factor of rational value or spiritual appreciation. Proof of this statement is the fact that 79% of the people who were involved in the survey conducted by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1931 said they consider themselves Jewish because they were born of Jewish parents. 74% of all the congregants who responded to this survey said they were Jewish because they had been brought up in Jewish homes. Only 40% of those who responded indicated that they felt the ceremonials in Judaism had any personal appeal and should therefore be preserved.¹³

In summarizing the aspect of ceremonials during the 1930's it could be said that most people "followed the road of least resistance." There was no feeling of commitment on the part of most of these members of Reform congregations. Their Judaism was largely a matter of accidentally having been born of Jewish parents.

Music In The Reform Service

In the area of the worship service, the idea of vicarious salvation was promoted. The service itself was

left largely to the rabbi. One reason for this lack of personal involvement on the part of Reform Jewish congregants was the music used in the worship services. Much of it was either of such a nature that it did not lend itself to congregational singing, or it was of an universal nature composed by classical secular composers. A report of the Commission on Synagogue Music published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1930 elucidates the situation:

In the ritual part of the synagogue services the music now in use is mainly based either on traditional melodies or on the compositions written by the classical musicians of the Hebrew synagogue, such as Solomon Rossi, Sulzer, Lewandowski, Naumbourg, Weintraub, Israel Lovy, Baruch Schoar, Grovitch, and Spicker, etc. Only a very small part of the Union Prayer Book permits the use of general music, namely the hymns and the closing anthems. This seems to be the most logical part for using hymns and sacred choruses written by the great masters of music in general, like Palestrina, Bach, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn, etc., when their contents are not in conflict with the Hebrew ritual.¹⁴

Thus the general atmosphere of the worship service, especially in regards to the music, encouraged a passive attitude on the part of the congregation. Temple members were obliged to listen to the rabbi read the prayers and to listen to a choir perform musical renditions which were of such a nature that they could be sung only by professional musicians. In a sense, the Temple worship during the period of Classical Reform endorsed the concept of vicarious salvation, since the congregant could feel that he was

absolved of all ritual responsibility if he so desired.

The Anti-Zionist Attitude of Reform Judaism

Zionism played no part whatsoever in the program of Classical Reform Judaism. The two were, in fact, antagonistic. The rabbis who were present at the Pittsburgh Conference regarded Judaism as a universal religion and thought that the Messianic Era was soon to arrive. This was the spirit in which the Fifth Plank of the Pittsburgh Platform, which reads as follows, was composed: "We recognize in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect the approach of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the Kingdom of truth, justice and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the administration of the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish State." America, these reformers felt, was the place where the true mission of Israel could be accomplished. David Philipson, one of the last remaining rabbis who was present at the Pittsburgh Conference, said in a sermon delivered before the Union of American Hebrew Congregations on January 15, 1917, "Then again sounded the command to Israel: 'Get thee out of thy land and birthplace and home,'

...out of the ghettos that have been thy birthplace and thy home, get thee out of these into the abodes which I shall show thee, the abodes of freedom and opportunity, in America and other lands of freedom where the new light is beginning to shine."¹⁵

The true mission of Israel as a "kingdom of priests and a holy people" could best be accomplished by spreading throughout the world, not by being concentrated in one spot on the earth. Thus David Philipson remarked, "When Palestine was lost, the world was gained."¹⁶ Instead of being looked upon as a calamity, the dispersion of the Jews throughout the world was considered an act of divine providence so that Israel could finally achieve its holy purpose.

The universalism of Judaism was expressed by Kaufman Kohler, the one who called the Pittsburgh Conference, in the following terms: "Judaism is nothing less than a message concerning the One and Holy God and one, undivided humanity with a world-uniting Messianic goal, a message entrusted by divine revelation to the Jewish people."¹⁷ In order for Israel to be worthy of this divine trust, a Judaism which would adapt itself to the needs of all times and of all places was absolutely essential. Thus there was, in the minds of the founders of the Pittsburgh Platform, no such thing as a specific Jewish culture. Kaufman Kohler

remarked, "There never was, nor will be an exclusively Jewish culture. It is the wondrous power of assimilation of the Jew which ever created and fashioned his culture anew."¹⁸

Zionism, which wanted to promote the creation of a separate Jewish homeland, therefore had no place in the thinking of the classical reformers who pursued the philosophy of the Pittsburgh Platform. After the Basle Program of the Zionist Movement, the Central Conference of American Rabbis adopted the following resolution at its 1897 convention in Montreal:

Resolved, that we totally disapprove of any attempts for the establishment of a Jewish state. Such attempts show a misunderstanding of Israel's mission, which, from the narrow political and national field has been expanded to the promotion among the whole human race of the broad and universalistic religion first proclaimed by the Jewish prophets. Such attempts do not benefit, but infinitely harm our Jewish brethren where they are still persecuted, by confirming the assertion of their enemies that the Jews are foreigners in the countries in which they are at home and of which they are everywhere the most loyal and patriotic citizens.

We reaffirm that the object of Judaism is not political or national, but spiritual, and addresses itself to the continuous growth of peace, justice, and love in the human race to a Messianic time when all men will recognize that they form one great brotherhood for the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth.¹⁹

In 1917 the anti-Zionist viewpoint of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was again confirmed as follows:

We herewith reaffirm the fundamental principle of Reform Judaism -- that the essence of Israel as a priest-people consists in its religious consciousness

and in the sense of consecration to God and service in the world, and not in any political or racial national consciousness. And, therefore, we look with disfavor upon the new doctrine of political Jewish nationalism, which finds the criterion of Jewish loyalty in anything other than loyalty to Israel's God and Israel's religious mission.²⁰

Thus anti-Zionism was the official position of Classical Reform Judaism. It was inconceivable that there could be any other attitude toward a chauvinistic movement on the part of people who were dedicated to universalism. The feeling on the part of many Reform Jewish leaders was so strongly opposed to Zionism that Rabbi David Philipson testified before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives on April 22, 1922, to argue against Congressional endorsement of the Zionist program. A resolution which Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts had introduced urging United States active support of the Zionist Program in accordance with the Balfour Doctrine was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Dr. David Philipson was called upon to represent the opposition. He opposed this move on two grounds: 1) as a follower of liberal or Reform Judaism, and 2) as an American citizen. He then had the official Reform viewpoint of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, as mentioned earlier, read into the Congressional Record.²¹

CHAPTER II

THE TENDENCY TOWARD CHANGE IN AMERICAN REFORM JUDAISM

The Pittsburgh Platform, which became the official policy of American Reform Judaism after 1885, established a course of action for "American Israelites" in the face of the hordes of Jewish immigrants. Subsequently, though, these immigrants were to change the pattern of Classical Reform Judaism as it was established in 1885 to a new version of Reform Judaism.

As a result of political upheavals, poverty, and anti-Semitism, immigrants from Eastern Europe -- mostly from Russia and Poland -- poured in droves into this country from 1881 up to 1924 when the United States Government restricted immigration under the Johnson-Lodge Immigration Bill. From 1880 to 1920 the Jewish population increased from 250,000 people to 3,500,000. During this period, 2,000,000 Jews entered this country as immigrants, and 70% of these people were from Russia. By 1928 just about 3,500,000 of the 4,200,000 Jews in the United States were of East European birth or descent, while the majority of these people had been here less than fifty years.

The background of these immigrants was quite different from that of the Americans of the Jewish faith who signed the Pittsburgh Platform. These new immigrants came from a

background in Eastern Europe in which traditional Judaism had been very strong. There was not the urge to adjust to the surrounding society since these Eastern European Jews were segregated in ghettos. Educational facilities were generally closed to Jews, thus the only education one could receive in Russia or Poland was Jewish. There was virtually no attempt on the part of the rabbis to break away from traditional forms of Judaism. In fact, anything connected with Jewish law or custom became holy. Yiddish, a Judeo-German dialect, became the lingua franca among these Jews, and it gradually assumed a sacred character.

Within Eastern Europe there were many national groups, and religion tended to be associated with each nationality. The Poles, for example, were Catholic, while the Russians were Greek Orthodox. The Jews, too, were looked upon as a nation having certain ethnic characteristics. Thus there were no clear-cut lines between religion and nationality. These Eastern European Jews considered themselves part of a Jewish nationality which made them different from the peoples among whom they lived. Zionism therefore had a strong appeal to these people.

Upon their arrival in this country these immigrants brought their own habits acquired through years of isolation in Europe. But they also brought with them strong Jewish sentiments, an intense feeling of Jewishness, and ties of kinship with their brethren across the seas.²² Reform

Judaism as characterized by the Pittsburgh Platform could have nothing whatsoever to say to these people. The Judaism of the Eastern European immigrant and the Judaism of the Reformers were completely incongruous to each other. The descendants of these immigrants, though, were not immune to the teachings of a progressive system of Jewish thought. As these children of the immigrants prospered they began to filter into the Reform movement. (According to a survey made by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations among members of 43 congregations in 1930, 57% of the foreign-born members who responded were of East-European origin, while 33% were of German origin. By this time the first-generation American-born Jew was beginning to dominate the Reform movement. Seven out of every ten Temple members were born in this country, while only two out of every ten of their parents were born in this country. Of these American-born members of Reform congregations, there are equal proportions of German parentage and East European parentage.²³) Thus there was a marked increase in the enrollment of Jews of East European origin in the ranks of Reform Judaism, and a liberal expression of Judaism had made some mark upon these people. The sons and daughters of these immigrants gradually began to occupy positions of leadership within the Reform movement, and some of these immigrants' children were occupying pulpits of Reform synagogues.²⁴ Thus the composition of the Reform Jewish community was changing as

a result of the Eastern European immigration.

Another factor, though, began to arise which affected the potential membership of Reform congregations. In 1941 the United States entered World War II and Jews from differing sociological backgrounds were thrown together. Inevitably many people who previously had no contact with Reform Judaism were exposed to a Reform service or a Reform viewpoint as a result of the hospitality extended to servicemen by many Temples. One example of such contact took place in Denver, Colorado. At Temple Emanuel of that city, Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg instituted a special service on Sunday morning for Jewish servicemen, after which the Temple Brotherhood and Sisterhood acted as hosts. Because many of the boys in uniform came from traditional Jewish homes, certain "concessions" were made to these men in uniform by the Temple. Rabbi Feinberg writes that "...In the beginning a few descendants of the original Reform pioneers winced when a lad ascended the altar to recite the blessings over the Torah -- wearing his hat. (Two men are selected just before the service starts.) But they have mastered their initial distaste, and the self-consequence is one of the more subtle and deep-reaching fruits of the Sunday morning project. A new understanding of Israel's basic oneness and of the resurrected power of home and parental continuity in the breasts of men at war has been fashioned, with a consequent and reciprocal enrichment of religious experience, both for

military personnel and 'laymen.'

"At every service I invite men in uniform, with the utmost frankness and warmth, to keep on their hats if they desire. I also ask them to remain seated during the Kaddush, although the entire congregation has been accustomed in the past to rise en masse, if they have profound intellectual or emotional resistance to participation when not in mourning. The percentage which accepts these invitations is surprisingly small. On the contrary, the vast majority of the men has responded eagerly to our prayer-book, ritual, and sermon. From personal conversation and letters, which come in considerable and assorted numbers, sometimes from overseas and occasionally from parents, I have bountiful evidence that Reform Judaism is being strengthened by an increment of appreciation from quarters which would have been immune to its appeal in normal times, and from persons who will have something to say about it in the post-war world."²⁵

Inevitably, as a result of the Second World War, many Jewish servicemen were influenced by the Reform Jewish chaplains. As members of the Reform Rabbinate began to respond to the call of their country, reports of their influence upon the military personnel also became prevalent. Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Director of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, pointed out in his annual report on December 9, 1945, that "...we are delighted to

learn of the gradual return to their respective pulpits of not a few of the more than one hundred Reform rabbis who have served so magnificently in the chaplaincy.... They have indeed served not merely our nation, but our particular Reform movement as well by winning a new and sympathetic appreciation of our cause among myriads of service men and women previously unexposed to Reform. They have rendered incomparably valuable service to Liberal Judaism..."²⁶

Potential members of Reform congregations also came to this country as German refugees, and many of them had been Reform Jews in Germany. After 1933 immigration of Jews from Germany began to increase in ever greater proportions, as the attitude of the Third Reich became more and more anti-Semitic. In 1933 43.20% of the 4,134 Jews admitted were from Germany. In 1935 German Jews comprised 34.80% of the total Jewish immigrants, whose number totalled 4,837. In 1936 the percentage of immigrants from Germany arose to 52.53% of the total number of Jewish immigrants. This influx of German Jews lasted until 1940 when 53.81% of the Jewish immigrants were from Germany. After 1940 this number of German Jewish immigrants began to taper off.²⁷ The fact that these people could become active members of Reform congregations was recognized by rabbis of the Reform movement. At the Thirty-Seventh Council of the

Union of American Hebrew Congregations which met in Detroit on April 27-28, 1941, Rabbi Max Nussbaum of Muskoogee, Oklahoma led a round-table discussion on the Synagogue and the Refugee in which he mentioned the following:

Nearly eighty per cent of our recent German-Jewish immigrants have a liberal Jewish education. But Liberal Judaism in Europe is not the same as Reform Judaism in the United States, although both groups belong to the same world movement of Religious Liberalism. Liberalism in Europe corresponds more or less to Conservative Judaism in the United States. However, the attitude in daily life corresponds more or less to that of Reform Judaism, making it difficult for the average German-Jewish immigrant to know where he belongs. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations cannot afford to be disinterested in these Jews. They will make our Reform congregations grow numerically, and at the same time our congregations will provide religious homes for the newcomers. This procedure of amalgamation will not be possible without concessions on both sides. For instance, most of the newcomers will not take part in our services unless they are allowed to wear hats, and this should be allowed for the time being. Other concessions may have to be made on questions of religious procedure. The refugee will learn to follow an educational system of Americanization and if this process of Americanization is not forced upon him, we shall reap the benefits of the general and Jewish culture which the average newcomer brings with him and incorporate these benefits into our American Jewish life.²⁸

Thus by the period of the 1940's the membership of Reform Jewish congregations had undergone a vast change. It changed from a movement made up predominantly of German Jews to one made up predominantly of Jews from Eastern European origin. World War II brought about a shift in Jewish population, and as a result of this change, the membership of Reform Temples was also affected. With all these factors making for a change in the membership of

Reform Jewry, it was quite logical to expect a movement which called itself "American Judaism" to also undergo change.

Growing Dissatisfaction With Classical Reform Judaism

Although the children of East European immigrants deserted the forms of religion which their parents espoused, they did not lose the love of ceremonials which their parents had brought from Europe. Many of them brought this love of ceremonial and symbolism into Reform Judaism as they became active in the movement. Simultaneously at the time when more people of Eastern European background became affiliated with Reform Judaism there began to grow a discontent with the expression of the Pittsburgh Platform. This discontent manifest itself in regard to the ritual as well as to the general attitude of Reform Jews toward Jewish life. Both laity and rabbis began to feel that Reform Judaism lacked something. Siegfried Geismar, President of the Isaac M. Wise Temple wrote in the Synagogue Service Bulletin of November, 1933, "...The services...are in large measure antiquated and obsolete; the material designated as responsive reading is wholly inadequate...."²⁹

Many laymen began to interpret Reform Judaism as a Protestant-type of liberalism which required mere attendance

at a religious institution with the officiant on the pulpit doing the rest. Thus, in addition to a general dissatisfaction with the worship service there was also a dissatisfaction with the attitude displayed by many members of Reform Temples. Milton M. Alexander of Detroit, Michigan, a member of the Board of Managers and Tract Commission, reported at a meeting of Presidents at the Thirty-Third Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in Chicago, "...We Jews repudiate the Christian doctrine of a vicarious salvation, but in practice we seem to endorse it in a different form when we leave to the rabbis all the responsibility and all of the work in connection with the larger issues of Jewish life. I am afraid that we have carried this policy to the point where we have forgotten that we are a 'kingdom of priests and holy people.' Too many of us do not even feel the urge or the responsibility to inform ourselves to the fullest extent on the larger aspects of Jewish life..."²⁴

Under the influence of the Pittsburgh Platform which specified "that only such ceremonies which elevate and sanctify our lives should be accepted, while those which are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization should be rejected," much symbolism and ceremonial was dispensed with among adherents of Reform Judaism. By the 1930's though the wisdom of discarding so many ceremonies connected with Jewish life began to be questioned. It was

felt that perhaps this lack of ceremonies also contributed to the disinterest in Judaism among members of Reform congregations. Rabbi Jacob D. Schwartz, editor of Synagogue Service, wrote in the March, 1937 issue of the magazine, where he discussed the lack of ceremonial observance among American Jews:

...there have been a number of circumstances which have led to the weakening of the Jewish home in these latter days. The discontinuance by the leaders of Reform Judaism of ceremonies that had lost their meaning and value, justified as it certainly was from the standpoint of harmonizing religious faith with the changing conceptions and conditions of modern life, had certain unforeseen or not sufficiently anticipated consequences. An overemphasis on the intellectual and ethical aspects of religion as contrasted with its emotional and mystical appeal was one of them. Another was the lack of wise discrimination on the part of the masses, between ceremonial observances and practices which in the course of time had lost their meaning and value. A third consequence was the growing notion in the popular mind that religious ceremonies and observances, as such, have little or no value for modern Jewish life. In a word, indifference led to neglect, neglect led to disuse, disuse was followed by ignorance, and as a result, the beauty, sanctity and influence of the Jewish home have become grievously impaired.³⁰

A new trend of thought began to develop among many rabbis within the ranks of the Reform movement. Although this trend of thought was certainly liberal, it equally advocated symbolism as an indispensable element in the spiritual life of man. Rabbi Samuel M. Gup, in a paper read before the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1931 pointed out that, "In their thinking, this (new) group (in Reform Judaism) expounds an extreme liberalism...."

However rationalistic this group may be, it realizes that religion cannot succeed solely by turning on this axis. Hence, it advocates strongly the practice of relevant ceremonials and the forging of new ceremonials so as to enrich the emotional content of Reform Judaism. Through this advocacy, moreover, it aims to bring Reform Jewry closer to the heart of the people of Israel. It would weave ceremonial ties with the life of the whole people. Some of the estrangement now existing, it declares, is due to the needless casting aside of much that was beautiful and accepted in Jewish ceremonial. As a step toward Jewish unity, a renaissance of ceremonialism is indispensable."³¹

By 1937 this group within the Reform movement had become vociferous in its call for more ceremonial and symbolism. At the Thirty-Fifth Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in New Orleans on January 15-17, 1937, the following resolution was submitted by Lester D. Alexander, Phil A. Angel, and Alex Wiesel:

Whereas, Reform Jewish Worship has allowed many symbols, customs, etc., of traditional Jewish Worship to fall into disuse; and Whereas, It is the sense of this Convention that many of these forms should be re-introduced:

Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved, That this Convention recommend to its constituent congregations, and to all Reform Jewish Congregations, that into its Sabbath Services be put, and made a part thereof, traditional symbols, ceremonies, and customs, such as the use of

only Jewish Music, the use of a Cantor with a Choir where practicable; the use of only Jewish singers, where practicable and possible; a genuine attempt to use children's choirs with a cantor, where adult choirs cannot be had; the singing or recitation of the Kiddush; the actual participation in every Service by laymen; the singing of traditional Jewish Hymns by the Congregation, and such traditional observances as are wise, practicable, and expedient in each congregation.³²

It was recommended by the Committee submitting the resolution that it be referred with sympathetic appreciation to a committee to be appointed by the presiding officer of the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations with the request that a similar committee be appointed by the Central Conference of American Rabbis and that this joint committee consider the matter and report at the proper time. This recommendation was adopted.³³

This new group of Reform Jews also became very active in the Central Conference of American Rabbis. At the 1936 Convention of the Central Conference held at Cape May, New Jersey from June 23 through 28, Rabbi Samuel S. Cohon presented a proposed draft of Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism as drawn up by a specially appointed Commission. It was moved that the Commission would formulate a final report of the proposed Principles which would then be sent to Conference members not less than sixty days before the next convention and action thereon would be taken at the next conference.³⁴ At the next convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis that met in Columbus, Ohio,

from May 25-30, 1937, a revised text was submitted by the Commission made up of Rabbis Samuel S. Cohon, James G. Heller, Felix A. Levy, David Philipson, Max Raisin, and Abba Hillel Silver. This revised draft was adopted by the Conference and reads as follows:

Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism

1. Judaism and its Foundations

1. Nature of Judaism. Judaism is the historical religious experience of the Jewish people. Though growing out of Jewish life, its message is universal, aiming at the union and perfection of mankind under the sovereignty of God. Reform Judaism recognizes the principle of progressive development in religion and consciously applies this principle to spiritual as well as to cultural and social life.

