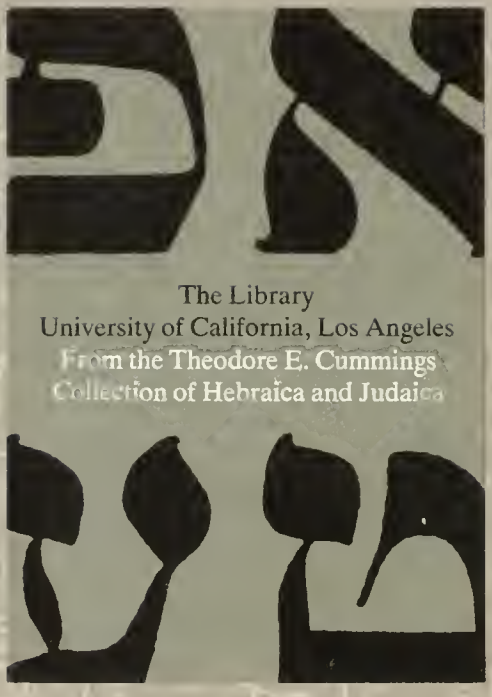
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דברי ימי עמנואל

The Chronicles of Emanu-El:

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE CONGREGATION EMANU-EL
WHICH WAS FOUNDED IN JULY, 1850

AND WILL CELEBRATE ITS FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY
DECEMBER 23, 1900

SAN FRANCISCO, - - - 1900

PRESS OF GEO. SPAULDING & CO.
414 CLAY STREET, S. F.

Dedication.

To Raphael Peixotto, Esq.,

President of Congregation Emanu-El:

My Dear Sir:

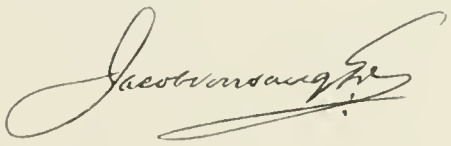
These "Chronicles," now on the eve of publication, are most respectfully presented to you, the official Head of our Emanu-El Community. But they are also dedicated to you, not because you are the incumbent of the presidential chair, but because, as such, you have discharged your arduous and manifold duties with a zeal and fidelity that commanded the admiration of all who are privileged to labor with you.

Personally, I confess myself under the deepest obligations for your warm and unselfish interest; for your intelligent and progressive leadership; and no less for that generous friendship that has come to be one of the comforting influences of my life and work.

At the threshold of another semi-centennial the Congregation sends greeting to you, its most honored President, and to the faithful and efficient brethren associated with you in the Board of Directors.

May it be God's will, Mr. President, to permit you, for years to come, to lead this beloved "God is with us" Congregation, as the fathers called it, with that same experienced and intelligent solicitude of its interests, that has until now wrought one of the brightest epochs in the annals of Emanu-El. And may our past blessings continue. With Peace, Harmony and Friendship, stimulating Energy and Zeal, Success presents no mystery. May God preserve you and all your faithful companions in the holy cause.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,



Introduction.

THE history of a Congregation is a family story, of interest only to those who founded it or afterwards joined its ranks. The chronicles of fifty years embrace three generations, of which the last knows little of the achievements of the first, unless the records are kept in order, and the ambition to preserve historical facts has existed from the start. The history of one generation is always more or less of a puzzle to its successors. Man is, generally speaking, too careless, perhaps too busy, to write down his daily doings; and these alone are really his true account. The chronicler, therefore, is forced to idealize; to construct an account out of tradition or slender data that have been preserved; and it is just within the limit of possibility that a student, who desires to fill in the empty spaces can hit at the truth. For the motives of our forbears differed not much from our own. On the face of God's earth generations come and go, and the experiences of the first and the last can be judged by a common standard.

I said this was a family story. It is really nothing else; and, primarily, it is told that the young men and women of our period should know what their parents achieved, and, knowing, should emulate them. There is great virtue in the perpetuation of traditions which tend to maintain the family's position and standing; and the young people of the Congregation Emanu-El of San Francisco, to become imbued with an ambition to maintain and transmit that great organization in all its present splendid integrity, must be fully acquainted with its past history, which is the religious history of their own fathers and mothers. But there are other reasons why this brief scroll should be published. Every congregation of Israel is a fraction of the great fraternity that ramifies throughout the world; that breasts the future with its solemn postulates of God and spiritual regeneration; that preaches its prophetical ideals in the face of overwhelming dissent. If it be true that our spiritual mission holds us

together in indissoluble bonds, then the story of Israel in San Francisco is a line of that larger story that as yet hath no concluding chapter; that began in the dim ages and is writ on the days and years of the world's life. And if that line will teach posterity that our fathers on this Coast were true and loyal, kept the faith, and maintained the standards of Israel's high and holy duty, then we have contributed something to that inspiration that impels future generations to follow in the wake of their predecessors, equally determined to bear the sweet burdens that God hath willed to impose on them that love Him and keep His commandments.

Nor is the story without its lesson to the State and the general community. Our fathers and mothers were amongst the earliest pioneers of California. If they did not escape the contagion of the gold fever, it was because all California was intoxicated. But they were amongst the first to realize that a stable community needs the elements of organization. In their tents the Jewish "forty-niners" created one of the first religious organizations of California. They understood that churches and schools were the necessary instruments by which the new communities could be preserved. They were unselfish, helpful, progressive. They were desirous of assisting in the upbuilding of the commonwealth, and of identifying themselves with its interests. They formed no exclusive community. In writing, therefore, the family story of the Congregation Emanu-El, we virtually relate the history of an aggregation of men and women, many of whom were amongst California's earliest and best citizens, who maintained the integrity of both their religion and their State, and whose excellence is perpetuated in the virtuous careers of their descendants.

This book is my personal contribution to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the great Congregation whose teacher I am. In writing its last lines I breathe a prayer that God may make us all worthy of continuing the work begun half a century ago, and let the honor of our achievements be His, not ours, who are but His instruments.

J. V.

CONTENTS.

The Chronicles of Emanu-El.

I.

1849--1860

A TRAVELLER, who in these latter days happens to sojourn in the metropolis by the Golden Gate, will scarcely be able to realize that this teeming city, this commercial beehive, is just about half a century old. Far out into the sea numerous pillars of smoke indicate the city's in-coming and out-going trade, signs of a marine carrying power, that connects San Francisco with all the habitable world and from her emporium distributes the treasures of the great State of California to the strands of both Orient and Occident. The city, lying on her hills, strong ramparts that man nor element seems able to conquer, presents a fascinating spectacle, whether one salutes her when passing the frowning forts that guard the Gate, or whether looking on the terrace-like elevations as they gradually emerge from the fogs when approaching from the bay-side. San Francisco is always beautiful,—not with the beauty of architecture and art, so much as with that generous attractiveness that arises from her natural situation, resting on the breast of those eternal hills that keep watch by the Pacific, which, if not always unswept by wind and storm, more often sends a smile to the people on her shores that gladdens and delights them, and inspires them with that sense of contentment that is characteristic of most Californians. Here, where anciently the sea forced its way through the land, making curvatures, the beauty of which can no where else be seen,—here, so far as contemporary man is able to impose his limited judgment, Nature herself designed the habitat of a coming, great race of men. The *Gate* hath a welcome for them that come in and a smile for them that go out; and along

the shores of both peninsula and mainland the evidences of thrift and growth prove that the western edge of America has as favorable opportunities for maintaining the life of a large population as any other part of the world. Who can estimate, even now, the vast opportunities of this favored land, that now as of yore yields gold to the touch, that is overflowing with milk and honey, and like that erstwhile garden of the Lord, Egypt, is fat and rich with corn and oil, and besides distributed a thousand treasures to a hardy, industrious population? The industrial and agricultural history of California for the past fifty years presents many a marvelous page—the story of magnificent endurance as well as of quick adaptation to the conditions of new settlements; and greater, more marvelous still, will be the story, now that California's population is homogeneous, now that the world knows that this Western empire can harbor a population of many millions and can give them all bread without scarcity!

On the Peninsula, swept by sea and bay, lies our San Francisco, the old village of Yerba Buena, a town of five thousand people fifty years ago, a metropolis of nearly four hundred thousand to-day; a city of homes and palaces, a city of schools and churches, a city of varied industries, the home of a people, that, to a considerable degree, is inspired with the virtuous purposes of a righteous and progressive community. There is nothing left of the old days, unless it be some landmark, by which an old surviving pioneer may stand awhile to ruminate over the dissipated glories of the days of gold, and to marvel at the changes God and man have wrought. The people who forged the links that unite California and the states in bonds indissoluble are, for the most part, resting in the soil they conquered, not always with weapons of peace either,—but always with spirit as indomitable as that of the ancient Argonauts or the bold sea-kings, who mastered the secrets of the sea long before the Spanish Main was plied with ships of later make. There is nothing left of the old, turbulent spirit; the spirit of unrest and adventure, the spirit that stakes all the future on the cast of a single die, the spirit that holds life cheap and virtue cheaper, the spirit that hazards the peace of the commonwealth in the excesses of the flowing bowl—and yet, necessarily, the spirit that, when it awakes from its stupor of intoxication, manfully repairs the breaches and seeks to construct, out of the havoc it has wrought, the foundations of a civil and moral

government. Out of the gold fever came the repose of a civilized community. Out of the debris of the placers came the foundations of this great western commonwealth. The men who had rushed hither from every part of the world to grow rich and depart, even they remained when they looked upon the fair realm God seemed to have designed to become the cradle of a great community. It is marvelous, this tale of beginnings. It passes the bonds of human judgment, this singular working of the will of Providence, expressed in the periodical opening up of countries, that man might live and be no burden to his neighbor. So has man, in all ages, left his native base to seek opportunities of settlement; and it is no blind chance that points out the way and the journey to the emigrant and the wanderer, but invariably leads him, where, like the nomads of old, he may dig wells as a sign and token that the land is pre-empted, and that new homes are to be established. And this is really the story of California. Let the historian detail the political complications which led to its acquisition by the United States; let the local chronicler describe the accident of gold-finding and the ensuing rush of adventurers. Fifty years after the rush, we, who study effects, see in the causes of history the designs of omniscience and the benignity of a Providence that makes and unmakes nations, that fashions the earth to man's uses, and, like a gleam of fire to the wanderer at night, points the way to new homes, and gives the inspiration for the founding of nations and empires.

Yet, there is a difference between the founding of ancient communities and those of latter years. The slow, maturing processes of primitive times required centuries of development; communities sprang not into sudden existence. The new communities of to-day exhibit remarkable adhesive force, because each member thereof comes possessed of the constructive elements of community building. So it came to pass that the new town of San Francisco, a mining town indeed, with a transient population that went to and came from the mines,* was quickly converted into an orderly community, and endowed with the attributes of progress and order. It will not do to dilate too lengthily upon the avocations of the settlers. Probably none of them pretended to aught but the object that had brought

* Hittell, History of California, II, p. 719.

them to the Golden Gate. They came for gain; they risked much for the coveted wealth; and, for a time at least, the standards of well-governed and orderly communities were suspended. But that was but the fever of the times. These adventurers had come from homes that constituted the strength of social life; and they felt that home-building, in both the moral and physical sense, would soon bring order out of chaos. It is a matter of note, not to be overlooked, that religion and culture commenced their struggle for control in San Francisco, and all throughout California, with the first rush of the gold-seekers; which tends to prove that the gambling, the drinking, the speculating, the rioting—in short, the excesses of a people that has ventured much, and therefore cares little for the future, were but ephemeral, to become dissipated by the forces of law and order, without which the upbuilding of a community is impossible. The miners had the gold-fever; yet these same miners brought law and order, and soon enforced them against those who would perpetuate the anarchy of a people in its wine cups. In 1849, the Mission Dolores was the old landmark of the zeal and devotion of Roman Catholic missionaries. Early in that year the Protestant denominations began to erect their chapels, and simultaneously the pioneers of the ancient confraternity of Israel, as is their wont all over the world, gave signs that they, too, had not left their religion behind in the homes whence they had come.

And this, naturally, leads to the more specific objects for which these pages are prepared. Israel in California, specifically Israel in San Francisco, and more directly the encouraging story of the Temple Emanu-El, is the immediate topic to which we are to devote ourselves. Among the forty-niners were a number of Israelites, led to the gold fields by the same motives that brought all others. The restless spirit of the Jewish wanderer had driven many young men of the race of Israel to the mining camps of the new El Dorado. The question whether there were any Jews in California before '48 would present an interesting topic of discussion were it not for the fact that the data for such an inquiry are not yet complete. But, with thousands of others, they trooped in during '49, all eager for gold, imbued with that adventurous spirit that elsewhere had created great commercial enterprises, and, in a greater degree perhaps than others, ready to settle down on the western shore of America and

participate in the founding of the new commonwealth. The latter remark may require some explanation. The fact that a large number of the Jewish pioneers were young foreigners recalls the great immigration of the Jews into the United States during the years 1840–1850, an immigration directly resulting from the reactionary political conditions prevailing during that period in several European countries. Notably, the young German Jew found himself hampered by laws that discriminated against him, repressed his activity, and practically reduced him to the condition of an alien. During those years Germany suffered the loss of tens of thousands of Jews, resulting, in many instances, in the depletion of villages and in the practical wiping out of communities that theretofore had been of historical as well as of commercial importance. The United States became the gainer by this immigration, which brought to the ranks of the people large numbers of hardy, well-trained, intelligent and enterprising men, who had come to depart no more, but to found homes in the land of freedom and assimilate with its citizens, thus forming the nuclei of the powerful German-Jewish communities which subsequently sprang up all over the land, in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, New Orleans, and afterwards in San Francisco. The activity of these young Jews of half a century ago, who founded great business enterprises and great congregations at the same time, presents an admirable blending of the great virtues of Jewish manhood. Few of them had come with substantial means to inaugurate large undertakings. The most of them had brought but their energy, grit and courage, and that remarkable patience and endurance that is a part of the story of Jewish manhood as the latter is traced through the windings of the unhappy centuries in which all the world and its prejudices are arrayed against it. Arriving at the Eastern ports, they scattered, and following all the highways that lead into the great interior—North, South and West, they were amongst the pioneers of the western communities, developing trade and industry, assisting in the growth of religion, culture and education, and became a homogeneous element of the great American Nation. Insufficient attention has as yet been called to this feature of American immigration, and to the services the Jew has rendered in the decades preceding and succeeding the War of the Rebellion, when the Nation itself emerged from its infancy to assume its place, more

united, more numerous and more fittingly endowed with the elements of progress, amongst the nations of the earth, in the midst of which it now towers with a height attained by none other.

Hence, the statement is made that many of the Jews who in the mining days of '49 ventured into California came with the ulterior object of establishing permanent homes in which, according to the manner of their ancestry, they could found families and communities, and contribute their share to the general growth of the commonwealth. They came from all directions. They entered with every ship that touched the harbor, and their numbers increased when the Pacific Mail line of steamers came twice monthly from the East.* They came overland, driving their ox teams, like the rest of the adventurers, braving the dangers of deserts and floods, the raids of Indians and the attacks of desperadoes, and halted at various points where they pitched their tents and went to work like brave men. They located in every mining town, and faithful to their wonted pursuits started the commerce of the New World. They were careful, cautious and enterprising, abstemious in the midst of success, saving in the midst of extravagance, for their ultimate object was to secure a future for themselves and homes for their families. Their intimate connections with Eastern traders and mercantile houses enabled them to assist the mining population in rapidly obtaining the comforts of Eastern civilization, and many a prosperous inland town owes its rise and present solidity to the pluck and perseverance of the Hebrew merchants, who erected buildings, gave life to the place in which they had located, and fostered every new enterprise by personal encouragement and generous financial aid.†

Who were these pioneers and whence came they? The names of but comparatively few are known; the greater number of them have left no record behind.‡ They came from every section of the country and from abroad, generally young men in the strength and prime of life. Amongst the earliest arrivals were young Hebrews from the South, members of Charleston families or residents of New

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*The first Pacific Mail steamer arrived at San Francisco, February 29, 1849.

†This picture of the Jewish pioneers of California is respectfully placed beside that drawn by H. H. Bancroft (California Inter Pocula, pp. 372–374).

‡A list of the Jewish pioneers of 1849–1852 is given by Marken, "The Hebrews in America," pp. 336–7, but the list must be read with great caution, as some of the people therein mentioned did not come to the Coast until 1856 or even later.

Orleans. Others came from St. Louis and points on the Mississippi, and still another number from New York and the East. Some came from Australia. They represented a varied number of nationalities. English and French Jews "bunked" side by side; the Hollander and the Pole, the German from Hanover and Bavaria, the semi-Pole from West-Prussia and Galicia, the Russian from Lithuania and Bessarabia, all met together and bravely faced the difficulties of their new environments. The nascent metropolis could not afford them all room for enterprise. Many of them went to the mines, pitched their tents in Sacramento, on the American River, in Placer and Amador counties, and in every spot where gold had been discovered. Among the first arrivals we notice names subsequently honored in the judicial history of California*, others, who from the start stood for commercial integrity and for honorable demeanor, probity, and sagacity, a long list of honorable and enterprising young men, the very pride and flower of Israel.

The first religious services on the Pacific Coast, under the auspices of the Jewish pioneers, were held in the autumn of 1849. In all, there were perhaps one hundred of them. It is to be said to their credit that during the feverish anxieties of their careers they had not forgotten the time of the great mass meetings when all Israel appears to prostrate itself before the Lord. The accounts of this first meeting are conflicting. Morris Samuel writing to his brother in Philadelphia (*Occident*, Vol. 7, p. 480) says: "About forty or fifty Israelites have engaged a room to celebrate the ensuing fast-day and have invited me to attend. We contemplate building a synagogue shortly." This room is said to have been situated in the second story of a building on Montgomery street, where afterwards the Metropolitan Theatre was located. It is said, that in that room above the

* The Honorable Solomon Heydenfeldt, elected Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of California in 1852, served in that capacity until 1857, when he retired. An extensive biography of Judge Heydenfeldt, who ranked among the distinguished jurists of the Pacific Coast, was compiled by Louis Abraham, Esq., himself an old Californian (See American Jews' Annual, 1887). Mr. Heydenfeldt was a native of Charleston, of German-American extraction, though his family for generations was identified with the Sephardic community. Among his associates on the Supreme Bench of California was the Hon. Henry A. Lyons, a Philadelphian, who came to the Coast from New Orleans. Judge Lyons was one of the first three Justices elected by the first California Legislature in 1850, and served until 1854. Passing mention may also be made here of the Hon. Washington Bartlett, the son of a Jewish mother. Bartlett was born in Charleston, where he was admitted to the bar, came to California in 1848 and served the succeeding year as Alcalde of San Francisco. His distinguished public career forms a part of the history of the State. He died in 1888, a few months after his inauguration as Governor of California.

store where the entire day the gold dust was weighed, received and paid over, fifty Hebrews spent the Day of Atonement in fasting and prayer. Another account, preserved in the archives of the Temple Emanu-El (see Appendix B), states that "the first religious meeting of our people in this city was held on Yom Kippur 5609 (1849) in a tent room occupied by Mr. Louis Franklin, situated on Jackson, near the corner of Kearny street; there were about ten persons present."* Of the attendants at that first service a few names are preserved. The moving spirit was Joel Noah, afterwards known by the sobriquet of "Tyler Noah," who was a brother of the late Major Mordecai M. Noah. There were present Israel Solomon, one of the principal founders of the Sherith Israel Congregation, a man of fine education and rare intelligence, and the members of his family, including H. M. Lewis, all of whom had come from Australia. There were Abraham Watters, one of the charter members of the Temple Emanu-El; Leon Dyer, of Baltimore, who acted as Reader; Albert Priest, afterwards of Priest, Lea & Co., of Sacramento, a distinguished American Hebrew, who rose to great commercial prominence; Joseph Shannon, afterwards County Treasurer of San Francisco; B. Davidson, Esq., of Davidson, May & Co., subsequently financial agents for the Messrs. N. M. Rothschild & Co.; A. Rehfisch, Louis Franklin, Morris Samuel, Conrad Prag, the generous and magnanimous Emanuel Hart, a Mr. Brown, who had been a member of Stevenson Regiment, S. Flyshhacker, and, it is said, Mr. and Mrs. Barnett Keesing, the lady being the only Jewess at the service.† The service was wholly improvised. As stated before, Leon Dyer acted as *Shaliah Zibbur* or Reader; and there being no

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*The figures 5609 in this last account should read 5610. Mr. Samuel, writing as a participant and eye-witness may be trusted as to the number of attendants at the service, though I am unable to decide between the two locations. Could it have been possible that already in '49 there were two services held? This suspicion gains strength from the fact that the author of the "Annals of San Francisco" (p. 446) already notices an unpleasant feeling existing between two sections of the Jewish pioneers, a schism possibly caused by differences of taste and habits or by degrees of education. This sectional feeling, later on, considerably influenced the organization of religious, eleemosynary and social institutions.

†These are the names I have been able to ascertain some years ago from one or two of the attendants who have since gone to their rest. The following interesting anecdote is well worthy of preservation, though authenticity cannot be vouched for: Joel Noah is said to have made a mistake in calculating the date of the 10th of Tishri, and organized the service on the preceding day. Returning homeward the following evening to break his fast, he met a number of co-religionists who had just arrived, and who informed him that they had rented a room to celebrate Kippur. Convinced that he had made a mistake, Noah, without further ado, went with them to the improvised Synagogue, spent the entire night and following day in prayer, and uninterruptedly fasted for two days.

Scroll a printed Pentateuch was used for the reading of the Law. The meeting exercised its proper influence upon the settlers. It may be presumed that it created a bond between them that had not theretofore existed. In fact, this religious meeting of '49 resulted in a determination on the part of the settlers not to lose sight of each other in the busy strife; to help each other in sickness and distress, to become friends and advisers to their co-religionists who might come from the "States," and to render unto each other the pious service of interment should it please God that their bones should rest in the New World. The first outcome of that meeting was the gift of a burial plot by Emanuel Hart, whose name is here gratefully and reverently recalled.* The second was an arrangement to hold private services whenever advisable, and, by tacit consent, Israel Solomon and Joel Noah were expected to call the settlers together whenever, in their opinion, concerted action on any subject whatever should be deemed necessary. Out of this notable "'49 Service" came the great impulse that afterwards moved the Jewish colony of San Francisco to permanent organization. The settlers were practically, though not legally, organized. Morris Samuel, in the letter already quoted, says: "We contemplate building a synagogue shortly." This hopeful tone leaves much to infer regarding the warm, enthusiastic spirit of the settlers and their determination to organize. The late August Helbing, founder and first president of the Eureka Benevolent Society (Founded October 2, 1850), put the co-operative sentiment of the pioneers in the following words: "The Jewish young men felt that organization was necessary for various purposes. The immediate cause was that we had no suitable way of spending our evenings. Gambling resorts and theatres, the only refuge then existing in 'Frisco to spend an evening, had no attraction for us. We passed the time back of our stores and often times were disgusted and sick from the loneliness of our surroundings. Besides, our services were in active demand; every steamer brought a number of our co-religionists, and they did not always come provided with means. In fact, some came penniless, having invested their all in a passage to the Coast. Some came sick and sore, and it needed often times a respectable portion of our earnings to satisfy all the demands made

* For a brief account of the Hart Cemetery, see Chapter on Cemeteries.

upon us." These fine words, the sentiment of which led to the foundation of the Jewish charities of San Francisco, are equally applicable to the organization of the Jewish congregations. The first service exhibited to the settlers their strength of numbers and a religious fervor that boded hopefully for the future, and thereafter the Jewish young men remained together and prepared for the time when permanent organization should become advisable.