Judaism welcomes all truth, whether written in the pages of scripture or deciphered from the records of nature. The new discoveries of science, while replacing the older scientific views underlying our sacred literature, do not conflict with the essential spirit of religion as manifested in the consecration of man's will, heart and mind to the service of God and of humanity.

2. God. The heart of Judaism and its chief contribution to religion is the doctrine of the One, living God, who rules the world through law and love. In Him all existence has its creative source and mankind its ideal of conduct. Through transcending time and space, He is the indwelling Presence of the world. We worship Him as the Lord of the universe and as our merciful Father.
3. Man. Judaism affirms that man is created in the Divine image. His spirit is immortal. He is an active co-worker with God. As a child of God, he is endowed with moral freedom and is charged with the responsibility of overcoming evil and striving after ideal ends.
4. Torah. God reveals Himself not only in the majesty, beauty and orderliness of nature, but also in the vision and moral striving of the human spirit. Revelation is a continuous process, confined to no one group and no one age. Yet the people of Israel,

through its prophets and sages, achieved unique insight in the realm of religious truth. The Torah, both written and oral, enshrines Israel's ever-growing consciousness of God and of the moral law. It preserves the historical precedents, sanctions and norms of Jewish life, and seeks to mould it in the patterns of goodness and of holiness. Being products of historical processes, certain of its laws have lost their binding force with the passing of the conditions that called them forth. But as a depository of permanent spiritual ideals, the Torah remains the dynamic source of the life of Israel. Each age has the obligation to adapt the teachings of the Torah to its basic needs in consonance with the genius of Judaism.

5. Israel. Judaism is the soul of which Israel is the body. Living in all parts of the world, Israel has been held together by the ties we recognize in the group-loyalty of Jews who have become estranged from our religious tradition, a bond which still unites them with us. We maintain that it is by its religion ^{and for its religion} that the Jewish people has lived. The non-Jew who accepts our faith is welcomed as a full member of the Jewish community.

In all lands where our people live, they assume and seek to share loyally the full duties and responsibilities of citizenship and to create seats of Jewish knowledge and religion. In the rehabilitation of Palestine, the land hallowed by memories and hopes, we behold the promise of renewed life for many of our brethren. We affirm the obligation of all Jewry to aid in its upbuilding as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life.

Throughout the ages it has been Israel's mission to witness the Divine in the face of every form of paganism and materialism. We regard it as our historical task to cooperate with all men in the establishment of the kingdom of God, of universal brotherhood, justice, truth and peace on earth. This is our Messianic goal.

2. Ethics

6. Ethics and Religion. In Judaism religion and morality blend into an indissoluble unity. Seeking God means

means to strive after holiness, righteousness and goodness. The love of God is incomplete without the love of one's fellowmen. Judaism emphasizes the kinship of the human race, the sanctity and worth of human life and personality and the right of the individual to freedom and to the pursuit of his chosen vocation. Justice to all, irrespective of race, sect or class is the inalienable right and the inescapable obligation of all. The state and organized government exist in order to further those ends.

7. Social Justice. Judaism seeks the attainment of a just society by the application of its teachings to the economic order, to industry and commerce, and to national and international affairs. It aims at the elimination of man-made misery and suffering, of poverty and degradation, of tyranny and slavery, of social inequality and prejudice, of ill-will and strife. It advocates the promotion of harmonious relations between warring classes on the basis of equity and justice, and the creation of conditions under which human personality may flourish. It pleads for the safeguarding of childhood against exploitation. It champions the cause of all who work and of their right to an adequate standard of living, as prior to the rights of property. Judaism emphasizes the duty of charity, and strives for a social order which will protect men against the material disabilities of old age, sickness and unemployment.
8. Peace. Judaism, from the days of the prophets, has proclaimed to mankind the ideal of universal peace. The spiritual and physical disarmament of all nations has been one of its essential teachings. It abhors all violence and relies upon moral education, love, and sympathy to secure human progress. It regards justice as the foundation of the well-being of nations and the condition of enduring peace. It urges organized international action for disarmament, collective security and world peace.

3. Religious Practice

9. The Religious Life. Jewish life is marked by consecration to these ideals of Judaism. It calls for faithful participation in the life of the Jewish community as it finds expression in home, synagogue and school and in all other agencies that enrich Jewish life and promote its welfare.

The Home has been and must continue to be a stronghold of Jewish life, hallowed by the spirit of love and reverence, by moral discipline and religious observance and worship.

The Synagog is the oldest and most democratic institution in Jewish life. It is the prime communal agency by which Judaism is fostered and preserved. It links the Jews of each community and unites them with all Israel.

The perpetuation of Judaism as a living force depends upon religious knowledge and upon the Education of each new generation in our rich cultural and spiritual heritage.

Prayer is the voice of religion, the language of faith and aspiration. It directs man's heart and mind Godward, voices the needs and hopes of the community, and reaches out after the goals which invest life with supreme value. To deepen the spiritual life of our people, we must cultivate the traditional habit of communion with God through prayer in both home and synagog.

Judaism as a way of life requires in addition to its moral and spiritual demands, the preservation of the Sabbath, festivals and Holy Days, the retention and development of such customs, symbols and ceremonies as possess inspirational value, the cultivation of distinctive forms of religious art and music and the use of Hebrew, together with the vernacular in our worship and instruction.

These timeless aims and ideals of our faith we present anew to a confused and troubled world. We call upon our fellow Jews to rededicate themselves to them, and, in harmony with all men, hopefully and courageously to continue Israel's eternal quest after God and His kingdom.³⁵

The Columbus Platform had some elements in common with the Pittsburgh Platform. Like the earlier expression of Reform Judaism in America, the Columbus Platform recognizes the progressive element in Judaism and shows that Judaism developed as a response to different conditions at different times in history. This Platform also points

out that Judaism welcomes all truth from whatever source. Mention is made of the fact that certain laws of the Torah have lost their binding force with the passing of the conditions which called them forth. This declaration of principles also stresses the need for Judaism to apply its teaching toward the attainment of a just, harmonious society.

This Platform though does depart in several ways from the earlier Pittsburgh Platform. There is a section on the Torah which stresses from a modernist point of view the value of the Torah in Jewish life. It even mentions the oral Torah (i.e., the Halacha) and points out that the Torah in its broadest sense preserves the historical norms of Jewish life seeking to mould it in the patterns of goodness and holiness. There is much more tolerance shown in this platform toward the oral law and toward Jewish tradition than there was in the Pittsburgh Platform.

Regarding the question of the people of Israel there is a vast departure from the Pittsburgh Platform. Whereas the Pittsburgh Platform pointed out that the Jews are nothing more than a religious community and no longer seek a return to Palestine, this new expression of Reform Judaism makes no such statement. Instead, it points out that the people of Israel have been held together by ties of group loyalty which still unite all Jews. It stresses the fact that all Jews should feel obligated to help with the re-

building of Palestine which should become both a haven for the oppressed and a center for Jewish culture and spiritual life.

There is much more stress within this platform on the aspect of symbolism -- especially in the area of the festivals and ceremonies. It is even pointed out that Judaism requires the cultivation of distinctive forms of religious art and music as well as the use of Hebrew. The Pittsburgh Platform rejected any element of the Mosaic legislation as well as any ceremonies which no longer sanctify and elevate Jewish life by not having the ability to be adaptable to modern civilization.

The Columbus Platform, like its predecessor of fifty years earlier, was meant to respond to new conditions arising within the Jewish community. Many of these new conditions, however, came about as a result of new philosophies prevalent in the general American community. Rabbi Harvey E. Wessel of Temple Beth El in Tyler, Texas, pointed out at a discussion of the Southwest Conference of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1942 that "...This is no longer an age of rationalism like that of the founders and second generation of Reformers. If we in these times have not altogether abandoned the sober recourse to reason, as often appears to be the case, we have recognized the immensely significant driving force of the emotions in the attainment of rational and ideal goals....

Many of the ideals which find expression in revived ceremonial among us are derived from the American educational system, from prevailing philosophies, methods and techniques of modern schools. Jewish rabbis and educators have in many instances brought their findings and suggestions to the synagogue, there to meet current needs by new uses of old ways."³⁶

There was also the feeling on the part of many leaders within the Reform movement that this liberal expression of Judaism had not attracted as many adherents as it possibly could, and the situation should be alleviated. This implication is clearly stated by the President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, James G. Heller, in his Presidential message in 1942, "...The failure to win over masses of Jews...on our side, when the blame (for not winning over these masses) is to be assigned, should be placed on these factors: the condign exclusiveness of our temples; their tendency to identify themselves with an economic class; the excessive rationalism of their liturgy; their growing prejudice against the use of Hebrew; their antipathy toward Zionism growing out of the specific situation in which the German Jews had found themselves in the early years of the Nineteenth Century; and finally the lethargy and quieticism that soon settled upon them so that they made no serious effort to win over the new masses, so that their own faith soon became for them a mere matter of

routine."³⁷ Thus the Columbus Platform grew out of the discontent with the classical expression of Reform Judaism as was formulated in 1885. And the kind of Judaism fostered under this new platform of 1937 became known as Neo-Reform.

New Ceremonies and Symbols

One of the first signs of a change within the philosophy of the Reform movement after 1937 was in the area of ceremonials. In 1939 a joint Commission on Ceremonials was authorized by the Central Conference of American Rabbis. This Commission, which replaced the former Sub-committee on Ceremonies of the Commission on Synagogue Activities of the Union, would aim to stimulate experimentation in the congregations for new ceremonies. This was to be done by reviving the old ones and introducing new ones into the synagogue as well as by creating materials for ceremonials and making them available on an experimental basis. This commission was to consist of six members -- three from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and three from the Central Conference of American Rabbis. The Commission would divide its material into two kinds: a) that which may conceivably be included in the Union Prayerbook; and b) that which is of a purely ceremonial rather than liturgical nature, such as a rabbinical robe, an abridged Megillah, etc.³⁸ By 1939,

preparation was begun on the following ceremonies:

1. A new ceremony for the Lighting of the Lights and Kiddush at the Sabbath eve synagogue service. When the Liturgy Committee of the Conference subsequently decided to include rituals for both, this material was withdrawn and not published.
2. To increase the impressiveness of the Torah service, five additional Torah services were prepared with suggestions for music. One of them was adopted and would be included in the Friday evening service of the revised Union Prayer Book.
3. A ceremony for Purim, intended to encourage the celebration of this festival in the synagogue on the day itself; this consisted of an abridged Megillah and a ritual built around several historic episodes illustrating Israel's providential deliverance from persecution and emphasizing the idea of Jewish survival. The abridged Megillah which was to be sold to the congregations, would contain the English text with introductory Hebrew phrases at the beginning of the various sections, which would be illuminated.
4. A ceremony of Rededication of the Altar for Chanukah with processional, featuring lighted candles and menorah.

5. A rabbinical robe and stole, the robe selected from various styles and the stole designed by the Commission. These items were offered for sale by a New York firm.
6. Dismissal of the Congregation. In order to bring rabbi and congregation closer and to conclude divine services in a spirit of friendliness and good fellowship, a procedure was suggested to provide the proper opportunity to the rabbi to greet the members of the congregation as they leave the Temple.
7. A Ceremony of Installation for the newly elected congregational officers.
8. Ceremonies for Special Sabbaths, as follows: Shalom, Peace Sabbath; Todah, thanksgiving for a reconsecration to worthy uses of gifts of life; Shekalim (Ha-arets), the rebuilding of Palestine; Avot, parents' day or parents and children's day; Nachamu, reconsecration to our historical task and faith.³⁹

By 1940 additional work had been done on the Purim service. An artistic Megillah was designed and produced under Union auspices. Following the format of the traditional scroll, it was printed on genuine parchment with six principal illustrations depicting episodes in the Purim story. It contained many illuminated initials and decorations all colored by hand by the artist. The parchment roll rested in a handsome case of polished plastic, with

carved ends of genuine walnut.⁴⁰ Reprints were also made of the special ritual for the reading of the Megillah, and by 1940 eleven thousand of these had been distributed. Thus the first attempt by the Commission to introduce the holding of a Purim service on the festival itself was extremely successful.⁴¹

During 1940 the Commission also made an effort to restore the Shofar to its rightful place in the Reform synagogue, in place of the trumpet or cornet sounds emanating from the choir loft. To alleviate the difficulty of securing an expert to blow the Shofar, the Commission designed a trumpet mouthpiece with a very shallow bowl attached to the Shofar tip. In this way anyone could blow the Shofar and obtain a high as well as a low note. Such a mouthpiece could also be fitted on any Shofar owned by a congregation.⁴²

Announcements of these new suggestions were publicized via the special supplement to The Synagogue so that both rabbis and congregations were made aware of work done by the Commission. The efforts of the Commission on Ceremonies began to bear fruit. The report delivered at the 1941 convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis showed that in 1940, ninety-two congregations celebrated Purim with services either on the day itself or on the nearest Sabbath. In 1941 this number had been increased to 112. 13,380 ritual leaflets of the Purim service had

been distributed to eighty-eight congregations.⁴³

A special Chanukah service was released in 1940 just before the holiday. Very soon after its publication by the Commission, thirty-six congregations held a celebration of Chanukah with the new materials. Within twelve months from the date of their issue, thirty-two congregations had purchased 3,280 leaflets of the Chanukah ritual.⁴⁴

The idea of a Shofar with a mouthpiece was well received by the congregations in the Union. By 1941, within a year after the idea was published, twenty congregations purchased from the Commission twenty Shofarot equipped with mouthpieces. Forty-one congregations had mouthpieces fitted by the Commission onto forty-two Shofarot. The Commission also designed an attractive Shofar bag which was purchased by twenty-six congregations, and they also made available the benedictions preceeding the Shofar Blowing ceremony as well as the traditional musical version of the Shofar calls. It is pointed out in the Commission's report that during the High Holyday season of 1940, ninety-seven congregations observed the Shofar ceremony.⁴⁵

The suggestions of the Commission were actively received by the congregations in more areas than ceremonial. Within one year after its recommendation of the Atoro, the Commission reported that twenty-eight congregations had purchased thirty-two atarot. The introduction of this symbol to offset the severity of the pulpit robe began to receive a favorable response from congregations.⁴⁶ Thus based

upon the following figures it is obvious that the Joint Commission on Ceremonials had begun to fill a need which was felt among Reform congregations for more symbolism and ceremonial.

By 1945, eight years after the Commission had come into existence, these figures were greatly increased. According to figures received by the Joint Commission, the special Megillah ritual emphasizing the idea of Jewish survival had been purchased by one hundred and eighty-four congregations. 30,729 copies were sold by this date. The abridged Megillah text, released in 1941 had by this date been purchased by one hundred and thirty-five congregations. 17,851 copies had been sold by 1945. One hundred seventy-five congregations, four army camps and thirty individuals had altogether purchased 209 copies of the abridged Megillah in English.⁴⁷

The efforts taken to revive the Shofar ceremony in Reform congregations also bore fruit. By 1945 one hundred forty congregations had adopted the Shofar with the mouth-piece.

Progress had been made also in regard to the attire worn by the rabbi. Ninety-nine congregations had adopted the Atoro for the rabbinical robe by 1945.⁴⁸

New ceremonies to enrich the life of the Reform congregation were constantly being produced by the Commission on Ceremonials. Although some of these rites were introduced

slowly, there was a marked improvement from year to year in the number of congregations which adopted them.⁴⁹ In 1942 a special ceremony for Opening of the Door for Elijah at the Seder was produced. This ceremony, which dramatized the traditional hope of the coming of the Messianic age, was purchased by ninety-two congregations. In 1942 a special ceremony for use in the Synagogue Sukkoh was released, and by 1945 twenty-one congregations had purchased 1,935 copies.⁵⁰

These ceremonies were also produced for congregational functions and not just for particular festivals on the Jewish calendar. A ceremony for the installation of congregational officers, emphasizing the significance of lay leadership, was released in 1939 and by 1945 was in use by sixty-one congregations. In 1941 a ceremony for the installation of a rabbi was produced by the Commission and by 1945 was used by thirty congregations.⁵¹

This revival in ceremonials became such a vital part of Neo-Reform Judaism in the United States that in 1945 a Joint Statement on Ceremonies in the Reform Synagogue was issued over the signatures of the President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof, and the President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath. This statement set forth the resolution on the revival of Jewish Practice in the synagogue adopted at the XXXV Council of the Union in New Orleans

and the manner in which the resolution had been implemented by the Joint Committee on Ceremonies. It listed nineteen ceremonies and ceremonial objects which had been produced by this Committee and which have been introduced with remarkable success throughout the country. The statement was sent to all rabbis of the Union and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and to presidents, secretaries, and members of the Boards of Trustees of all Union congregations and offered further, to supply copies, at cost where desired, for the individual members of these congregations.⁵² By 1945 the ceremonial and symbolic aspect of Neo-Reform was firmly entrenched in the minds of the American public and had become the official policy of the Reform Jews in this country.

Music

One area where the changes from classical Reform to Neo-Reform became quite evident is that of music in the Temple. In keeping with the universal emphasis of Classical Reform Judaism, good music from any source -- Jewish or non-Jewish was utilized. As noted earlier in this work, hymns and anthems by the classical composers were sung so long as their contents were not in conflict with the Hebrew ritual. Since in most cases non-Jewish professional singers were hired to provide the music in the Reform synagogue, there was very little congregational participation.

By the 1930's some dissatisfaction in this situation was evident. This dissatisfaction culminated with the resolution passed at the Thirty-Fifth Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in New Orleans in 1937. Prior to the passage of this resolution at the New Orleans Biennial Convention, a discussion led by Dr. Joseph Singer of Mizpah Congregation in Chicago pointed out the following in regard to the music of the Reform Synagogue:

...A committee of qualified musicians should help the individual congregations in the selection of proper musical material for choirs, schools, and congregations. Popular lectures and concerts of Jewish music should be encouraged in connection with our forums. Jewish choirs, particularly children's choirs, and congregational singing should be encouraged. We must also face the difficult task of organization. In some communities Jewish singers are difficult or impossible to secure. With a children's choir the problem is less exacting. In the larger communities Jewish choirs are becoming more popular and the policy of engaging Jewish singers should be encouraged.⁵³

The resolution regarding ritual and ceremonial in the Reform Synagogue which was passed at New Orleans in 1937 provided also for the use of only Jewish choir singers wherever possible, or to substitute children's choirs for adult choirs. It also encouraged participation by the congregation in singing the Kiddush and other traditional melodies. The groundwork was thus laid for a vast change in the music of the Reform synagogue.

This new Jewish music would be a purely American creation but would combine the best of the Jewish heritage. The Committee on Synagogue Music wanted to achieve this

task by means of the following: "By discarding the banalities of the Ghetto and yet retaining its valuable elements, we shall create a Jewish song in the country worthy of our tradition and our opportunities. Borrowings from the church are neither necessary nor desireable. On the other hand our loyalty should not make us narrow nor reactionary."⁵⁴ When musical selections were recommended by the Committee they were rooted in Jewish tradition, yet were vitalized by composers who could recast their eternal strains in terms of this heritage. In this way the Commission was able to avoid borrowing from non-Jewish and operatic sources of music.⁵⁵

The influence of immigration as a vital factor in the revision of the music in the Reform Temple must not be left out. From a practical viewpoint, this factor was probably one of the big reasons for the change if Reform Judaism was to make any impact at all upon the recent immigrants to the United States who came here as a result of the Hitler regime. Dr. Eric Werner, Lecturer in Jewish Music at the Hebrew Union College, mentioned in an article dealing with the function of modern synagogue music that the introduction of new services, with as many uniform selections as possible, singable melodies in which the congregation could participate would win over many immigrants to the cause of Reform Judaism since many of these people felt strange in the Reform Temple. It would also, he feels, contribute to a better understanding between Conservative

and Reform Jewry.56

In 1947 congregational participation in the worship service had become a vital concern of the Reform movement. During that year, the Commission on Synagogue Activities conducted, as one of its big projects, a synagogue singing project. The aim of this work was to encourage more active participation in worship through the singing of the Hebrew responses and hymns by the congregation. A special "First Aid Packet" was issued by the Commission containing the following materials:

1. A folder entitled "Behold How Good and How Pleasant It Is for Brethren to Sing Together in Unison!" explaining the advantages of synagogue singing;
2. A pamphlet, Hebrew responses and hymns in the Union Prayerbook, containing the transliterated text with a cross index to the Prayerbook;
3. A list of Melodies for Synagogue Singing, being a selection of some of the simplest and most singable melodies then available;
4. A provisional list of cooperating congregations which favored Synagogue singing;
5. An alleged letter from "Montgomery Prune-Juice" entitled, "Music in the Ear, or the Choir Invisible," containing many of the arguments against this project advanced by those whom the Commission was not successful in convincing originally; and

6. A compilation of suggestions for synagogue singing based on the past experience of congregations that had had at least some measure of success.

Sixty per cent of the congregations served by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations responded favorably to this project at the printing of the current report in 1947.⁵⁷

By 1948 there was much greater interest in the improvement of Reform Jewish music. In the autumn of that year a School of Sacred Music under the auspices of the Hebrew Union College was established. This institution was hailed by the Central Conference of American Rabbis as a means toward enhancing the appeal and inspiration of Reform public worship.⁵⁸ Thus the effort to improve Jewish music, begun as a result of the discontent with the Reform worship service which arose during the 1930's, was virtually completed on the official level of the Liberal movement by 1948.

The Change From an Anti-Zionist To A Pro-Zionist Position

Along with the transition from the old classical Reform position to the Neo-Reform position there arose a change in the attitude toward Zionism. Originally under the provisions of the Pittsburgh Platform there was no compatibility between Reform Judaism and Zionism. This incompatible position was brought out in the Fifth Plank, which stated, in part: "...We consider ourselves no longer

a nation but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the administration of the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish State." The early Reform movement in this country established a position repudiating any connection with Palestine.

There developed among early Reform Jews the feeling of smugness and exclusiveness resulting in the idea that they were really the ones who kept Judaism alive among the American community. Many early Reform Jews considered themselves apart from the other segments of the American Jewish community. This viewpoint is reflected in a comment made by Isaac Mayer Wise in which he answered the opponents of the Pittsburgh Platform with the following: "You are an anachronism, strangers in this country, and to your own brethren. You represent yourselves, together with a past age and a foreign land...You have to come to us or remain isolated..."⁵⁹ Many differences separated the Reformers from the masses of Orthodox Jews, the vast majority of whom were immigrants. And one of the biggest differences was Zionism.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, the organization composed of Reform rabbis, had gone on record as opposing Zionism. These oppositions were repeated several times. In Montreal in 1897 the Central Conference of American Rabbis adopted the following resolution in regards to Zionism:

Resolved, That we totally disapprove of any attempt for the establishment of a Jewish state. Such attempts show a misunderstanding of Israel's mission, which from the narrow political and national field has been expanded to the promotion among the whole human race of the broad and universalistic religion first proclaimed by the Jewish prophets. Such attempts do not benefit, but infinitely harm our Jewish brethren where they are still persecuted, by confirming the assertion of their enemies that the Jews are foreigners in the countries in which they are at home and of which they are everywhere the most loyal and patriotic citizens. ✓

We reaffirm that the object of Judaism is not political nor national but spiritual, and addresses itself to the continuous growth of peace, justice, and love in the human race, to a messianic time when all men will recognize that they form 'one great brotherhood for the establishment of God's kingdom on earth.'⁶⁰

It was felt by the leaders of Reform Judaism that the Jews were to be a "light unto the nations" by spreading the message of the prophets throughout the world. This was the mission of Israel, and the Jewish people could not accomplish this task by remaining in one particular country. Thus any idea of a return to Palestine would interfere with this concept of the universality of Judaism. This universal aspect of Judaism was again confirmed in 1917, when the Central Conference of American Rabbis met in Buffalo, New York and adopted the following resolution:

We herewith reaffirm the fundamental principle of Reform Judaism -- that the essence of Israel as a priest-people consists in its religious consciousness and in the sense of consecration to God and service in the world, and not in any political or racial national consciousness. And, therefore, we look with disfavor upon the new doctrine of political Jewish nationalism, which finds the criterion of Jewish loyalty in anything other than loyalty to Israel's God and Israel's religious mission.⁶¹ ✓

In answer to the Balfour Declaration the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1918 again laid their emphasis upon the historic universal role of the Jewish people:

The Central Conference of American Rabbis notes with grateful appreciation the declaration of the British Government, by Mr. Balfour, as an evidence of good will toward the Jews. We naturally favor the facilitation of immigration to Palestine of Jews who either because of economic necessity or political or religious persecution, desire to settle there. We hold that Jews in Palestine, as well as anywhere else in the world, are entitled to equality in political, civil, and religious rights, but we do not subscribe to the phrase in the declaration which says, "Palestine is to be a national homeland for the Jewish people." This statement assumes that the Jews, although identified with the life of many nations for centuries, are in fact a people without a country. We hold that Jewish people are, and of right ought to be, at home in all lands. Israel, like any every other religious communion, has the right to live and assert its message in any part of the world. We are opposed to the idea that Palestine should be considered the homeland of the Jews. Jews in America are part of the American nation. The ideal of the Jew is not the establishment of a Jewish state -- not the reassertion of Jewish nationality, which has long been outgrown. We believe that our survival as a people is dependent upon the assertion and the maintenance of our historical religious role, and not upon the acceptance of Palestine as a homeland of the Jewish people. The mission of the Jew is to witness to God all over the world.⁶²

In 1920 the Central Conference of American Rabbis endorsed the decision of its president in declining an invitation extended by the Zionist Organization of America to participate in a convention to celebrate the awarding to Britain of a mandate over Palestine by the San Remo Conference. In expressing its joy that a mandate over Palestine had been given to Britain by the San Remo Conference, the Central Conference of American Rabbis said:

While we thus rejoice, we do not, however, admit that this historic event is what it has been called, the geulah or the "Redemption of Israel." Convinced that the mission of the Jew is to witness to God all over the world, and rejecting any assertion of Jewish nationality, which it has long ago outgrown, we hold that Israel's redemption will only be realized when the Jew will have the right to live in any part of the world, and, all racial and religious prejudice and persecution ended, Israel will be free as a religious power and integral part of all nations to give world service.⁶³

Thus even by 1920 the official position of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was anti-Zionist. It was felt that the Zionist movement with its plan to set up a homeland in Palestine interfered with the universal aspect of Judaism as interpreted by the Reform rabbis.

Around the 1930's however, there developed a new mode of thought in the Reform rabbinate. At the 1930 session of the Central Conference of American Rabbis a heated discussion arose regarding the question of whether or not the Zionist hymn Hatikvah should be included in the new edition of the Union Hymnal. This hymn had become close to the hearts of many Jews and for this reason some members of the Conference felt that it should be included in the new hymnal. There was a strong feeling, however, that the Jews were more than a mere religious group who were concerned with spreading universal social values around mankind. This feeling is summed up in the words of Stephen Wise which he spoke at this Conference: "It is inconceivable how two hundred and fifty hymns can be published and yet omit

the one outstanding Jewish song....Millions of people regard this as the symbol of their hopes and dreams. To omit this will show the fearfulness of those who should be the leaders of American Israel to face the great problems of Jewish life the world over. To omit Hatikvah would show that we are a Jewish church and nothing more."⁶⁴ A vote was taken and the result was 65-59 in favor of the inclusion of Hatikvah. (Dr. David Philipson, historian of the Reform movement, and one of the few remaining members who were present at the Pittsburgh Conference in 1885, wrote in regards to this vote: "...The complexion of the conference is changing almost beyond belief. Had anyone told me twenty years ago that nationalism would make such inroads as to succeed in having the Zionist national hymn 'Hatikvah' incorporated into the hymnal published by the conference, I would have thought him ready for the lunatic asylum. But this unbelievable thing has happened."⁶⁵ More and more people from Orthodox backgrounds had become affiliated with the Central Conference of American Rabbis.) The time was thus ripe for a change in regard to the universal, anti-Zionistic philosophy which had permeated the Conference for so many years. David Philipson pointed out that "There can be no doubt that Zionism has more advocates in the conference than ever before. This is due, of course, to the wave of reactionism that is sweeping over Jewry, due to the large number of young rabbis who come from Zionistic and

Orthodox environments; due likewise to a number of prominent leaders who, for one reason or another, are recreant to the fundamental and underlying philosophy of Reform Judaism. But I cannot believe that the conference, when it comes to a decisive stand, has so reversed itself as to repudiate all the declarations on the subject. Reform Judaism does stand for universalism as against nationalism, no matter what a handful of men who do not comprehend its true significance and its ideology may vote."⁶⁶

There was a definite change in ideology that had taken hold among the members of the Conference. At the 1932 Conference, Rabbi Barnet R. Brickner of Cleveland's Euclid Avenue Temple said in the Conference Sermon: "The early Reformers feared Zionism, because they said a home in Palestine would unhome us everywhere; yet now without a homeland, the Jews of the world are unhomed nearly everywhere, and even in our country we are being forced in an unusual way -- perhaps because of economic conditions -- to come to grips with economic discrimination and social anti-Semitism.... Thus, if Reform Judaism wishes to be a growing and progressive faith, and save itself from hardening of its spiritual arteries, then formally it must come to terms with Jewish nationalism even as some of us have done individually. I am convinced that a Reform Judaism, ideologically and spiritually satisfying, that works toward the reconstruction of our social order -- such a Reformed Reform

Judaism has a tremendous future within the household of Jewry itself."⁶⁷

This new attitude prevalent within the Conference influenced many activities of the rabbinical body. Within the deliberations of the Liturgical Committee the question arose. There was a motion at the 1934 convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis that the aspiration of the Jewish people for the restoration of Zion be made an important part of one of the services of the Union Prayer Book. The action was postponed for one year by a vote of 45 to 43.⁶⁸ The anti-Zionist segment of the Conference was quickly being replaced by the Zionist or pro-Zionist segment.

By 1935 a more definite step toward a change in attitude was ready to be made by the Conference. The Committee on Resolutions submitted a resolution to the rabbinical body which, as finally adopted, read:

Whereas, At certain foregoing conventions of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, resolutions have been adopted in opposition to Zionism, and

Whereas, We believe that such an attitude no longer reflects the sentiment of a very substantial section of the Conference membership, and

Whereas, We are persuaded that acceptance or rejection of the Zionist program should be left to the determination of the individual members of the Conference themselves, therefore

Be it Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis takes no official stand on the subject of Zionism; and be it further

Resolved, That in keeping with its oft-announced intentions, the Central Conference of American Rabbis will continue to co-operate in the upbuilding of Palestine, and in the economic, cultural, and particularly spiritual tasks confronting the growing and evolving Jewish community there.⁶⁹

The old trends of the Central Conference of American Rabbis were thus beginning to fade away. The adoption of the above resolution was a prelude to the new Guiding Principles which would change the entire philosophy of the Reform Movement to a very great extent.

In 1937 the Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism were adopted at Columbus, Ohio. This new set of principles, revising the old Pittsburgh Platform, also revised the position of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in regard to Zionism. One of the resolutions of the Guiding Principles stated in part that "In all lands where our people live, they assume and seek to share loyally the full duties and responsibilities of citizenship and to create seats of Jewish knowledge and religion. In the rehabilitation of Palestine, the land hallowed by memories and hopes, we behold the promise of renewed life for many of our brethren. We affirm the obligation of all Jewry to aid in its upbuilding as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life."⁷⁰ The Neo-Reform attitude which had now come to pervade the rabbinate had thus reversed its anti-Zionist attitude of former years.

The attitude of the Reform rabbinate was probably influenced also by the circumstances of World War II. Because of the plight of so many millions of Jews the universal outlook which prevailed among Conference members was somewhat modified. Proof of this modification is the resolution adopted in 1941 by a vote of 64 to 38, as follows:

Whereas, the free peoples of the world are now engaged in a war for decency, justice and good faith in international relations, and for the defense of their homes and their freedoms against oppression and slavery,

And whereas, the Jewish population of Palestine is eager to defend its soil and its home to the last man,

And whereas, despite its formal approval of the plan, the Government of Great Britain has still failed to avail itself of the offer of the Jewish Agency for Palestine to establish a military unit based on Palestine, composed of Palestinian and stateless European Jews,

Be it resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis adds its voice to the demand that the Jewish population of Palestine be given the privilege of establishing a military force which will fight under its own banner on the side of the democracies, under allied command, to defend its own land and the near East to the end that the victory of democracy may be hastened everywhere.⁷¹

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, which had voted in its earlier days to repudiate Zionism as opposed to the universal character of Judaism, now wanted a Jewish army to defend its own homeland and to fight for democracy.

A crisis in the attitude of Reform Judaism toward Zionism arose in 1943 with the founding of the American

Council for Judaism. This organization was dedicated to the proposition that Judaism is a religion with no other connotations whatsoever. Its founders wanted to retain the old universalistic outlook of classical Reform Judaism. At the 1943 Conference of the Reform Rabbinical Association, two resolutions regarding the relationship of Reform Judaism and Zionism were passed. The first resolution read as follows:

In 1935 at its Chicago Convention, the Central Conference of American Rabbis declared that it would take no official stand on Zionism. It decided that it was to be the prerogative of individual members to determine for themselves, within the framework of Reform Judaism, what their point of view on this subject might be. This was and is a salutary policy and should be continued.

Of late, however, some of our members have renewed the assertion that Zionism is not compatible with Reform Judaism. The attempt has been made to set in irreconcilable opposition "universalism" and "particularism." To the members of the Conference, this appears unreal and misleading. Without impugning the right of members of the Conference to be opposed to Zionism, for whatever reason they may choose, the Conference declares that it discerns no essential incompatibility between Reform Judaism and Zionism, no reason why those of its members who give allegiance to Zionism should not have the right to regard themselves as fully within the spirit and purpose of Reform Judaism.⁷²

Resolution II, adopted by a vote of 137 to 45, read as follows:

While members of the C.C.A.R. are fully within their rights in espousing whatever philosophy of Jewish life they may accept; nevertheless, the American Council for Judaism, because of the special circumstances under which it came into being, has already endangered the unity of the Conference. Its continuing existence would become a growing threat to our fellowship.

The American Council for Judaism was founded by members of the C.C.A.R. for the purpose of combating Zionism. The Zionist Movement and masses of Jews everywhere, shocked by the rise of this organization at a time when Zionists and others are laboring hard to have the gates of Palestine reopened for the harassed Jews of Europe, could not avoid judging this event in the light of past controversies, or seeing in it an example of what they had come to consider the constant opposition of Reform Judaism to Zionist aspirations. This impression does grave injustice to the many devoted Zionists in the C.C.A.R. and to the Conference itself.

Therefore, without impugning the right of Zionists or non-Zionists to express and to disseminate their convictions within and without the Conference, we, in the spirit of amity, urge our colleagues of the American Council for Judaism to terminate this organization.⁷³

The attitude of Reform Judaism in regards to Zionism was now firmly established on the rabbinical level. The future events would show how this attitude was to be translated into deeds. On May 14, 1948, the State of Israel came into existence. Much of the business of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1948 was devoted to this event. Part of the report of the Committee on Contemporaneous History mentioned that "...we are inspired by the rebirth of Jewish nationhood. The dauntless valor, courage and dedication of our brethren in "Israel" (sic) are a source of great hope and light to us. We pledge to help in the gallant struggle wherever possible."⁷⁴

At the Conference in 1948, Rabbi Edward E. Klein prepared a special report of the Committee on Palestine, which read in part: "The establishment of the Republic of Israel fulfills a 2,000 year old dream of the Jewish people....At long last, the glorious achievements of the Jews in Palestine

have been solidified into statehood."⁷⁵ The Committee recommended several resolutions regarding Palestine, some of which were: the commendation of the work of the Haganah in defending Israel's borders; condemnation of the aggressive warfare waged by the Arab states; commendation and appreciation to the United States for its stand and role in the Middle East situation; and finally urging of the fullest cooperation between the Conference and Hadassah, the Jewish War Veterans of America, and the Red Mogen David.⁷⁶

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, chairman of the Committee on Projects in Israel, had several suggestions for programs involving Israel and Reform Jewry. Such suggestions were to include: opportunities for rabbinic students and Jewish school teachers to study in Israel and the encouragement of Confirmands and Bar Mitzvah to spend some time in Israel -- preferably a year there of intensive study in Hebrew wherever possible.⁷⁷

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, the rabbinic body of Reform Judaism, had thus reversed itself on its earlier position regarding Zionism. With the exception of those Conference members who joined the American Council for Judaism, even the non-Zionist members of the Reform rabbinate acquiesced in the fait accompli.

There was also a change in attitude toward Zionism among the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the organization representing Reform congregations. (Originally in 1898 at its convention in Richmond, Virginia, the Union

came out with the following resolution: "We are unalterably opposed to political Zionism. The Jews are not a nation, but a religious community. Zion was a precious possession of the past, the early home of our faith, where our prophets uttered their world-subduing thoughts and our Psalmists sang their world-enchancing hymns. As such it is a holy memory, but it is not our hope of the future. America is our Zion. Here, in the home of religious liberty, we have aided in founding this new Zion, the fruition of the beginning laid in the old. The mission of Judaism is spiritual, not political. Its aim is not to establish a state but to spread the truths of religion and humanity throughout the world."⁷⁸

This universal attitude of the Union, like that of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, was to undergo a change. This change came about because the same phenomena which affected the rabbinical organization of Reform Judaism also affected the lay organization. (By the year 1931 there was a call for neutrality on the Zionist issue. At the Thirty-Second Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations meeting in Philadelphia on January 19, 1931, Ludwig Vogelstein, chairman of the Executive Board, requested all delegates to exercise wisdom and moderation in discussing the issue of Palestine. The integrity of the Union, which he felt was called into being to solve problems regarding Jewish religious life in this country, is far more vital

than bringing up controversial political matters, he pointed out.⁷⁹ Although this suggestion of the chairman of the executive board was non-committal, it certainly was far from the negative position toward Zionism espoused by the Union in former years.

By 1935 a much stronger resolution was put forth at the Biennial Convention, held in Washington, D.C. The Committee on Resolutions recommended the following resolution in regard to Palestine:

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations in Council assembled expresses its satisfaction with the efforts made and the progress achieved by the Jewish Agency in the upbuilding of Palestine,

Whatever may be our diversities of opinion as to the place of Palestine in Jewish life, we all rejoice that such of our co-religionists as are fleeing from lands of oppression are finding a haven and a new home in the land which has played so large a part in Jewish historical experience.⁸⁰

Thus there is expressed here a far more positive attitude toward the Jewish settlement in Palestine than had ever been mentioned before by the Union. This action, too, was a prelude for a far more pro-Zionistic expression from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

In 1937 the Union met for its thirty-fifth council at New Orleans. On Monday, January 18, a resolution on Palestine was submitted by Rabbis James G. Heller, Samuel M. Gup, and Morris S. Lazeron, which read as follows:

Resolved, that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in Council assembled expresses its satisfaction with the progress made by the Jewish Agency in the upbuilding of Palestine. We see the hand of Providence in the opening of the gates of Palestine for the Jewish

people at a time when a large portion of Jewry is so desperately in need of a friendly shelter and a home where a spiritual, cultural center may be developed in accordance with Jewish ideals. The time has now come for all Jews, irrespective of ideological differences, to unite in the activities leading to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and we urge our constituency to give their financial and moral support to the work of rebuilding Palestine.⁸¹

The above resolution was unanimously adopted by the Resolutions Committee and then carried by the Union.⁸²

In 1943 the Union of American Hebrew Congregations joined the American Jewish Conference, hoping thereby to attain an adequate program in behalf of world Jewry. The Union, by joining the Conference, expressed the hope that: (1.) provision should be made for large-scale immigration into Palestine, regulated in co-operation with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, by such a concert of nations as should be established after the war; (2.) Palestine would remain under the stewardship of this concert of nations until it should become possible to establish self-government without jeopardizing the rights or status of any group in Palestine; (3.) Such a government should be democratic and non-sectarian, modeled upon the governments of the democratic nations. There would be complete separation of Church and State. The inviolability of the holy places of the various religions would be guaranteed.⁸³ By supporting the American Jewish Conference, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations showed its concern for the welfare of Jews throughout the world. But in the expression of the three points above, the

universal aspect of Reform Judaism was still brought out in such items as equality for all groups in Palestine, and separation of Church and State.

Although the Union of American Hebrew Congregations joined the American Jewish Conference, it took no official position on the Zionist question. The Union, in fact, did not support the position of the American Jewish Conference regarding Zionism.⁸⁴ The Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, meeting in Chicago on January 18, 1944, declared that

The Union, continuing as a member of the American Jewish Conference, declares its sense of fellowship with all worthy and practical efforts designed to ameliorate the tragic plight of world Jewry and to assist in reconstructing those communities that have suffered from the ravages of Nazi tyranny.