It came soon. During the year 1850 great activity was displayed by the Jewish settlers. Their numbers increased rapidly, and their doings became matters of public report. The *Alta California*, June 14, 1850, mentions a "solemn and impressive ceremony" in the family of a Mr. Kelsey at the Albion House, a Rev. Dr. Zachariah officiating. In connection with that function the paper states that a Jewish Benevolent Society was organized at the meeting and supposes that "inasmuch as there are a large number of Jewish citizens in the city, the Society will be large, and before long a synagogue will be established."* Indeed, the matter of founding a synagogue, or rather synagogues, was not long deferred. The number of the settlers grew apace and, as was perhaps most natural at that time, they began to divide off according to their nationalities, which action created not a little feeling. It is no part of this chronicle to dwell on the causes of this action, nor to detail the unhappy differences that were engendered by the settlers ranging themselves on either the "German" or "Polish" sides. It is only necessary to state the fact that such differences existed, and led to the ultimate organization of two Jewish congregations in San Francisco; and since they have existed and flourished side by side until this day, the contentions arising from their organization need no longer be regretted.

Toward the approach of the fall holidays of 1850, somewhere in July or August, a number of Jewish settlers of German extraction assembled in meeting to permanently organize a congregation. The

* I have tried to identify this function, mentioned in the *Alta*, without much success. It was after the Pentecost holidays; and there is no record in my possession of any organization having held either Passover or Pentecost services in the year 1850. Tradition, of course, helps somewhat, provided it can be sustained by corroborative evidence. Probably the function in question was a *B'rith* or a wedding; but the large numbers attending the ceremony probably impressed the reporter with its public character, and it is not unlikely that the matter of permanently organizing a congregation was then discussed. Those who, like myself, have attended such functions in new communities, will understand that "toasts" are opportunities for discussing public matters.

moving spirit of that meeting, the President of the Temporary Organization, the man, who, next to Henry Seligman, influenced the future of the nascent congregation more than any other personality, was Emanuel M. Berg, and it is just possible that the choice of name for the new organization being left to him, he gave it his own name and called it Emanu-El.* A word may be said here regarding the probable date of the organization of the Congregation, though the matter is of no serious import. The exact date cannot be positively given. The regular record of the Congregation begins October 23, 1853, and unfortunately either no regular minutes were kept before that time or some improvident secretary kept them on loose sheets and they became lost.† However, the original Articles of Incorporation of the Emanu-El Congregation, which I have looked up and identified in the office of the County Clerk of San Francisco, are dated April 11, 1851; and it is a matter of general tradition that the Congregation was organized "in the fall" of 1850. Now, by referring to Appendix A, it will be seen that on September 1, 1850, Emanuel M. Berg appends his signature to a legal document, and signs it "For Congregation Emanu-El, E. M. Berg, President," which therefore leaves a fair and just presumption, that the Congregation was organized *before* September 1, 1850. How long before no one can state exactly. I have assumed that at least a month elapsed between the date of organization and the signing of the contract given in Appendix A; but even if the date be fixed on September 1st, it would still constitute Emanu-El the oldest congregation in the city, a subject that, historically, admits of no discussion whatever.

NOTE.—Emanuel Marum Berg, first President of Emanu-El, was a native of Bamberg. He came to the Coast from Mississippi. He possessed the qualities of leadership in an eminent degree. A man of generous impulses and intense devotion, he appears as one of the moving spirits in religious and benevolent enterprises, until his lamented death in 1855, at the age of thirty-eight. The President's report for that year speaks of this good man who died before his time as follows: "I have styled him 'our' Mr. Berg, for in very truth he was ours. Next to the fulfilment of the duties he owed to his God and his family stood those he performed in so manifold a manner to this Congregation. Her welfare, her prosperity, her honor, her standing, were subjects near and dear to his heart. All the energy

* With reference to Isaiah vii:14. In the minutes of the congregation the name is variously written Emanuel and Emanu-El. Mr. Berg himself, in the oldest document extant, concerning the founding of the congregation, writes it Emanu-El (see Appendix A).

† Since writing the above I have ascertained that these minutes were destroyed by fire.

and prudence he could command, and he possessed these attributes in no small degree, were ever ready to be applied when required to promote the interests of the Congregation. * * * Let his memory be ever cherished amongst us." Amongst various benefactions Mr. Berg bequeathed to the community of his native city a fund, the interest of which is devoted to the education of destitute girls, without regard to creed. This happened nearly a half century ago. May such blessed examples be perpetuated in our community.

The Congregation, from the start, was a fairly homogeneous body. Its membership was small, not exceeding forty, but there was a promise of large accessions from the German-born settlers. Its objects were clearly defined. The time had come to give religion permanent security in their new home. The covenant of Israel was to be reaffirmed on the edge of the continent. To hold stated services and public convocations; to instruct the young in the religion of their fathers; to promote the welfare and enhance the dignity of the religion of Israel by precept and example; to preserve and conserve the tradition of Israel's helpfulness to humanity, that in these new environments the Jew might also be the priestly messenger of a gracious Deity—these were the high aims for which those men organized. They had very little time to spare for the practical manifestations of religion. They were in the midst of a struggle that left no man opportunities for mental or spiritual culture unless he was ready to fall behind in the race for success. But their hearts were sound; and, despite discouraging criticisms, or croaking prophecies of impending failure, and the general difficulty of developing the adhesive force of people who were uncertain whether their temporary abode would prove their permanent home, this chosen band determined to persist in organizing a congregation, according to the traditional lines followed by their brethren in the East and their fathers and mothers at home, on the Rhine, in Bavaria, Baden, Saxony and the other countries where the Minhag Ashkenaz still prevailed.

An immediate effort was made to secure a place of worship. The Ark of the Lord should not dwell in a linen tent. During the year San Francisco had made rapid physical progress. The large influx of settlers, better communication with the East, the exigencies of commerce with the mining camps and the farther north, as well as the promising political aspects of the new Commonwealth of California, had rapidly converted the tented village into a city of more or less pretentious dimensions with a large number of buildings that

This Indenture made this first day of September One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty between Loring Bartlett Jr of the City of San Francisco of the first part and the

Congregation Emanuel

of the second part, Witnesseth: That the said party of the first part in consideration of the rents and covenants hereinafter named doth hereby demise and let to the said party of the second part a certain room in a building belonging to the party of the first part situated on Bush Street in said City between Montgomery and Sansome Streets about one hundred and thirty seven westerly from the Southwest corner of Bush and Sansome streets, the said room being on the first floor of said building and being about eighty feet in length by twenty three in width for the monthly rent of Two Hundred dollars payable monthly in advance for the period of two months with the privilege to the said party of the second part to hold the same upon the same conditions for four months longer from the the expiration of said two months, And it is agreed by the parties hereto that they will well and faithfully perform the conditions and covenants to this agreement And the said party of the second part hereby agrees to give the party of the first part ten days notice before the expiration of the said two months of their intention to surrender up the premises or they shall be deemed to have accepted the same for the said four months longer And the said party of the second part hereby agrees to quit and surrender up the premises at the expiration of the lease without notice from the party of the first part

In Witness whereof the said parties have hereunto set their hand and seals the day and year first above written

In presence of — For Congregation Emanu El

C. G. [illegible] — E. M. Berg President

Loring Bartlett Jr

betokened the permanent character of the settlement. On Bush street, between Montgomery and Sansome, one of these new buildings had been erected by Loring Bartlett, Jr., from whom, on September 1st, Mr. Berg obtained a lease of a room on the first floor, eighty feet in length by twenty-three in width, for the term of two months, with the privilege of renewal for four months longer, at a rental of two hundred dollars per month, payable in advance.*

NOTE.—It is noteworthy how much confusion there existed amongst the pioneers regarding the place of worship of 1850. The anonymous chronicler of Appendix B has it that the services in 1850 were held "in Kearny Street," and several of my informants, most of them now deceased, located the place in general terms as "Mrs. Mitchell Louis' Boarding House," or "Mr. Mann's residence." With reference to the latter there is really a notice in the *Alta California* of April 5, 1851, stating that on April 6th a meeting of Israelites would be held for the purpose of forming a Congregation and providing means toward the establishment of a House of Worship. This evidently alludes to one of the later meetings of the Congregation, or possibly to one held by Sherith Israel for the purpose of completing the charter organization. There is no doubt whatever that the Synagogue of Emanu-El in 1850 was located on Bush street, between Montgomery and Sansome, as given in the Berg-Bartlett lease.

Loving and tender hands were waiting to convert the hall into a place of worship. Of the women of that period, the names of Mrs. E. M. Berg, afterwards Mrs. Morgenthau, Mrs. U. Simon and Mrs. Barnett Keesing are known as having actively interested themselves in making the new place of worship as hospitable and homelike as possible. So came around the memorable Rosh Ha'Shanah of 5611 (September 17, 1850), the first Rosh Ha'Shanah ever kept on the shores of San Francisco Bay, when the German-Jewish settlers, under the active direction of Parnass E. M. Berg, and again under the spiritual leadership of Leon Dyer, Esq., met to celebrate the holy season and worship the God of their fathers. The names of many of the attendants are preserved. Our venerable Samuel Foorman still prides himself on having then acted as "usher," and still remembers the services as having been very impressive and beautiful. So far as known only three married couples attended: Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Berg, Mr. and Mrs. U. Simon, Mr. and Mrs. Barnett Keesing. David Samuels, then a lad of barely fifteen or sixteen, was a participant in this first service, as was his brother-in-law, Jacobi. Louis

*See Appendix A.

Cohn and Samuel Marx, Levi Hess, Charles Hess and William Seligman, A. C. Labatt and his son Henry J., the Neufelds and the Wormsers, B. Davidson and Joel Noah, are all known to have attended this first Emanu-El service, of which, unhappily, no further details are at hand. It was, doubtless, a glorious occasion. Simple as must have been the environments, the settlers worshiped with full hearts and deep emotion, for, like Moses and the Princes of Israel, they stood by as one of the new wells of Faith sprang forth, and they, too, sang a song of praise to Him who hath never forsaken the parents nor the children of the wandering race that digged the wells of faith in the soil of every land. And we, fifty years after, render homage to our forbears, to the brave founders of Emanu-El and to them who attended its first service; and we declare that we shall remain true to the traditions established by them, and will forever maintain the foundations reared in faith, piety and devotion!

In the month of October, 1850, the Congregation Emanu-El was fully organized. During the middle days of Sukkoth a general meeting of the membership re-elected Emanuel M. Berg President of the Congregation, and committees were appointed to complete the legal organization by taking steps for obtaining a charter, to look around for a minister, to regulate the rather unsettled spiritual conditions, and look after the interests of the children. The work in hand was extremely difficult. Whilst the Congregation had theretofore decided to worship according to the ritual in vogue in the German countries, the introduction thereof, and the enforcement of a strictly orthodox discipline amongst the members, was connected with difficulties the officers of the Congregation at no time wished to conceal. A spiritual authority was wholly wanting at the time, or the presence of an educational force that could command the respect of all the people. It is interesting to learn that Louis Cohn, a native of New York, and at that time a merchant, engrossed in large business transactions, organized a class of some twenty children, and on Sunday mornings gave them religious instruction. It was actually the beginning of a school that has, itself, an interesting story to present of its fifty years of activity. Ritual committees from the Congregation were appointed to examine into the facilities for securing *Kosher* meat, for providing unleavened bread on the

ensuing Passover, and for the general introduction of paraphernalia used in connection with the worship. A *Shehitah* Board in conjunction with the Sherith Israel Congregation, members of both bodies sitting as a Board in both ritual and administrative capacities, seems to have been one of the earliest organizations resulting from congregational activity, and the first authorized *Shohet* seems to have been the learned Isaac Goldsmith, whose versatility and great Rabbinical culture fitted him for far more exalted duties than that of a *Shohet* to the Jewish community. The necessities for the Passover were looked into, and more than one of the brethren seems to have coveted the lucrative office of "Matzo baker to the Congregation Emanu-El." * Whilst this activity evinced an earnestness that commands even at this time the most sincere praise, it is easily understood that in the absence of a competent spiritual head the individual opinions of members, or the aggressive criticism of would-be scholars and self-appointed Rabbis interfered, to a considerable extent, with the peaceful development of the Congregation. Even at that time a young, progressive element, little concerned with the enforcement of ritual law, more solicitous for the affiliation of the Jew with the interests of the new commonwealth, assumed an apathetic attitude toward the Congregation, refusing to enter the membership on the ground that the services did not attract them. Those younger men, mostly well educated, became a decade later the strongest factor in the upbuilding of the Congregation. Little as Reform was known or formulated in 1850, it was the undefined quest after something more in consonance with their spiritual wants that created this apathy, though it did not seem to have deterred the Congregation from actively proceeding on the lines previously marked out.

The Committee on Permanent Organization began its sessions shortly after January, 1851. A temporary Constitution and By-Laws, under which the Congregation operated since July or August, 1850, was carefully examined into, and as a topic of discussion the following Preamble was submitted:

* In the archives of the Congregation I have found an amusing letter of which the substance is herewith presented: "Having been informed that you have organized a Hebrew Congregation, I desire to be appointed Matzo baker to your honorable body. *I was born and bred in a bakery*, and therefore know all about the business, and I can afford to furnish you Matzos at twenty-five or twenty-six cents per pound."

PREAMBLE.

The Congregation Emanu-El, established A. M. 5611 (1851), anxious to preserve, cherish and exercise the doctrines and precepts of the Mosaic Religion—solicitous of perpetuating the time-hallowed ancestral institutions for the establishment of public worship, have, for the more effectual accomplishment of these objects, adopted the following revised Constitution and By-Laws.*

The Preamble having been adopted, the Committee drafted a "Charter," which, together with the revised Constitution and By-Laws, was submitted to the Congregation for ratification, and were filed with the County Clerk of San Francisco on April 11, 1851. The instrument reads as follows:

CHARTER.

We, the undersigned,

Philip Runkel,

A. Watters, Abraham C. Labatt,

Samuel Marx, Moritz Schwartz, S. Heiter,

L. A. Levy, Jr., Joseph Shannon, Rudolph Wyman,

I. E. Woolf, A. H. Harris, J. J. Joseph, Jr., S. Fleishhacker,

J. Honisberger, Louis Cohn, William Seligman.

All residents of San Francisco and of the Israelite Faith do hereby certify that we have formed and associated ourselves into a Religious Congregation or Association in the name and form following, to wit:

First: That the Corporate Name of the said Congregation or Association shall be "God is with us" Congregation or Emanu-El.

Second: That the Synagogue or place of worship of the said Congregation shall be located in the City of San Francisco.

*I must again call attention to the discrepancy in dates. The Preamble statement, "established A. M. 5611 (1851)," is wholly misleading. The year 5611 began September 17, 1850, and the Congregation was organized long before that date. However, the Committee's statement, that for the purposes described in the Preamble they would recommend for adoption "the following *revised* Constitution and By-Laws," to some extent rectifies the error, and plainly shows the existence of a previous instrument, under which the Congregation was operating until the grant of the charter, which date in the archives is April 8, 1851, though the copy in the County Clerk's office has April 11th. A copy of the original Articles of Incorporation, including the Preamble, is preserved in a beautifully illuminated manuscript book, on the opening page of which is a very handsome wood cut of the Broadway Synagogue, with the subscription: "H. J. Labatt, Scripsit et Ornamentavit."

EMANUEL MARUM BERG,

First President of Emanu-El.

THIRD: That the said Congregation, or Association, is formed and created and shall continue in existence for a term of fifty years commencing with and on the date of these presents.

FOURTH: That the temporal affairs of the said Congregation or Association and the estate property thereof shall be managed and transacted by a Board of Trustees in accordance with such By-Laws, rules and regulations as already have been or may hereafter be adopted by the members of the said Congregation.

FIFTH: That the said Board of Trustees shall be formed and composed of *nine* members of said Association, who after the first year shall be elected in the manner provided and expressed in the By-Laws.

AND that for the first year commencing this day the following persons have been elected and chosen to form the said Board of Trustees: Abraham C. Labatt, A. Watters, Joseph May, M. Schwartz, I. I. Joseph, Sr., William Seligman, R. Wyman, L. A. Levy, Jr., and Philip Runkel.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF we hereunto subscribe our names at San Francisco this eighth day of April One thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

(Signed)

Signed in the presence of
LN. HERMAN,
ED. TOBY.

A. WATTERS,
ABM. C. LABATT,
MORITZ SCHWARTZ,
JOSEPH SHANNON,
RUDOLPH WYMAN,
WILLIAM SELIGMAN,
S. FLEISHHACKER,
LOUIS COHN,
PHILIP RUNKEL,
SAMUEL MARX,
SIMON HEITER,
I. E. WOOLF,
A. H. HARRIS,
I. I. JOSEPH, SR.,
I. HONISBERGER,
L. A. LEVY, JR.

Accompanying this charter is a statement, dated April 10, 1851, under the hand and seal of Ln. Herman, a Notary Public, identifying the signatures and the following declaration:

A true copy of the record on file in my office in Book I of Corporations, pages 9, 10 and 11. Witness my hand and seal of office this 15th of October, 1856.

(Signed) THOS. HAYES,
Clerk of the County of San Francisco.

The permanent organization was completed by all officers elected in the fall of 1850 resigning their positions and the election of the nine trustees named in the charter. At that meeting for permanent organization, Abraham C. Labatt was elected President.*

NOTE.—Abraham C. Labatt was one of the founders and most active members of the Temple Emanu-El. His son, Henry J., appears to have been equally active, having served for a number of years as both Secretary to the Congregation and a member of the School Commission. The family returned early in the sixties to New Orleans, their original home, whence A. C. Labatt removed to Galveston, Texas, to reside with his daughter. During my own residence in Texas I often met Mr. Labatt, then a man of nearly eighty, of venerable and patriarchal appearance, who told me many a fine tale of the pioneer days and spoke with pride of his connection with the Temple Emanu-El. When he heard of my having been called to serve the Congregation he sent for me and in touching words felicitated me on the distinction, and prayed that the Congregation he had served in his younger days might ever prosper. Last year, when I visited Texas, I ascertained that the venerable Labatt was still alive, but, unless I am seriously mistaken, there is reason to fear that the unfortunate gentleman, together with the members of his daughter's family, lost their lives in the terrible catastrophe that recently overtook and decimated the stricken city of Galveston.

As heretofore stated, the tendencies of the Congregation were distinctly conservative. Article I of the Constitution of 1851 provides that "The mode of worship of this Congregation shall be in conformity to the Minhag Askenass (Custom of the German Israelites)." Article II provides that the general meetings be held "on Chol-Hamoeth Succoth every year, or as near that period as practicable." Article IV, Section 3, provides that the Trustees "shall have the power to enact such regulations * * * for promoting order and decorum during divine service and also for the proper solemnization of our Hebrew rites and ceremonies, provided such regulations are not contrary to the tenor of this Constitution"; which is in effect an injunction upon the Trustees to let no personal opinions militate against the established Minhag; Articles V and VI contain sections making it incumbent on the President and Vice-President to attend all religious services and to enforce the Minhag. Section IV of Article V also requires the Vice-President to provide "Minyan during the Shivah" at the house of mourning, "if required by the relatives of

* It is somewhat surprising that the name of E. M. Berg does not appear in the charter, and that this gentleman was not re-elected to his high office. Most likely, the very fact that he appointed the committee may account for the non-appearance of his name, and the further fact that he succeeded Mr. Labatt in the autumn of 1852, makes it presumable that for a brief period Mr. Berg sought respite from the arduous duties of administration.

the deceased." Article X provides "Any Israelite desirous of becoming a member shall apply to the President"; and "no Israelite shall be considered qualified for membership who is united in marriage contrary to the laws and ordinances of our religion." Section 5 of Article X is quite emphatic: "Any member who shall marry contrary to the laws and ordinances of our religion, or who shall renounce Judaism, or who shall perform the marriage ceremony in this city or its vicinity without the permission of the Board of Officers shall forfeit his membership." Sons of members have all the rights and privileges of members until they have attained the age of twenty-one. Widows are entitled to the same privileges as all members' wives, until they re-marry. Article XI of the Constitution provides for the election of "a Minister, a Shamas and Shochet," said election to be held by the Congregation, also provides for congregational meetings to be held "during the Months of Tishri, Tebees, Nissan and Tammuz," and for regular meetings of the Board of Officers "during the first week of every month of the Jewish Calendar." The By-Laws are quite cumbersome. Thirteen sections of Article I provide duties for the Sexton which must have made that functionary the hardest worked man in San Francisco. The dues of members were reasonable enough. Each member was required to pay two dollars per month dues, and five dollars per annum for the use of one seat. Article VI provides for the proper maintenance of the Scrolls of the Law. Article IX is in part reminiscent of the old Synagogue tyranny and deserves to be quoted:

ARTICLE IX. — *Fines.* Section 1. Members who shall have been duly elected to any of the offices mentioned in Article II of the Constitution, and refuse to serve, shall be subject to the following fines:

For refusing to serve as President - - - -	$30.00
" " " " " Vice-President - -	20.00
" " " " " Treasurer - - - -	20.00
" " " " " Trustee - - - - - -	10.00

Sections 3 and 4. Any member not attending a funeral, if notified, shall be subject to a fine of five dollars. Any member not attending Minyan, if notified * * * shall be subject to a fine of two dollars, but he may "send a fit substitute, who shall report himself to the attending Shamas."

Article X is worthy of reproduction:

CHEYOOBIM.—The following shall be considered *Cheyoobim*, *i. e.*, entitled to be called to the Torah:

A. On Sabbath:

a. The son of a member, on the day of his Bar Mitzvah, also his father.

b. The member whose wife attends Synagogue the first time after her confinement.

c. A member on the day of the Berith of his son; also the God-father and Mohel.

d. The member having Jahrzeit.

e. The bridegroom and Unterfuehrer on the Sabbath before and after the wedding.

B. On Rosh Hashanah.

The Ba'al Tokeah on the first day.

C. On Yom Kippur.

The Mussaph Reader.*

The first Constitution and By-Laws of the Congregation Emanu-El compose a ponderous document, going into all the details of administration and religious discipline with a minuteness calculated to effect a union of two institutions, namely, the Synagogue proper and the old-time *Hebrah*, with all its advantages of mutual assistance and protection. Two objects seem to have been in the minds of the framers: the first, to accustom the members to the traditional discipline; and the second, to create a homogeneous body by teaching the members the necessity for mutual service, and giving them all an interest in each other as well as in the Corporation they had organized. Some of the features looking to this mutual service are thoroughly admirable, but it is easily understood that such a document, whilst designed to meet the wants of settlers, would require radical changes as soon as the growth of the community would bring larger accessions to the ranks of the Congregation; but in some material aspects the law then created remains the law of Emanu-El until this day. The crisis through which San Francisco had unfortunately

*The antiquity of this document is unquestionable. It makes no provision for the duties of the Rabbi or Minister, nor does it mention him as a "*Cheyoob*" on New Year and the Day of Atonement.

passed had already taught the membership of Emanu-El the necessity of congregational action and of organization for the purpose of caring for both the living and the dead.*

Already before the adoption of the Constitution and the grant of the charter steps had been taken to secure a permanent house of worship, a "Convention" having been called for March 16th, for the purpose of devising ways and means. The San Francisco *Evening Picayune* of March 15, 1851, presented the following appreciative notice:

THE ISRAELITES.