Because in the congregations of the Union there are divergent opinions on the question of Zionism, the Union recognizes the right of each individual to determine his own attitude on this controversial question and, therefore, the Union refrains from taking any action on the Palestine Resolution adopted by the American Jewish Conference.⁸⁵

In 1948 the position of the Union vis-a-vis Zionism came to a climax with the emergence of the State of Israel. At the Fortieth Council of the Union, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, that the Fortieth General Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations enthusiastically hails the creation of the State of Israel and prays that peace may soon come to that now troubled land and its people. This Assembly respectfully petitions that the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947 be fully and swiftly implemented.⁸⁶

The Union, much like the Central Conference of American Rabbis, accepted the emergence of the State of Israel as a fait accompli. Even if the Reform movement as a whole was not entirely Zionistically oriented, the situation made all Liberally oriented Jews face the facts. The statement by the President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations brings this point out when it mentions, "But the time has come when we must review our position in the light of the reality of the State of Israel, when we must reorient ourselves to this altogether new phenomenon under our Jewish sun -- at least for the past two thousand years; when we must make clear our relationship to the State of Israel, while at the same time indicating that, whatever assistance, moral, spiritual, material, that we may bestow upon it, we do not deviate from our religious mission as loyal and consecrated citizens of this cherished land of America."⁸⁷

The changing circumstances in the world, therefore, brought about a new attitude among Reform Jews in regards to the Zionist movement. Although Reform Judaism moved away from the classic position, it did not, however, abandon entirely the old universalism. It attempted to combine the two factors wherever possible. But the entire movement had gone a long way from the position of Isaac Mayer Wise, who told his opponents, "You have to come to us or remain isolated..."

The Change Within Jewish Education

Along with the changes which took place in other areas of Reform Jewish life, there was also a change within the attitude toward Jewish education. There has not been enough evidence to show whether this interest came about as a result of the pro-Zionist attitude which began to prevail in many Reform circles. Nevertheless, between the period of 1930 to 1946 there was a call for more intensified Jewish education and a more intensified Hebrew program within Reform Judaism.

Dr. David Philipson, chairman of the Commission on Jewish Education of the Central Conference of American Rabbis reported in 1930 that the Commission was pushing for an additional day during the week to supplement the teaching given at the religious school on Sunday morning.⁸⁸ The number of congregations which had any kind of mid-week Hebrew instruction was minimal.

Even by 1934 the standards of Hebrew instruction within the Reform religious school left much to be desired. According to a survey conducted by the Bureau of Synagogue Activities of the Union, 17 percent of the large congregations had no Hebrew instruction, while 20 percent of the medium sized congregations had no Hebrew. Even within the large congregations where Hebrew was taught, according to this survey, only 12 per cent had any program of instruction

other than the regular religious school sessions. In the medium sized congregations which taught Hebrew only ten per cent had any provision for mid-week instruction, and even this provision was for one day per week only.⁸⁹ The average time per week spent in Hebrew instruction was one hour.⁹⁰ Thus very little could be accomplished within the framework of such a set-up.

This lack within the area of Jewish education was felt by many individuals within the Reform movement. At the Thirty-fifth Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in New Orleans, recognition was made of this situation and suggestions were given for its remedy. On Monday, January 18, 1937, a resolution was submitted by Rabbis Berkowitz, Shulman, Irving F. Reichert, Markowitz, Isserman, Wice, Feibelman, and Mr. Chester Lichtenberg. This resolution, calling for more intensified Jewish education on all levels read as follows:

Whereas, the essential and indispensable character of Jewish education is accepted as axiomatic; and

Whereas, the educational needs in our Congregations were clearly and cogently set forth at this Council; and

Whereas, the Boards of some of our Congregations have not made adequate provision for an educational program;

Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved:

1. That the Union of American Hebrew Congregations reaffirm the need of religious education as an essential element in Jewish life;

2. That the Union of American Hebrew Congregations declare that religious education be not limited to the religious school, but that the Congregational program be extended to include youth and adult education;

3. That the Union of American Hebrew Congregations recommend to the Board of every affiliated Congregation that adequate funds be made available for this sacred and essential purpose;

4. That the Union of American Hebrew Congregations recommend that Congregations, wherever possible, establish the position of Director of Religious Education.⁹¹

This motion, seconded by Dr. Heller and carried by the Union, signified a concern for Jewish education and for its improvement.

By 1943 some tangible effort had been made in improving the standards of Jewish education within the Reform religious school. It was reported in that year that fifteen large congregations, seven medium sized congregations, and six small congregations had instituted some program of mid-week instruction in Hebrew to supplement the regular week-end religious school program. In most cases, attendance was coluntary at those classes, although some congregations required Confirmation and Pre-Confirmation pupils to attend. Some temples maintained a branch of the community Hebrew school on a two-day-a-week basis. The curriculum in those week-day schools varied, some preparing boys for Bar Mitzvah, and others studying the Hebrew Bible.⁹²

In spite of this additional Hebrew program, there was still much room for improvement in Reform Jewish education. All too many Reform Jewish homes were still berift of any Jewish content, and too many Reform Jewish children were growing up ignorant of their heritage. At the 1946 convention

of the Central Conference of American Rabbis held in Chicago, Rabbi Morton M. Berman, who delivered the Conference lecture pointed out, "The Principles⁹³ inform us that 'the perpetration of Judaism as a living force depends upon religious knowledge and upon the education of each new generation in our rich, cultural and spiritual heritage.' Liberal Judaism will not be perpetuated for long in America unless there is some radical change in the program of Jewish education. Such a program will have to provide our children with more than an hour or two per week of Jewish study. We shall probably have to introduce a week-day program to supplement or replace the Sunday School. Such a program may have to combine play and activity along with Jewish study in order to attract as many children as possible to it."⁹⁴

During the period from 1930 to 1946 there was an awareness among Reform Jewish leaders of the necessity to increase Jewish education -- especially in the area of Hebrew. Some efforts were made in this area during the sixteen year period after 1930, and a start was made during this time to recognize the problem. The real solutions took place after this period, which is beyond the scope of this work.

CHAPTER III

THE CHANGES WITHIN THE VARIOUS CONGREGATIONS AROUND THE UNITED STATES

The preceding chapter of this work portrayed the changes in the thinking of the Reform Jewish movement in the United States on an organizational level. Any decision which was made regarding the directions which Reform Judaism should take was made either by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the rabbinical body, or by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the lay body. The real implementation of these decisions, however, had to take place on a congregational level. The success or failure of these endeavors would depend on the particular rabbi, the board of directors of that particular congregation, and the acceptance of the changes by the congregation at large.

Publications -- especially bulletins -- issued by these congregations often portray the changes which took place within the particular congregation. This chapter, therefore, will deal with publications of various Reform congregations in the United States. An effort has been made to select Temples from different areas of the country so that there would be a wide representation. Only bulletins covering completely the period from 1930 to 1948 have been used so that there is no gap in programming a congregation during the allotted years. These sources will show

specific changes which took place, and not merely congregational activities.

The North East

New York City

The Free Synagogue

This congregation was established by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, and operated on the assumption that there must be complete freedom of the pulpit and unassigned pews so that it would welcome any Jew. Although at the beginning of the designated period this congregation followed the usual pattern of classical Reform services, its rabbi was different from most of the Reform rabbis of that era. Stephen S. Wise was an ardent Zionist and was deeply concerned with Kelal Yisrael. His entire actions were geared not to any one class of Jews, but to all the people of Israel. The Free Synagogue bulletin carried the following comment from Portland, Oregon, scene of Dr. Wise's ministry from 1900 to 1906: "...For years now Rabbi Wise has stood in the forefront of the Zionist movement. His aggressiveness and impatience have led him into encounters of personality that grieved his friends. Yet there has never been a finer example in Jewish life in any place or at any time."⁹⁵ Such comments about Dr. Wise are found throughout the synagogue bulletins.

At the beginning of this period, in 1930, the Free Synagogue practiced the Reform custom of holding services

on Sunday morning. These services were held at Carnegie Hall and consisted of a lecture or sermon in addition to the week-day ritual.⁹⁶ These services though did stress Hebrew music, especially for the anthems. Frequently there were solos of modern Hebrew selections, such as Shoshanah by Tchernikowski on January 12, 1930.⁹⁷ Some of these services were devoted to a study of modern Hebraic musical compositions as developed by the younger Jewish composers. One such service was held on Sunday, January 26.⁹⁸ There was a desire on the part of many congregants attending these Sunday morning services to join in the singing of certain musical selections of the service. The bulletin of January 14, 1930 carried the following message: "There has been felt a desire of many congregants to sing important responses on Sunday morning. The choirmaster has arranged the 'Shema' and this is an experiment which is only successful if you sing."⁹⁹

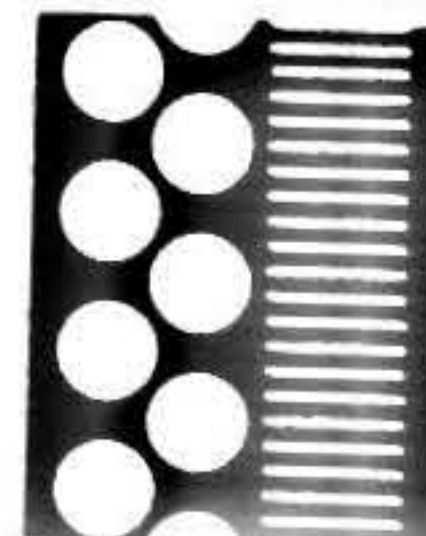
By the next ten years, though, there was to be a change from this Sunday morning service to a late Friday evening service. The first Friday evening service in the Synagogue Auditorium was to be held on April 10, 1942. This service, held under the auspices of the Executive Council and the Rabbis, together with a special committee, included refreshments afterwards in the Synagogue social hall.¹⁰⁰ The last Sunday morning service of the congregation was held in Carnegie Hall on April 5, 1942.¹⁰¹ After thirty-two years

of a Sunday morning service, the practice was discontinued.¹⁰²

The change though from Sunday morning to Friday evening proved to be very successful. The April 28, 1942 edition of the Synagogue Bulletin carried the following message: "There was not even standing room at the Friday evening service on April 17. There were more than one thousand people at the Synagogue. We regret that some of these people were turned away."¹⁰³ Even after several months these services were still a success. The annual report of the congregation said: "The change to a Friday evening service was taken with trepidation. But it has proved to be very successful. The social hour has become very popular."¹⁰⁴

There were also changes within other aspects of the ritual. The September 16, 1930 edition of the Bulletin carried the message that "a feature of this New Year's service will be the sounding of the Shofar instead of the brass instrument that has been customary in former years."¹⁰⁵

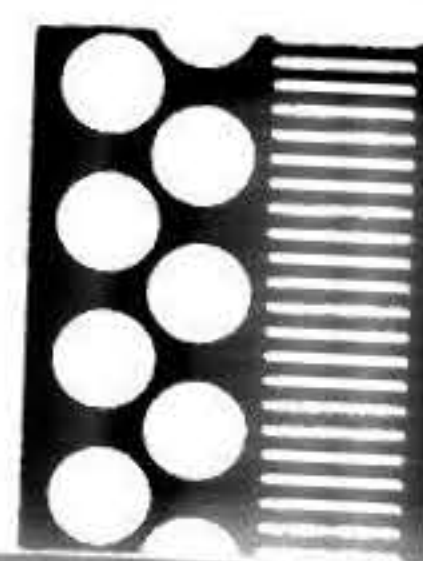
It is quite possible that the philosophy of Dr. Stephen Wise influenced many aspects of the synagogue program. On November 2, 1930, the children of the Religious School marked the thirteenth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. The observance was marked by a set of tableaux showing the Jewish contribution to the life of the Holy Land and the desire to co-operate with the Arabs. Slides were also shown depicting the development of Palestine since World



War I.¹⁰⁶

As early as 1930 the congregation was strongly urged to support the United Palestine Appeal. The February 18, 1930 bulletin carried the announcement that "...Anyone giving or obtaining \$ 50.00 or more (to the United Palestine Appeal) will be entitled to sit at the Free Synagogue table at the Hadassah Luncheon at the Hotel Roosevelt on February 18."¹⁰⁷

Hebrew instruction was stressed at the Free Synagogue. In the November 15, 1930 publication of the Synagogue Bulletin there was an announcement that Hebrew classes had been formed at the Free Synagogue school. These classes met on Tuesday and Friday afternoons from 4 to 5 p.m., and all children above the age of nine were invited to participate.¹⁰⁸ By 1947 Hebrew was taught as a living language and as a key toward the unity of all Jews. The December 16, 1947 edition of the Bulletin announced that "...Members of the Congregation and its auxiliary organizations who are interested in studying modern Hebrew are urged to communicate with Rabbi Klein so that all who are interested may be consulted on suitable times. Now that the new Jewish State is to be established in Palestine it is more important than ever that we have some knowledge of Modern Hebrew as an additional bond to Jews of the Yishuv and as a means of understanding present-day Hebrew literature."¹⁰⁹



The changes which took place within the Free Synagogue, according to the congregational publications, were in the area of services, where a transition was made from Sunday morning to Friday evening; the High Holyday ritual, where a Shofar was substituted for a French horn; and Hebrew instruction, where the stress was put upon the language as a bond between all Jews. This congregation though was different from many other Reform congregations since its founder and head rabbi during this time was deeply concerned with the Jewish people throughout the world. Thus the stress throughout much of the programming was on Kelal Yisrael and the Zionist movement.

Rodeph Shalom Congregation

Rodeph Shalom Congregation, whose rabbi was Dr. Louis I. Newman, also held a Sunday morning service. Sunday services continued at this congregation much later than they did at the Free Synagogue. In spite of this fact, though, Rodeph Shalom had a somewhat traditional orientation. As early as 1931, for example, a Purim celebration was held in the synagogue at which the Megillah was read.¹¹⁰ This congregation also held a Memorial Service on Passover in 1932,¹¹¹ as well as Bar Mitzvahs during this era when Classical Reform Judaism was still strong. The program of this Temple included an annual Procession of the Scrolls with the rabbi and cantor leading the men of the congregation around the synagogue.¹¹² As early as 1933 the congregational participation in singing of the liturgical

selections was stressed. The January 6, 1933 edition of the Temple Bulletin carried the message that "great progress has been made in congregational singing. The 'Sisterhood Songsters' meet once a month from 2:00 to 2:30 p.m. before the regular Sisterhood meeting to rehearse hymns, chants and responses of the Services."¹¹³

The Sunday morning services of this congregation, though, were successful and stimulated widespread interest throughout the congregation and the community.¹¹⁴ Even as late as 1946 this congregation still held Sunday morning services which were dedicated to "community culture and religious thought."¹¹⁵

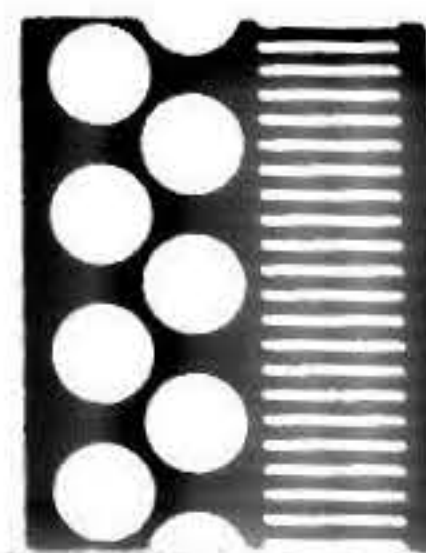
Late Friday evening services were held at Rodeph Shalom for special occasions. On May 15, 1942, a special late Friday evening service was held in honor of the Temple's men who were in uniform. This service would honor both the veterans of World War I as well as those members who were wearing the nation's colors in World War II.¹¹⁶ The congregation's publications made no reference to any decision as far as the holding of Friday evening services. However, after 1946 the late Friday evening services became a regular feature of this congregation.

Symbolism for the Sabbath was stressed within the congregation. The January 11, 1935 edition of the bulletin announced a meeting of the Parents' Association which was open to the public. At the meeting Rabbi Newman was to

speak on Sabbath ceremonies and give a demonstration of them in order to encourage their observance among congregants.¹¹⁷ In 1947 the Temple Ritual Committee instituted the custom of reciting the prayer over the Sabbath lights at the Friday evening services.¹¹⁸

Like the Free Synagogue, Rodeph Shalom stressed Kelal Yisrael, or the Jewish people. The Sunday morning services often featured speakers who were involved in the struggle for a Jewish state. These speakers included such men as Judah Leon Magnes, first President of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Vladimar Jabotinsky, founder of the Jewish Revisionist Movement. In 1931, when Zionism was still unpopular within the Reform movement, Rodeph Shalom prepared a luncheon to honor Magnes after he spoke at services on the Sunday morning. At the luncheon it was decided to form a group known as "Friends of the Hebrew University in Rodeph Shalom."¹¹⁹ The general Reform anti-Zionist approach was not followed by this congregation, even before the Columbus Platform and the New Orleans Declaration by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

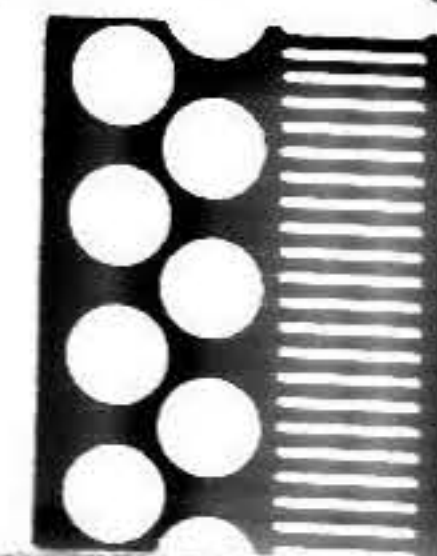
This love of Kelal Yisrael continued in the congregation throughout the struggle for a Jewish state. The December 4, 1947 bulletin reported a special service on Sunday morning attended en masse by the Religious School and Youth Group, to offer thanksgiving for the United Nations Partition Resolution. "Zeh Ha-Yom" was sung by the choir,



as well as appropriate Hebrew songs and "My Country 'Tis of Thee."¹²⁰ In May, 1948 the congregation voted at its annual meeting to place in the Temple and Temple House the banner of Israel which had flown at the White House. This decision was hailed in the bulletin "as a symbol of a new era in the annals of the people of Israel."¹²¹

Thus in summarizing the activities of Congregation Rodeph Shalom it could be stated on the basis of their publications that the congregation was a well-established Reform temple. Its programs were certainly in keeping with the activities suggested by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis. It was, though, more traditional than many other Reform congregations -- especially in the 1930's when Classical Reform Judaism was still strong. Many traditional ceremonies and observances were practiced at Rodeph Shalom. It was strongly pro-Zionist. Therefore the change in the programming of this congregation between 1930-1948 was not so radical as were the changes in other congregations which will be analyzed.

Although most of the important Reform congregations in New York City and its environs followed a standard Reform pattern of worship and activities, in general their approach was more moderate than congregations in other sections of the country. Even in those congregations which followed the Classical Reform approach, their attitude toward many



ceremonials and toward the Jewish people as a whole was much different from the approach of most classical Reformers in the era between Pittsburgh and Columbus. This moderation may be due to the fact that New York City was the center of Jewish Orthodoxy. Its Jewish population consisted of many immigrants, since this city was the point of de-embarkation when they arrived in the United States. If Reform Judaism was to make any inroads among these immigrants' children who were becoming Americanized, it would have to portray a more moderate approach.

Brooklyn, New York

Temple Ahavath Shalom

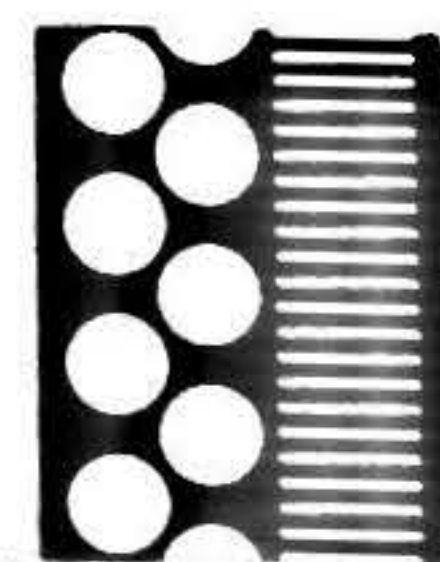
In the case of a borough like Brooklyn, having a large Jewish population numbering 2,596,154 in 1930^{121a} most of whom were Orthodox, extreme moderation would have to be shown by any Reform congregation in the area.