"We are highly gratified to notice that the large and respectable class of our fellow citizens above named are taking spirited measures toward the construction of an edifice suited to the convenience of their solemn religious services, the most ancient and revered known among the worshipers of the *one living and true God*. We are glad for them that they have chosen to cast their lot with us under a government that gives them the fullest protection in the exercise of their faith and worship, and which affords them equal opportunities with all other citizens to develop to any extent of their aspirations their political, social, religious and civil interests."

This "Convention," called by President Labatt, expressed a spirited approval of the proposition to erect immediately a house of worship. Fifteen hundred dollars were immediately subscribed, and a participant in the meeting furnishes the gratifying testimony that the brethren "were generously and liberally assisted by their fellow citizens of other denominations" (Appendix B). Nothing, however, came of this early attempt. A serious conflagration, one of a series with which the city had to contend since 1849, broke out on the night of May 3, 1850, devastated the business portion and reduced to ashes sixteen entire blocks and portions of seven others. "Upward of one thousand homes were consumed and property

* During the last two months of 1850 cholera prevailed in San Francisco, which induced the two already-organized charities, the Eureka Benevolent Society and The First Hebrew Benevolent Association, to organize a joint "Humane Society," or rather *Hebra Kadisha*, for the purpose of rendering personal assistance to the sick and attending to the burial of the dead. The late J. J. Joseph, a Charlestonian, was the President of this joint commission. The public spirit of the pioneers led to the rapid multiplication of organizations, and at that early period there was even talk of organizing a Hospital Association. (See *Occident*, Vol. VIII, p. 578; *Alta California*, November 4, 1850.)

destroyed valued at from ten to twelve millions of dollars."* Another conflagration, the so-called "Sixth great fire," broke out on Sunday, June 22, and consumed property valued at nearly three millions of dollars. This series of misfortunes naturally crippled the resources of the settlers. Quickly as San Francisco rose from her ashes, a beautiful and substantial city, the necessary matter of church building had to be deferred until more propitious times, and we have the testimony of the anonymous chronicler whose story we have named Appendix B that "the disastrous conflagrations of 1851 frustrated our efforts for that time."†

Nevertheless, despite these harassing events, and the ensuing depressing conditions, the Congregation Emanu-El continued to increase in strength and numbers. The temporary Synagogue on Bush street had fortunately escaped the conflagration, the latter's course having led from Pine street northward toward the Bay; and in that hallowed place, where daily morning services were held, the members often gathered to discuss current events, and study the means by which their congregation and other organizations they had founded could be successfully perpetuated. The need of a Rabbi was already felt. The Congregation had grown too large to venture without competent leadership. Though it was but one year old, its fame and that of its sister, the Sherith Israel, had spread abroad. In the East, in Europe and in far-off Australia, it was already known that the Jewish Argonauts had obeyed the intuitions of their race, and had founded habitations for the Ark of the Covenant. Jewish residents of San Francisco communicated with their friends in every part of the world,

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* Hittel, History of California, Vol. III, pp. 354-355 ff.

† The San Francisco *Herald* of March 19, 1851, notices a "celebration of Israelites," stating in detail that a large and respectable number of Israelites assembled at the Gem Hotel, kept by J. Benjamin, on Jackson street. The Committee of Arrangements were S. Fleishhacker, L. A. Levy, Jr., Jno. M. Jacobs, J. Woolf, S. M. Barnett, all members of the Congregation. It is obvious that this "celebration" was a Purim festival. Editorially, the *Herald* of the date named speaks of our brethren as "constituting a numerous and intelligent class, conducting themselves with great propriety and decorum; industrious and enterprising, and worthy members of the community"; also, that "steps are being taken to erect a place of worship as soon as necessary funds can be raised." Under date of March 22, 1851, the same paper notices the appointment of a committee to receive subscriptions for a house of worship. In noticing the laying of the corner-stone of the Broadway Synagogue, the *Herald*, under date of July 24, 1854, furnishes an interesting but rather vague sketch of the history of the Jewish community since 1849, and, discussing the conflagrations here noted, states, as a part of the Jewish history of 1851, that the Congregation Emanu-El had intended to erect a Synagogue in that year, for which fifteen hundred dollars had already been subscribed, but that the Congregation was "hindered by the disastrous conflagration of June, the Jews being among the greatest sufferers."

and, since distance always lends enchantment, the prosperous condition of the Congregations and their individual members was very much magnified. It is, supposedly, excusable that quite a number of learned Rabbis, attracted by the fame of the gold-land, sought opportunities to come to California. The archives of the Congregation Emanu-El, from 1851 to 1854, contain a most interesting correspondence between various Jewish clergymen and scholars and a number of the officers, exchanging opinions on the subject of the Rabbinate. Part of this correspondence properly belongs to the curiosities of congregational history, inasmuch as it not only reveals the grotesque character of some of the correspondents, but the inadequate opinions some of the self-ordained Rabbis entertained regarding the duties to which they expected to be called. But the Congregation Emanu-El was hardly prepared for the financial sacrifices involved in the calling of a Rabbi. In the course of the year 1851 it had appointed Hazan Welhof its Reader and Minister, at a very modest compensation. Its income for the year was barely fifteen hundred dollars. The succession of disasters seems to have financially crippled the community. In consequence, the calling of a Rabbi was to be deferred until more propitious times. That one or more were needed, goes without saying. Able administrators as the officers undoubtedly were, that unity of religious opinion that results from competent and authorized teaching was wholly wanting. The mere external form of worship, the daily and weekly prayers, meritorious as they were in themselves, yet did not suffice for most of the members, many of whom, by this time, had brought their families; and the need of religious education, both in the pulpit and in the school, began sorely to be felt. In addition, the evils of self-assumed authority began to appear. Men, possessed of some information, but of no standing whatever, began to claim recognition as religious teachers, and, as is natural in such cases, sought to create friction by arraying the various nationalities against each other, by sowing dissension between the Congregations, and like unfortunate proceedings; which only emphasized so much more the need of efficient religious leadership, and left a conviction that the Congregation Emanu-El, despite the excellence of its membership, could not be deemed fully organized until its pulpit and school placed it, with full and competent title,

in the ranks of the Jewish Congregations of the land. And so Emanu-El pottered along for a year or two, ostensibly inactive, its growth apparently checked; but its innate force soon asserted itself, and its wise men began the work of final and complete organization.

The year 1852 passed quietly, so far as the Congregation's interests were concerned. Regular services were held, and some provision was made for the religious instruction of an increasing number of children. During the preceding autumn, the Congregation had held its first regular annual meeting under the charter, and it had been decided to vacate the temporary synagogue on Bush street. From that date, until November, 1853, when the premises on the corner of Stockton and Green were secured by President Henry Seligman at a rental of sixty-five dollars per month, the Congregation was migratory, a condition possibly necessitated by the unsatisfactory state of its finances and the growth of indifference amongst the Jewish pioneers. An interesting picture of the times is preserved in a rather acrimonious correspondence conducted in the *Alta California* of the closing weeks of '52 between a number of anonymous writers. Public attention had been called to the unsatisfactory state of Sabbath observance in San Francisco. The saloons and gambling resorts knew neither the repose of night nor the advantage of a day of rest. The miners and traders from the interior could do business on Sunday as well as on any other day. The few primitive churches stood lonely and forsaken, like lodges in a cucumber field. A sense of despondency pervaded the religious element of the community. A lady of the good old-fashioned New England type, with more sympathy for the Blue Laws than the evolutionary conditions of California, wrote to the *Alta* of December 24, '52, demanding legislative action to protect the day of rest, and invoking the powers of the Legislature to enforce general observance of the Sabbath. In a rather vindictive strain this good woman covers a column with her arraignment of "heathens, Mohammedans and Infidels," amongst whom she ranks the Jews, whose influence in the community she regards as mischievous. This letter, which seems to have created some excitement, was immediately replied to the following day by a gentleman who signs himself "Justice," in which reply the Jewish community is vindicated and highly praised, and in which it was asserted, without fear of contradic-

HENRY SELIGMAN,

President of Temple Emanu-El,

1853-1854,

1856-1862.

tion, that the Jews of California had been the first to found charitable institutions designed to mitigate the hardships many of the settlers were compelled to suffer. The infamous petition to the Legislature that was circulated in San Francisco during the last week of 1852 is a matter of political history. It prays for the enactment of laws that shall compel better observance of the Sabbath. It viciously insinuates that if Mexicans, French, Jews, etc., be compelled to close, American merchants would gladly do the same. It was the old new story of putting on Jewish shoulders all the responsibility for the greed and covetousness of the general population. A letter in the *Alta*, dated December 26, signed "Israelite", presents a splendid resumé of the Jewish point of view, and castigates the framers of the petition for their unworthy attempt to sow the seeds of prejudice in a community where theretofore all elements had lived in peace and harmony, and to the prosperity of which the Jews had contributed so materially. The correspondence closed in January, and naturally led to nothing. The matter was brought up in the Legislature and caused an acrimonious debate; and that was, for the time being, the last of the Sunday-observance movement in California.

But this short-lived excitement, fruitless and still-born as it proved to be, was not without its immediate influence on the Jewish community. The presence of an intangible but dangerous enemy was felt. Our people knew that their industry, perseverance and consequent prosperity would beget envy and jealousy on the part of the shiftless and the gamblers. They knew also that their adherence to the doctrines and traditions of their faith would let loose the prejudices of that peculiar class of bigots and fanatics whose intolerance springs from an utterly selfish judgment of the paramount value of their own so-called faith. Confronting these incipient dangers, the pioneers instantly grasped the means for meeting them. They rallied around their young organizations and endowed them with strength and dignity. The presentation of a united front would assist in dissipating curious notions that had been circulated regarding the objects for which Jewish settlers had come to California. Many of the younger men hitherto indifferent to congregational aims and objects joined the ranks. At the meeting of the Congregation Emanu-El, held during the middle days of Sukkoth, 1852, President E. M. Berg had resumed the reins of office, and, with remarkable

grasp of the situation that had developed during his second term, that devoted and pious gentleman set about to endow the Congregation with that stability that would forever afterwards be its principal characteristic. Ably assisted by a young man, a recent arrival who had consented to become secretary to the Congregation, the refined and amiable Charles Emanuel, and by the intelligent and enthusiastic gentleman who succeeded him, Henry Seligman, Mr. Berg set about to deepen the foundations of the Congregation. At the spring meeting of the membership he eloquently urged the immediate erection of a Synagogue. Conforming to his request, a committee was appointed composed of Charles Emanuel, Louis Cohn, M. Barnett, H. Regensburger, H. Newhouse, and the President, who was added ex-officio. The committee found itself handicapped by the poverty of the Congregation. The income for the year was twenty-five hundred dollars, and after paying the rental of the temporary premises and the rather meager salary of Hazan Welhof nothing remained. In this emergency the spirit of the membership was easily tested. Many were eager to contribute; some came forward and volunteered loans. The latter were encouraging enough to justify the committee to proceed. Several parcels of real estate were offered, generally in what were then the outlying parts of the city. The committee selected a lot on California street, between Powell and Mason, and its purchase was approved by the Congregation at the ensuing annual meeting, which was held October 23, 1853. President Berg's annual report at that meeting emphasized the remarkable change he had been able to notice during the year. He was happy to congratulate the membership, said Mr. Berg, "upon the improvement in every respect that was visible in the Congregation"; and he hoped that the members would continue in their zealous efforts to erect a house of worship.* The committee to secure a lot presented the following report, which must afford interesting reading to the present membership as indicating the slender beginnings of the present powerful and prosperous institution:

To the President and Members of the Hebrew Congregation Emanu-El—Gents:

The committee appointed by your Congregation to purchase a suitable lot for the erection of a Synagogue take pleasure to report

* Minutes of the Congregation Emanu-El, Vol. I, p. 2.

that they have completed their labors and purchased a lot on California street, between Powell and Mason streets, for the sum of three thousand dollars, and paid for the same. The sum of $1,150.00 deposited by Mr. S. Fleishhacker at the banking house of Page, Bacon & Co. was drawn from the bank, also $100.00 received from Cook & Bro. by Mr. J. Shannon. The following gentlemen advanced as a loan each the sum of one hundred dollars: Messrs. E. M. Berg, A. Newhouse, Louis Cohn, H. Regensburger, Jesse Seligman and M. Barnett.

Your committee hope that their action will meet with the approval of the Congregation and beg leave to be discharged from further consideration of the subject.

San Francisco, October 23, (1853) 5614.

The most important action of the general meeting of 1853 was the election of Henry Seligman as President of the Congregation. With him may be said to begin that era of administrative energy that, with few interruptions, has been continued until this day. Henry Seligman set the fashion to all future Parnassim of the Congregation with regard to that splendid consecration to duty that characterized them all. He made the office of the President the paramount responsibility in the Congregation. Called to the chair much against his own inclination, being absorbed in the care of a large and growing business, the election was a complete surprise to him, but having consented to take charge of affairs at a critical juncture, he developed an activity, that, from this distance of time, appears short of amazing. The story of the Congregation during his term of office, and until his removal from the city in 1862, shows a firm grasp of all the questions involved in the growth of the institution; a noble sense of responsibility that knew friend nor foe in the discharge of its duty, and a high, intelligent appreciation of the magnitude of his task and of the position this Congregation of Israel was to occupy in after times. Henry Seligman began to systematize matters, and applied to the management of finances, the same aptitude that, in after years, placed the Seligman Brothers amongst the great financiers of the country. A man of education, of conservative tendencies, and full of that fine spirit needed in the delicate ministrations to which he was called,

enthusiastic but undemonstrative, powerful in action, though always with gentle insistence, the Congregation had found the man who would firmly lead it from its uncertain ways. Doubtlessly stirred by the incipient anti-Semitism of the closing weeks of 1852, urged by the pious Berg himself, who would gladly yield the gavel to a more determined spirit, Seligman, then barely twenty-five years old, a leader of the progressive, active Jewish youth of the period—a youth destined to prove the bone and sinew of all our institutions—assumed office midst the plaudits of all the pioneers, who promised to follow his leadership. His task was difficult, but his energy overcame every obstacle. He notified both officers and members that he would hold them strictly accountable for the performance of their duty. The law imposed a fine on all members who did not attend meetings; he would strictly enforce that fine. He found the finances in a rather unsatisfactory condition. Only twenty-five hundred dollars had been collected during the year, which barely sufficed to pay the excessive rental of the premises heretofore occupied: there was an arrearage of over six hundred dollars on the books, and barely four hundred dollars on hand to meet all obligations until the dues could be collected. But, despite this poor showing, the membership had endowed the Congregation with an asset of three thousand dollars; the lot whereupon to build the Synagogue was paid for, and though part of this was owing to the gentlemen who had advanced hundred-dollar loans, the President saw nothing discouraging in the outlook. To the contrary, he determined to force matters and to proceed actively with the erection of a Synagogue, believing, rightly, that initiative to be the true completion of a solid and permanent organization.

He was nobly encouraged by his friends and associates. Unfortunately, no record is preserved of the original charter list, excepting the names of the brethren which appear in the articles of incorporation; but Mr. Charles Emanuel, the Congregation's efficient Secretary, has incorporated a number of the names of early members in his reports and records, and we are able to see who were the men, who with President Seligman did the fine work of endowing Emanu-El with permanent life. The Board of Officers elected October 23, 1853, were: Henry Seligman, President; M. Barnett, Vice-President; Levy Hess, Treasurer; Chas. Emanuel, Secretary; E. M.

Berg, L. Tichener, M. Cohen, Louis Cohn and M. Frank, Trustees. The following names of members appear as having been present at the meeting:

L. Wertheimer, H. J. Labatt, David Stern, Simon Marx, U. Simon, D. Cerf, A. C. Labatt, J. L. Woolf, William Scholle, A. Heineberg, M. Frank, Samuel Marx, M. Barnett, Abraham Hess, M. Morgenthau, Chas. Emanuel, Moritz Cohen, H. Regensburger, Louis Cohn, D. Jacobi, Levy Hess, Jacob Mason, L. Tichener, Philip Schloss, S. Mayer, Herman Silberman, Chas. Hess, Henry Newhouse, Abraham Solomons. Mr. Charles Hess had been Secretary during the Labatt and Berg administrations.

In the minutes of a special meeting called two weeks later the following names appear in addition:

Jacob Blum, Louis A. Cohen, Julius Eppstein, Abraham Hess, A. L. Lang, L. Lazard, M. Lazard, David Samuels, S. Simon, William Steinhart, John L. Woolf. This list of forty attendants represents in part the charter list.

The Congregation at that time numbered barely seventy-five members. Some of the founders of the Congregation had already left for the interior; a limited number, more sympathetic towards the friends of Sherith Israel, having, in fact, been charter members of both organizations, had finally joined that institution. Most of the men named were young, the majority unmarried, and composed of a body of workers quite ready, under the spirited leadership of Henry Seligman, to face the exigencies of the future. There were, doubtless, others who, like the brothers Jesse and William Seligman, were prevented from attending these great meetings. Among the members not above named who appended their signatures to the charter between '50 and '54 were:

A. Tandler, Rino Berel, A. May, I. A. Goldman, A. Wasserman, Seixas Solomons, D. Abrams, I. F. Bloch, Lewis Strauss, G. Goodman, Henry Greenberg, E. L. Goldstein, August Kline, L. S. Ackerman, Martin Heller, Henry Cohn, B. Reinhart, M. Duke, A. Cahn, Wm. (?) Halphen, M. Mayblum, I. Levy, M. Steppacher, L. Godchaux, S. Schonwasser, H. Levi, H. Heineman (?), S. Cahn.

November 14, 1853, was the day that really determined the future of the Congregation. A special meeting was held that day, which

gave expression to all the active work undertaken by President Seligman. The time for building the Synagogue had come. A committee had been appointed to prepare a suitable "Preamble and Resolutions," incorporating the sentiments of the membership on the subject. "Whereas," said the Committee, "the members of this Congregation desire to erect a Synagogue on the lot of ground owned by the Congregation, and whereas the amount required to carry out this noble object will exceed the sum of twenty thousand dollars, and whereas it is the opinion of the members of this Congregation that said sum can be raised by subscription as a loan to this Congregation; therefore, be it resolved, that the Board of Trustees are hereby authorized and empowered to open books of subscription for the loan to the Congregation for the erection of a Synagogue." The resolution was carried by a vote of 23 ayes to 11 nays. The minority protested that they agreed with the spirit of the resolution and favored the immediate erection of a Synagogue; but that they believed the lot on California street to be a poor selection, and that a more advantageous site might be found. This spirited objection, interposed by the minority leaders, David Stern and William Steinhart, had its proper weight with the President, who himself suggested an amendment to the resolution, so that it should read, "on *a* lot owned by the Congregation," instead of "on *the* lot owned by the Congregation." This amendment was adopted unanimously, and besides uniting the membership, practically condemned the California street site and forced the attention of the Congregation, early in the ensuing year, to the site on which was built the historic Broadway Synagogue. The meeting further determined, as a token of its earnest intents, that as soon as ten thousand dollars should have been subscribed, the Board might engage architects to draw plans and designs for the Synagogue.

It was truly a venturesome undertaking. A number of men, all more or less struggling for subsistence, scarcely cognizant of the future, which appeared uncertain to them all, determined to incur a debt of twenty thousand dollars to erect a house of worship. Their sole assets were a building site, the selection of which had proved to be a blunder, and which was only in part paid for, and the good faith of the membership. Most of the latter were young men this

side of thirty, and according to the ordinary run of opinion, hardly mature enough to undertake the responsibilities of maintaining and perpetuating the weighty interests of Jewish faith, Jewish worship, discipline and tradition. They were surrounded by influences none of the best, and the greatest number of them could not definitely say then whether the progress of their material interests justified their permanent settlement in California. These facts considered, we are able to appreciate the magnificence of their spirit as well as the magnitude of their undertaking. Inspirited by the indomitable Seligman no one feared the ultimate outcome. The foundations of the Jewish communities of San Francisco were the work of *young* men, and this fact alone is worthy of preservation in the amplest form, as the strongest appeal that can be made to the young people of the present, or as an argument with which to meet the discouraging assertions that our young people turn away from the religion of their fathers. They never did,—and never will. The spirit of the fathers is always in the children. God never permitted the generation of Elyah to pass away without bequeathing the prophet's mantle to the children who demanded similar leadership.

The following week, November 20, 1853, a special meeting of the Congregation gave another and still more marked earnest of its intentions. It resolved, after long and mature deliberation, "That this Congregation deems it necessary for its own prosperity, and is desirous of engaging a Minister, Hazan and Teacher as early as possible." The spirit of the meeting might be judged by the vote on the resolution, 37 ayes to *one* nay, and then these young men further resolved that they would pay a salary of three thousand five hundred dollars per annum for three years to the man whom they would engage to be their teacher.

This was the pioneer spirit of the Congregation Emanu-El of San Francisco. With an income not exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars per annum, up to that moment fully pledged to the payment of the rent for the temporary Synagogue, and without positive assurance that the membership would increase, these young men had pledged themselves to the erection of a Synagogue, to cost twenty thousand dollars, and to the payment of a salary that exceeded the congregational income by one thousand dollars! Many might deem this spirit

foolhardy; slow-going conservatism might condemn it. But our young men of the fifties vindicated the faith that was in them, and it was that faith alone, that glorious strength of conviction and pride of the association they had formed, that determined their acts, as it has ever remained the rule of action with the leaders and teachers of the great Congregation that arose from such modest beginnings. The men of the fifties assumed debts for God's sake and honorably redeemed them. The men of every decade until to-day did likewise, assuming obligations for the honor of their religion, for the sake of progress and enlightenment and a sound, intelligent faith; and they, too, have redeemed every debt they ever contracted. The spirit of the fifties abided in "The Temple" long after the pioneers passed away, and it abides there still, fostered by men fully alive to the grandeur of their mission! The enthusiasm of the meeting of November 20 seems to have been boundless. The members clamored for immediate action on the selection of a minister. Without any previous correspondence, without having at all ascertained the wishes of the man named, they bestowed a compliment on one of the most eloquent, amiable and best known ministers then resident in the United States. The following resolution was passed unanimously, and will be of interest to our brethren of Sinai Congregation of New Orleans:

"*Resolved*, That the Reverend James K. Gutheim, of New Orleans, be, and is hereby declared our just choice for the office of Minister to the Congregation, and that a committee be instructed to correspond with the gentleman."*

This resolution again demonstrated the fine spirit of the men of Emanu-El. In 1853, there were but few English-speaking Jewish ministers in the country. Rabbis there were still less. Raphall and Isaacs were in New York. Isaac M. Wise was planning a revolution in Albany. Leeser was doing splendid work in Philadelphia. Max Lilienthal was conducting an academy in New York, the teacher of men who became the leaders of their generation; Gutheim was in New Orleans. The Jewish congregations had functionaries, ministers; but few who were either imbued with the spirit of the

* Minutes of the Congregation Emanu-El, Vol. I, November 20, 1853.

The Broadway Synagogue.

times, or who possessed sufficient sagacity to determine the needs of the growing American congregations. But Gutheim's rejoinder must speak for itself as descriptive of the needs of the times:

NEW ORLEANS, January 8, 1854.

To Henry Seligman, Esq., President, Board of Trustees and Committee of the Emanu-El Congregation, San Francisco:

GENTLEMEN.—Your esteemed communication of the 30th of November, 1853, as likewise a copy of the same, dated December 6th, have come to hand, and I am sorry that the defective intercommunication between our two cities should delay my answer for such a length of time. I regret it the more, since I am already under an engagement, according to which I am honorably bound respectfully to decline your proposition.

After my resignation had been accepted by my old congregation, and my withdrawal had become a fixed fact, the office of Minister to the Portuguese Congregation of this city was tendered to me in a manner and under terms that I could not conscientiously refuse to accept. I was elected on the 6th of November, and have entered on my duties on the 1st of January. The tenure of office is six months' notice on either side, and if emanating from the Congregation, a two-third majority of the members is required.

It affords me extreme pleasure that you are seriously disposed to establish a foster home for our sacred, time-hallowed religion in the Far West, and I rejoice to learn that your pious efforts will be crowned with success. I feel deeply grateful for your flattering appreciation of my services, and under other circumstances I would have felt in duty bound to give you my feeble aid. Believe me, gentlemen and brothers, that you have my sympathies and good wishes, and that I am anxious to see among you a worthy representative of our sacred cause. But it is this very anxiety that deters me from hastily recommending any one to your particular consideration. There is no doubt that there are, in this country, ministers who in point of talent, learning and piety, reflect honor on their calling. But I am not personally acquainted with any one whom I know to be a proficient in the English, and could at the same time perform the functions of Reader. Your confidence imposes a responsibility on me which I

cannot discharge without serious deliberations, without a personal acquaintance with a man whom I would recommend to you as your spiritual adviser.

Accept my sincere thanks for the high honor which you bestowed on me by your unanimous election, and my best wishes for your success and welfare, spiritual and temporal.

I have the honor to be

Your faithful, obedient servant,

JAMES K. GUTHEIM.

Gutheim's letter, written in the bold, characteristic hand known to all his friends, apostrophizes the great need of American Judaism at that time, English-speaking ministers. The Congregation Emanu-El found itself handicapped by Gutheim's refusal to come to the Coast. It desired, from the start, a minister capable of understanding the situation, and of meeting the conditions of a new settlement. Had Gutheim been able to come, he would have made history for the Congregation. This is not the place for a more extensive account of this lovable and amiable man, great philanthropist and great preacher, who served the community of New Orleans until his lamented death in 1886, missed and regretted by Jew and Gentile, a man whose life constitutes one of the brightest pages in the history of the American Jewish Ministry. Had he been able to come, the progress of Emanu-El would have been far more rapid than it subsequently proved to be. A man of great force of character, thoroughly Americanized, with a keen insight into the problems of the times, Gutheim would have quickly disposed of the questions that in after years faced the Congregation, a disposition that required a firm will, a trained mind, and a love of peace, all of which were united in him to an eminent degree. He could not come, but he remained Henry Seligman's adviser until a Rabbi was finally selected (October, 1854). Whilst he doubtless called Dr. Eckman's attention to the possibilities of the Coast, he did not recommend him in the first instance. His choice, subsequently ratified by the Board, was a well-known German scholar, one of his own classmates in the Seminary at Muenster, Westphalia, Dr. David Steinberg, of the Universities of Breslau and Berlin, who at the time was a teacher in the Muenster Seminary, was mentioned for the position of Director of the institution, and a candidate for the Rabbinate

of that city. Gutheim says of him: "I make this application in his behalf without his knowledge." The selection of Dr. Steinberg was left to Mr. Seligman, who sent funds to Gutheim with the request to secure the Doctor's passage. However, the correspondence came abruptly to a close. Gutheim knew of Dr. Eckman's departure for the Coast, which he mentions in a letter to Mr. Seligman, dated September 4, 1854, and, unwilling to interfere with Dr. Eckman's prospects, he communicated that gentleman's venture to Dr. Steinberg, whereupon the latter emphatically refused to ratify the engagement entered into in his behalf between Mr. Seligman and Dr. Gutheim. It seems that in those distant days Rabbis did not interfere with each other's prospects. Isaac Leeser, with whom the Congregation had likewise corresponded, had failed to find a suitable candidate, and, hence, when Dr. Eckman arrived, he found the way open and the Congregation glad to receive and welcome him.

Meanwhile, the President made remarkable progress with the building of the Synagogue and other matters. The Congregation, under his direction, moved from Bush street to the corner of Stockton and Green streets, reducing its rent from two hundred to sixty-five dollars per month, enabling the Board to give Hazan Welhof a decent salary. The latter does not seem to have pleased all the congregants, but the President's firmness prevented the consideration of recurring and unsubstantial charges. What was wanted, in this Congregation, as well as in many others throughout the country, was proper deference to the powers appointed by the consent of the Congregation, a thorough appreciation of the republican form of government that had everywhere been introduced in the management of Jewish institutions, an obedience to the laws enacted, and a surrender of individual opinions, which in many cases proved to be mere prejudices, to the interests and the peace of the community. There were not wanting at that time in the Congregation Emanu-El some wild and turbulent spirits, more intent on having their own way than on the success of the Congregation, unreasonably zealous for the perpetuation of every bit of religious practice they had known in the German towns and villages, and almost tyrannical in their demands that the path marked out for the Congregation should be diverged to suit their notions. But the President firmly, yet kindly, refused to

listen to that element, whether in or out of meeting. Yet the time was far off when the Congregation Emanu-El would be a unit in practice and ritual as well as in faith. The era of Reform had not yet begun.

Subscriptions to the building fund were not difficult to obtain. Under the chairmanship of Messrs. E. M. Berg and L. Tichener the Board divided off into two committees to do the work. The first step of the Board was the condemnation of the California street lot. Just why a lot on "Nob Hill," where now stand the palatial residences built by the financial magnates of San Francisco, the homes of Stanford, Crocker, Colton, Fair and Flood, proved unsuitable, remains uncertain, unless its location on the hill-side proved an obstacle to the Jewish residents, whose homes then were located on the flats of North Beach and in the districts now called "South" of Market street. So general had become the objection to the California street lot, that it was subsequently disposed of at auction for less than its cost price. In December, the President reported that already sixteen thousand dollars had been subscribed to the loan fund, and requested the members of the Board to secure designs for a Synagogue. On February 4, 1854, a committee reported that with the assistance of the President they had purchased "a lot on Broadway street, between Powell and Mason streets, for forty-five hundred and thirty dollars ($4,530), and paid for the same out of the building fund, the title of the same having been approved by H. J. Labatt, Esq." The lot had a frontage of 65½ feet by a depth of 137½ feet, and was, in the committee's opinion, "well adapted for the purpose intended." It was, in fact, Henry Seligman's incessant application that had enabled him to find this choice lot.

On February 12, 1854, the Congregation accepted designs for a Synagogue. Over fifty members were in attendance, and ten more were elected before the discussion. Four designs were submitted, three by Messrs. Craw & England, one by Messrs. George & Clark. After a very lengthy discussion, the latter design, to cost $30,000, was accepted by the Congregation, and the proper building committee appointed.

The work was now fairly under way. Just then the Building Committee met with unexpected difficulties. The design of the archi-

tects had been rather pretentious, and could not be carried out for less than forty thousand dollars or thereabouts. The Congregation was unwilling to expend that amount, and the Committees were urged to keep down the cost of building. But the half year transpired since November had been productive of the greatest good. The Congregation was firmly established. Its way was not so crowded with obstacles, nor so hampered by uncertainty. The semi-annual meeting of May 10th had again occasion to admire the clear-headedness of the President. The design adopted by the Congregation proving too costly, Mr. Seligman had undertaken to select one of Messrs. Craw & England's designs, which could be executed for $19,925, the bid being that of Joseph Danielson, Esq., and his Committee had accepted that bid, subject to ratification by the Congregation. The design was accepted in accordance with the Committee's recommendation, and the last obstacle to building the Synagogue was removed. Meanwhile the summer of 1854 had approached, and on July 1st Dr. Julius Eckman came to San Francisco. His arrival was promptly noticed by both congregational bodies, Emanu-El and Sherith Israel. At that time the Congregation Emanu-El was about ready to lay the corner-stone of the Broadway Synagogue, and recent correspondence with the Rev. Isaac Leeser and the Rev. James K. Gutheim had finally convinced the people of the impossibility of securing a minister from the East. Dr. Eckman's advent was hailed with delight. The following Board Resolution of July 5, 1854, is the first official notice of Dr. Eckman's arrival:

"Whereas, the Board of Officers of the Congregation Emanu-El have learned with sincere pleasure of the arrival in this city of the Rev. Dr. Eckman, be it

"*Resolved*, That the reverend gentleman is herewith respectfully invited to visit the temporary place of worship of the Congregation, and be it further resolved, that the Board of Officers on behalf of the Congregation solicit the valuable assistance of the Rev. Dr. Eckman, and request him to perform the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the synagogue now in course of erection."

Dr. Eckman's arrival seems to have aroused the membership. It brought about two immediate results: the organization of a choir and

a "convention" for the establishment of a Sabbath School. In the former, Louis Cohn, A. Tandler, M. Barnett, I. Dessau and Dr. Regensburger acted as a committee for the Congregation with instructions to have the volunteer choir, if possible, ready for the laying of the corner-stone. As to the latter, the records of the "convention" are lost, but Dr. Eckman was asked to open a school, and without waiting for any congregational initiative, that good man founded the first Jewish religious school on the Pacific Coast.

On Sunday, July 23, 1854, the Congregation Emanu-El laid the corner-stone of the Broadway Synagogue.* A. C. Labatt, the oldest President of the Congregation under the charter, laid the stone in the presence of the membership and their invited guests of Sherith Israel, the latter being likewise ready to lay the stone of their Stockton Street Synogogue in the very near future, Sunday, August 6th, 1854. The Mayor of the city and quite a number of Gentile visitors attended the ceremony, and were edified by Mr. Eckman's interesting presentation of the aims and objects of Judaism.

Thereafter, the work of building proceeded rapidly. Under the watchful eye of the President and his committees no time was lost. It was intended to occupy the new Synagogue for the approaching holidays. During the ensuing two months more money was raised to pay for the building contracts as they became due, and at the last a mortgage of three thousand dollars was raised to enable the Congregation to bring this first substantial work to a successful conclusion.

The solemn consecration of the Broadway Synagogue took place on Sunday, September 14, 1854, Dr. Julius Eckman conducting the ceremonies by special invitation of the Board of Trustees (Minutes, Vol. I, August 17). The ardent wishes of the settlers had been fulfilled. On the shore of San Francisco bay stood two synagogues, one large and commodious, the other of more modest dimensions, but both representing the faith and devotion of the young men and women of Israel. The minutes of the Congregation have not preserved the programme of the consecration. Charles Emanuel had resigned his office in August, and we lack, for some time to come, his careful hand in describing current events and preserving the

* *San Francisco Evening Herald*, July 24, 1854.

facts as they transpired. But doubtless the ceremonies were deeply impressive. A choir officiated, and besides an address of welcome by the President, Dr. Eckman preached an edifying and effective sermon. The auditory had been beautifully decorated by the ladies, who, according to orthodox fashion, had seats in the gallery, where were also seats reserved for the children, a practice Emanu-El has observed until this day. Many pious donations enhanced the attractive interior. The Congregation was at last in its own home, and, for a time, nothing seemed likely to impede its growth. Before and after the consecration members flocked in, and the number rapidly increased, thus adding to the sense of security that the Congregation would be able to pay its debts, for, financially, the membership had engaged in a responsible enterprise. The greater part of the $25,000 required to finish the Synagogue had been secured by the issuance of bonds, bearing a rather large rate of interest, and in addition a mortgage had been given for $3,000. Nevertheless, the tone of the records is a hopeful one. The Board believed itself able to meet the financial difficulties. The gradual accession of a number of prosperous young men was deemed encouraging, and when the holidays came around not a seat was vacant. Dr. Eckman had been engaged to officiate, and Rosh Ha'Shanah of 1854 saw the Congregation Emanu-El worshiping in its own Synagogue. The words of President Seligman, spoken at the ensuing annual meeting of the Congregation (October 8th), fittingly interpreted the prevailing sentiment:

"I would heartily congratulate the members," said the Parnass, "upon the final success and completion of our noble Synagogue, which happy event transpired during the term of my administration, an edifice which does honor to its projectors and reflects the highest credit and praise upon its donors and supporters. Having had many difficulties to encounter and many obstacles in its path, yet, thank Providence, through the unwearied exertion of its members, we have at last witnessed this proud day of Consecration."

At the same meeting, the first after the consecration, the President reported that the membership, from 75 in 1853 had increased to 147. The expenses of building and furnishing the synagogue footed up to nearly $25,000, and "though at present we are considerably in

debt, I trust the time will not be long when we shall see our way clear again and all our obligations honorably liquidated." The President's recommendations tended to strengthen the position of the Congregation, and it is pleasant to notice that the membership was not affrighted by the increased responsibility suggested by these recommendations. Mr. Seligman, first of all, insisted upon a business-like administration. The systematic collection of the dues and the proper keeping of the Synagogue were in his opinion essential matters, and the meeting endorsed his suggestions by electing the faithful M. Steppacher the Congregation's Collector and Sexton. The services of Dr. Eckman in connection with the instruction of the children were much commended, and the basement of the Synagogue being unfinished, the Congregation set aside funds to secure school rooms elsewhere. Dr. Eckman had officiated during the holidays, and the office of Reader becoming vacant on October 21st, an adjourned meeting unanimously elected him the first "Minister and Reader" to the Congregation, and with the re-election of Mr. Seligman to the Presidency, it seemed that the Congregation was destined to enter upon an era of undisturbed peace and prosperity.*

Dr. Julius Eckman's ministrations, unhappily, proved unsuccessful. Scarcely two months after his induction into office radical differences between the Rabbi and the Board of Trustees minimized the former's usefulness, and became a source of contention that affected the Congregation's peace for several years.† At the preceding annual meeting, the President's report had already touched upon an element of friction introduced in the administration, and demanded its radical treatment. The Congregation had been organized upon old-fashioned lines; had retained supervisory functions in matters of discipline, especially pertaining to dietation, and experienced the greatest difficulty in regulating the duties and offices of the persons who were in charge of those functions. The *Shohetim* especially had given the Congregation much trouble. The office of the *Shohet* was quite remunerative, but its religious aspect was wholly lost in commercial

* The officers for 1854–55 were: Henry Seligman, President; A. C. Labatt, Vice-President; L. Tichener, Treasurer; H. J. Labatt, Secretary; E. M. Berg, A. Tandler, Sam'l Marx, Moritz Cohen and M. Roggeuburger, Trustees.

† For a detailed account of the trouble between Dr. Eckman and the Board, see that gentleman's biography.

THE REV. DR. JULIUS ECKMAN,
Rabbi of Temple Emanu-El,
1854-1855

THE REV. H. M. BIEN,
Lecturer of Temple Emanu-El,
1856

DANIEL LEVY, ESQ.,
Teacher and Reader of Temple Emanu-El,
1856-1864

EMANUEL LEVY, ESQ.,
Clerk of the Congregation Emanu-El
for nearly thirty years

considerations. There were four or five such officials in the community, and in their quest after fees, the disciplinary character of their vocation was quite forgotten. Had there been a possibility, as in European communities, to place all such functionaries under the direction of a central and generally recognized spiritual authority, the peace of the San Francisco community would never have been affected, nor would the ritual considerations involved in the *Shchitah* have lost their full importance in the public estimation. But the petty squabbles of these officials, their publicly expressed contempt of each other, their appeals to local, self-ordained and self-appointed Rabbis to disqualify all in favor of one, and the weakness of the community to take sides with one or the other of its favorites, created sufficient friction to involve even the homogeneous membership of Emanu-El in difficulties that could never arise under our present constitution. A strong, generally respected religious teacher, whose authority as a Rabbi in Israel must be recognized by all factions, could have easily disposed of these contentions; but the peculiar constitution of the American Congregations in those days did not consider the Minister a co-ordinate factor with the administration; placed his functions in the control of regulations enacted by the laity, and thus aided in the decline of a moral superintendence in matters of faith and practice. Besides, whatever powers were deputed to the minister, were recognized by his own Congregation only, and one of the sources of the revolution that came not long afterwards was this lack of unity and homogeneity, the consequent self-assertion of irresponsible persons who assumed or were thoughtlessly given the rank of public teachers; who publicly disputed each other's title and authority, and the apparent necessity to create some order in this chaos of religious life and practice. San Francisco had proved no exception to the rule. Locally considered, Dr. Eckman's failure to maintain his Rabbinical authority was due to a weakness in his otherwise strong character; to a want of diplomacy and an inadequate appreciation of his own position. Considered from the larger point of view involved in the historical evolution of American Judaism, Eckman appears but as an individual whose usefulness was impaired by the transitory conditions of religious practice, and who was not strong enough to withstand the storm when it overtook the field in which he sought to labor with all the sincerity of a well-intentioned heart and gifted mind.

It seems unfortunate that the advent of an undoubtedly learned and pious man like Eckman should have been a source of trouble to a congregation fully determined to preserve peace and harmony as the strongest elements of progressive growth. But an era of depression somehow came with him. The *Shehitah* question had divided the membership; resignations were handed in, and, although no one seems to have suspected Eckman's integrity, faith in his capacities was considerably shaken. The Congregation, besides, was involved in financial difficulties. Debts were increasing. At the quarterly meeting held March 4, 1855, it was announced that the monthly income was but $258 and the expenditures $391.66, leaving a gradually growing deficit that could only be met by doubling the dues, a proposition that was received with considerable protest. The total indebtedness of the Congregation was $6,675.33, of which the greater part was due in April. That month the Treasurer was compelled to borrow money. Financial difficulties are not conducive to congregational harmony. In May the President was directed to borrow six thousand dollars wherewith to cancel all outstanding indebtedness, and the rate of interest was then two per cent. per month. But Mr. Seligman had resigned his office. From all that can be learned, this energetic official had grown discouraged, and withdrew to the ranks. His predecessor, E. M. Berg, became his successor.* Mr. Berg tried his best, but the conditions were discouraging. It was hoped that the ensuing annual sale of seats would help somewhat to relieve the financial situation. Retrenchment was demanded, and one of the resolutions of the times is the reduction of the minister's salary to six hundred dollars per annum, an act that deprived the Congregation of the opportunity to secure a competent successor to Dr. Eckman. The annual meeting of September 30, 1855, seems to have been a stormy one. The ritual difficulties of the past year, as well as the financial troubles, left their impress. The membership was restive and divided. Dr. Eckman was desired by a number of the members, but could not command a majority. Hazan Welhof was appointed to his old position. The President-elect, Sigmund F. Meyer, refused to serve. The Secretary, H. J. Labatt, left his chair

* Minutes of the Congregation Emanu-El, Vol. I, page 55.

and practically cast his office at the feet of the meeting. Members resigned, and matters seemed dark enough to justify a pessimistic prediction that the Congregation was doomed. But the dark clouds were soon to pass away. Emanu-El was too strongly founded to collapse at the first touch of a storm.*

At a special meeting of the Congregation, held on October 21, 1855, Messrs. Meyer and Labatt, persisting in their refusal to serve as President and Secretary, I. Bloomingdale was elected President, and M. Frank Secretary. L. Tichener became Vice-President. This meeting is of the utmost importance in the annals of the Congregation. It gave the first impulse to reform, the story of which must presently be told. It bravely grappled with the financial problem. Its resolutions were:

First, to again open correspondence with the East and Europe with a view of securing a Rabbi whose authority would be respected.

Second, to induce the membership to make liberal contributions to a fund designed to liquidate all outstanding indebtedness.

Third, to indorse the conclusions of the Cleveland Conference of Rabbis, held October 17, and "to procure as early as possible the Minhag about to be established" as the result of that conference.

The last resolution created no discussion whatever. The Congregation Emanu-El felt the need of unity and of associated action. It had grown tired of the petty contentions of official orthodoxy. Its officers knew that the progress of the Congregation depended upon a radical change of external forms as well as upon a thorough rehabilitation of the aims and objects of religion. This great German Congregation desired to be in touch with its sisters in the East, the people who were of its own bone and flesh, and it must be recorded that Emanu-El of San Francisco, through its laity, was among the first to give adhesion to the Cleveland Conference resolutions that would ultimately lead to the regeneration of Judaism. The Minhag Ashkenaz was doomed from the date of that meeting.

On March 9, 1856, the Rev. H. M. Bien was elected "Lecturer and Teacher" to the Congregation. Up to that time the basement of the Synagogue had been uninhabitable; but at the same meeting

* Officers elected for 1855-56: S. F. Meyer, President; I. Bloomingdale, Vice-President; A. Tandler, Treasurer; H. J. Labatt, Secretary; Philip Schloss, H. Regensburger, A. Godchaux, A. Wasserman, M. Frank, Trustees.

the membership decided to borrow another thousand dollars to finish the basement and provide decent school rooms for the children, who until then had been compelled to meet outside the Synagogue.

NOTE.—The Rev. Herman M. Bien came to San Francisco when scarcely twenty-one years of age. During the administration of President Bloomingdale he officiated as "Lecturer and Reader" to the Congregation Emanu-El, and his services are mentioned in the annual report of October 19, 1856, as follows:

"I cannot omit to make honorable mention of the labors of the gentleman who now fills the station of Lecturer to this Congregation. Through his suggestion, and by his assistance, many reforms in our Synagogue service have been introduced, many forms abolished in no way essential to a proper mode of devout worship, and the rising generation are beneficially influenced during their attendance at divine services by his instruction and example."

Upon the completion of his term of office Mr. Bien remained in San Francisco, engaging in teaching and journalistic work. He founded the *Voice of Israel* a few weeks after Dr. Eckman's *Gleaner* appeared. In 1860 Mr. Bien retired from professional life, re-entering it in 1881 as the minister of the Beth Shalom Congregation of Chicago. Subsequently he served in Dallas, Texas, and Vicksburg, Miss., and died at the latter place three years ago. During his later years Mr. Bien was much devoted to literature, and several of his works have been published.

Meanwhile the officers were in active correspondence to secure a Rabbi. Interesting letters appear in the archives. Mr. Bien, who had been elected for three months, was re-appointed for four more; but the Congregation was constantly in receipt of communications in response to its advertisements. Amongst the earliest candidates was the Rev. H. A. Henry, then of New York, and afterwards of the Sherith Israel Congregation. (Minutes, Vol. I, page 77). There are letters from a Rev. Herman Hoelzel, who signed himself "Chief-Rabbi of the Australian Colonies," from the Rev. Mr. Steinberger, afterwards the Reader of Beth-El Congregation of New York, and from the learned Isidore Kalisch.

President Bloomingdale was an earnest, painstaking man, fully alive to the difficulties of his position. A copy of a letter, written by him to Henry Seligman, then in New York, fully explains the troubles of his administration and casts an interesting light upon the condition of the Congregation. "Understanding that you will have returned to New York," writes Bloomingdale under date of June 1st, "and being well aware that though temporarily absent from here, you continue to take the same lively interest in the welfare and prosperity of the Congregation over which you have so worthily presided

for a considerable length of time, I take the liberty of addressing you on a subject of the deepest interest, the proper management of which will have, I may say, an everlasting effect on its future existence and standing.