The publications of Temple Ahavath Shalom under the direction of Rabbi Alexander Alan Steinbach show the moderate course which this congregation followed. Even in the 1930's two days of Rosh Ha-Shonah were observed. On the First Day of Rosh Ha-Shonah a service was held at 10:00 a.m., while on the second day there was a traditional service at 7:30 a.m., followed by a musical service at 9:30 a.m. The Memorial Service on Yom Kippur took place at 2:30 p. m. instead of immediately prior to the Closing Service.¹²²

As early as 1935 this congregation's publications listed a Temple Seder for the whole congregation which was to be held in the public auditorium.¹²³ A Memorial Service was held on the last day of Passover, and the bulletin carried a request from the rabbi for no one to leave the Temple during the Memorial Service, as this custom of asking those people with living parents to leave during Yizkor was based solely on superstition.¹²⁴

Ahavath Shalom had a late Friday evening service and observed Bar Mitzvah on Saturday mornings in the 1930's. Standards were set up for the training of Bar Mitzvah boys, and the bulletin later carried an announcement that such preparation must begin nine months in advance of the Bar Mitzvah date.¹²⁵ A Bar Mitzvah Brotherhood of boys from ages 13 to 16 was formed in which the members participated in a special program of study.¹²⁶

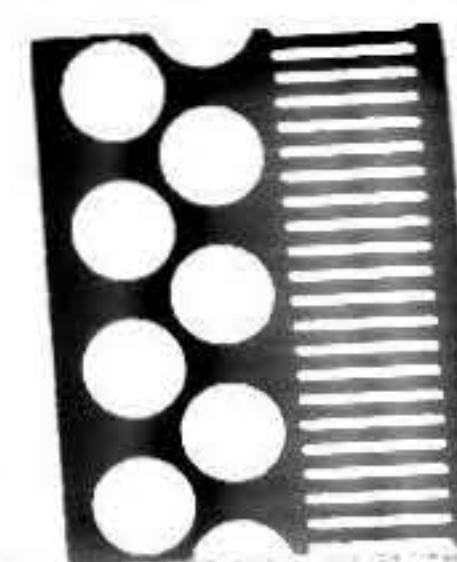
The value of prayers and ceremonials was stressed within the congregation. Home prayers and home ceremonials were also emphasized. One of the congregational publications had a page addressed to the parents as follows: "The time to train children in the habit of prayer is in their very youthful years. Following are beautiful morning prayers and night prayers for children, and we urge every parent to teach them to their children. Encourage the child to recite these prayers daily and give them a worthy example by reciting prayers yourself."¹²⁷ The Hebrew text



with an English translation was then listed as follows:
 for the morning prayers: Hear O Israel, the Lord our God
 the Lord is One; Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with
 all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy might;
 Blessed is His name whose glorious kingdom is forever and
 ever. For the evening the following prayers were listed:
 Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God the Lord is One; Blessed
 be His name whose glorious kingdom is forever and ever; For
 in His hands myself I lay, both when I sleep and when I
 wake.¹²⁸

Observance of the Seder was stressed among the congregation. The April 1947 issue of the bulletin describes in great detail the colorful observances connected with the Seder ceremony and its pedagogical values for modern youngsters. It asks passionately which parent will deny his children the emotional value that a Passover Seder affords and deprive them of all the rich color and content which that festival contains.¹²⁹

Temple Ahavath Shalom attached much importance to the peoplehood of Israel. Every effort was made in the educational endeavors of the congregation to spread an appreciation of Israel's oneness. In 1940 the Temple Sisterhood tried to make the German refugees feel comfortable by holding a dance and social which was attended by over 400 German refugees.¹³⁰



Upon the inauguration of Jewish Book Month by the Jewish Book Council of America, the Ahavath Sholom Messenger carried the following announcement: "The month of November has been proclaimed by the Jews of America as Jewish Book Month. In what better way can we observe this month than by reading some Jewish book ourselves? Will your child celebrate a birthday during November? Give him or her a good Jewish book. We can thus help our children build a collection on Jewish subjects....We are the people of the book...today it is the destiny of the Jew in America to carry on the learning and tradition of our people."¹³¹

Hebrew was also stressed within the Religious School of Temple Ahavath Shalom. Chumash was taught from the second year onward. Louis Satlow, Educational Director of the Temple, made a statement in the bulletin that the goal of the Religious School was to make the child conscious of the fact that Hebrew is not a foreign language, but the Lashon Ha-Kodesh -- the Holy Tongue.¹³²

It is only natural that such a congregation as this would stress the Zionist philosophy. In May 1948, the following article appeared in the Temple bulletin:

When Judea is truly free we can look again to its establishment as a creative spiritual center of all Jews. Again all eyes will be turned to a land where the Bible was first created, for the rebirth of our nation will lead first to the renaissance of our language and literature. Jewish drama and dance, Jewish music and art, so long neglected in the Diaspora will again be revived in the cities of Judea and in the streets of Jerusalem. We shall witness too the

revitalization of the Jewish holydays and festivals and the customs and ceremonies. The closer the bonds we establish with the Yishuv, the greater will be its religious and cultural influence upon us...¹³³

This congregation was far more traditional than any other Reform congregation whose bulletins were analyzed from the period 1930-1948. Because of its location in a suburb where Orthodoxy predominated, the program of Temple Ahavath Shalom had to be more traditional than in other Reform congregations. Such a program had to stress ceremonials, symbolism, Hebrew and Zionism.

In conclusion it could be said that the congregations around the New York area had a different emphasis upon their programming than did the congregations of other sections of the country. Generally the congregations in the New York area stressed the connection with Kelal Yisrael. These congregations put more stress upon ceremonial and Hebrew than did other Reform Temples.

The South and Southwest

The congregations which will comprise this section are taken from various parts of the South and the Southwest. A varied distribution has been used so that the changes taking place in different congregations can be easily perceived. Again, only congregations whose publications show a definite change during the period under consideration have been used. This section will include Temples in Baltimore, Maryland; Charleston, South Carolina; Louisville, Kentucky; and San Antonio, Texas.

Baltimore, Maryland

Baltimore Hebrew Congregation

The Baltimore Hebrew Congregation is different from the Temples which have been considered until now in one very important respect. It was led by a rabbi who was opposed to the Zionist program. Rabbi Morris Lazaron had been sympathetic to the idea of a Jewish haven but later he withdrew from the Zionist ranks and took the part of the anti-Zionist faction. He withdrew from the Zionist organization because he felt "he could no longer accept its philosophy, program, nor follow the Zionist leadership of the American Jewish community which is partly responsible for limitation of Jewish immigration into Palestine, has brought the Palestine situation to the brink of civil war, and has done great harm to Jewish-Gentile relations in America."¹³⁴ Rabbi Lazaron felt that Jews should realize that a considerable body of Christian opinion does not support the Zionist demands. Also, he felt, many Christians should know that there is considerable feeling among Jews that Jewish nationalism and the Jewish State are not the way.¹³⁵

The Baltimore Hebrew Congregation had Sunday services. These services were conducted in a series lasting four months during the year -- from November through February.¹³⁶ Occasionally for special events a late Friday evening service was held. The first one held during the

designated period was on October 18, 1935 to celebrate Rabbi Lazon's twentieth anniversary, and included a reception at the end of the service.¹³⁷ But the Sunday morning service remained a very important service whose aim was to reach the men who could not come to the Saturday morning service. This service therefore was a lecture service, while the Friday evening service was a liturgical service.¹³⁸ By 1939, though, the Friday Vesper Service began to include a brief address, and the prayers together with the brief lecture lasted for forty-five minutes.

By 1944 it was felt that a genuine need for a late Friday evening service existed. The bulletin for March 3 carried a letter by Samuel M. Woronoff saying that many people in the congregation felt that Friday evening is better for a service than Sunday morning because a) the Shabbos service was a finer service than the week-day service; b) there is no interference on Friday evening from golf or from sleeping late; c) it is easier for women on Friday nights since they can put the children to bed and bring the older ones to Temple, whereas on Sunday morning a housewife is busy getting the children ready for Sunday school and fixing meals.¹³⁹ By November 1944, the late Friday evening service was becoming part of the regular program at the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. The first lecture service was begun on November 3, and lasted for one hour.¹⁴⁰ By

1946 the late Friday evening services were held until Passover in order to give ample opportunity for all members to worship. Upon the basis of the 1946 response to these late services, they were established on a full-time basis in 1947.¹⁴¹

This Temple also made some innovations in regard to ceremonials. Rabbi Lazon prepared a special ceremony for the first day of Succoth which would replace the Harvest Festival. The keynote of this service, which is based on an old Simchath Beth Ha-Shoevah ceremony, was the Processional of Palms, which were then distributed to the religious school and the congregation. It was pointed out in discussing these ceremonies that Liberal Judaism does not frown upon old ceremonies -- it only discards those which have no meaning while it tries to adopt many old ceremonies for modern use.¹⁴²

During the 1940's an effort was made to introduce singing among the congregants at services. The bulletin of February 28, 1947 carried the following announcement: "The service belongs to the congregation -- not just to the rabbi. Carrying out the program of introducing congregational singing as a regular feature of our services, Union Hymnals have been provided for all worshippers. It is hoped that members will participate in this effort to overcome the passivity of Reform worship."¹⁴³

The Baltimore Hebrew Congregation had some changes, mainly in the area of the Friday evening service, and the adoption of a new Succoth ceremony. This congregation, in

contrast to the ones in New York, portrayed a viewpoint which was hostile towards Jewish nationalism.

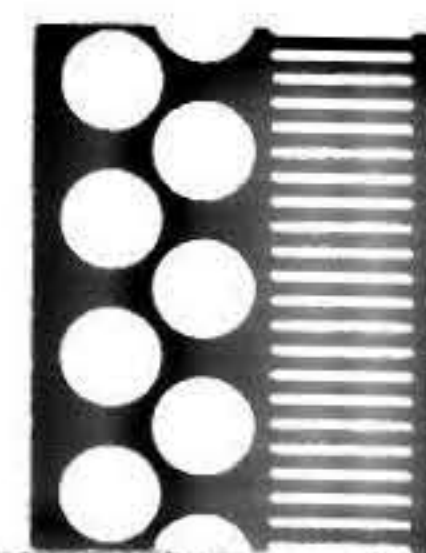
Har Sinai Congregation

Har Sinai Congregation in Baltimore had its beginning as a Classical Reform congregation. Its leaders had included such rabbis as David Einhorn, its first accredited rabbi, Emil G. Hirsch, David Philipson, and Tobias Schanfarber. The entire orientation of this congregation began to change by the period from 1930 to 1948.

A Sunday morning service was in vogue at this congregation. There was, however, a brief Friday evening service by 1931. The bulletin for December 15, 1932 carried the announcement that the Friday evening services would be discontinued until further notice in order to emphasize the Saturday and Sunday services. The regular services were held every Saturday at 10:45 a.m. and Sunday at 11:00 a.m.¹⁴⁴ The first late Friday evening service was held on October 20, 1938. At the same time the bulletin carried the message that the Sunday morning service was to be discontinued indefinitely because of the necessity of the rabbi's presence at the religious school and the Friday evening service.¹⁴⁵ Within another fifteen months the late Friday evening service had become part of the congregational life.¹⁴⁶ These late services included a brief sermon, a devotional hour filled with traditional Jewish melodies, the ancient and inspiring Kiddush service, and a thoroughly Jewish spirit.¹⁴⁷ These

services were very successful, and the March 30, 1939 issue of the congregational bulletin pointed out that more and more people were learning a new meaning of Jewish Sabbath worship.¹⁴⁸

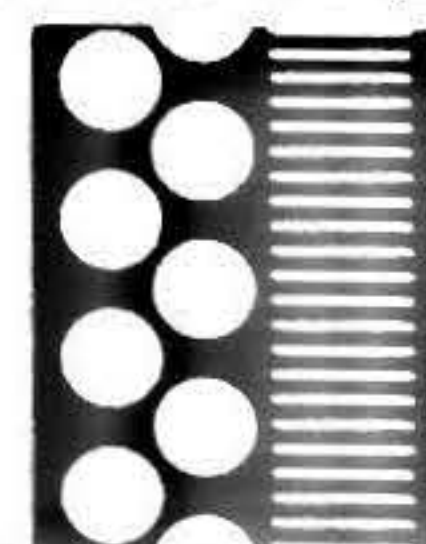
Some significant changes took place in this congregation in the area of liturgical music. The August 20, 1931 edition of the congregational bulletin carried the announcement that the Har Sinai Board was taking a departure from the usual Reform synagogue music by introducing only an all-male choir to sing the musical portions of the service.¹⁴⁹ From that period on the music at Har Sinai Congregation possibly became more traditional. Within another ten years congregational singing of the responses in the service was strongly encouraged. The December 25, 1941 edition of the congregational bulletin announced that several weeks earlier a small group remained after services for fifteen minutes of preparation in the Hebrew responses for the following week. This group, the announcement added, would become the nucleus for congregational singing.¹⁵⁰ In 1945 a new Junior Choir was formed by the cantor, Henry Cooper. This choir was to conduct the musical portions of the worship service on at least one Friday evening and one Saturday morning before the end of the Temple season.¹⁵¹ These innovations in the musical aspects of the worship service at Har Sinai were probably strongly encouraged by the



cantor, Henry Cooper. In an interview Cantor Cooper expressed the belief that there should be a return to Jewish liturgical music in the reformed (sic) temple. Much of the music used in recent years, he felt, had been lugubrious and not authentically Jewish.¹⁵² This viewpoint must have been shared with the rabbi of the congregation, Abraham Shusterman, and the latter must have been in agreement with the cantor. The bulletins indicate that this cantor was with the congregation for some time, and if there had been a serious disagreement between him and the rabbi and congregation in regards to the music he would not have remained for so long.

Certain traditional aspects in regard to ceremonials at Har Sinai took place quite early. The October 4, 1939 issue of the bulletin carried the announcement that a Shemini Atzeret Service would take place with a procession of the Torah Scrolls.¹⁵³ By 1941 the reading of the Megillah had been introduced and was "to take place in a new and novel form at the Purim Service on March 13."¹⁵⁴

Thus Har Sinai Congregation, originally led by staunch advocates of the Classical Reform school, underwent changes which brought it toward a Neo-Reform philosophy. These changes began around 1931 with the introduction of an all-male choir, and continued with the abolition of the Sunday service in 1938. The fact that there had been many changes within the congregation over the years is attested to by David Philipson, one of its early rabbis, who points



out in his work, My Life as an American Jew,

...In the beginning of April (1937) I spoke at the celebration of the ninety-fifth anniversary of Har Sinai Congregation, of Baltimore, my first charge. I was startled at the change which had come over this congregation. Under the leadership of David Einhorn, its first accredited rabbi, this congregation was a stronghold of liberal Jewish universalism. It continued along this line for half a century under the preaching of S. Deutsch, Emil G. Hirsch, Samuel Sale, myself, Tobias Schanfarber, Chas. A. Rubenstein, and Louis Bernstein. Its present rabbi, Edward L. Israel, had undermined the traditional position of the congregation and had made a volte face to political Zionism.... Were Einhorn to return to earth today, he would be shocked beyond measure at the messages sent forth from this quondam pulpit. Truly one generation goes, another arises. I frequently regret that I have lived to see the changes.¹⁵⁵

This universal philosophy, though, was not shared by Abraham Shusterman, the congregation's rabbi in 1946 who pointed out in a suggestion for the future of Reform Judaism:

a) The ties of kinship with Jews everywhere must be strengthened;
b) Efforts to develop a Jewishly educated laity must be strengthened, since the past was not successful in this aspect; c) The Reform movement is suffering from old leadership and hardening of the arteries.¹⁵⁶ Therefore it could be said that the philosophies of Rabbis Edward I. Israel and Abraham Shusterman, who led the congregation during the period from 1930-1948 were influential in leading Har Sinai away from Classical Reform toward Neo-Reform.

Congregation Oheb Shalom

Unlike the other Reform congregations in Baltimore, Oheb Shalom had no Sunday morning service. The bulletins in 1930 list a late Friday evening service, but on October

10, 1933 it was mentioned that this service would be discontinued until further notice.¹⁵⁷ This late Friday evening service was replaced with a vesper service. There was also a Saturday morning service, which was quite important.

By the late 1930's this congregation began to move closer toward tradition by adopting many ceremonials which had not been practiced before. A form of the Memorial Service for the last day of Passover was adopted in 1939. This service took the form of a consecration of the names added to the Memorial Tablet since Yom Kippur.¹⁵⁸ This same practice was extended to Shemini Atzereth when the Yizkor Service on that occasion included a consecration service for the names added to the Memorial Tablet since Passover.¹⁵⁹ After 1939 the Memorial Service was an established institution at Oheb Shalom.

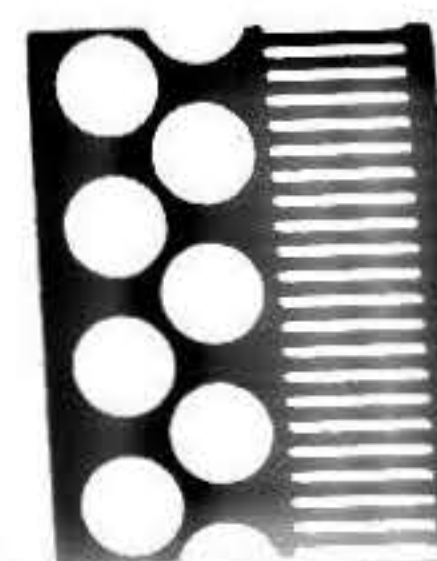
By 1941 the chanting of the Kiddush at the Friday evening service was introduced. The bulletin on December 31, 1940 carried the announcement that beginning with the Friday evening service on January 3, 1941 at 5:30 p.m., the chanting of the Kiddush by Cantor Jacob Schuman would be instituted.¹⁶⁰

The late Friday evening service was introduced into this congregation in 1948. On November 19, 1948 the beginning of a series of five monthly Friday evening services took place. A reception followed the service. After this date the late Friday evening service became an established custom at Oheb Shalom.

This congregation is somewhat more traditional than the other congregations in Baltimore which were analyzed during this period. It did not have a Sunday morning service even during the 1930's when many other Reform congregations did. The main service was held on Saturday morning at 10:00 a.m. But the late Friday evening service, though, was not introduced until 1948. Up until that time there was merely a vespers service. The Kiddush was introduced fairly early into this congregation, as was the Memorial Service on Passover and Shemini Atzereth.

In summary it could be said that the congregations in Baltimore were not so traditionally inclined as the congregations in the New York area. The Classical Reform congregations during this period in Baltimore were somewhat anti-Zionist. This was not the case in New York where the congregations followed the Classical Reform ideology. There was no mention of the Hebrew curriculum in the publications of the Baltimore congregations as there was in the New York congregations.

Yet the changes which took place within the three congregations in Baltimore occurred in different areas of the congregational program and occurred at different times. There was no specific pattern in Baltimore regarding the introduction of these new ceremonials.



Charleston, South Carolina

Temple Beth Elohim

Temple Beth Elohim in Charleston, South Carolina is the oldest Reform congregation in the United States. Begun in 1840, this congregation is the cradle of Reform Judaism in the United States. Beth Elohim though did not grow in proportion to other Reform congregations, and it began to assume a minor role within the Liberal movement. The writer had an interview with Thomas J. Tobias, a descendant of the original founders of the congregation and former President of the Temple, who gave several reasons for the latent role of this congregation. (This interview took place on September 20, 1965 at the home of Mr. Tobias in Charleston, South Carolina.) First, the city of Charleston began to decrease in importance as an industrial center and port city. Very few new industries moved into Charleston and the port began to decline as factories were opened elsewhere. The Jewish population also did not increase in proportion to other cities, and this factor affected the membership of Beth Elohim. Second, for a period of many years there was an annual change of rabbis, thus very few innovations took place. Mr. Tobias stressed the fact, though, that there have been some changes in the ritual policies of the congregation over the years.

Unlike the large congregations which have been mentioned until now, Beth Elohim had no Sunday morning service. Prayers

were held on Friday evening. By December 1947, there were some changes which took place within the format of the service. At that time the Ritual Committee at a meeting in the home of the rabbi, suggested the following changes in the service: a) Friday evening Torah reading in which two men from the congregation would participate; b) the reading of the Kiddush by a male member of the congregation immediately following the Candle Blessing; c) brief meetings of the congregation immediately following the Friday evening service to practice hymns and Hebrew responses so that the congregants eventually would be able to participate fully in all the musical portions of the service.¹⁶¹ was a brief

On November 3, 1950 Beth Elohim adopted another innovation in its services by inaugurating a monthly series of family nights. These services, which were to substitute for the childrens' services held on Saturday mornings, would be brief and especially adapted for the purpose. Congregants were urged to practice the parts of the service beginning with page 461 of the Union Hymnal beforehand, so that everyone could participate in the service.¹⁶² The bulletin mentions that this was another "first" for Reform Judaism, and that many congregations throughout the country had found these services to be very successful.¹⁶³ and, ¹⁶⁶ The attend-
ance a

Therefore it can be seen that even within a smaller congregation like Beth Elohim, there were some changes. They came about, though, much later than in the larger congregations. It was not necessary to publicize these changes

to the same extent as in a larger congregation because there were not so many members. Possibly much more was left to the discretion of the individual rabbi in the smaller congregation, who introduced these changes himself in many cases. Thus the amount of records revealing any major changes in the smaller congregations is greatly limited.

organize a chafetz Louisville, Kentucky

Temple Adath Israel

This congregation, located in a different part of the South, also had some changes during the period from 1930 to 1948. At the beginning of this period there was a brief vesper service on Friday evenings beginning at 5:45 p.m., a Sabbath service on Saturday mornings beginning at 10:00 a.m., and a Sunday morning service at 11:00 a.m.¹⁶⁴

There was agitation though on the part of many congregants for a change in the Sunday morning service, which had been in effect since 1891, to a Friday evening service. At a special meeting of the congregation on January 12, 1932, the majority of those present voted to adopt the Friday evening service in place of the Sunday morning service.¹⁶⁵ The change was very successful, having attracted many families to the Temple who previously did not attend.¹⁶⁶ The attendance at these late Friday evening services continued to increase. At the Annual Meeting of the congregation on October 31, 1935, the President reported that "the average age of the worshippers has been lowered at least ten years.