"Your predictions have literally come to pass. * * * Dr. Eckman could not be re-elected. But it has cost us the services of Meyer and Labatt as President and Secretary. * * * I consented to serve as President only after it became apparent that Mr. Meyer would not serve under any consideration. My first act after being installed was to find means to cancel our floating debt and have it on just such a footing as will protect us against paying exorbitant interest. * * * I feel proud to be able to inform you that in less than a fortnight $3,000 was raised, two-thirds by scrip, one-third by donations, to pay off our mortgage. Of the outstanding bills over $2,000 was canceled with the proceeds of the seats; $1,000 was advanced by the Board of Trustees without interest. So we are comparatively out of debt—at least we have no interest to pay (the interest on scrip thus far applied for does not amount to more than $411), and our liabilities do not press us nor weigh us down. The main object of all this financiering is to enable us to apply our income principally to paying a good salary to a good Minister, Reader and Teacher. It will be $3,000 for the right man. We have advertised already; if you take the trouble to look at an Asmonæan or *Occident* you will find our announcement.

"Finding it necessary, however, that our wants be better understood, I will write to the Rev. Isaac Leeser and Dr. Merzbacher; but better yet, my dear friend, you know better than either of these gentlemen what our needs are and therefore would confer an everlasting favor upon the Congregation by taking the matter in hand as far as your time will permit you. You know our community; you know what kind of a man is required to labor satisfactorily in our midst; you would effect a great deal by having a personal interview with these Eastern Rabbis. * * * I must not forget to tell you that Mr. Welhof, good man, though elected Hazan for twelve months, is willing to resign whenever we shall have the good fortune of securing the services of a fully competent man. * * * The non-election of Dr. Eckman has cost us many members, but we must persevere."

Thus, hopefully, wrote this brave and pious man. The congregation was beset with difficulties. Dr. Eckman's friends resented his non-election as a reflection on his abilities, and the presence of Mr. Bien in the pulpit of Emanu-El induced them to institute comparisons, which still farther widened the breach. Mr. Seligman wrote from New York that it was impossible to find a Rabbi capable of meeting the demands of the Congregation. But matters were mending rapidly. Financially, the Congregation began to recover from its difficulties. The annual meeting of 1856 (October 19th) resolved, "That the administration of President Bloomingdale will leave a favorable impress upon the affairs of the Congregation that will be evident for years to come, and that it is chiefly owing to his great devotion and untiring energy that the affairs of the Congregation are at present in their very flourishing condition." At the same meeting L. Tichener was elected President. In his annual report President Bloomingdale apostrophized one of the difficulties attending his administration in the following graphic language:

"You will, I trust, grant me the privilege of recalling to your mind the very numerous difficulties under which our Congregation was laboring when, last year, you honored me with your choice. A very large, very respectable and influential number of our members felt themselves aggrieved at the course pursued by a majority of the society. Discord and ill-feeling were the first evil fruits arising from that misunderstanding. Secession followed in its wake, and disunion stared us in the face. But, thanks to the second, sober thought of most of those who then opposed us, and the reasonableness and justice of our demands and our cause, that dire calamity, disunion, was spared us; and, though we had to submit to a withdrawal of a few on that score, yet the largest and, I am rejoiced to say, the most acceptable portion of those who differed with us have adhered to us. * * *"*

In the course of President Tichener's administration the reform movement began to be felt in the Congregation. A meeting of November 2, 1856, resolved "to appoint a committee of eleven to recommend a new mode of worship (consistent with our Constitution) and that such be brought forward at a meeting of the Congregation

* *Voice of Israel* of Friday, October 24, 1856, Vol. I, No. 3.

for their approval or otherwise." In his annual report, Mr. Bloomingdale had already called attention to sundry changes introduced in the Ritual; and from that time forward the gradual conversion of Emanu-El into a Reform Congregation is to be noted. Tichener's administration was conservative. In his time a choir became a permanent feature of the worship, and energetic steps were taken to secure a minister. But, somehow, whilst meeting after meeting debated this proposition, it seemed impossible to select the proper man. In February, '57, Mr. Bien's term of office expired, and Hazan Welhof was again installed. During that year the spirit of the Congregation was manifested in a resolution that deserves to be published in full. A question had arisen of sub-letting the basement of the synagogue to the city for conducting a public school. Many of the members opposed the proposition. Accustomed as they were to heated discussions, and fearing the danger of withdrawals, a special meeting of March 9, 1857, before discussing the merit of the above question, passed the following Resolution:

"*Resolved*, Whatever may be the decision of this meeting relative to matters now pending before the Congregation,

That we all hold that a majority is recognized as the ruling power; and it shall furthermore be the duty of every member to restore the peace and harmony to the Congregation that has hitherto prevailed."

The ayes and nays being called on the resolution, the vote stood aye, 80; nay, *none*. Mr. Louis Cohn was the proponent.

Thus did the Congregation Emanu-El make history for itself in the fifties.

On April 12th, 1856, Daniel Levy had been elected Teacher of the Congregation.

NOTE.—A short biography of this brilliant and much venerated gentleman may be considered in place at this point. Daniel Levy was born in 1826, in Lixheim, belonging to that part of Lorraine that has since been annexed to Germany. Educated as a teacher, his first position was in Alsace. In 1849 the French government appointed him Principal of the public school newly created in Oran (Algeria) for the native Jewish boys of that city. The following year he was called in the same capacity to Algiers, the capital of the country. In February, 1855, he came to San Francisco, attracted by his brothers and sisters who had come some years before. Upon his arrival he engaged in commercial enterprises without any signal success and—*Revenant a ses premieres amours*—he devoted himself again to the cause of education. In 1856, April 12th, he was elected teacher of the Hebrew and religious school of the Congregation Emanu-El. In connec-

tion with this institution he opened a day school in the basement of the Synagogue, and surrounded himself with a staff of American teachers. The following year (1857) the Congregation re-elected him, and at the same time appointed him Reader, although he frankly declared he had never before filled such an office. But Daniel Levy was a good Hebrew scholar, had a fine voice and considerable knowledge of vocal music; being, in fact, a man of splendid education and varied attainments. He was maintained in both positions until 1864, barring a few months' interruption caused by ill-health. He was the first Cantor of the Congregation to officiate with a permanently organized choir. On several occasions, in the absence of a Rabbi he occupied, with much satisfaction to the Congregation, the deserted pulpit, always modestly remembering and quoting Hillel's words: "Where there are no men, strive thou to be a man." In 1864 his health failing, he resigned his position and returned to France. Settling in Paris, he became connected with political and literary journalism. Ever since 1850 and until recently he has been one of the most active contributors to the *Archives Israelites*, a Jewish paper published in the French capital. In the fall of 1869 he went to Austria to study the complicated political and racial conditions of that empire. The results of his studies were incorporated in a work entitled *L'Autriche-Hongrie, ses Institutions et ses Nationalites*, which appeared in Paris in 1871. In the latter part of 1871, after the close of the French-German war, Daniel Levy returned to San Francisco. He was soon appointed teacher of French and German in the Boys' High School and filled that position until 1881, when the study of all modern foreign languages was abolished in all the public schools of San Francisco. Mr. Levy, especially since he gave up teaching, has devoted a great deal of his time to the general interest of the French colony of this city. He has been several times Vice-President of the French Hospital Society. As President of the French National League, he was the principal promoter and director of the great French library which now numbers 20,000 volumes. As President of the French Alliance, he founded a French school, composed of fourteen classes, in which French and its literature is taught in the afternoons, after the adjournment of the public schools. This school is open to all denominations and nationalities. Aside from his work on Austria-Hungary, Mr. Levy wrote the first sketch of the famous travels of Benjamin "the Second." He also wrote a "History of the French in California," from the time of their arrival after the discovery of the gold mines until the year 1884, an extensive work which was published in San Francisco. Whilst in Algiers he received from the minister of public education a *mention honorable* and a bronze medal. During recent years the French government recognized Mr. Levy's valuable services by awarding him the decoration of an *Officier d'Academie*. At the age of seventy-four, though not in as robust health as we could wish, Daniel Levy still abides with us, an object of honor and veneration to all his former pupils, and deservedly esteemed as one of the most distinguished and foremost Jewish citizens of California.

August 9, 1857, letters were submitted to the Congregation from Rabbis of the highest standing who desired to be elected to the vacant pulpit. The biographers of Isaac M. Wise should notice that the great old champion, after his unfortunate Albany experiences, desired to come to San Francisco.* It is useless to speculate, at this time, on the effect his removal to the Coast would have had on the

* Minutes of the Congregation Emanu-El, Vol. 1, page 119.

progress of American Judaism. There was a letter from the Rev. Dr. Levysohn, Rabbi of Worms, and another from the Rev. Dr. Illoway, then of Syracuse, N. Y., at that time already one of the indomitable champions of orthodoxy, and probably the most learned conservative of the times resident in an American community. There was also a communication, with testimonials, from Dr. Elias Greenebaum, the author of the *Sittenlehre des Judenthums* and *Bezirksrabbiner* of Landau. The reputation of this distinguished scholar and Rabbi, one of the leading spirits in the German Conferences, that contributed so much to the revival of Jewish learning, justified the enthusiastic acclaims with which the mere mention of his name was greeted. Whilst the officers had been in communication with a number of eminent Rabbis, and several names had been favorably discussed, it was generally conceded that if Dr. Greenebaum of Landau could be secured the consideration of every other name should be suspended. For that great Rabbi stood on the heights, together with a few others, David Einhorn included, who had just then arrived in the United States; and it was realized by the membership that the advent of Dr. Greenebaum would immediately force Emanu-El to the front as one of the intelligent factors in the religious revolution Isaac M. Wise had precipitated and which even then began to assume national proportions. This requires honorable mention: That Emanu-El of San Francisco, conscious of impending changes, ready for its responsibility in so grave a matter as the radical change of external forms, desired to place itself, at considerable sacrifice, under the leadership of a Rabbi whose piety, eminent station and generally acknowledged learning would be an earnest of the sincerity of its own intentions. Dr. Elias Greenebaum was unanimously elected Rabbi of Emanu-El of San Francisco on Sunday, August 9, 1857, under the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That this Congregation elect Dr. Elias Greenebaum for the term of six years at an annual salary of $3,000, with the usual perquisites, together with $500 as traveling expenses.

"*Resolved*, That all resolutions conflicting with this action be and are hereby rescinded."

Over eighty members attended this meeting, and so great was the enthusiasm that Dr. Greenebaum's traveling expenses were almost

immediately secured by private subscription. It was only a week afterwards that the Board took important action in the matter of changing the *Minhag*. Somewhat timidly, and by a small majority vote, it was decided to purchase a melodeon and place it in the choir. During the holidays of that year the Rev. H. A. Henry, a recent arrival, preached acceptably and was duly thanked by the Board (Minutes, Vol. I, p. 123). The Congregation was flourishing. Its pressing debts had been removed. The advent of Dr. Greenebaum was hopefully expected. The new melodeon had produced little, if any, friction. A few members had resigned, but many others had joined the ranks; and the Congregation, as a further earnest of its growing, progressive tendencies, recalled Henry Seligman to the Chair (October 4, 1857).

NOTE.—Mr. L. Tichener, President of Emanu-El, 1856–1857, continued to serve the Congregation in many capacities until his death, thirty years later. He was a pious, sincere and capable man, who watched the growth of his beloved Congregation, from year to year, with a paternal solicitude. May the Eternal reward his pious labors!

The Congregation had not yet finally emanated from its troubles. The careful administration of President Tichener had financially placed the Congregation in a safe position. It was justly assumed that his successor would render that position still stronger. But the strife resulting from divided opinions on ritual subjects had reached San Francisco. The "melodeon" was but the forerunner of changes demanded by an element of the membership and as hotly contested by another. The worst feature of these growing dissensions had been that Dr. Greenebaum, misinformed regarding the status of the Congregation, felt constrained to reconsider his acceptance of the pulpit of Emanu-El. On April 4, 1858, the Congregation reluctantly released him, and henceforward determined, not without serious discussion, to await a more favorable opportunity for securing a Rabbi.

NOTE.—Dr. Elias Greenebaum was one of the great German Rabbis of the latter half of the century. Born September 10, 1807, in Reipoltskirchen, Pfalz, he pursued theological studies in Mayence, Mannheim and Frankfort. In 1835, he was appointed *Landrabbiner* of the principality of Birkenfeld; and the following year, *Bezirksrabbiner* of Landau, which office he held until his death, September 29, 1893, for a period of fifty-seven years. It is related that the sixteen candidates for the Rabbinate at Birkenfeld included Wechsler and David Einhorn, but that Greenebaum passed the best examination. He was amongst the most progressive of the German Rabbis of the period; but it is doubtful whether he would have been able to adapt himself to the conditions of American life and habits.

Dr. Greenebaum has contributed very materially to the removal of German-Jewish disabilities, being mainly instrumental in the revocation of the oath *more Judaico* (1862), and in the suspension of Napoleon's infamous edict of March 17, 1808, restricting the commercial rights of the Bavarian Jews. Of his published writings, the best known is his "Sittenlehre des Judenthums" (1867), a work that attracted much attention in non-Jewish circles. Dr. Greenebaum was also a liberal contributor to the Jewish literary magazines of his period, such as Jost's *Annalen*, *Ben Chananjah*, Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, etc. His articles have a classical tone, and are full of originality and sound learning. His attitude in the Conferences was more that of an intelligent observer than of an active participant, though his progressive tendencies may be judged from the "Gutachten" he addressed the Congregation Emanu-El of San Francisco (1860) in which he unreservedly approved of the removal of the hat during divine services. Dr. Greenebaum's long and faithful services were recognized by the government of Bavaria by elevating him to the Order of the Knights of St. Michael (1886), the last official act of King Louis before his death.

The contentions arising from the refusal of Dr. Greenebaum to come to California, and the steady determination of the Board to gradually change the form of worship, had best remain untold as inessential to the progress of these chronicles. Most of the participants in that contest, which only ceased after the advent of Dr. Elkan Cohn, have gone to their eternal home, and it is wise to let all the rancor of that period be buried with them. But out of the trials of 1858, 1859 and 1860, the Congregation Emanu-El rose with renewed strength, its welfare safely guarded by the indefatigable Seligman and his faithful co-workers of the Board. Little of these troubles was permitted to reach the public ear. Externally the Congregation and the community appeared strong and prosperous, and stood high in the public esteem.* The time was near when the Congregation Emanu-El would formally declare its adhesion to the Reform movement. Before proceeding, therefore, with these Chronicles, let us briefly review the causes of that great movement, so far as it affected the Jewish communities of the United States. The first ten years of the history of Emanu-El have thus been elaborately traced in order to present the difficulties with which the organization had to contend. Remarkable, indeed, is the steady, numerical growth of the Congregation. Within the first decade of its existence it had attained to a membership of nearly 250. This number fairly represents over 1,200

*Atonement Day of 1858, falling on October 20, the date of the departure of the mail steamers, Postmaster Charles L. Weller, as a mark of respect to the Jewish merchants, ordered their departure postponed until the following day.

people then represented in the Congregation, and if the same ratio prevailed then as now, the Jewish community of San Francisco in 1860 must have numbered not less than 10,000 people. The two Congregations, Emanu-El and Sherith Israel, represented two equally strong and active elements; and the representatives of both institutions often consulted in matters affecting the welfare of the general community. Emanu-El had outgrown the seating capacity of the Broadway Synagogue. Its membership began to assume that representative character it has retained ever since; and from the close of the first decade of its existence we notice a steadily growing movement towards erecting another Synagogue, the beauty and stateliness of which should be commensurate with the growing powers of the community itself. The latter had attained to its full proportions. Its great merchants as well as its professional men ranked amongst the foremost and enterprising citizens of California. And to them belonged the initiative to the rearing upon its foundations of the imposing Synagogue, the history of which is to be given in another chapter.

II.

The Story of Reform Judaism Briefly Retold.

THE causes that led the Temple Emanu-El of San Francisco to gradually depart from the provisions of its constitution of 1850 and ultimately join the ranks of the Reform Congregations of the United States deserve an elaborate consideration. Whatever our foreign brethren know, or do not know, of these causes, is based upon prejudices, acquired by listening to ex-parte information given by ignorant critics, or by reading the amusing descriptions of American-Jewish life in unreliable and biased journals.* All information in former years scattered abroad tended to establish the fact that the so-called Jews of America not only wilfully violated the law as interpreted by strict Rabbinism, but had deliberately departed from the paths of their faith to prostrate themselves before stranger gods, whilst lacking the courage to openly proclaim their abandonment of their ancestral religion, its traditions, obligations and teachings. I will comment no further on this very remarkable prejudice than to say that some years ago, whilst traveling in Europe, I encountered the crassest ignorance regarding American Jews generally, and their religious affairs in particular. My old teacher was not the only one who tried to make me realize the enormity of the crime of being a so-called reform Jew. In England ignorance of American Judaism is apostrophized by a supercilious, contemptuous pooh-poohing of anything that is said in its defense, and the most charming English hospitality of which I then was the recipient, was somewhat marred by rather rancorous discussions, which revealed my respected host's complete ignorance on the subject of Judaism in the States. It is a known fact that Dr. Adler, whom I did not have the honor of meeting, discredits any Rabbi coming from America, and, with every courteous attitude towards them

* An amusing description of the "Conditions of the Jews of California," and particularly of the "destructive reform" introduced by "a certain Dr. Elkan Cohn," is given in the Mainzer *Israelit*. Vol. III, No. 18, April 30, 1862.

as gentlemen, will refuse to invite them to occupy an English pulpit, and will not sanction an invitation to any American-Jewish clergyman to address an Anglo-Jewish congregation during the stated services of the synagogue. Whilst this attitude of Dr. Adler may be thoroughly explicable from his own standpoint, though it is a source of offense to such as covet the distinction of addressing English congregations, there seems to be in the well-stored mind of the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain a doubt as to the religious fitness of the Americans to expound the faith to the flocks of his pasture, and he evidently dreads the influence of seditious language commonly attributed to American Rabbis. I found the French more tolerant. They speak in the highest terms of our charitable institutions, but even they have but an eloquently expressive shrug of the shoulders for our synagogues and the teachings of our Rabbis. The Germans, who are mainly responsible for the development of our peculiar tendencies, if peculiar they be, have forgotten that responsibility in the tide of conservatism that has swept over them, and even the most radical scholars will somewhat cautiously venture the opinion that "we are going too far." It is very pleasant, in the face of such discouraging evidences of ignorance, to note the hopeful language which men like the learned and venerable Steinschneider were pleased to address me when this same subject was under discussion. "The discerning Jew of Europe," said Professor Steinschneider, "looks with expectancy towards America. We expect great things of you in the twentieth century. You will write a new chapter in Jewish history."

The hoary sage of Berlin gave expression to the hope that reposes in the breast of American scholars themselves—the hope that, under God's blessing, they may be able to add an interesting chapter to the chronicles of Israel's achievements. Feeling themselves, in no sense whatever, a dissenting or sectarian element, believing that the lines along which they proceed are sanctioned by both law and history, the twofold voice of Deity to man, with the tenderest and most loyal attachment to anything that is truly Jewish, that tends to ennoble the ancient name of Israel and fortify its position in the Diaspora, the American representatives of the old faith cannot but be deeply affected by the persistent prejudices with which their labors and the

popular tendencies of the communities in which they live are regarded. To be sure, there is some difference between Steinschneider and the Rabbis of occidental Europe—I hazard the opinion that the orient would judge us a trifle more leniently. The Rabbis, I fear me, regard only our external conditions and forms, so far as these have come to their knowledge. To a Rabbinist, a Legalist, or whatever the faithful adherents to traditional Judaism may be called, the external conditions and forms of American Judaism present perplexities which would easily inspire him with a doubt whether the religion of American Jews be not merely the convenient apology, which they have in common with the indifferentists of Europe, and whether the service of the American synagogue be not too radical a departure from the traditional lines,—a departure that could be sanctioned only on the ground of expediency, which is no ground whatever in religion. Only the casual observer who happens to be Rabbinist or Legalist, and who is usually inspired with a degree of antagonism that leads to the most unreasonable condemnation, forgets to look beneath these externals for the evidences of an intellectual and spiritual struggle, that is growing stronger and fiercer with the years, and that is mainly responsible for the shifting forms and conditions that fall under his physical vision. He knows nothing of us. Why we are compelled to discard Talmudical legalism and still believe ourselves to be Jews; why we modernize the service, and still believe to engage in the true worship of the God of Israel; why we have parted with the nationalistic tendencies of the great body of European Jews, and still believe ourselves to be an integral element in the confraternity of Israel; why we permit ourselves to enter the schools of radical text-criticism, and still hold to the inspired character of the Word; why we are faithful disciples of science, accepting its exact truths, and still hold fast to God and the cardinal teachings of Jewish faith,—he does not know, and does not understand the answer to such important questions, because he has not lived our lives, he has not participated in our struggles, he has not the faintest perception of the stern fact that this America is a new world indeed, that its people are a new people, and that the elements thereof in whose veins still flows a moiety of the blood of the ancient "Beni Israel," is in the very midst of an educational period from which their children are to emanate most thorough Americans and faithful God-fear-

ing Jews. The Rabbinist whose affectionate eye always turns with regret towards Babylon or Mediæval Europe, does not realize how little of the legalism or ritualism of the past fits in the lives of our American Jewry, and that its evanescence is due, not to indifference, not to convenience, not to the arbitrary processes of teaching, but purely and solely to the fact that it has no longer a place in the educational tendencies of America, from which the Jew cannot exclude himself without becoming as peculiar as his grandfather in Poland or Germany has been. And we do not wish to become "peculiar." We want to be Jews, and with the same degree of fervor we want to be Americans, in no other sense than the purely religious, distinguishable from our fellow-citizens.