We feel that this renewed interest is also due, in part, to the change from Sunday morning to Friday night, and to the more intimate, touching, and traditional quality of the Sabbath Eve."¹⁶⁷

Adath Israel tried to improve the quality of its music at the divine services. In 1936 plans were made to organize a children's choir to be used occasionally as a supplementary singing unit at the regular services.¹⁶⁸ At the annual meeting of the congregation on October 28, 1948, the Choir Committee reported that it was hoping to improve the selection of music in the course of time by introducing more of the traditional types of melodies.¹⁶⁹

The study of the Hebrew language was included in the religious school curriculum, and its study was encouraged. Although the study of the language had occupied an important place in the formative period of Adath Israel, it was not taught for a period of fifty years. In 1928 it was re-introduced into the curriculum as an optional subject. By 1943 there was a feeling on the part of the Religious School Committee and the congregation that Hebrew should become part of the religious school curriculum. The November 1943 edition of the Temple bulletin carried the message that, "It is the conviction of those who have given much thought to the subject and are competent to judge that there is a distinct spiritual enrichment even in a limited knowledge of our sacred classical tongue."¹⁷⁰

The changes which took place at Adath Israel were in regard to the Friday evening service, the quality of the music at services, and Hebrew instruction in the religious school. The changes occurred earlier than in many congregations, especially in regard to the Friday evening service.

San Antonio, Texas

Temple Beth El

The final southern congregation to be considered in this study is located in the Southwestern part of the country. This congregation, too, underwent some changes during the years from 1930 to 1948. These changes occurred in the areas of congregational singing, a Purim service, and increased Hebrew study. They did not occur until after 1942. The August, 1934 issue of the Synagogue Service Bulletin describes a special Simchat Torah pageant arranged by Dr. Ephraim Frisch, rabbi of Temple Beth El in San Antonio. The children of the congregation marched down the middle aisle of the Temple carrying banners which they placed on the pulpit. Three children helped the rabbi in the reading of the Torah. The first major change was in the area of congregational singing at divine services. The February 20, 1941 issue of the bulletin indicated that from that date on there would be a fifteen-minute practice session of congregational singing. This session, beginning at 7:45 p.m. would enable

congregants to practice the musical responses of the services in order to "express their aspirations in both song and prayer."¹⁷¹

On March 3, 1942 a special Purim service was held for the first time in the history of the congregation. There was to be a brief service beginning at 8:00 p.m. during which portions of the Megillah would be read and interpreted. The music would be rendered by the Temple choir.¹⁷²

In 1948 at the end of the period under consideration, mid-week Hebrew classes became part of the religious school curriculum. These classes, conducted on a voluntary basis, met one day during the week to supplement the work of the weekend religious school. Provisions were made for both beginning and intermediate students, and the goal of these classes was to understand the Hebrew of the Prayerbook and portions of the Bible.¹⁷³ It is perhaps interesting to point out that these classes were inaugurated six months after the birth of the State of Israel.

Some generalizations can be made about the Reform congregations in the South and Southwest during this period from 1930 to 1948. Their publications did not stress Zionism to the extent that it was stressed in the New York congregations. There was no emphasis placed upon Hebrew as a living language or as a bond between American Jewry and the Palestinian Yishuv. In regards to ritual changes, there was no set time when any particular change took place from a Sunday morning to a Friday evening service. Nor was there

any set pattern when any particular ceremonial observance was introduced.

The Midwest

Chicago, Illinois

K. A. M. Temple

K.A.M. Temple is the perfect example of the change that took place from Classical to Neo-Reform. Every innovation is clearly explained in the congregational bulletin and the rabbi in his message gives the rationale behind the transition.

One of the major transitions was the inauguration of a late Friday evening service. This project was undertaken with the utmost diplomacy. In response to a request for a course in Jewish history, a Kabbalat Shabbat Group was formed which was to meet on the fourth Friday evening of each month. The meeting would include first a fifteen-minute program of Jewish music and singing, a thirty-minute lecture by the rabbi on Jewish history, followed by a question-and-answer period. The evening ended with a social hour at which refreshments were served.¹⁷⁴ The success of this endeavor was brought out in the October 27, 1937 issue of the Temple bulletin which said, "It was thrilling to see the hundreds who filled the community house to overflowing with the Friday Evening Kabbalat Shabbat. It was an unforgettable evening of Jewish music."¹⁷⁵

c) ~~Frid~~ An effort was made to employ the services of refugee rabbis from Germany in order to attract the German refugee population. Beginning with October 6, 1939, Rabbi Sigmund Weinberg of Hanover conducted a service at 8:15 p.m. on Fridays to which everyone was welcome.¹⁷⁶ Certain inroads were thus made in the direction of a Friday evening service. ~~retreat~~ The Temple bulletin on May 3, 1940 enclosed a questionnaire asking its members to vote for the time of the service they preferred and mail it back to the Temple.¹⁷⁷ It was pointed out in the same issue of the bulletin that of the one hundred and two guests present at the Thursday evening suppers, eighty-five wanted a Friday evening service while only seventeen wanted a Sunday morning service. The reasons given in favor of a Friday evening service were as follows: a) it is more traditional; b) many more people can attend services on Friday night. Sunday is ~~recess~~ the only day a man has at home, and young married people with children can not come on Sunday mornings. c) A more satisfactory musical selection is possible on Friday evenings; d) There could be a social hour on Friday evenings. ~~time~~ e) A Friday evening service would be more inviting to individuals who were not from Reform backgrounds to eventually join the Temple. The arguments given against the holding of a late Friday evening service were as follows: a) it had been the practice for sixteen years to hold a Sunday morning service. b) The Sunday services attracted a large congregation; at the change. It will bring to our Temple many members who

c) Friday evening services would interfere with the habit of Sunday attendance at Temple. d) The introduction of a Friday evening service would compete with Isaiah Israel's Friday evening services. e) Many of those who attended services rarely but whose support the Temple needed would say that this abandonment of the Sunday service was a retreat to Orthodoxy.¹⁷⁸

The June 7, 1940 edition of the bulletin carried the following message about the time for services: "By unanimous vote the Board of Directors at its annual meeting on June 4, 1940, decided to change the time of holding the main religious service of the Temple from Sunday morning to Friday evening at 8:15 p.m. The exact resolution as adopted reads as follows: 'Whereas a questionnaire was mailed to the entire membership of the congregation inviting each member to express his or her opinion; Whereas the congregation has indicated its desire by a vote of 344 to 44 to change the main Temple service from Sunday morning to Friday evening, Now be it resolved by unanimous vote by the Board of Directors of K.A.M. Temple that the time of holding the main religious service of the week in the Temple be changed from Sunday morning to Friday evening commencing in the autumn of 1940.'

"Upon the passage of the resolution the Rabbi made the following statement: "While I was ready and eager to serve the congregation at its convenience, I am delighted at the change. It will bring to our Temple many members who

did not attend and in many instances cannot attend Sunday morning services. It will bring to our Temple non-affiliated residents of Hyde Park who come from observant homes and could not accept a Sunday service as a religious service. The change will permit a wider selection of religious music and a more satisfactory prayer service. It will encourage people after services to visit with one another, and with the rabbi and the Temple officers. It will appeal to the young married folk who now devote Sunday morning to resting up from the late Saturday night. The change will release the rabbi for more active direction of the Religious Schools assembly programs and for more personal relations with the boys and girls of the school....¹⁸⁰ serves to bring the far This innovation, as predicted, was extremely successful.¹⁸⁴ It was reported at the Temple Board meeting on April 1, 1941 that attendance at services had been increased by 30% due to the change from Sunday morning to Friday evening.¹⁸¹ Proof of the establishment of the late Friday evening service as a permanent feature of the congregation's activities is the following incident: because of the emergency gas rations put into effect during World War II, the main service was changed to Sunday morning.¹⁸² But the September 15, 1943 issue of the bulletin carried the announcement that the Board of Directors decided to change the main service back to Friday evening since the emergency prompting the shift to Sunday no longer existed.¹⁸³

It must The change to a Friday evening service by K.A.M. Temple was brought about by a demand on the part of the laity which the temple wanted to meet. The fact that the change took place and was reinstituted after a brief interruption due to gas rationing shows its hold upon the members. Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, head rabbi of K.A.M. Temple, strongly supported the return to traditional symbols and ceremonies. In reference to the introduction of the Bar Mitzvah, he remarked, "I am glad to see the Bar Mitzvah ceremony renewed in the Temple. For some time it has been the feeling that our faith needed emotional fulness and colorful support of traditional symbols and practices. The Bar Mitzvah follows this pattern and serves to bring the family into the Synagogue at a joyful time of its life."¹⁸⁴

insist A Shofar was introduced at the children's services for the High Holydays in 1940. Prior to that time the organ had been substituted for the ram's horn.¹⁸⁵ This change to the Shofar became a permanent part of the congregation's ritual after 1940.

boast Any change taking place in the area of ritual was explained in great detail to the congregation in the rabbis' messages. The rationale for these changes were explained so that every member knew the reason for these innovations. Such a message by the rabbi as found in the April 12, 1944 edition of the Temple Bulletin was typical: "The fact is that religion is both a progressive and a conservative force."

A step forward was taken by the congregation in having it must lead the way to newer patterns of living as well as conserve the tried and tested values of the race. The members participate not only in the musical portions of the worship, but in the service as a whole. The Temple Ritual early leaders of Reform Judaism threw the child out with the bath when they stripped our religion of so many of its steps to involve more members in the worship as a decision folkways and ceremonial forms. We are secure enough in our confidence in our general directives to admit this mistake selections; d) arrangements were to be made from the mitzvot and to set about to remedy it. With the help of the Cere-requesting congregations to join in the musical responses and monials Commission of the Central Conference of American rabbis, we at K.A.M. are reintroducing some of the colorful conduct the worship service on occasions.

rites and rich symbols which made our faith so meaningful to our fathers. We believe that we can do this without surrendering our intellectual integrity and without betraying the fundamental genius of the Reform movement which is to adapt religious expressions to the living needs of men. We insist that the needs of the heart are as imperative as the needs of the mind."¹⁸⁶

Significant changes in the area of music in the those of the worship service took place at K.A.M. during the years from 1930 to 1948. By September, 1938, this congregation could boast of an all-Jewish choir which included Ruth Mills and Bertha Waldman, both of whom sang in the Chicago Opera.¹⁸⁷ Audience participation was the next innovation brought into the musical aspects of the congregational worship service. A congregational choir made up of volunteers was formed in 191 November, 1938, to encourage this project.¹⁸⁸

A step forward was taken by the congregation in having members participate not only in the musical portions of the worship, but in the service as a whole. The Temple Ritual Committee in a meeting on March 3, 1941, took the following steps to involve more members in the worship: a) a decision was made to develop a voluntary chorus for the musical selections; b) announcements were to be made from the pulpit requesting congregants to join in the musical responses and refrains. c) Various organizations in the Temple would conduct the worship service on occasions.¹⁸⁹

By 1944 the idea of voluntary singers in the Temple choir had become an established institution. The October 11, 1944 issue of the bulletin remarked that "The High Holyday music evoked innumerable expressions of praise from members of the congregation. A special word of commendation is due the volunteers. Since July they have appeared at every rehearsal and during the services their voices, added to those of the professionals, enriched the music. All of the singers are Temple members."¹⁹⁰

K.A.M. Temple stressed the idea of the Hebrew language as a bond with Kelal Yisrael. In 1932 the congregation formed a special Institute of Jewish Studies which would stress the language. In advertising the program, it was pointed out that "Hebrew is the river of living waters which has carried our most precious cargo down through the ages."¹⁹¹ among these changes were the introduction of the late Friday evening service, beginning in 1937, and the reintroduction of Bar Mitzvahs in 1940. In the area of music, the changes

took place. Traditional ceremonials were utilized to make the study of Hebrew more fascinating to the children. One Hebrew class, for example, held a Siyyum to celebrate the completion of the first book, My Hebrew Reader. After refreshments were served, there was a Siyyum Ha-Sefer followed by a cultural hour.¹⁹²

The Hebrew program was carried on in conjunction with Bar Mitzvah training. In 1944 the Temple established a minimum requirement of one year's training in the week-day Hebrew Department for entrance into the Bar Mitzvah classes. This action required boys to begin their Hebrew studies by the age of eleven at the latest.¹⁹³

The congregation showed a sympathetic interest in the German refugees, as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations had suggested. Certain concessions were made to their religious tastes so that they would feel at home in K.A.M. Beginning in December 1940, a special service was held at 6:30 p.m. on Friday evenings for these people. The format of the service was the "Reform" ritual of pre-war Germany which resembled the American "Conservative" ritual, although an organ and mixed choir were used.¹⁹⁴

It could be said that many changes occurred at K.A.M. during the years from 1930 to 1948. The most significant among these changes were the introduction of the late Friday evening service, beginning in 1937, and the reintroduction of Bar Mitzvahs in 1940. In the area of music, the changes

took place around 1938 with the introduction of a volunteer choir, and a Shofar in 1940. This congregation took a leading part in carrying out decisions of the official Reform bodies in the area of ritual. Many changes occurred at K.A.M. much earlier than in other congregations. The fact that these changes did occur so early and were accepted by the congregation shows the importance of influence of the leaders in the establishment of any new policies.

Temple Isaiah Israel

Isaiah Israel, like its sister congregation K.A.M., underwent some changes in its programming during this period. In 1930 the big service of the week was on Sunday mornings. This series of Sunday morning services, though, continued until the end of May. By 1937, efforts were made to introduce a late Friday evening service. This service was inaugurated with the installation of Rabbi Morton M. Berman, and from that date on there were no Sunday morning services.¹⁹⁵ This change was possibly prompted by a demand on the part of many congregants for a service in which they could participate. An announcement in the October, 1937, issue of the Temple bulletin mentions that a large group was being formed for the purpose of learning the music to be sung at worship services.¹⁹⁶ Many members requested a special home service to be used on Sabbath Eve.¹⁹⁷ This congregation, therefore, had members who were eager to take an active role in the worship service.

per cent of the larger congregations and 15 per cent of

The interest on the part of the members of Isaiah Israel in taking an active role in the worship perhaps brought about a stress on ceremonials in the congregation. In 1937 elements of Simchat Torah had been incorporated into the Shemini Atzerit ritual. It was reported that the Consecration Service on October 3 would include representatives of three generations who would share in the reading of the Torah Scroll. The theme of the service would emphasize the constant obligation to cherish Jewish tradition through study.¹⁹⁸

Interest had been expressed at this time in the revival of the Bar Mitzvah ceremony. The bulletin on September 22, 1937 pointed out that in answer to the many requests regarding Bar Mitzvah instruction, the congregation would be happy to arrange for the conducting of such services on Saturday mornings. It was pointed out that Bar Mitzvah was becoming more prevalent in Reform congregations.¹⁹⁹ Announcements were printed in the bulletin about the current thinking of Reform Judaism on ceremonials. Typical of such news is the following which appeared in the October 6, 1937 edition of the bulletin:

Reform is now beginning to enrich its worship in both theory and practice. The last convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations recommended that traditional symbols, ceremonials and customs such as only Jewish music, and a cantor and choir with only Jewish singers should be used. There should be a children's choir and the singing of traditional hymns by the laity. This action was endorsed by the Central Council of American Rabbis at its convention in Columbus. Studies made by Rabbi Jacob D. Schwarz show that 20 per cent of the larger congregations and 15 per cent of

the smaller congregations have introduced Kiddush into the Sabbath Eve service. Hymns like Lecha Dodi are coming back. Many congregations are returning to Friday evening services. The study shows that a number of smaller congregations having no Saturday service read the Torah on Friday night. Candles are kindled at many services. Dr. Abraham Franzlau found that younger Temple members observe candle lighting on the Sabbath, and Chanukan and Seder Services more regularly than the older members.²⁰⁰

These announcements kept the people informed of the current thinking in Reform Jewish circles and the trends in congregations. A reprint of the Columbus Platform appeared in the October 20, 1937 issue of the Temple bulletin with the announcement that "on the basis of this new platform many Reform congregations are building their programs." This method too helped to justify the need for ceremonial in the minds of Isaiah Israel members. Hebrew, reading and convers. Palestinian culture and the Hebrew language were stressed in the congregational program. It should be sessions. kept in mind that Rabbi Morton Berman, who was installed in 1937, was a graduate of the Jewish Institute of Religion and had been an associate of Dr. Stephen Wise before he assumed the pulpit of Isaiah Israel. Rabbi Berman subsequently settled in Israel. These facts probably influenced the pro-Zionist leanings of this congregation. When the Religious School opened for the 1937 season, the bulletin carried the announcement: "We aim to encourage children to live a fruitful Jewish life by observing our religious and folk ceremonies and by working for the preservation and advancement of the Jewish people, both in the Diaspora and the service."²⁰⁶ The children's choir next sang on April

in Palestine."²⁰¹ The Religious School observed Chamisha Asar B'Shevat with songs and playlets stressing Palestinian culture.²⁰²

No other congregational publication shows the observance of this event at such an early date.

Hebrew was stressed in the congregation's educational program. In an article entitled "Why Teach Hebrew?" appearing in the Temple bulletin, it was pointed out that the Hebrew language gave man the noblest ethical idealism and it was the duty of the Temple to open the door of this idealism to its youth.²⁰³ By 1940 the Hebrew School had grown considerably. There was a week-day Hebrew program with classes meeting for two hours on Monday and Wednesday. Instruction was offered in Elementary Hebrew, reading and conversation, with special stress on the worship service. Hebrew songs and games were also taught in the Hebrew sessions. From the age of eleven Bar Mitzvah instruction was offered.²⁰⁴ This interest in the Hebrew language extended also to the adults in the congregation. The rabbi made plans to arrange a class under expert guidance for those adults who requested it.²⁰⁵

Every effort was made to integrate the various programs of the Temple in the most effective manner. A choir composed of children from the Religious School sang at the Sabbath morning service in April 1938. The bulletin carried the remark that the appearance of the children's choir "was most touching...and it lent warmth and beauty to the service."²⁰⁶ The children's choir next sang on April

16, 1938 at the Passover service.²⁰⁷ This innovation too became an established institution at Isaiah Israel, and for example, was introduced in 1939 and it became part of added to the interest of the laity in the worship service.

These two congregations in Chicago played a leading role in carrying out the decisions of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis in regard to ceremonials, ritual, and Hebrew. They both inaugurated a Friday evening service quite early. By 1938 both K.A.M. and Isaiah Israel had made a concerted effort to involve its members in the musical aspects of the worship service. Hebrew training was stressed at both

Temples. It is interesting to note that the changes in these congregations occurred almost simultaneously. There must have been some similarity in the Jewish backgrounds of the members of K.A.M. and Isaiah Israel since many of these changes were fostered by the congregants. The fact that these institutions are both located in the South Side of Chicago possibly influenced their programs to a great extent.

reveals that some of the members either came from traditional backgrounds or from Cleveland, Ohio.

shows an inclination on the part of the people to reach out

The Euclid Avenue Temple

The Euclid Avenue Temple, under the leadership of Dr. Barnett R. Brickner, was unique in that some of the changes in the congregational activities occurred much earlier than in the other congregations. Rabbi Brickner was a Reconstructionist in spite of the fact that he was a

graduate of the Hebrew Union College. A Consecration Service, for example, was introduced in 1929 and it became part of the congregation's Succot celebration after that date. The Kol Nidre melody was incorporated into the worship service in 1930, and by the next year there was a rendition of the entire chant by the choir. During the rendition of the Kol Nidre the elders of the congregation held the Torah Scrolls while the congregants stood.²⁰⁸ Sunday, services, though, were held at this Temple, but there was also a Vesper service on Friday evenings and a Sabbath service on Saturday mornings.