On the other hand, assuming that there is warrant for this wholesale condemnation of our external conditions, so far as they appertain to conduct and practice, it is impossible to see any difference, even in degree, between them and the conditions prevailing in Europe. External European religion, or irreligion, is as severely condemnable as its officials are pleased to condemn external reform. I have been unable to see, and I profess to be unprejudiced, wherein this boasted European orthodoxy has the advantage of us. It theorizes enough, God wot; but the smile of derision rests on the lips of thousands of European Jews because of the hopeless weakness of its theories. There is enough outward show of adherence to practice and forms, a sort of official obedience to traditions, but the synagogues are deserted by the educated and the hearthstones are widowed of the ancestral domestic faith. Irreligion stalks abroad and all the frantic philippics of the preachers can not stem the inundation of rationalism, scepticism, indifferentism and infidelity. At a time when my heart ached at the visible decline and degeneracy of Jewish life in Amsterdam, I asked one of the most distinguished Jews of Holland the question, whether in his opinion the Jews of his country were not ripe for some reform. He answered in the negative, because, said he, "We have become indifferent to any form of religion." This gentleman, by the way, is not an infidel, but a Jew, who during the greater part of his long life has zealously labored for the well-being of his brethren in faith. I understood him thoroughly. Rabbinical orthodoxy has lost its grip on the masses, for the very

same reason as in America; it fits no longer in the educational conceptions and tendencies of the age. In Europe, perhaps, some outward respect for tradition induces a more or less public adherence to many practices which inwardly are condemned, and therein lies the flagrant inconsistency of European life. The Sabbath is kept at home and in the shop; but Sabbath desecration in the clubs and public gardens is flagrant enough. The dietary laws are kept at home—and that not always. The delicious morsels of "terepha" are eaten in the public restaurants. One of my English hosts, who was most frantic in his condemnation of our American heresies, was asked by me whether the mutton I had so greatly enjoyed at his table was "Kosher." The surprised look on his good honest face amused me for a long time. He had not thought of the necessary coincidence of theory and practice. I asked of one of the Rabbis of Berlin, who was pleased to satirize our American peculiarities, how many of the Jews of Berlin kept their stores closed on the Sabbath, and for answer he changed the subject. The masses of Jews in the European centers of population do indeed outwardly observe many traditional practices, but if rabbinical denunciation be worth anything, they are as bad as the aristocracy, which word I use merely to distinguish a minority of good and bad Jews from a majority of the same elements. The reason for this singular and inexcusable incongruity of theory and practice is very near at hand. The Jewish communities of occidental Europe have outgrown the institutions and practices of ghetto life. The public school, the free intermingling with their Christian fellow-citizens, the natural tendency to adapt the people to their changed surroundings and new conditions—all these have left their deep impress on the latest generation of European Jews, and indifferentism, rampant as it is, is largely the outcome of the uncompromising attitude of Talmudism, that insists upon punctilious observance of minutiæ that fit not in daily experience, and cares nothing whatever for a respectful inquiry into the spirit that should inhibit both the ethics and observances of religion. The result of this attitude may be summed up briefly: the conservative spirit of political government in Europe has lent the synagague its moral aid, and rabbinical legalism has therefore a public voice that, however publicly it may be respected, is privately disregarded and spurned.

The best evidence of this fact is that the European Jew, as soon as he comes to America, is the very first to cut loose from the restraints imposed on him by legalism, and helps to add to the disorder, the religious anarchy that prevails among the so-called orthodox congregations. Whilst a number of the native American Rabbis, bred in liberal schools, are indisputably conservative, others born abroad and bred in orthodox schools are screaming radicals, and are impatient under the little restraint yet imposed by the *morale* of their surroundings. It is the sheerest nonsense to assume, as the superficial observer does assume, that this screaming radicalism is merely the result of commercialism, or of an uncanny ambition to appear liberal in the eyes of Christians. Such foolish motives are almost unworthy of notice, when instead of the frothy newspaper literature of the day the writing of a chapter of Jewish history is attempted. The fact is, that a number of these American ministers cut loose from a restraint that imposes nominal obligations, the observance of practices that have become meaningless; and from interpretations inspired by rabbinism that are flatly discredited by the secular schools in which they are trained. This may also explain the reason why the orthodox English synagogue adds nothing whatever to the literature of rabbinism, and is powerless to oppose the growth of radical tendencies among its scholars. The same applies to France, Germany, Italy, and even Turkey.

The science of Judaism, the historical treatment of the Bible, the analysis of its contents, the application of scientific principles to the study of Jewish theology, all these are growing tendencies in the lives and labors of European Jewish scholars, and in consequence the rupture between faith and practice becomes more pronounced all the while. Withal, the rabbis are protesting, prophesying the doom of religion, its approaching death and destruction, whereas the true remedy for the apparent hopeless state of Talmudical Judaism lies in adapting the demands of religious practice to the education of the period, and in the reconciliation of Jewish conceptions of life with the conceptions of modern civil conduct. Indifferentism certainly means a culpable disregard of practices insisted on by the synagogue as the fit expressions of religious convictions; but if popular judgment has decided such practices to be inconsistent with modern life, is it

unworthy of the leaders of religious thought to interrogate the demands of the age and seek for the means by which the Jew can be induced to retain his spiritual, literary and historical patrimony? That, after all, must be the *Aufgabe*, the task of the future. To us, in America, it seems of little importance to denounce the decay of legalism and ritualism; but it seems of the utmost importance to revive and conserve the spirit of Judaism, dominant in its religion, its literature, and its history. That we are striving to do such holy work according to our still unripe abilities, only a fool or a fanatic will deny. The attempt to discredit us or to classify us as some modern sect of Karaites, as was once upon a time done by the late Dr. Alexander Kohut, has no terror for us. Whatever has been done here to modernize Judaism must ultimately be done in Europe, and from our point of view we see plainly that this persistent preaching of the gospel of mediævalism, in the face of changed and constantly changing aspects of thought and practice will lead as many Jews in to the arms of infidelity or Christianity as voluntarily went to these stranger folds in the fateful days of the post-Mendelssohnian era. As against the uncompromising rigor and immutability of Rabbinism, the American synagogue has the fundamental conception that religion and its practices must be moulded to suit the needs of every generation, for the main object is to keep a priestly nation competent to spread a knowledge of the divine purposes amongst men. It is then, with a view of setting forth in detail the characteristic aspects of Judaism in America, that I have ventured upon a rather popular treatment of its phenomena.

The term "Reform Judaism" is a misnomer. It conveys the sense of a protestantism, such as distinguishes the evangelical sects from Catholicism, and may cause a suspicion that at one time or other there had been a sort of Reformation, the constructive character of which presented fundamental differences to the spirit of the older faith. This being very far from the truth, the unhappy selection of the word is palpable. It is a pity that the term has become domesticated. It would be extremely difficult to eradicate it, for it has become incorporated in the modern vocabulary of religious discussion. The term "occidental Judaism" might be preferred were

it not for the important consideration that this would also only refer to external changes and not to the growth and development of schools of interpretation without which so-called reform Judaism would have been impossible. Still I prefer the term "occidental." It embodies no sense of protest, it indicates no radical change in the philosophy of religion itself; and, whilst it particularly emphasizes the evolution of the form of worship, it may also include the evolution of thought, interpretation, and sentiment, which marks the Jew of occidental Europe and America as occupying a higher standpoint of culture than his oriental kinsman. There is, so far as I can see, but one radical objection—an important one—to the term "occidental." The word has been adopted in certain philosophical and dogmatical discussions as applying to Christianity in contradistinction to all the religions of the orient, and the term applied to Judaism might therefore, also, indicate important metaphysical modifications which—it cannot be sufficiently emphasized—are as foreign to modern as to ancient Judaism. In point of fact, the scientific considerations which form an important part in the formulation of modern Jewish views of religion, absolutely exclude any element of the intricate system of theology, that, on its way from India to Egypt, passed over the Semitic countries, and, as then, leaves not now the faintest trace of influence upon monotheism pure and simple. This reservation, I will not deny the fact, might cause the rejection of the term in many quarters, and might show again how difficult it is to find a concrete expression to denote a system that, because of its evolutionary tendencies and naturally progressive inclinations, is constantly shifting its standpoint, and, it is cheerfully admitted, does not wish to present a postulate that would cause a rupture it has constantly sought to avoid. The historical value of Reform or occidental Judaism, therefore, lies purely in its endeavors to vitalize the truths embodied in older forms, and to make these truths fit into the new conditions and circumstances of the life of Israel. This definition gives it standing, and adjusts its history to be simply a chapter in the long and varied *kulturgeschichte* of the people of Israel, and as such it will certainly be considered, when the rancorous discussions and the mutual anathematizing tendencies of the past half century will be forgotten. The origin of this modern movement is sufficiently well known, though its historians on

either side have scarcely been impartial enough to deserve absolute credit. Nor would it be possible to expect impartiality from men who were participants in one of the most remarkable struggles that can be recorded in the religious and literary history of the Jewish people. The earliest beginnings of the movement fall concurrently with the general historical phenomena of the latter part of the eighteenth century, when France and America inaugurated their memorable struggles for the recognition of political freedom and equality, and when stimulated by philosophical discussion, the mind of occidental Europe began its campaign of alienation from the trammels of ecclesiasticism. The Jews of Europe were involved in both struggles. The manhood and mentality of Israel both had an important interrogation to address to the future. What had Israel to expect from the results of this general struggle that promised to lead civilization to the threshold of a new era? Like the rabid race haters of to-day, now stimulated by the perverted doctrines of the Herzl-Nordau coteric of Zionists, the world had always considered Israel as a people, that no matter how and where its various elements were scattered was not affected by the political and mental revolutions that agitated the nations. Israel was Israel, separate, distinct, and peculiar; a tramp nation from the Orient; more numerous than the gypsies, but of the same wandering propensities; a people with hopes and aspirations, language, literature, and laws, totally different from those of their hosts; a people content to live in the quarters set aside for them; a people glad to leave the stranger domicile when the Messiah's call would summon them to return to the land of their fathers. Though the Jews always professed loyalty to the government under whose protection they lived, and though that loyalty cannot be questioned by impartial historical testimony, it is nevertheless a fact that their culture stamped them as a separate element of the nations without any of the characteristics that indicate the promise of homogeneity, and, though that deplorable evidence was itself a result of the inhuman treatment to which they had been subjected, it was used against them as competent and adequate testimony that they were, and desired to be, aliens. We find Mendelssohn already energetically protesting against this grievous wrong. Rabbinist though he was, the intensity of his indignation at being deemed a foreigner or an alien was more

than once expressed to his German and French associates, and we know something of the reluctance with which the Prussian King consented to the admission of this illustrious Hebrew into the academic circle of German scholars. Mendelssohn, little influence as I believe him to have had upon the subsequent direction of the reform movement, must, in this instance, be considered the type of a Hebrew, whose aspirations had gone very far beyond the ghetto life.

There were very many in his time already who were similarly affected. The walls of separation pressed on their hearts and minds; they sought the wider experience of the world. They possessed abilities and ambitions that needed a wider atmosphere than the limited circle of their co-religionists. Many of them had enjoyed or secured for themselves the advantages of a modern education, though such advantages were looked on askance by Talmudism; many had come to realize that, what we now denominate as Talmudism was a system of education which trained the Jew to become in all respects peculiar, considered from the standpoint of modern thought. The discussions of those early times prove the verity of these statements. Rabbinism, Talmudism, or Legalism—either name adequately represents the system of education referred to—was even then the exponent of a conservatism that admitted no possible change in either the external or internal conditions of Israel. Strangely enough the representatives of the neo-orthodoxy of the present will altogether overlook the important consequences of the necessary struggle in the post Mendelssohnian era between the Talmudists and the progressionists.

Better and far more competent pens than mine have gratefully recorded the historical influence of the Talmud upon the lives and fortunes of the Jewish people. That it saved them from destruction, from the overhanging peril of being overwhelmed by victorious nations, that it kept alive the spirit of Judaism, that it perpetuated the spirit of the Word and Law throughout the fatuities and calamities of a thousand years, who would deny all these particulars of its glorious mission? I say, unhesitatingly, that the Talmud was an instrument in man's hands for the preservation of Israel to its future and its mission.

But the trend of human affairs infallibly shows the transient character of such instruments. This proposition will always find its

contestants on either side, and so we have found them and will find them in our own ranks anent this question of the permanency of the Talmudical system of education. That question is focal in the considerations that agitated the Jews of Germany in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and, in very truth, it is the basis of all religious discussions that affect our own period. The world, a century ago, became affected by new modes of thought, which gave birth to new political conditions, new systems of philosophy, new attitudes of religion, new schools of interpretation. The world at that time became deeply influenced by the lassitude that followed rebellion against ecclesiastical and political servitude. Freedom was the demand of the intelligent, and, as may be expected in such critical times, moral license found its advocates as well. The Jew, locked up in his ghetto, thundered at its gates; the intellectual, the cultured, the aspiring, demanded that they should not be excluded from the world's inheritance; others, whose motives were ignoble, sought in the conditions of the new era the convenient opportunity for tearing themselves loose from trammels that had become wholly oppressive. This much cannot be denied, that the yoke of Jewish ecclesiasticism had become burdensome in the extreme. It imposed a mass of obligations, many of which had degenerated into pure formalities. It assumed, like the Catholic Church, from which it had copied much of its authority, to regulate all the external conditions of life, and it insisted, like the church, upon the immutability of all that it had ordained. In its insistence upon the permanence of the obligations it imposed, the immutability of its forms and the infallibility of its interpretations, Jewish ecclesiasticism or rabbinism committed the same error that removed the half of Europe from the pale of the Catholic Church. It suffered the same penalty; it alienated thousands from the ancestral faith, when timely concessions to the spirit of the age might have preserved them. It sought to smother the growing demand for mental freedom; it sought to suppress the incipient ambition of the Jew to remove from the ghetto and take his rightful place as a recognized citizen of the world. In brief, it declared war upon the future; allying itself to an immediate past, it proclaimed its infallibility in tones of thunder, and thus became itself responsible for an inquiry into its claims, which resulted in the now firmly estab-

lished opinion that it was itself but a temporary instrument, and represented a chapter of Jewish history of not very remote date.*

But many years were to elapse before this expression of the most learned Jew of the nineteenth century definitely fixed the standpoint of the progressionists. Until that time progressive Judaism was a thing to be contemned. Its votaries set up the claim that they were entitled to a share in the world's new experience; that instead of being passive eyewitnesses to the change from old to new conditions, they should become active participants; that having inwardly, by training and education, become estranged from the orientalism that was always insisted upon, they should outwardly deport themselves as citizens of the occident, not as expectant aliens, who waited every day the trumpet call of departure; that many rules of conduct, many observances of life enjoined by Talmudism, had become meaningless formalities; and thus, the early struggles of progression against Rabbinism had their birth in Germany. We know the result. Rabbinism became frantic and opened the flood gates of fanaticism. Mendelssohn, whose German translation of the Scriptures had made the German language accessible to his contemporaries, and whose interpreters *(Biurists)* permitted themselves unheard freedom,—Mendelssohn, the rabbinist, did not escape the doom pronounced by fanaticism over all progression. Retrogression on the one hand, unreasonable excess on the other were an almost natural consequence. The breach was widened by the growing demand for a modern education. Jewish youths began to treat religion with callous indifference, and in those early days men like David Friedlander and Lazarus ben David permitted themselves expressions of opinion which to-day would be deemed the acme of radicalism. But, after all, that was but the first period in the struggle between progression and ecclesiasticism, one which demanded change of external conditions only, and sought to bring external Judaism in harmony with the new surroundings in which the Jew would be placed. The struggle was to assume a

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*Geiger's Urschrift, Vorwort. "Das Thalmudstudium muss von nun an, wenn es den Anspruch auf Wissenschaftlichkeit erheben will, sich ganz anders mit den Quellen befassen als bisher, es muss die arg hinaugesetzten Werke zu ehren bringen und die hoch ueberschaetzte babylonische Gemara auf die Stufe versetzen, die ihr gebuehrt als dem juengsten nach bestimmten Voraussetzungen umgewandelter Produkte, als eines neuen Werkes das mit unrecht den Anspruch erhebt, der treue Mund des grauesten Alterthums zu sein."

deeper tone, when the apologists of progression turned their attention to an inquiry into the historical claims of Rabbinism, and when the philosophy of Judaism itself became the subject of severe interrogation. Time came when the mass of literature upon which ecclesiasticism relied for enforcing its authority was sifted by the hand of masters; when the historical position of progressive thought, as a factor in the upbuilding of Judaism, was sought to be established; then came the internal change, the emphasis of the right of interpretation, and with it the freedom to place Jewish doctrine in the philosophical systems of the times.

Friedlander and ben David, Israel Jacobson and Gotthold Salomon are advocates of external changes only; but with the advent of Leopold Zunz, the orthodox Krochmal and Rappoport and others, no less illustrious spirits, of whom Abraham Geiger was both the heir and the leader, begins that eminent period in the modern *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, a term but poorly translated as "science of Judaism," that, ostensibly analytical, denounced as destructive, hated by the orthodox school as inimical to the conservation of Judaism, is in effect the greatest modern instrument it has pleased God to create in these times for the moulding of a true Jewish spirit in accord with the spirit and necessities of the age.

Israel Jacobson was the first, I believe, who gave public expression to the demand for external change. His Reform synagogue in Seesen (1810), his school in the same city, were practical efforts to bring the demands for a modern Jewish worship to the attention of the German communities, but so far as is known the effort was successful, if at all, but for a time. It was not very long before that Napoleon had convoked the famous Sanhedrin in the deliberations of which the struggles I have here described came into open daylight.

Some of the Sanhedrin's replies to Napoleon's questions were flagrantly anti-Talmudical. Nothing could better emphasize the conflict, which for a long time, as might be supposed, was confined to German territory; whence it passed over to America in the natural progress of an immigration, which, between the years 1840 and 1860, assumed such large dimensions that the true development of Jewish congregational life in the United States, the foundation

of its present most representative bodies, can only be said to exist from those years.*

The American Jew is in many respects different from his brother abroad. He moves in a world that is accustomed to a greater degree of freedom of action and expression. The restraint of foreign nations, held in check by political and moral censorship, is not upon him. America is the country in which every individual may follow the bent of his moral or intellectual inclinations without proscription, as long as the social compact, which is the law, is not violated. Political discussion involving censure and criticism of authority is unbridled. Religious conduct is free from ecclesiastical or State supervision. The basis of American life is personal freedom, of thought, of action, so long as the public standard of conduct, that of necessity must exist in self-governing communities, is observed and adhered to. Whilst this involves the surrender of a certain amount of personal liberty in the interest of public peace and morality, the surrender is altogether voluntary, and insures on the other hand, the full enjoyment of freedom of action, without dictation from any source whatever. American society, then, is held together by a civil compact, which, if complied with, leaves unreserved freedom. The result, from the standpoint of conservatism, is exceedingly curious. Every virtue of citizenship finds a much higher expression in this democratic form of government, whilst political corruption in its most flagrant aspect forms the deplorable opposite of this fact. But corruption itself means the absence of an authority that can assert itself, not as a penitentiary agent, but as an educator of morals. The American, therefore, is a free agent in the strictest, if not always in the truest, sense of the word. The absence of restraining institutions embodied in ecclesiastical and political authority, both substituted by a mere civil compact, have habituated him to a life in which

* The American or English reader to whom German sources are inaccessible may find a full and practical account of the beginnings of Reform Judaism in Dr. Emanuel Schreiber's *Reform Judaism and Its Pioneers*, Spokane, 1892, a book that deserves much larger circulation than I fear it enjoys. Schreiber, however, must be read with some caution. Thoroughly scientific that he proves himself to be in his treatment of the literature of reform, he lacks the judicial temperament of the historian, and in the formulation of opinions he is affected by personal bias. His book is greatly marred by his injudicious hatred of Graetz and by an account of his petty squabbles with the American-Jewish Publication Society.

there is no restraint whatever. He criticizes the Church and the State. The former is but a moral agent, a factor in the promotion of the social compact; the latter is but a name to denominate a number of self-governing individuals. Four generations of Americans have been reared in this liberal definition of moral and political responsibility, which, despite the excrescences and degeneracies of political life, brings the republic steadily and practically to greater aspects of power. It is impossible for such definition not to affect the authority of religion. Every denomination has felt its modifying force. It changes the aspect of the individual's relationship to the Church. It leaves him free to join or abandon it; it gives him liberty to accept or reject its teachings, without commendation for acceptance or criticism for his rejection. The atheist and the Christian have an equal right of public utterance. No tax can be imposed by religion, subordinate as it is to the State; its support must wholly proceed from those whose love for its principles is undiminished, and who still believe in the necessity of its perpetuation. The Church has no longer any restraining force that can be sanctioned by political authority. Its strength lies wholly in the adaptability of its teachings to the moral wants of its votaries. It must look to itself; no agency beside itself will assist it in securing a deeper, stronger foundation. It is responsible to itself and for itself; and its hold on the people is no longer a law that is superior to the civil compact, but a sympathy that springs from the excellencies of its teachings and the security it lends to the general system of morality. In a word, the spirit of American institutions has completely changed the old-fashioned aspect of religious authority, which, to whatever extent it may be continued in external forms, is in reality abrogated, and replaced, like political authority, by a moral and religious compact to further the peace of the commonwealth, to persist in the worship of God, and to make applicable in modern life the ethics which were anciently set up as the corner-stones of a well organized society. The essence of this American religion, like the essence of American politics, is freedom; and the growth of religion in the United States is the best evidence that, with freedom as its basis, it can obtain a stronger hold on the people than if its authority, human or divine, is enforced by penalties that disgrace the idealism of divinity and degrade religion and morality to

the level of mere police regulations. It is only necessary to add that in this general description I have given what I believe to be the constitution of the American synagogue, an institution necessarily affected by all the conditions of American life.

We, of the present generation, perhaps understand these truths in a greater measure, because we have seen their effects in the splendid organization of which we are the beneficiaries. We have been able, within the past twenty years, to watch the beneficent results of that constructive religious genius, rooted in freedom, that even now in many quarters is decried as the acme of destructiveness. It is true we have seen many institutions pulled up by their roots and lie prone in the midst of wailing mourners, who forgot that the refashioning of religious life demanded action akin to the uprooting of trees by storms in midsummer. But forty years ago and more that American genius of construction was wholly misunderstood. It appeared as revolutionary, as anarchistic, as a loud-mouthed protestant. Yet those who denounced it were themselves living in the midst of a revolution the nature of which they did not understand. The influx of immigration in the decades already mentioned brought to American shores thousands of Jews, who, whatever may have been their religious proclivities abroad, seemed to be immediately affected by the freedom of their new home, without realizing that the truest freedom involves obligations to protect and safeguard it. Down in South Carolina, at that time, a settlement of native American Jews had already begun to feel that the anarchy of Jewish religious life demanded treatment, and the short lived reforms of Isaac Harby, little as they reached the core of the evil, must be interpreted as the first meritorious attempt to bring religion in consonance with the spirit of American progress. The state of Judaism in America at that time can only be fitly denominated by saying that it was a state of religious anarchy. The fact that congregations existed, in this instance, proves nothing whatever. The organization of a Jewish congregation in a new community proves as much the social tendency of the Jew as the necessity for religious worship. The democratic organization of the old American Jewish congregations, fashioned after existing social organizations, did not seem to have exercised much influence upon religious conditions. They were, doubtless, copies of the congregations of Europe.

They lacked the spirit of true worship and the guidance of learned leaders. Admitting that they were organized for the worship of God, they seemed powerless in effecting that closer organization of Jewish sentiment without which the synagogue is shorn of its title as the mother of Jewish institutions. They were, in effect, "*minyanim*" organized to satisfy certain external conditions imposed by tradition. Otherwise there was nothing or next to nothing in the way of religion. There existed social and benevolent organizations because the sense of solidarity is always strong in the Jew. But the individual was intoxicated by his new found freedom, and he made the most of it. Personal religion, the strongest factor in Jewish life, was left behind with all the restraints of legalism. Our fathers or grandfathers on American soil acted very much like children out of school, who are left without their teacher, and we may imagine what that means. Doubtless, those of my readers who are disposed to look upon these lines as an apology for the necessity of reform will question the integrity of these statements. I will say in reply that if the orthodoxy of half a century ago had been a life-infusing agency, Reform Judaism would have been an impossibility. I will say, further, that the first efforts at reform came from men like Merzbacher, who, without either possessing great genius or extraordinary learning, were shocked at the anarchy they found in the Jewish communities. Each congregation was law unto itself; its Readers were officials with whom the vote of the congregation meant more than the *Shul'han Arukh*. Ritual and dietary laws were virtually abrogated; a life with religious restraints suited no longer these active wrestlers with fortune. If there was any religious controversy it was not for principle but for *minhagim*. Men separated, not according to their convictions, but according to their nationality; and those still live who remember the Polish, the Bavarian, the English, the Dutch, the French, the Bohemian, and the Russian Shules in New York and elsewhere, not to forget the Hungarian and the various subdivisions of the Russian Shules. This tendency to organize according to nationalities was, then, purely social, a satisfaction of a sense of solidarity, which, in this instance, was both national and religious. This separation into nationalities tended to show the utter absence of homogeneity, the fact that these congregations were not yet moulded by the American

spirit, and that their main object was the continuance of traditional worship in a desultory manner, without reference to its importance or to the influence it might have upon the future. All these old congregations were orthodox in the sense only that they had copied the external forms of European *minhagim*. Internally they were soulless, exhibited no progress, proved themselves incapable of doing anything for people who did as they pleased. Was it to be expected that such conditions could be perpetuated? The demand for active religion comes sooner or later. Active, intelligent religion presupposes the homogeneity of the people.

The confusion of religious interests before the fifties was caused mainly by the lack of harmony among the various elements and by a personal indisposition to grant a certain amount of liberty, which, by the way, the immigrants had never enjoyed abroad. Where a certain amount of homogeneity had been attained, the demand for organized religion came soon enough. Then came the influence of the German Jews—at that time all powerful in America. That influence demanded a modification of external forms, which should be more in harmony with a modern sense of the need of worship. The orthodox service had, figuratively speaking, bled to death. It did not satisfy many people, who might, or might not, be attracted once more to the synagogue by an introduction of rational modifications. But it would be unjust to say that this influence demanded a mere change of forms of worship. The evil lay deeper than in the Tallith or in the ungrammatical reading or in the noisy service. The evil did not even lie in the personal disregard of dietary laws. The evil lay in the *absence of religious education*, in the improvidence of the times to secure a religious future to the children of the pioneers. Religious schools were needed more than religious modifications of worship, and those who rank as the pioneers of the movement in this country must be credited with having emphasized this demand above all others. The first reform synagogues of America were instituted by orthodox German Jews, in whom the sense of religion was stronger than the love of *Minhag Ashkenaz*, and in whom the desire to give their children a thorough religious education was more potent than their personal obligations to an effete Talmudism, the regulations of which seemed to fall on bare soil when they touched the Western

continent. That these reform congregations met with a storm of opposition; that they were denounced, abused, ridiculed, decried as destructive institutions and as propagators of infidelity *(Shmad)*, is no more than was to be expected.

Man is naturally a conservative creature: he dislikes changes, and only enjoys conditions in which he is born. The radical innovations which had hitherto been confined to Germany, the introduction of abbreviated prayers and an organ, must have produced the deepest indignation among those whose religion consisted of an abject reverence for the past and its skeletons. But the changes were inevitable. Let us say for the nonce that they were demanded by but a few; if so, the future proved those few to have been men in whom the sense of prediction was very strong. They had, undoubtedly, prevision of a homogeneous Jewish body, moulded by an American spirit, desirous of making their Judaism a potent factor in the moral and educational life of the American nation, and they felt that such high aims could not be attained by the perpetuation of religious features, forms, or institutions, out of which the very life had gone. There was alive up to recent months one of the leaders, a man whose indomitable will, pertinacity of purpose, and faith in his mission overcame obstacles before which weaker men bent like blades of grass; a man whose name must always be identified with the beginnings of that American synagogue, that, finding its freedom in the scattered ruins of an insincere orthodoxy, proceeded to slowly and painfully reconstruct the House of the Lord upon American soil, using as its building material the ancient faith, but adorning it with an intelligent fresco that would make Judaism intelligible to all the world. That man lived to witness the consummation of his ambition, lived to prove that the dream of the German reformers could be realized in America, and that Judaism vivified and vitalized by American freedom would be once again a great and glorious thing. That sturdy champion, that old fighter for a noble cause, was Isaac M. Wise, leader of a glorious galaxy of heroes who in the fifties began, in the face of gigantic difficulties, the foundations of what is commonly called American Judaism or Reform Judaism, but which, to an intelligent Jew, free from bias, presents only these phenomena, that it adapted itself to its new world surroundings, and sought to stimulate

the people's sense of worship by the introduction of intelligent changes of form, which offended orthodoxy, but did not offend Judaism; and by the establishment of schools in which an intelligent presentation of the truths of Judaism could be made to children. These were the modest beginnings of Reform Judaism in America—an inspiration from Germany fashioned since the beginning of the century, but obtaining its fruition in the United States, because here was liberty to plant, to sow, and to harvest.

The beginnings of Reform Judaism in America were attended by difficulties, of which but an incomplete record is kept in the chronicles of the times. The same freedom that encouraged innovations without much inquiry as to whether they were grounded in tradition—that same freedom encouraged opposition that did not always deport itself with a sense of dignity and justice. The touch of radicalism in the early reformers was met by a touch of fanaticism in their opponents. That is most natural, and we need defend the one nor the other. On the one hand there was a deep-seated conviction that the unorganized condition of Jewish religious interests, the crass ignorance of the Jews themselves, and their consequent indifference to aught but their material prosperity and the furtherance of their political advantages, would lead to a hopeless weakening of the ties of religion and an impending alienation of large numbers from their ancestral religion. On the other hand there was the expressed fear of an old-fashioned prejudice or perhaps superstition, that the encouragement of innovations in public worship appeared as an approval of the indisputable anarchy of the times; that protests, warnings, exhortations would have a better effect. To change the traditional worship was in itself a dangerous thing. While some innovations might be justified in the interest of decorum, they were to be condemned as entering wedges; in fact, there being no authority to sanction the limit of these reforms, there was no telling to what extent radical tendencies, a love of innovation, or a hatred of orthodoxy, might carry them. So began a square battle of "do something" against "do nothing," in which the conservative party sought to sanctify inactivity, religious indolence and *laisser aller* by specious arguments and sophistries, by public condemnation, and not a little by abusing

A Nook in the Home of Peace Cemetery.

the motives of the opposite party. In such times clean discussions are not to be thought of. From 1850 the campaign assumed dimensions which no leader of orthodox thought dared despise, and as the fight waxed hotter a remarkable discovery was made. The battle for external changes was soon shifted to the field of scientific inquiry, into which the intellectual capacities of most of the orthodox leaders of American Judaism could scarcely follow the bold champions who brought from Germany their own abilities and a fund of knowledge gathered from the beginnings of the then new science of Judaism. Much sooner than in Germany the scientific spirit was to seek the possibility of harmonizing the fundamental truths of Judaism with the scientific thought of the period, and to ascertain whether Judaism without any of its oriental or mediæval surroundings would have no vitality. This rapid shifting of its position, which demanded half a century of effort in Germany, can only be attributed to that American opportunity that permits freedom of action, puts no trammels on thought or speech, permits mind and conscience the seeking of directions best adapted to them, and minimizes the fear of opposition.

Whether a thing be right is of more importance in America than whether the government thinks it right. And men like David Einhorn could inaugurate their bold inquiries without the fear of being removed from office by the changed aspect of government. It was not long after the advent of that eminent scholar and sage that the aspects of the new movement began to change. The steps of the pioneers of American reform were naturally attended by a certain degree of timidity. Public approval had not yet been wholly won for the external changes, and certain eliminations of doctrinal expression from the prayer book betrayed a tendency not only to modernize forms but to inquire into the tenability of the traditional interpretations of Jewish doctrine. To permit men and women to worship together, to excuse the absence of the Tallith, to justify the non-wearing of the phylacteries, to abolish the second days of the stated feasts, or to encourage the introduction of music—even the elimination from the prayer book of all elements that had no direct bearing on worship, and the introduction therein of new English formulæ—all these innovations being of a purely external character, might ultimately be compromised, if reform could make good its claim that their tendency was

to improve the spirit of worship and to awaken the people to a sense of their duty. But eliminations of doctrinal phraseology betokened radical inquiries into phases of thought, and indicated a campaign against the mediæval interpretations of doctrine. That was dangerous, and the magnitude of the danger inspired with considerable timidity most of the men who had become responsible for the new movement. Max Lilienthal's splendid apologies for the necessity of external changes, published in the early files of the *American Israelite* (1856–57–58), make good reading even to-day; but the radical inquiries into doctrinal changes, or rather modifications of the philosophical aspects of Judaism, had not then their strongest votaries. The first Cleveland Conference (1856) betrayed that timidity to a marked degree. The conference was a conception of Isaac M. Wise, and must be interpreted as absolutely the first effort to give the new movement a constructive character. Dr. Wise even then dreamed of a magnificent union of all American Israelites—a dream only partly realized in these latter years, because union means restraint, and the American Jew is still too much wedded to his freedom of action—and sought to effect that union by the offer of compromises, which indicated a degree of retrogression in ill accord with his well known characteristics. Dr. Wise believed in the possibility of establishing a spiritual authority, composed of men of all points of view, to whom the interests of Judaism should be confided, and who should be made answerable for its progress. The offer of compromise was alluring, and the Cleveland Conference saw the orthodox leaders in council with the reformers. But even the offer to accept Talmudical legalism as the norm of religious conduct did not satisfy the conservatives, who had already entered upon that diffident, distrustful course that ultimately led to nearly all their congregations compromising with the externals of reform, without ever conceding the integrity and justice of the act. The Cleveland Conference led to two distinct results, which have to be closely considered, as both have considerably affected both the progress and gradually modifying characteristics of American Judaism. The first result was a schism between orthodox and reform Jews, which schism, curiously enough, was gradually bridged over by means of a compromise, against which neither Einhorn nor Wise ever ceased to preach.

The leaders of orthodoxy found it impossible to affiliate with the reformers. They dreaded the future more than the present. They dreaded no external change so much as the possibility of their being led into radical fields of thought. So they returned to their homes more than ever ready to sharpen their weak weapons to meet the polished arguments of Lilienthal, the impetuous, fiery, enthusiastic, defense of Wise, and the biting, inexorable logic of Einhorn. They seemed more than ever convinced that doing nothing was the stimulant of a most successful campaign. So they continued wailing and railing, protesting and scolding; and orthodoxy altogether lost its constructive character, if on American soil it ever had any. This was not the foreign orthodoxy of Russia, shifted to America with immigration, but an American orthodoxy without genius, without tenacity, a passive, negative quantity, that, to save something of itself, gradually assumed the externals of reform, and transferred its leadership to men like Jastrow, Huebsch and Szold, who, with honest and honorable intent, I believe, thought of the possibility of retaining every element of traditional Judaism, of the resuscitation of legalism and its influence on life and conduct, whilst approving not only of the external changes, but likewise of certain modifications of doctrinal interpretation. The motives of this distinguished triumvirate, which I never questioned, were undoubtedly in the direction of a possibility of a compromise; but the years proved such compromise impossible, and their labors have only resulted in making the chasm between American and foreign Judaism more pronounced. Of the orthodoxy that sought for suggestions of unity at the Cleveland Conference virtually nothing is left. Its leaders, all honest men and good, are dead, and its congregations, influenced by American thought and education, gradually adapted themselves to the externals of reform, thereby, in my opinion, forfeiting every claim to be ranked with the votaries of Talmudical Legalism, the influence of which upon Reform Judaism has been reduced to a most insignificant quantity. If anything is needed to prove the vitality of reform in America, it is this fact, that within twenty years after the first Cleveland Conference nearly every congregation represented by orthodox leaders had ceased its connection with orthodoxy, and this gradual surrender was but the natural consequence of a campaign that was not conducted on either side with the

same spirit and capacity. But the second result accrued from the proceedings of the first Cleveland Conference is of more historical consequence. The proffer of compromise on the part of the reformers gave offense in the quarter to which, to a considerable degree, they looked for direction and inspiration. A number of reform congregations in the East, stimulated by the energetic attitude of David Einhorn, sympathized as little with the efforts at compromise as the conservatives themselves. Einhorn's conception of reform had never contemplated the mere satisfaction of a love of innovations or a revolution of external forms. He had not thought of the possibility even of setting up a *Minhag*, to distinguish the results of American progressiveness from the concrete rituals of the synagogues of Europe. Form and *Minhag* were to Einhorn instruments of a far more important revolution. He, as well as his colleagues, aimed at the regeneration of Judaism, but the means for such regeneration must be justified by tradition; they must be rooted in the literary history of Israel and obtain a warrant of precedent that could not be disputed. His reform meant a return to principles, to pure living; to a correct knowledge of the aims and aspirations of Judaism; to an appreciation of its remarkable history and its influence upon the culture of the world; and his aim was to seek recognition for Judaism, not as a mere modernized agency for the worship of God, but as an immutable factor in the regeneration of the world, a distinct, well defined divine instrument of truth that should inspire men to become prophets and priests of the Ever-Living. Einhorn was the German-American apostle of a Judaism too lofty, too pure, too marvelously beautiful to be confined within the trammels of legalism, and, having been trained in one of the strongholds of Talmudism, under a teacher to whom the least compromise, the least innovation, was a source of offense, he was best qualified to speak of the little hold this legalism had retained on the life of modern Jews.

To Einhorn, one of the founders of reform in Germany, after the period of relaxation that succeeded the overthrow of Napoleon and the subsequent tidal wave of conservatism, it appeared upon his advent to these shores that the anarchistic conditions prevailing here admitted of no compromise. He saw everywhere that horrible contrast of theory and practice in religion, for which a sterile rabbinism

has not yet done sufficient expiation. Loud denunciation of progress was only apostrophized by irreligious life; and it did not occur to the conservatives that their lives must prove their consistency, nor were the reformers over much inspired with the fact that the most radical reform is that which proves the completest loyalty to the high aims of Judaism, and thus insures the purest examples of life and conduct. I have not sufficient data at hand, just now, to give even a synoptic review of the life of this most remarkable man, whose views have always seemed to me to be those of a philosopher, who cares little for externals, but aims at making truth itself manifest in the improved and more intelligent conditions of human life. Einhorn was not alone ready like his brave colleagues from whose methods he dissented, to defend, step by step, the utility of the reforms that had been instituted; but he prepared to give Reform Judaism that distinct universal cast that is now beginning to be its most prominent feature, whilst clinging with all the fervor of his noble soul and his tender heart to the faith itself, that gave him inspiration for the mighty task he had imposed upon himself. He knew full well that a religious protest against indifferentism, such as reform represented, would lose its place in history: that reform would be but an evanescent fact in the life of Israel, if it were not endowed with the capacity of a torch light to illumine dark places, and to lead the willing student into the philosophy of its justification. Briefly, without the least intention to detract from the illustrious merit of his contemporaries in America, I hold the opinion that Einhorn gave the campaign of reform that educational character that soon enabled its votaries to understand that a mere change of externals would lead to nothing. The tide of radical inquiry, as I have already noticed, had invaded the Jewish schools of Germany; and, whilst the efforts of the reformers in the mother country, during the two decades immediately preceding the American beginnings of reform, may have had a semi-political object, it is indisputable and unanswerable—that the study of Judaism and its literature, stimulated to no inconsiderable extent by the labors of the German universities, had become a far different thing from the mere adaptation of Talmudism to daily life and conduct. We discover in those decades the strong tendencies of alienation from antiquated methods of study, a growing desire to reclassify the

evidences of Judaism, to give them scientific standing, and thus to invigorate the capacity of the olden faith to retain its hold on the world. The scientific training of the German-Jewish scholars had assumed a different aspect. University-bred, the old *Bahurim* began to apply their newly acquired methods to the study of the Talmud. Analysis, historical investigation, exegesis, philology, and the Semitic languages began to grow as factors in the study of the evidences of Judaism. The Talmud, from having been a system, became once more literature. From Zunz down, a generation of students mercilessly, yet reverently, began to study the evolutionary phases of Judaism and its history; often in an apologetic way, to justify certain phenomena of the times, but always with the aim of giving life and soul to the tremendous mass of evidence that betrayed the activity of the Jewish mind in all centuries.

The result of this mental activity, this application of scientific methods to the history and literary remains of Israel, naturally developed a fact that is of the utmost consequence to Reform Judaism, and really constitutes the basis of its integrity. That fact is that the life of Israel surrounded with historical phenomena, each of which requires the most delicate consideration, presents a series of evolutionary stages which have no meaning unless they be studied in relation to the life and growth of every century of which they form a part. The strength and vitality of the Jewish race can only be estimated, then, by the influence of the Jewish mind upon every century, each phase of culture, each stage of history. Close inquiry would prove, then, that the claims of immutability of conduct and even of doctrine are false; that the secret of Jewish mental vigor is adaptiveness, and that to sustain its integrity, to insure its longevity, Judaism never shrunk from adapting its external forms to the needs of the times. Talmudism represents, then, but one of the many stages of external Judaism, and reform at the particular period in which it appears is made inevitable by the political and mental revolutions which at the time involved Israel as well as the rest of mankind. A gradual change of externals necessarily involves the most delicate, the most anxious consideration. The tree that is trimmed with sturdy ax may be injured by incapable hands. If the object of lopping off its dead branches is to give more vitality to the trunk, then such delicate

labors must be given in charge of those who understand the tree's life and capacity. Reform is the ax. Its object must be to invigorate the old tree, to give it more vitality, so that its beauty will be more apparent. If this process appears destructive, results will surely attest its constructive genius. The object of reform must be to preserve the purity, the vitality of Judaism, and with such object in view its mission is not only defensible, but justified by the precedents of history.

Under such a construction of the objects of reform, and with a training that enabled him to see the dangers of half measures, it is intelligible why Einhorn attached no importance to the composite character of the Cleveland Conference, and refused to accept its conclusions as intelligent measures of true progress. He had no faith in compromise. He could not understand the policy of seeking a reconciliation with Talmudism, the history of which was precious to him as the reflex of the life of centuries, while as a system it had become wholly insupportable to occidental Europe and America. In consequence, with that fearlessness of utterance that always characterized him, he commenced a campaign of protest, which, in part, retarded the unity of reform in America, whilst on the other hand it gave the cause more rigid and definite outlines. The chasm thus created between what may be called the western and eastern schools of American reform could only be spanned when, with the years, the asperity of the controversy would be softened, and when, as is now the case, the tendencies of reform would assume the scientific aspect that, strictly speaking, alienates it from mere externals. But the Cleveland Conference has nevertheless done incalculable good. It brought together men who desired Judaism to be more than an old tree with rotten branches; it gave formal and tangible expression to many needs that had sprung up in the communities. Its results, it can readily be imagined, were not immediately available. It was but the first constructive attempt—others followed in succession—only to prove that reform aims at no concrete system that would, or might threaten to, assume sectarian tendencies. In so far as each successive conference sought to make reform a concrete system by the formulation of a creed, it has utterly failed and deserved to fail. Authoritative creeds are an impossibility in Judaism, and they are

unpalatable to the freedom of American thought. But the true reason of their failure lies in the important fact that a definition of the philosophical aspects of Judaism never was the most important feature of its mission, and that traditional freedom of interpretation precludes the possibility of an agreement on the question of essentiality.

For twenty years subsequent to the events here imperfectly related Reform Judaism suffered from internal dissensions, from the pertinacity of individual opinions, from a lack of unity of purpose and interpretation. This is but the natural outcome of a movement that has to trace its steps slowly, and feel its way to the confidence of the community. There was at first a merry war over mere externals. Individual opinion here led the way and individual authority scorned the authority of any one else. Wise's attempt to create a unity of externals by the publication of *Minhag America* was followed by numerous other efforts of more or less questionable value. Reforming externals and prayer-book making became the rage, and likewise, I fear me, the desire to outdo each other in radical innovations became fashionable with the Rabbis. We may here, once more, briefly enumerate three distinct tendencies, the outlines of which have now disappeared, since they have become united in a common motive. Einhorn always represented the philosophical tendency; congregational unity, as a measure for the spreading of reform ideas, never appeared to him either practicable or advisable. The conservative tendency that was born out of a union of the disintegrating orthodox forces with the scholarly triumvirate, headed by Jastrow, was opposed by the philosopher, who reserved for it his keenest onslaughts, and by Wise, who always aimed at practical results and at the making of reform a concrete system. Wise is the great advocate of congregational unity of reform in America. He believed that the first constructive attempt must lie in the bringing together of its votaries and seeking a basis of unity of belief, action, procedure, and conduct. This was his doctrine from the first, and he championed it to a successful conclusion. Strongly as he always defended his own views, strongly and acrimoniously as these views have always been attacked, Wise, in the days of his most rampant controversies, seems never to have lost sight of the democratic fact that a union of

elements would ultimately lead to a unity of purpose. Reform, to become an educational factor, needed the united strength of its teachers. Every effort for the public exhibition of the capacity of reform to make Judaism a live instrument of education has come from Isaac M. Wise. He was the first victim of orthodox acrimony. He established the first organ of reform. His prayer book, whilst the second in the order of publication, was the first designed as a general substitute for the *Siddur*. He was the first advocate of the conferences. He was the first advocate of a seminary for the training of American Rabbis, twenty years before he attained his object. He was the first champion of what is now known as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. This rapid review of the measures successfully proposed by the great Cincinnati Rabbi and President of the first American *Jeshibah* exhibits the life-long tendency of his mind. It is that of success through unity. He has never failed to perceive the strength of that tendency. He has often sacrificed both his views and his ambition to a desire of uniting the factions in a strong common mission of reform. If he is the proponent of the Cleveland compromise measure, which roused Einhorn's antagonism, his action can only be attributed to that marked tendency of congregational unity, which characterizes his entire career. The future proved that the labors of Wise in this direction were essential to the growth of the cause. Einhorn's efforts would have foundered if they had not been supported by the practical views of his western colleague and whilom opponent. Whatever Reform Judaism now is, for good and practical purposes, it owes to the Einhorn school laboring in one direction and the Wise school laboring in another, but the two, at last, I think since the Pittsburg Conference,—converging and becoming, through the happy union of the ideal and the practical, a sanctified instrument for the regeneration of Judaism in America.

Who were the men who brought about this consummation? The names of David Einhorn, Samuel Hirsch, Samuel Adler, Emanuel Deutsch, Isidore Calisch, Elkan Cohn and others, are now linked together with those of Isaac M. Wise, Max Lilienthal, Felsenthal, Mielziner, and these again with the names of the erstwhile conservatives, the whole forming a brilliant list of champions, who, following devious ways, at last found each other to labor for the same common

cause: the restoration of Judaism in America. That was their object. Has it been attained? Results naturally must speak for themselves. Whether a movement barely half a century old can be judged by the little it has accomplished, or whether the vitality of an historical movement should be judged by the life and labors of fifty years, is a question that I would submit to the unbiased students of human history. The constructive tendencies of reform have produced institutions, whose educational mission promises the richest results. American Judaism within the past twenty-five years has grown to proportions which might well excite the attention of the student of history. I shall not advert to a single organization that is an expression of the Jewish religious sentiment applied to the needs of suffering humanity, though it might be stated, and with justice, that these institutions are better supported and better endowed than they are elsewhere. I shall only, and very briefly, allude in these concluding paragraphs to the achievements of reform in an educational way, which is after all the best test of its constructive capacity. The first rabbinical conferences to which already reference has been made, do not seem to have exercised immediate influence upon either the educational or the spiritual conditions of the reform congregations. Their principal characteristic indubitably was a spirit of inquiry into the possibility of a uniform expression of religious thought, through the medium of creeds and common prayer books. I have already noted some of the obstacles, which, in my opinion, prevented the consummation of the leaders' ambition in the matter of a common prayer book. Individualism has been for a generation the bane of our religion. In the matter of creeds it needs to be said, that until this day the uniform expression of religious thought has proved an impossibility, and I believe the tendency to independence of utterance is growing all the while. That is no more than may be expected when every condition of our times encourages freedom of expression and when the progress of scientific thought widens every aspect of interpretation. American Jews have fully realized the futility of a uniform creed, or rather a concrete expression of the philosophical or metaphysical considerations, the aspects of which are continually changing; and whilst all Jews, in the main, agree upon the essential teachings of their religion, an agreement on either methods or systems

of interpretation has never appeared desirable or mandatory. The quest after creeds has been frequent enough; and the main question as to what Judaism really is, has often been discussed only to exhibit the fact that an authoritative ecclesiastical definition of its principal teachings is an impossibility, and yet so far as the philosophical tendencies of the creed are concerned, though no concensus of opinion could be obtained, they seem to be very well established as principal teachings and articles of faith. The teachings of the existence of God, His unity, His divine communication to man, the divine law of compensation as expressed in rewards and punishment and in consequence man's accountability to God; the immortality of the soul and the messianic, prophetic mission of the people of Israel—these are now as they always were and always will and must be the leading truths of the faith, rooted in Sinaitic Revelation, though even the latter expression may be capable of another interpretation than the anthropomorphic statements embodied in the sacred tradition.