An announcement appearing in the September 30, 1932 edition of the Temple bulletin said that no sessions of the religious school would be held on the Second Day of Rosh Ha-Shonah out of deference to Jewish tradition and to the parents of the Religious School children who observed the Second Day of the Holyday.²⁰⁹ This interesting announcement appearing in a publication of a Reform congregation reveals that some of the members either came from traditional backgrounds or were inclined toward traditionalism. It also shows an inclination on the part of the Temple to reach out to all Jews. Both of these factors possibly influenced the activities of the Euclid Avenue Temple.

In 1930 a Yizkor Service was introduced for the last day of Passover. The bulletin attempted to make the congregation aware of the significance of this innovation by

printing the following announcement: *Special transport service*

In the changes which Reform Judaism made in its early beginnings, some of our more traditionally beautiful and significant customs were inadvertently omitted. Pursuant to my policy to reintroduce these customs and thereby bring back to the Temple some of the lost warmth and meaning, we brought back last Yom Kippur the Kol Nidre ceremony, and on the last day of Succot we introduced for the first time the Consecration Service which initiated the children who began the study of Judaism in our Religions School. On the last day of this Passover, which occurs on Saturday, April 19, we will introduce as part of the service another beautiful custom -- namely that of memorializing our beloved departed. This beautiful custom called Yizkor is observed not only in Orthodox synagogues, but also by most of the Reform congregations of Europe. In the springtime of the year when nature reawakens from the seeming dead of winter and when all things bud and blossom and sing the song of renewed life, the hope of our immortality is reborn within us. And what is more natural for us at such a time than to think of our dead as living not only within our hearts but also under the sheltering wing of the Divine Presence. To vocalize this hope in prayer and song during the service, the last day of Pesach seems most appropriate from the strictly Jewish as well as from a general human viewpoint. A special memorial service is being prepared which will be distributed to members as they enter the Temple. I urge upon members to revive the custom of memorializing their dearly beloved, and to attend services on this seventh day of Passover, Saturday, April 19.²¹⁰

The fact that the sanctuary was filled to capacity on the last day of Passover proves the success of this project.²¹¹

Rabbi Brickner used the success of previous undertakings to aid in the implementation of new ones. This was the way in which the handling of the Torah through the generations was brought into the congregation in 1930.²¹²

In the same way, Rabbi Brickner introduced the traditional Kiddush into the Sabbath Eve service on October 17, 1930.²¹³

reported to have celebrated a Passover in 1931 proves that

In 1932 the Shofar was added to the usual trumpet service on Rosh Ha-Shonah.²¹⁴

Euclid Avenue Temple publicized its role as leader in Reform Jewish ceremonial policies to introduce the Megillah into the Purim Service on February 24, 1937. The bulletin carried the following message:

In accordance with our practice of restoring to the Reform Congregation the beautiful practices and traditions of our people discarded in earlier days when Reform Judaism came into being, we are this year, with the consent of our Ritual Committee, planning to inaugurate a Megillah Night on the evening of Wednesday, February 24th.

On this evening, we will hold a brief service, which will be followed by the rendition of a program of Purim music from the great Esther Cantata, congregational singing of the popular Purim folk songs, the reading from the Megillah in both Hebrew and English in which members of the congregation will participate with both Mr. Brilliant (the educational director) and myself (Rabbi Brickner), and a short address on the "Triumphs of the Jew over Anti-Semitism." This will be followed with a social in the Recreation Hall where Hamentashen and coffee will be served....

Many of the things we have done in this way have led the Reform congregations in the country to follow suit... This policy of ours, which we have long pursued was officially adopted by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in its recent convention in New Orleans.²¹⁵

This innovation was so successful that by the following year it was reported that 1200 people attended the Megillah reading and were impressed with the pageantry of the service.²¹⁶

This congregation stressed the observance of home ceremonials as well as Jewish art and literature so that "the home will become a citadel of Judaism and be fully Judaized."²¹⁷ The fact that 85% of the congregants were reported to have celebrated a home Seder in 1931 proves that

the people were amenable to this stress.²¹⁸ Within the next two years this figure jumped to 90%.²¹⁹

This stress upon ceremonial observance was not limited only to Passover. The December 11, 1931 edition of the Temple bulletin carried an announcement urging all groups and individuals in any way connected with the Temple "to aid in preserving the sanctity of our Sabbaths and Holy Days and through an active and enlightened Jewish consciousness to guarantee the preservation of Judaism as our most precious heritage to coming generations of Jews."²²⁰

A late Friday evening service was held for special occasions within the congregation. The first mention of such a service during this period is on November 6, 1931, when the Temple Alumni Association sponsored a service designed "to meet the religious needs of the young people of college age and over."²²¹ This service was successful and brought in speakers from the general community.²²²

The Temple Men's Club sometimes sponsored an Oneg Shabbat on Friday evenings. Such an affair was held on January 21, 1938 and consisted of a question and answer period, a dramatization, Kiddush, and community singing with certain selections rendered by the Temple Choir.²²³ In 1940 a late Friday evening service was built around the Third Seder and featured an "Ask the Rabbi" period, and a special program of singing and refreshments.²²⁴

In 1941 there was a demand for a late Friday evening service. The first service was held on October 31 and was

followed by a social hour during which the Rabbi and Temple officers met new members and greeted those in attendance.²²⁵ This series of late services was concluded on May 8th. In 1941 the Sunday Morning Club sponsored by the Temple Men's Club replaced the Sunday morning services. After this date the late Friday evening service became an established institution at the Euclid Avenue Temple. The stature of its This congregation emphasized Palestinian culture and the study of Hebrew in its curriculum. The Temple bulletin pointed out that the study of Hebrew would give a child the opportunity to participate intelligently in Jewish life, to possess a universal language of all Jews, to appreciate his Jewish past, and to have closer contact with the creative effort in Palestine.²²⁶

Emphasis was placed on the connection of American Jews with the Yishuv in Palestine. The September 1930 issue of the Temple bulletin published the report of the decision made by the Central Conference of American Rabbis to include Hatikvah in the new Union Hymnal. The report pointed out that "Such a spirit (as was manifest at the C.C.A.R. convention) is bound ultimately to command the attention and support of thinking men and women."²²⁷ On February 8, 1936, a special Palestine Day was held with a children's service and pageant emphasizing the new Jewish life in Palestine.²²⁸

The Euclid Avenue Temple took the lead in restoring many ceremonials to the Reform Synagogue. The Consecration even during the years when Classical Reform Judaism was

Ceremony and the Kol Nidre melody were included in the program of this Temple long before their inclusion in any of the other congregations analyzed in this work. It was the only congregation to make any concession to members who might observe two days of Rosh Ha-Shonah. The Yizkor Service for the last day of Passover was introduced here much earlier than in any other congregation. The stature of its rabbi and the composition of its members were probably the major reasons for these changes and their ready acceptance among the congregants.

The West Coast

Los Angeles

Temple B'nai B'rith

The records available for the Reform congregations covering the period between 1930 and 1948 reveal very little change in activities. The Jewish population on the West Coast was rather small in comparison to other sections of the country. In 1930 the Jewish population of Los Angeles was 65,000 while that of San Francisco was 38,000.²²⁹ It was only after 1950 that the Jewish population increased considerably in this area. As the Jewish population increased the Reform movement too began to expand.

The program of Temple B'nai B'rith shows almost no change during this period. According to the publications there was no Sunday morning service at this congregation even during the years when Classical Reform Judaism was

very strong. A late Friday evening service was held until the end of May, when a vesper service took place during the summer months. There was a Sabbath service on Saturday mornings.²³⁰

As early as 1930 a Congregational Seder was held.²³¹ A Memorial Service on the seventh day of Passover also took place at this time.²³²

Hebrew, although not a required subject in the religious school, was available on Sunday mornings. The instruction consisted of thirty minutes, between the hours of 9:30 and 10:00 a.m. There were three levels -- primary, intermediate, and advanced.²³³ Bar Mitzvah was practiced in the congregation, and took place on Saturday mornings.

An innovation occurred in 1930 with the introduction of a worship service on the Eve of Shemini Atzeret. The service took place in front of the Sukkah and was described as "very impressive."²³⁴ From this date on occurred every

year. There is no indication, though, that any effort was made to introduce the Consecration Service or any kind of Simchat Torah pageantry during this period.

In 1937 the Hebrew classes were extended thirty minutes. They now met from 9 to 10:00 a.m. on Sundays instead of from 9 to 9:30 a.m.²³⁵ This same year a Sabbath vesper service on Friday evenings and a Sabbath service on Saturday mornings. Eve service written by Dr. Solomon B. Freehof was published in the Temple bulletin.²³⁶ It is interesting to note that

both these changes occurred in 1937, the year that both the late Friday evening service, on March 11, a service beginning

Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations issued a call for more ritual in the Reform Synagogue. Perhaps there was some connection between these resolutions by the two major Reform bodies and the sudden change in programming at Congregation B'nai B'rith.

The programming in this congregation during the 1930's was much more traditional than in many of the congregations in other sections of the country. There was no Sunday morning service, and there was a late Friday evening service. There was a Congregational Seder and a Memorial Service on the last day of Passover. Because of the traditional program already practiced at this congregation there were not many changes during the period from 1930 to 1948. The two main changes were the introduction of a worship service for the Eve of Shemini Atzerit and the increase in Hebrew instruction.

Besides the change to a Friday evening service, there were San Francisco, California, during the years be-

tem 1930 and 1948. On February 9, 1930 a special cele-
Temple Emanu-El

Several significant changes began to take place in this congregation toward the end of the designated period. Like Temple B'nai B'rith in Los Angeles, however, there was no Sunday morning service at this Temple. There was a vesper service on Friday evenings and a Sabbath service on Saturday mornings.

In 1932 experiments were undertaken toward holding a late Friday evening service. On March 11, a service beginning

at 8:00 p.m. on Friday evenings was held on a bi-weekly basis for three months. This service, consisting of the usual Sabbath rituals and music, plus an address or sermon, would become part of the regular congregational activities only if the response warranted such a move.²³⁷ There was no effort though to make the late Friday evening service into a permanent institution until 1941, when a series of late Friday evening services was inaugurated on January 3. This innovation, it was pointed out in the bulletin, was introduced in response to many requests over the years from members and others in the community who could not attend the Temple on Saturday morning.²³⁸ By 1947 a Special Service involving one of the groups in the Temple was held once a month. This move, according to the bulletin, encouraged Temple attendance on Friday evenings.²³⁹

Besides the change to a Friday evening service, there were two other major innovations during the years between 1930 and 1948. On February 9, 1930 a special celebration for Hamishah Asar B'Shevat took place. This ceremony consisted of planting a tree annually in honor of the rabbis of the congregation.²⁴⁰ There was, however, no mention of Palestine at this event.

The next major innovation was a Memorial Service on the last day of Passover. It was announced in the April 14, 1944 edition of the Temple bulletin that "For centuries it was a tradition to conduct a Memorial Service on the last

Possibly, the newly revised Union Prayer Book day of Passover. The newly revised Union Prayer Book toward the position includes a special ritual for this occasion. Next Friday morning (April 14th) this service will be presented in the ministry of the place of a sermon. It will be dedicated to our service men and women who have given their lives for the ideals which Passover symbolizes.²⁴¹

The resignation of Irving F. Reichert as rabbi in January, 1948 and the election of Alvin Fine to the pulpit of Temple Emanu-El brought about some changes in the congregation. Ordained at the Hebrew Union College in 1943, Rabbi Fine had grown up under the Neo-Reform school of thought. This factor no doubt influenced his actions in the congregation.

By September 1948, Alvin Fine adopted the Atara for pulpit garb, pointing out in the bulletin its origin and the fact that by distinguishing the robe from purely academic garb it lends warmth and dignity to the service.²⁴²

Rabbi Fine possibly began a program of instruction to spread the Neo-Reform philosophy among his congregants. The November 16, 1948 issue of the bulletin carried an entire reprint of the Columbus Platform with the statement that this was in response to the many requests following Rabbi Fine's address before the Men's Club.²⁴³ Since Rabbi Fine assumed the pulpit in 1948 any major changes taking place would be outside the scope of this work.

Possibly, though, beginnings of a change in attitude toward the position of Palestine could be discerned under the ministry of Rabbi Fine. Until now there had been no mention at all of Palestine in any Temple publication.* The November 30, 1948 edition of the bulletin carried part of the Rosh Ha-Shonah sermon delivered by Dr. Nelson Glueck at Temple Israel in Boston. In this sermon, continued in the next issue of the bulletin, Dr. Glueck praised the new State of Israel as a positive force in Jewish life, and decried any idea of dual loyalty on the part of American Jews who supported the new state.²⁴⁴

It could thus be said that the two large congregations on the West Coast were in many ways more traditional than their sister congregations in other parts of the country. For this reason there were not such radical changes as there were in Temples in other parts of the country. In spite of this traditionalism, though, there was not the strong feeling for Zionism manifest in the programming of these congregations as there was in the New York Temples. The fact that so few changes took place at Temple Emanu-El in San Francisco until the advent of Rabbi Fine in 1948 shows the influence of Neo-Reform Judaism among more recent grad-

*Irving Reichert, the congregation's former rabbi, was a leader of the American Council for Judaism, an anti-Zionist organization.

uates of the Hebrew Union College as well as the importance of personal contact by the rabbi.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Many significant changes took place in Reform Judaism during the years 1930 to 1948. Several factors were responsible for this change. First, the sons and daughters of the Eastern European Jews had now begun to fill the Reform ranks both on the lay and the rabbinical level. German Jews no longer dominated Reform Judaism. These Jews of Eastern European descent, most of whom were from traditional Jewish backgrounds, loved Jewish ceremonial and were sympathetic toward Zionism. Second, the American Jewish population shifted considerably due to World War II. Many Jewish personnel entered the Armed Services and were exposed to Reform Judaism for the first time. This exposure was either by Reform Jewish chaplains or by Reform congregations in military areas who acted as hosts to Jewish soldiers. Some of these individuals who came in contact with Reform Judaism while in the Armed Services undoubtedly affiliated with the Liberal movement after the war. Their influence too brought about a change in the post-war years. Third, many Jews fled Germany when the Nazi regime came to power. This was a major factor in the change to a pro-Zionist position on the part of Reform

Judaism. This flight of German Jews, many of whom were Liberal Jews in Europe, brought about a modification in the Temple ritual in order to attract these people.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The transition to Reform Judaism officially came about about 1930. Many significant changes took place in Reform Judaism during the years 1930 to 1948. Several factors were responsible for this change. First, the sons and daughters of the Eastern European Jews had now begun to fill the Reform ranks both on the lay and the rabbinical level. German Jews no longer dominated Reform Judaism. These Jews of Eastern European descent, most of whom were from traditional Jewish backgrounds, loved Jewish ceremonial and were sympathetic toward Zionism. Second, the American Jewish population shifted considerably due to World War II. Many Jewish personnel entered the Armed Services and were exposed to Reform Judaism for the first time. This exposure was either by Reform Jewish chaplains or by Reform congregations in military areas who acted as host to Jewish soldiers. Some of these individuals who came in contact with Reform Judaism while in the Armed Services undoubtedly affiliated with the Liberal movement after the war. Their influence too brought about a change in the post-war years. Third, many Jews fled Germany when the Nazi regime came to power. This was a major factor in the change to a pro-Zionist position on the part of Reform

Judaism. This flight of German Jews, many of whom were Liberal Jews in Europe* caused some modification in the Temple ritual in order to attract these people.

The transition toward Neo-Reform officially came about in 1937 when the Union of American Hebrew Congregations met in New Orleans on January 15-19, and when the Central Conference of American Rabbis met at Columbus in May of the same year. These changes, however, were only on the official level. They had to come into effect throughout the various Reform congregations around the country.

There was no set pattern of activities among Reform congregations in various sections of the country in the 1930's. Some Temples held the main service of the week on Sunday mornings while others had a late Friday evening service. Some congregations practiced more ceremonial and tradition, while some practiced less.

Since there was no set pattern of activities within the early 1930's there was equally no standardized pattern of changes. Generally speaking, however, those Reform congregations in the Northeast -- especially around the New York area -- tended to emphasize ceremonial, Hebrew, and Kelal Yisrael more than the other congregations. Even in

*Liberal Judaism in Europe was similar to Conservative Judaism in the United States. See note 28 above.

Therefore in some respect these Temples were traditional than

the Reform congregations which conducted a Sunday morning service, there was this emphasis.

Within the South and the Southwest there was not the stress upon Kelal Yisrael that was present among the congregations in the Northeast. There was no uniform pattern of changes among these congregations. One introduced the late Friday evening service in 1932 while another did not introduce it until ten years later. Another congregation even introduced an all-male choir, a startling innovation for a Reform congregation even today in the era of Neo-Reform.

The midwestern Reform congregations played a leading role in the implementation of the Union and Conference decisions within the Temples. The two congregations in Chicago had many changes which occurred almost simultaneously. The midwestern congregations made a great effort to publicize these changes among their members. This could be one of the reasons why these changes were successful.

The congregations on the West Coast took no leading role in bringing about changes within their establishments. One reason may be that the Jewish population in the far West increased after the period under consideration. This increase would bring Jews who were exposed to a Neo-Reform philosophy. Another reason may be that neither of the congregations in this area had a Sunday morning service. Therefore in some respect these Temples were traditional than

FOOTNOTES

many others. One of them only changed toward the end of the period when a new rabbi occupied the pulpit. ¹⁰ This study shows that it was the big congregations that took a leading part in bringing about the changes suggested by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis. The publications from the smaller congregations reveal very little about these changes. The reasons for this phenomenon may be that the rabbis of the large congregations had to publicize these changes among their members in order for them to be accepted. In the smaller congregations, on the other hand, most of these decisions were left to the rabbi, and the Temple members merely followed suit. The change of rabbinical leadership in a congregation frequently signified a new philosophy and a new program enforcing that rabbi's viewpoint. ¹¹

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 5 (January, 1938), p. 14.

¹¹ Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *Report on Judaism in the Large Cities* (Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1931), p. 54.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁴ *Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations*, Vol. XII, (Cincinnati, 1931), Fifty-Seventh Annual Report, p. 85.

¹⁵ David Phillipson, *Israel: The International People*, a Sermon delivered on January 17, 1917 at Baltimore, Md.

¹⁶ David Phillipson, *Israel: The International People*, a Sermon delivered on January 17, 1917 at Baltimore, Md.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹⁷ Kaufman Kohler, Jewish Theology (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), p. 10.
- ¹ David Philipson, "The Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference," Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, XLV (1935), p. 196.
- ² Ibid., p. 196.
- ³ Ibid., p. 197.
- ⁴ Central Conference of American Rabbis, Proceedings of the Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference (November 16, 17, 18, 1885), published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1943, p. 5.
- ⁵ Ibid., p. 23.
- ⁶ Ibid., p. 24-25.
- ⁷ Ibid., p. 38.
- ⁸ David Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), p. 492.
- ⁹ Rabbi Jacob D. Schwarz (ed.), Synagogue Service Bulletin (Cincinnati: Bureau of Synagogue Activities, 1933), Vol. I, No. 2, p. 7.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. I, No. 5 (January, 1934), p. 14.
- ¹¹ Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Reform Judaism in the Large Cities (Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1931), p. 50.
- ¹² Ibid., pp. 14-15.
- ¹³ Ibid., pp. 18-19.
- ¹⁴ Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Vol. XII, (Cincinnati; 1931), Fifty-Seventh Annual Report, p. 65.
- ¹⁵ David Philipson, Israel, the International People, a Sermon delivered on January 15, 1917 at Baltimore, Md.
- ¹⁶ David Philipson, Judaism: Race Nationality or Religion? p. 10.

¹⁷Kaufman Kohler, Jewish Theology (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), p. 8.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 396.

¹⁹Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1897, Vol. VII, p. xl.

²⁰Ibid., 1917, Vol. XXVII, p. 132.

²¹David Philipson, My Life as an American Jew (Cincinnati: Ruter Press, 1941), pp. 299-300.

²²Samuel M. Gup, "Currents in Jewish Religious Thought and Life in America in the Twentieth Century," C.C.A.R. Yearbook, op. cit., Vol. XLI, 1931, p. 300.

²³Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Reform Judaism in the Large Cities, p. 10.

²⁴Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Vol. XLI, 1931, p. 308.

²⁵Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg, "An Investment in Fellowship," The Synagogue (Cincinnati: Bureau of Synagogue Activities, 1943), Vol. X, No. 7, p. 7.

²⁶Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, (1945), Seventy-Second Annual Report, pp. 120-121.

²⁷American Jewish Yearbook (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1944), p. 511.

²⁸Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Thirty-Seventh Biennial Council, (1941), p. 152.

²⁹Rabbi Jacob D. Schwarz (ed.), Synagogue Service Bulletin (Cincinnati: Bureau of Synagogue Activities, 1933), Vol. I, No. 3, p. 11.

³⁰Ibid., Vol. I, No. 8, pp. 8-9.

³¹Samuel M. Gup, op. cit., p. 311-312.

³²Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, (1937), The Thirty-Fifth Council Proceedings, p. 153.

- 33 Ibid., pp. 153-154. of the XXXIV Biennial Council (1937).
- 34 Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Vol. XLVI, pp. 106-107.
- 35 Ibid., Vol. XLVII, pp. 97-100.
- 36 Harvey E. Wessel, "Yardstick for Reform Judaism," The Synagogue, (Cincinnati: Bureau of Synagogue Activities, 1942) Vol. IX, No. 9, p. 11.
- 37 Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Vol. LII, 1942, pp. 218-219.
- 38 Ibid., 1939, Vol. XLIX, pp. 185-186.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 187-188.
- 40 Ibid., 1940, Vol. L, p. 171.
- 41 Ibid., p. 172.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 173-174.
- 43 Ibid., 1941, Vol. XI, p. 102.
- 44 Loc. cit.
- 45 Ibid., p. 103.
- 46 Ibid., 1941, Vol. XI, pp. 102-103.
- 47 Ibid., 1945, Vol. XV, pp. 144-145.
- 48 Ibid., pp. 145-146.
- 49 Ibid., 1943, Vol. LIII, p. 83.
- 50 Ibid., p. 145.
- 51 Loc. cit.
- 52 Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Seventy-First to Seventy-Third Annual Reports (1945), p. 83.

⁵³Ibid., Proceedings of the XXXV Biennial Council (1937), p. 192.

⁵⁴Ibid., Vol. XIII, 1943, pp. 92-93.
Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Vol. XII, 1943, p. 168.

⁵⁵Ibid., Vol. XVI, 1946, p. 93.

⁵⁶"Sing to the Lord a New Song," The Synagogue, (Cincinnati: Bureau of Synagogue Activities, 1940), Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 6.

⁵⁷Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Vol. LVII, 1947, pp. 207-208.

⁵⁸Ibid., Vol. LVIII, 1948, pp. 112-113. Hebrew Congre-

⁵⁹The American Israelite (Cincinnati), November 27, 1885, p. 4.

⁶⁰Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1897, Vol. VII, p. xl.

⁶¹Ibid., 1917, Vol. XXVII, p. 132.

⁶²Ibid., 1918, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 133-134.

⁶³Ibid., 1920, Vol. XXX, p. 141.

⁶⁴Ibid., Vol. XL, 1930, p. 99. Annual Reports (1943).

⁶⁵David Philipson, My Life as an American Jew, pp. 423-424.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 428.

⁶⁷Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Vol. XLII, 1932, pp. 182-183.

⁶⁸Ibid., Vol. XLV, 1935, p. 66.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 103.

⁷⁰Ibid., Vol. XLVII, 1937, p. 98.

- ⁷¹Ibid., Vol. XLII, 1942, pp. 169-170. *Bureau of Synagogue Activities*, Vol. XL, No. 5, pp. 20-21.
- ⁷²Ibid., Vol. XLIII, 1943, pp. 92-93.
- ⁷³Ibid., pp. 93-94.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., Vol. LVIII, 1948, p. 62.
- ⁷⁵Ibid., p. 93-95. *Bureau of Synagogue Activities*, Vol. X, No. 5, p. 16.
- ⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 93-95.
- ⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 298-299. *the Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism as adopted by the Central Conference of American Rabbis*, Columbus, Ohio.
- ⁷⁸Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1898. *Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis*, Vol. I (1898), pp. 241-242.
- ⁷⁹Ibid., *Proceedings of the XXXII Biennial Council (1931)*, p. 191. *Synagogue Bulletin* (New York), November 25, 1930, Vol. XXII, No. 17.
- ⁸⁰Ibid., *Proceedings of the XXXIV Biennial Council (1935)*, p. 123. Friday evening services were held in the Synagogue House at 5:30 p.m. These services included the reading of the Torah.
- ⁸¹Ibid., *Proceedings of the XXXV Biennial Council (1927)*, p. 158. From the Jewish Institute of Religion, in 1926 five-minute sermons were added on an experimental basis.
- ⁸²Loc. cit. *Synagogue Bulletin* (New York), January 7, 1930, Vol. XXII, No. 15.
- ⁸³Ibid., *Sixty-Eighth-Seventieth Annual Reports (1943)*, p. 108. *Synagogue Bulletin*, January 21, 1930, Vol. XXII, No. 17.
- ⁸⁴Ibid., *Seventy-first-Seventy-Third Annual Reports (1945)*, p. 92. *Synagogue Bulletin*, January 14, 1930, Vol. XXII, No. 16.
- ⁸⁵Ibid., p. 254. 1941. Vol. XXIV, No. 29.
- ⁸⁶Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Proceedings of the XL Biennial Council (1948), p. 287. *Loc. cit.*
- ⁸⁷Ibid., p. 312. 1942. Vol. XXIV, No. 34.
- ⁸⁸Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Vol. XL, 1930, p. 120.

⁸⁹Synagogue Service Bulletin (Cincinnati: Bureau of Synagogue Activities, 1934), Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 20-21.

⁹⁰Loc cit.

⁹¹Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Proceedings of the XXXV Biennial Council (1937), pp. 158-159.

⁹²The Synagogue (Cincinnati: Bureau of Synagogue Activities, 1943), Vol. X, No. 5, p. 16.

⁹³i.e., the Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism as adopted at the 1937 Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis held at Columbus, Ohio.

⁹⁴Morton M. Berman, "The Guiding Principles in a Defeatist World," Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Vol. LVI (1946), pp. 241-242.

⁹⁵Free Synagogue Bulletin (New York), November 25, 1930, Vol. XXIII, No. 11.

⁹⁶Note: Friday evening services were held in the Synagogue House at 5:30 p.m. These services included the recitation of Kiddush, either by one of the rabbis or a rabbinic student from the Jewish Institute of Religion. In 1930 five-minute sermons were added on an experimental basis.

⁹⁷Free Synagogue Bulletin (New York), January 7, 1930, Vol. XX, No. 15.

⁹⁸Ibid., January 21, 1930. Vol. XXII, No. 17.

⁹⁹Ibid., January 14, 1930. Vol. XXII, No. 16.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., March 24, 1941. Vol. XXIV, No. 29.

¹⁰¹Ibid., March 31, 1942. Vol. XXIV, No. 30.

¹⁰²Loc. cit.

¹⁰³Ibid., April 28, 1942. Vol. XXIV, No. 34.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., February 9, 1943, Vol. XXV, No. 24.

- 105 Ibid., September 16, 1930. Vol. XXIII, No. 1.
- 106 Ibid., November 4, 1930. Vol. XXIII, No. 8.
- 107 Ibid., February 18, 1930. Vol. XXII, No. 21.
- 108 Ibid., November 15, 1932. Vol. XXV, No. 10.
- 109 Ibid., December 16, 1947. Vol. XL, No. 16.
- 110 Rodeph Shalom Chronicle (New York), March 20, 1931, Vol. I, No. 25.
- 111 Ibid., April 21, 1932. Vol. II, No. 33.
- 112 Ibid., October 21, 1932. Vol. III, No. 6.
- 113 Ibid., January 6, 1933. Vol. III, No. 13.
- 114 Ibid., May 13, 1932. Vol. II, No. 36.
- 115 Ibid., December 19, 1946. Vol. XVII, No. 5.
- 116 Ibid., May 15, 1942. Vol. XII, No. 36.
- 117 Ibid., January 6, 1933. Vol. III, No. 13.
- 118 Ibid., October 23, 1947. Vol. XVIII, No. 8.
- 119 Ibid., March 20, 1931, Vol. I, No. 28.
- 120 Ibid., December 4, 1947, Vol. XVIII, No. 13.
- 121 Ibid., May 27, 1948, Vol. XVIII, No. 38.
- 121a American Jewish Yearbook, op. cit.
- 122 Ahavath Shalom Messenger (Brooklyn, New York), September 1934, Vol. I, No. 1.
- 123 Ibid., April 1935, Vol. I, No. 8.
- 124 Loc. cit.

- 125 Ibid., October, 1945, Vol. XII, No. 1.
- 126 Ibid., March 1940, Vol. VI, No. 6.
- 127 Ibid., March, 1946, Vol. XII, No. 6.
- 128 Loc.cit.
- 129 Ibid., April 1947, Vol. XIII, No. 7.
- 130 Ibid., March 1940, Vol. VI, No. 6.
- 131 Ibid., November 1945, Vol. XII, No. 2.
- 132 Ibid., Fall, 1940, Vol. VI, No. 5.
- 133 Ibid., May 1948, Vol. XIV, No. 38.
- 134 Baltimore Hebrew Congregation Bulletin, February 23, 1945, Vol. XXIX, No. 21.
- 135 Ibid., May 25, 1945, Vol. XXIX, No. 34.
- 136 Ibid., October 8, 1926, Vol. XI, No. 2.
- 137 Ibid., October 11, 1935, Vol. XX, No. 2.
- 138 Ibid., November 12, 1937, Vol. XXII, No. 7.
- 139 Ibid., March 3, 1944, Vol. XXVIII, No. 22.
- 140 Ibid., October 27, 1944, Vol. XXIX, No. 4.
- 141 There was also a brief Friday evening vesper service without music featuring just the cantor.
- 141 Ibid., October 17, 1947, Vol. XXXII, No. 2.
- 142 Ibid., October 3, 1930, Vol. XV, No. 1.
- 143 Ibid., February 28, 1947, Vol. XXXI, No. 21.
- 144 Har Sinai Congregation Bulletin (Baltimore), December 15, 1932, Vol. X, No. 7.

- 145 Ibid., October 20, 1938, Vol. XVI, No. 3.
- 146 Ibid., February 9, 1939, Vol. XVI, No. 9.
- 147 Ibid., March 9, 1939, Vol. XVI, No. 11. Thursday,
October 22, 1935. (In the files of the congregational
minutes)
- 148 Ibid., March 30, 1939, Vol. XVI, No. 12.
- 149 Ibid., August 20, 1931, Vol. VIII, No. 35. Vol.
XXII, No. 7.
- 150 Ibid., December 25, 1941, Vol. XIX, No. 7.
Report of Temple Adath Israel, Thursday,
October 24, 1941.
- 151 Ibid., April 12, 1945, Vol. XXII, No. 8.
- 152 Ibid., October 12, 1945, Vol. XXIII, No. 3.
Vol. XXX.
- 153 Ibid., October 4, 1939, Vol. XVII, No. 3.
Beth El Bulletin (San Antonio, Texas).
- 154 Ibid., March 6, 1941, Vol. XVIII, No. 11.
February
- 155 David Philipson, My Life as an American Jew, pp.
478-479. Ibid., November 5, 1948.
- 156 Abraham Shusterman, "Over the Rabbi's Desk," Har
Sinai Congregation Bulletin, Vol. XXIII, No. 12.
- 157 Congregation Oheb Shalom Temple Topics (Baltimore),
October 10, 1933, Vol. XI, No. 2.
- 158 Ibid., March 28, 1939, Vol. XVI, No. 15.
- 159 Ibid., September 19, 1939, Vol. XVII, No. 2.
- 160 Ibid., December 31, 1940, Vol. XVIII, No. 8.
- 161 Beth Elohim Bulletin (Charleston, South Carolina),
December 1947.
- 162 Ibid., November 1950.
- 163 Loc. cit.
- 164 Temple Adath Israel Bulletin (Louisville, Kentucky),
January, 1930, Vol. XVI, No. 4.
September 19, 1943, Vol. IX, No. 1.

- 165 Ibid., January 1932, Vol. XVIII, No. 5.
- 166 Ibid., April 1932, Vol. XVIII, No. 8.
- 167 Annual Report of Temple Adath Israel, Thursday, October 31, 1935, (In the files of the congregational minute books.), September 21, 1938, Vol. IV, No. 1.
- 168 Adath Israel Temple Bulletin, April 1936, Vol. XXII, No. 7.
- 169 Annual Report of Temple Adath Israel, Thursday, October 28, 1948.
- 170 Adath Israel Temple Bulletin, November 1943, Vol. XXX, No. 2.
- 171 Temple Beth El Bulletin (San Antonio, Texas), February 20, 1942.
- 172 Ibid., March 3, 1942.
- 173 Ibid., November 5, 1948.
- 174 K.A.M. News (Chicago), October 20, 1937, Vol. III, No. 8.
- 175 Ibid., October 27, 1937, Vol. III, No. 9.
- 176 Ibid., October 6, 1939, Vol. V., No. 7.
- 177 Ibid., May 3, 1940, Vol. V, No. 37.
- 178 Loc. cit.
- 179 Ibid., June 7, 1940, Vol. V, No. 39.
- 180 Loc. cit.
- 181 Ibid., April 9, 1941, Vol. VI, No. 28.
- 182 Ibid., December 23, 1942, Vol VIII, No. 16.
- 183 Ibid., September 15, 1943, Vol. IX, No. 1.

- 184 Ibid., February 2, 1940, Vol. V, No. 24.
- 185 Ibid., October 2, 1940, Vol. VI, No. 2.
- 186 Ibid., October 12, 1944, Vol. IX, No. 31.
- 187 Ibid., September 21, 1938, Vol. IV, No. 1.
- 188 Ibid., November 9, 1938, Vol. IV, No. 8.
- 189 Ibid., October 11, 1944, Vol. XI, No. 6.
- 190 Ibid., March 12, 1944, Vol. XI, No. 24.
- 191 Ibid., February 11, 1939, Vol. IV, No. 22.
- 192 Ibid., April 5, 1944, Vol. IX, No. 30.
- 193 Ibid., December 6, 1944, Vol. XI, No. 14.
- 194 Ibid., December 10, 1940, Vol. VI, No. 11.
- 195 Isaiah Israel Temple Tidings (Chicago), September 15, 1937, Vol. III, No. 2.
- 196 Ibid., October 27, 1937, Vol. III, No. 8.
- 197 Ibid., November 3, 1937, Vol. III, No. 9.
- 198 Ibid., September 22, 1927, Vol. III, No. 3.
- 199 Loc. cit.
- 200 Ibid., October 6, 1937, Vol. III, No. 5.
- 201 Ibid., September 8, 1937, Vol. III, No. 1.
- 202 Ibid., February 1, 1939, Vol. IV, No. 21.
- 203 Ibid., February 7, 1940, Vol. V, No. 23.
- Ibid., October 21, 1941, Vol. VII, No. 2.

- 204 Ibid., October 9, 1940, Vol. VI, No. 4. 4.
- 205 Ibid., October 13, 1937, Vol. III, No. 6.
- 206 Ibid., October 13, 1937, Vol. III, No. 6.
- 207 Loc. cit. Devise Yearbook, loc. cit.
- 208 Euclid Avenue Temple Bulletin (Cleveland, Ohio),
September 18, 1931, Vol. XI, No. 3.
- 209 Ibid., September 30, 1932, Vol. XII, No. 4.
- 210 Ibid., April 11, 1930, Vol. IX, No. 30.
- 211 Ibid., April 25, 1930, Vol. IX, No. 32.
- 212 Ibid., October 3, 1930, Vol. X, No. 7.
- 213 Ibid., October 24, 1930, Vol. X, No. 6.
- 214 Ibid., September 9, 1932, Vol. XII, No. 1.
- 215 Ibid., February 12, 1937, Vol. XVI, No. 22. (San Francisco).
February 12, 1937, Vol. XVI, No. 22.
- 216 Ibid., March 25, 1938, Vol. XXVII, No. 30.
January 3, 1941, Vol. XXII, No. 18.
- 217 Ibid., May 1, 1931, Vol. X, No. 33.
January 10, 1947, Vol. XXIII, No. 20.
- 218 Ibid., March 27, 1931, Vol. X, No. 28.
January 31, 1930, Vol. VI, No. 25.
- 219 Ibid., March 31, 1933, Vol. XII, No. 25.
April 14, 1944, Vol. XX, No. 30.
- 220 Ibid., December 11, 1931, Vol. XI, No. 15.
September 13, 1940, Vol. XVI, No. 11.
- 221 Ibid., November 6, 1931, Vol. XI, No. 10.
November 10, 1940, Vol. XVI, No. 11.
- 222 Ibid., January 8, 1932, Vol. XI, No. 19.
November 30, 1940, Vol. XVI, No. 12.
- 223 Ibid., January 21, 1938, Vol. XVII, No. 21.
- 224 Ibid., April 26, 1940, Vol. XIX, No. 34.
- 225 Ibid., October 31, 1941, Vol. XXI, No. 2.

- 226 Ibid., October 7, 1938, Vol. XVIII, No. 4.
- 227 Ibid., September 19, 1930, Vol. X, No. 1.
- 228 Ibid., February 7, 1936, Vol. XV, No. 20.
- 229 American Jewish Yearbook, loc. cit.
- 230 The Temple Bulletin (Los Angeles), May 28, 1930, Vol. XV, No. 37.
- 231 Ibid., April 9, 1930, Vol. XV, No. 32.
- 232 Ibid., April 18, 1932, Vol. XVIII, No. 33.
- 233 Ibid., October 8, 1930, Vol. XVI, No. 5.
- 234 Ibid., October 22, 1930, Vol. XVI, No. 7.
- 235 Ibid., February 15, 1937, Vol. XXII, No. 25.
- 236 Ibid., December 20, 1937, Vol. XXIII, No. 16.
- 237 The Temple Chronicle of Temple Emanu-El (San Francisco), February 19, 1932, Vol. VIII, No. 26.
- 238 Ibid., January 3, 1941, Vol. XVII, No. 18.
- 239 Ibid., January 10, 1947, Vol. XXIII, No. 20.
- 240 Ibid., January 31, 1930, Vol. VI, No. 25.
- 241 Ibid., April 14, 1944, Vol. XX, No. 30.
- 242 Ibid., September 13, 1948, Vol. XVI, No. 11.
- 243 Ibid., November 16, 1948, Vol. XVI, No. 11.
- 244 Ibid., November 30, 1948, Vol. XVI, No. 13.
- 245

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Free Synagogue Bulletin BOOKS New York, New York. 1930-1950.

American Jewish Yearbook. 1930 edition. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. 1931.

Central Conference of American Rabbis. Yearbooks. 1897, 1917, 1918, 1920, 1930-1950.

Kohler, Kaufman. Jewish Theology. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1918.

Chesed Shalom Temple Series. Baltimore, Maryland. 1930-

Philipson, David. The Reform Movement in Judaism. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907.

Philipson, David. My Life as an American Jew. Cincinnati: Ruter

Press. 1941.

-----, My Life as an American Jew. January 15, 1917.

Reform Judaism. A Collection of Essays by Alumni of the Hebrew Union College. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press. 1949.

Synagogue Bulletin. Vol. I-III. Cincinnati:

Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Proceedings. 1930-1950. Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congre-

The Synagogue Bulletin. Vol. IV-V. Cincinnati: U.A.H.C. Bureau of Synagogue Activities. 1936-1943.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Reform Judaism in Temple The Large Cities. Cincinnati: The Union of American Hebrew Congregations. 1931.

The Temple Bulletin. Los Angeles, California. 1930-1950.

The Temple Bulletin. California. 1930-1950.

ARTICLES AND PERIODICALS

Adath Israel Temple Bulletin. Louisville, Kentucky. 1930-1950.

Ahavath Shalom Messenger. Brooklyn, New York. 1930-1950.

The American Israelite. Cincinnati: Bloch Publishing Company. November 27, 1885.

Baltimore Hebrew Congregation Bulletin. Baltimore, Maryland. 1930-1950.

Beth Elohim Bulletin. Charleston, South Carolina. 1947-1950.

Euclid Avenue Temple Bulletin. Cleveland, Ohio. 1930-1950.

The Free Synagogue Bulletin. New York, New York. 1930-1950.

Har Sinai Congregation Bulletin. Baltimore, Maryland. 1930-1950.

Isaiah Israel Temple Tidings. Chicago, Illinois. 1930-1950.

K.A.M. News. Chicago, Illinois. 1930-1950.

Oheb Shalom Temple Topics. Baltimore, Maryland. 1930-1950.

Philipson, David. Judaism -- Race, Nationality or Religion? January 2, 1917.

----- . Israel -- The International People. January 15, 1917.

Rodeph Shalom Chronicle. New York, New York. 1930-1950.

Synagogue Service Bulletin. Vol. I-III. Cincinnati: U.A.H.C. Bureau of Synagogue Activities. 1933-1936.

The Synagogue. Vol. IV-X. Cincinnati: U.A.H.C. Bureau of Synagogue Activities. 1936-1943.

Temple Beth El Bulletin. San Antonio, Texas. 1930-1950.

The Temple Bulletin. Los Angeles, California. 1930-1950.

The Temple Chronicle. San Francisco, California. 1930-1950.

INTERVIEW

Interview with Mr. Thomas J. Tobias in Charleston, South Carolina, September 20, 1965.