I believe the truths here briefly enumerated constitute the basis of all doctrinal teachings in all American-Jewish schools, while it may be that the teachings themselves may be made more or less conservative by the congregational tendency or the teacher's personal opinion. But a variety of opinion never has done any harm; the character and substance of the teaching remains the same everywhere, and that is an important step in the direction of unity. The conferences, I repeat, began to realize the futility of agreeing on concrete expressions of metaphysical truths, and, then, directly consequent of that futility, came efforts of a more practical nature. To effect congregational unity was indubitably the first step. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations was the first successful attempt to bring the American Congregations together upon a platform of the advancement of religious interests and protection of the heritage of Israel on American soil.

Isaac M. Wise, always the champion of measures of unification, is directly responsible for that first successful attempt. It was immediately followed by the organization of the Hebrew Union College, the latter, as I have heretofore observed, the realization of a project conceived by Dr. Wise twenty years previously. With the organization of the Hebrew Union College an important result was attained.

An instrument was found for the uniform teaching of truth. It was an expression that education was the first condition of further progress. To make Judaism in America a factor of no questionable value, the training of competent teachers was a condition precedent. It is known, after nearly a quarter of a century of organization, what this college has accomplished. Organized at a time when anarchistic conditions still to some extent prevailed, organized under difficulties that now appear monstrous, laughed at by conservatives and scorned by progressive leaders, into whose motives of opposition to anything that bore the stamp of Isaac M. Wise we must not yet too closely inquire; born in poverty, founded without any of the sustaining strength that constitutes the endowment of schools and universities, it is remarkable that the Hebrew Union College could accomplish so much. We can afford to be candid. It has a legitimate place among the agencies that transmit the lore of Israel from one generation to another. It has been officered by noble scholars and distinguished teachers, yet from among its graduates few, if any, have as yet attained to the distinction of the older generation of American teachers. But who expected such rapid results? Only enthusiasts or people incapable of measuring the discouraging conditions surrounding this great institution. It has done enough, much more than could be reasonably expected in a generation. It has produced a number of able teachers of Judaism; men educated in the schools of their country; fully abreast of the times and therefore endowed with a much keener insight into the necessities of public education than with all their illustrious qualities can be attributed to their predecessors. The first result, in brief, of the organization of the college, was the fact that a number of practical men, in full and fine touch with the people, gradually pushed from the ranks of office a number of rabbis, whose conceptions went no further than satisfying the external conditions of religion. The demands for public instruction, for a practical solution of many hitherto involved questions came from these scholarly young men, reinforced and undoubtedly to a considerable extent inspired by the splendid examples of the successors of Einhorn and Hirsch, amongst whom Kaufman Kohler and Emil Hirsch deserve the first place. And, with the gradually widening influence of the college, its now rapid conversion into one of the

noble *Yeshibahs*, where Jewish learning and piety have their highest exposition, the name of its great founder will always be identified as that of the man whose entire career was a quest after the means of firmly securing the religious future of his brethren in America.

The constructive efforts of American Judaism are now numerous enough. Educational institutions have arisen everywhere. The Sabbath School Union, the American Jewish Publication Society, Dr. Berkowitz's splendid conception of a Jewish Chautauqua, the National Council of Jewish Women, the American Jewish Historical Society, the Congregational Sisterhoods—all these are but the evidences of the work of a decennium, evidences, to my mind, that the constructive genius of Judaism operates in our midst, and through the medium of organization prepares both the mind and conscience of the people for stronger and ever stronger affiliations with the old, venerated faith, its traditions, science, and literature, and regenerates all the hopes and aspirations in which is the germ of Israel's indestructable vitality.

A fear has been expressed, that the course of American Judaism in these latter years would tend to disturb the solidarity of the Jewish people, in so far as that word applies to religious and humane interests acknowledged in common by Jews the world over. Nothing can be farther from the truth. The American Jew, whose synagogue is a modern institution, and to whom much of the discipline of Rabbinism is a sealed book, is nevertheless taught to develop within himself those sympathies and affections that are needed in an application of sound judgment to the difficult position of many elements of Israel throughout the world. The American Jew, therefore, is in no sense alienated from the religious confraternity of Israel. His brethren have never called upon him in vain: his benefactions to the people abroad are liberal and judicious; and his representative position in the citizenship of the United States has often enabled him to be of substantial advantage to his brother in semi-oriental countries, in Russia, Roumania, Persia, Morocco, or wherever oppression is still the sole relationship of the strong towards the weak. And if ever the educated and cultured Jews of Europe will call their American co-religionists in council, a proceeding that, I think, belongs to the possibilities of the Twentieth Century, and has been to some degree anticipated by the

presence of American delegates at the Zionist Congresses, the position of the American Jew in the midst of his co-religionists will no longer be disputed.

As I close this chapter I feel that the story of the struggles of Judaism in America needs more elaborate treatment. Perhaps the time for such treatment has not yet come. But I believe enough has been said to inspire even the most rancorous fanatic with the sentiment, that even if there are yet many incongruities of thought and conduct in our Reform Judaism; even if, as some unjustly claim, our mental attitude is merely that of a negation of the merits of orthodoxy as an efficacious system of conduct and thought, even with all the disadvantages, real or imagined, which are such favorite themes of reproach with our brethren abroad, the story of our struggles proves our intent. And what, then, is that intent? Only to become more and more imbued with the noble, purifying motives of our faith. Only to become better Jews. Only to become strong in our service to our brethren. Only to remain united to the holiest traditions of our deathless past. Our reform is not a sectarian system, only a means of attaining the noble ends here enumerated. Whether the means will prove finally efficacious, I cannot say. To determine that I should be endowed with a prevision to tell of the state of Judaism a century hence.

III.

The Sutter Street Synagogue.

THE Jewish community of San Francisco was deeply affected by the agitation resulting from the Cleveland Conference and the subsequent general discussions upon the subject of so-called Reform. The local storm-center was in the Congregation Emanu-El. The other Congregations held aloof from the contention, and for many years to come sternly refused to countenance any innovation. Nor was Emanu-El a unit on the subject of Reform. Quite a large number of members feared that the tendency to modernize the services would lead to fateful consequences. The Congregation had to contend with a conservatism that believes the greatest virtue of religion to be "let well enough alone." Every change, no matter how inessential, was resented. We have seen that already in 1856 the Board sanctioned such reforms as tended to improve the services without changing the latter's essential character. The orthodox service had not only become somewhat unintelligible, but it lacked dignity and decorum, and the young people became gradually alienated from the Synagogue. The *raison d'etre* of Reform was warmly discussed. A correspondent of the *Gleaner** addressed its editor some questions, which, rather odd as they appear, betray an anxiety to find a warrant for the somewhat arbitrary procedure of the Reform of the times: May any Congregation voluntarily abbreviate the *Mahzor?* Did the "prophets" make our prayers? Must the Hebrew language alone be used in the prayers? Dr. Eckman's replies to his somewhat misinformed correspondent are in admirable temper. He ranged himself squarely on the side of those who believed, that, in the reclassification of our religious interests, the future must be considered of far more importance than the past. Dr. Eckman's *Gleaner*, in fact, helped materially to teach the intolerant that Reform had its scientific

Gleaner, September 4, 1857.

and historical basis. Himself a life-long conservative, he yet realized how little the services appealed to the young, and he often would emphasize the virtue of such intelligent ritual reform as would tend to save the youth of Israel to the heritage of their fathers. Eckman's passion for children made him an advocate of moderate reform. His life work was among them, and what he feared most was their alienation from the ancestral faith. As stated, the membership of Emanu-El was divided on the question. It became a subject of painful discussion. What saved the Congregation then, as ever before and afterwards, from disintegration, was that intense loyalty to the institution itself, that was always able to rise above personal opinions. Somehow, in the very midst of these discussions, the Congregation continued to flourish. The membership increased, and, under the intelligent leadership of Seligman, Emanu-El became a powerful institution. In '59 the Congregation took the initiative to the memorable Mortara Mass-meeting, one of the largest ever held in San Francisco, and substantial aid was rendered the suffering Jews of Morocco by a Congregational collection that netted $3,668.15. In 1860 the Congregation, in conjunction with the Eureka, was able to purchase Mission Block No. 86 for a cemetery. Dr. Elkan Cohn found a Congregation, indeed somewhat divided on the subject of ritual changes, but in all other respects prosperous, well organized, practically out of debt, and, with few exceptions, prepared to yield respectful consideration to the radical changes he was about to submit. Dr. Cohn, at the time of his advent, was in the prime of life. He addressed himself to his difficult task with a devotion that is still gratefully remembered. His first demand was for the reorganization of the school. In September, 1860, he had already prepared a set of regulations governing the services on Sabbaths and holidays, which were unanimously adopted by the Board. (Minutes, Vol. I, p. 203.) The annual meeting of 1860 (October 6th) promptly recognized his energetic labors by extending his term of office from three to five years, a mark of confidence that speaks highly for the appreciation with which his reformatory propositions had been received.

Dr. Cohn's remarkable activity stimulated the Congregation's ambition to a very high degree. He had brought order out of chaos. He had, rather carefully, felt his ground, and it proved ready for the

THE REV. DR. ELKAN COHN,

Rabbi of Temple Emanu-El,

1860 - 1889

good seed he had brought with him. The October meeting, on his recommendation, decided to abolish the indecorous system of offerings, the recitation of *Mi Sheberakh*, and offered to replace the financial loss accruing therefrom by voluntary subscriptions. But it was at the same time understood that no man should be barred from reciting the benedictions before and after the Thorah reading, if he so desired. This resolution shows how carefully Dr. Cohn kept in touch with the conservative element of the Congregation. He wished to offend no one's predilections. His recommendation to remove only the compulsory character of the "calling up," whilst in one direction it proves his opinion that customs may be changed, exhibits on the other hand a generous toleration of the conservative tendencies of many of his friends. But he had his reward. There were few indeed who did not highly respect him, even though they differed from him. He was probably the first Rabbi in America to institute late Friday evening services, and the eight o'clock meetings at the Broadway Synagogue were largely attended. Everybody came to hear the polished German orator, who expounded the Jewish faith in such clear language. In point of fact the Synagogue became too small. Six months after his arrival Dr. Cohn had the satisfaction of hearing President Seligman report that the Synagogue could scarcely accommodate its visitors. The following resolution was then passed (Minutes, Vol. I, p. 212):

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President to find a suitable lot in the central portion of the city whereon to build a new Synagogue, said committee to report at the next regular meeting of the Congregation."

This was the initiative to the movement that resulted in the erection of the great, beautiful Synagogue, lovingly known throughout San Francisco as "The Temple."

Dr. Cohn quietly continued his good work. On March 17, 1861, he received the following letter:

Rev. Dr. E. Cohn:

Your Congregation was highly gratified to perceive from the recent able sermon delivered by you, that the second day of the Passover need not be regarded as a holiday; and your Congregation will, at its next meeting, be glad to receive from you such

recommendations as will present the healthy views advanced by you regarding the keeping of but the first day; and we beg to assure you that those views will meet with unanimous approbation.

For the Board of Trustees,
A. EGER, *Secretary.*

The annual meeting of 1861 (September 22) listened to an encouraging report by President Seligman. He congratulated the Congregation upon "the very favorable condition of Emanu-El in all its branches and the very satisfactory position of its financial matters." The membership had increased to 247, a very remarkable showing indeed. The school, under the superintendence of Dr. Cohn, had been thoroughly reorganized and was flourishing. The Congregation, but a few years before struggling with a debt that threatened to overwhelm it, had a balance in the treasury of more than eight thousand dollars. Of Dr. Cohn's reformatory tendencies the President speaks as follows:

"I cannot close without urging you to continue your support of our most honored and esteemed Rabbi, Dr. Cohn, in his efforts to inculcate the true spirit of religion as taught by our ancestors. We have all listened to his eloquent and powerful appeals to us during the Day of Atonement and heard, through his noble sentiments, the duties we should perform as true Israelites, by a proper observance of the Sabbath, thereby showing a worthy example to our children. It can be accomplished—should be so, for the tenets of Judaism command it, and I sincerely trust his strong appeals towards the accomplishment of this object will find a response in your hearts, and meet with that favor which its importance deserves."

In concluding his report, Mr. Seligman emphasized the loyalty of the membership in the midst of the great work of reorganization.

"I congratulate you all," said he, "upon the very good feeling and harmony now so happily existing among us, and between us; even if at times subjects introduce themselves which might have a tendency to sow discord in our debates and deliberations, the feeling of fellowship and brotherly love has always prevailed. We are not, and cannot be divided, and may now and forever such be the case, is my ardent wish."*

*Officers for 1861-62: H. Seligman, President; Isaac F. Block, Vice President; A. Taudler, Treasurer Trustees, Louis Cohn, Martin Heller, Samuel Marx, J. Levy, A. L. Wangenheim, M. Mayblum.

November 2, 1861, meeting at the St. Nicholas Hotel, the Congregation was ready to hear the report of its new "Building Lot" Committee. The report stated that two lots, equally eligible, had been offered; one at the corner of Geary and Powell streets, the property of Thomas Smiley, for $16,000; the other, on Sutter street, between Powell and Stockton, belonging to B. Davidson, for $15,000. The figures, whilst not large, embarrassed the Congregation. There were not sufficient funds at hand to justify a purchase. But the membership was, as usual, equal to the emergency. The timid ones were cried down; Samuel Marx, until his death one of the most active and devoted of the members, eloquently and persuasively argued the ways and means, and by a vote of forty-two ayes to three nays the committee was instructed to "go ahead." Emanu-El always found the means to inaugurate its great enterprises, and truly, acccording to its name, God was with its people. The Board of Trustees were authorized to secure loans and subscriptions to pay for the site, and directed to secure designs for the new synagogue, which were to be submitted to a regular meeting of the Congregation.

The Board commenced its new labors with alacrity. Pending its administrative labors it had to do some diligent work in protecting Dr. Elkan Cohn against vicious assaults from persons, who, then as now, found comfort in misrepresenting the aims and objects of Reform Judaism. It had grown to be a fashion in some quarters to attribute sinister motives to the leaders of the new movement. The orthodox journals accepted and circulated the most extravagant statements concerning the destructive activity of the Reformers. Dr. Cohn could not escape the common fate. Those who had heard him, and were themselves fair-minded, could not but admire the careful methods he applied in winning over his Congregation to such innovations as would tend to inspire them with a higher regard for the responsibilities enjoined by religion. Indeed, about that time our service was already very much changed. The prayer book was considerably abridged; the "melodeon" still stood in the gallery; the volunteer choir, organized in 1858 by A. Godchaux, sang the music of Sulzer and Rubin and the great cantors of Germany; the second days of the holidays were abolished. The "family pews" would come later. All these changes have their warrant in precedent, and

only represented a violation of custom, not at all of law. In the matter of fundamentals, Dr. Cohn was stern and unyielding. But the report of his extravagances had reached the East and Europe; and personally averse to newspaper controversies, he left the Board to deal with his assailants. Ignoring mere newspaper talk, they justified their Rabbi, and asserting their own sense of distinction between the essentials and non-essentials of Judaism, published the following memorable resolution:

"*Resolved*, That Rev. Dr. Cohn be solicited to draft an address to the members of this Congregation, urging them in the most effectual manner to a better and more proper observance of the holy Sabbath, such address to be distributed by the Board in a circular letter to all the members of the Congregation."

This resolution gave the *Occident* a different idea of the work the Congregation Emanu-El had undertaken.

On Sunday, January 5, 1862, the "Building Lot" Committee reported the purchase of the Davidson site on Sutter street, between Stockton and Powell, for $15,000, and that they had paid $3,000 on account of the purchase. A conservative minority sought to precipitate a discussion on the expediency of building a new synagogue, but was promptly suppressed. The Broadway Synagogue, glorious relic of pioneer devotion, had indeed become utterly too small to accommodate the membership, and the improved order of the service justified the creation of new environments within which its beauty and impressiveness could be still further enhanced. The meeting again decided to proceed with the work in hand. Subscription committees were appointed, and at a subsequent meeting the Board was authorized to mortgage the site, should not the entire amount of $12,000 due thereon be forthcoming by voluntary donations or subscriptions. At a subsequent meeting of the Board, March 7, 1862, it was decided to proceed in a more practical manner. The Congregation would issue scrip for all subscriptions, in denominations of not less than $25, bearing interest at six per cent. per annum, and redeemable in four years. In less than one month $8,000 was subscribed, and it was necessary, therefore, to take a mortgage for $4,000 to complete the purchase. This rather slow development of plans so enthusiastically conceived requires some explanation. The War of the Rebellion, with all its fateful consequences, had affected

the San Francisco community in a considerable degree. Whilst necessarily politics, to some extent, divided the membership, the unsettled condition of affairs, the state of uncertainty, and, in some instances the paralysis of industries, produced a feeling that the time for involving the Congregation in a heavy indebtedness was unpropitious; and although the lot was bought and paid for, no action was taken in the matter of securing designs. The house standing on the Sutter street lot was rented out to Colonel Ransome for eighty dollars per month until April 1st, 1863.

The annual meeting of October 12, 1862, was the last over which Henry Seligman was to preside. That able and active officer was about to permanently leave San Francisco, and parts of his report represent so well the state of the Congregation at that time, compared to what it had been a decade before, that a few extracts will prove excellent reading. Speaking of the war, Mr. Seligman writes:

"Let us join in praise of thanks and gratitude to the Ruler of our destinies for having granted us health, peace, and prosperity. Whilst our brethren in the East are unfortunately engaged in a most terrible and destructive civil war, which has cost so many innocent lives, which has destroyed some of the best blood of our beloved country, has broken the ties and affections of so many happy families, made numberless widows and orphans, and converted the homes of thousands, once in wealth and comfort, into poverty and starvation,—I say we here on the Pacific Coast have been more fortunate; peace reigns in our midst, our homes and firesides are blessed with plenty, with all the comforts of life; commerce follows its usual channels, and is more prosperous than ever; discord nor strife exists among us; and for all these blessings we have reason to rejoice, and can only pray that it may please our Creator and Father to put an end to this unholy war and restore a once happy country to its former splendor; that we may forgive and forget past differences and bring back the proud and glorious flag of the Stars and Stripes over every part of American soil, honored and revered by all Americans, as it was given to us by the immortal Washington."

Of the contemplated Synagogue the President wrote very conservatively. He knew the magnitude of the undertaking and was anxious to save the Congregation from an irreparable blunder. His kind and judicious words are worth quoting:

"Since our last annual meeting, through the liberality of our members, we have been enabled to purchase that beautiful lot on Sutter street as a proper place whereon to erect a Synagogue. The whole amount of $15,000 has been paid: $8,500 by voluntary subscriptions and the other part by the proceeds of seat money, which speaks well, and reflects great credit on Congregation Emanu-El. It depends upon you to say when a proper house of worship shall be built; whilst there is no question of the necessity of having a building centrally located and capable of holding all the members, friends and our children, who to a great extent have had no opportunity to be under the watchful eyes of their parents during the last holidays, it should receive proper attention and caution. Not to be hasty, but calmly and deliberately adopt a plan, which will enable you to carry out your much desired object; and not commence it until you are perfectly able to see it completed. I feel satisfied, from the past liberality of our members, which now have increased so rapidly, that they are able to carry out any project they may undertake. It depends upon you, therefore, to say when it shall be done, and though likely I shall not be able to be present at its dedication, I shall, however distant I may be from you, take the liveliest interest, and shall be rejoiced once to hear that you have finished and completed a house of worship worthy of yourselves and your honored institution."

The finances were in a satisfactory condition. Despite an expenditure of over $12,000, the income had been sufficient to meet all demands, and the Board's desire "to be liberal towards all those in our employ."

President Seligman takes leave of the Congregation in pleasant words:

"It is well known to many of you," he says, "that I intend to leave you before the expiration of another year; therefore it is with feelings of deepest emotion that I again return to your hands the proud office you have so generously bestowed on me for seven long years. I withdraw with regret and sorrow, for I have been so kindly treated by you during our long official intercourse * * and you have shown your kindness to me in so many ways, that I cannot find sufficient words to express my gratitude to you all. * * When I

consider that from sixty-five good, active members, who composed our number when I first took the chair, we have now increased to 260, I am more than repaid for the modest share of duties that came to me during that time. I shall always look back with pride and pleasure upon the happy days we have been together and shall ever pray for the success of Congregation Emanu-El and its esteemed members. In closing my official connection with you, allow me to bespeak for my successor in office the same hearty and active support at your hands, and trust that you will follow the directions of our able and eloquent Minister who takes such an active interest in your welfare. Act together as harmoniously as you have done until now, let all strife or anger or dissent be banished from your midst and maintain the good name and fame of Congregation Emanu-El, for which it is distinguished throughout the land. This is my most ardent prayer and wish; and though I shall be far away from you, my heart, my affection and sympathy shall ever be with you, and I shall be happy to hear of the everlasting success and prosperity of my beloved Congregation."

This touching and pathetic address must have made a profound impression on the membership. Henry Seligman had steered the ship of Emanu-El through difficult channels, full of shoals and rocks, and, just when the young tree began to develop into a wide-boughed oak, the exigencies of his personal career compelled him to retire and surrender his task into other hands. A series of resolutions were presented to him, of which one, briefly but tersely, tells the true history of Henry Seligman's connection with the Congregation.

"*Resolved*, That to his zealous efforts and noble exertions the Congregation is chiefly indebted, not only for the continuation of its peace and harmony, but also for its increased numerical strength and pecuniarily prosperous condition."

Let this resolution be circulated among the people of a younger generation as the grateful testimony of Emanu-El to the work of one of its most faithful presidents. Henry Seligman served for seven years out of the first decade of the Congregation's existence. It fell to his lot to nurse the young institution, to invigorate it, to inspire its membership, and secure its permanency and stability. Emanu-El has had devoted and faithful Presidents since Seligman's time; yet

the memory of that gentleman's loyal services remains unimpaired in our midst, and at the threshold of a new semi-centennial Emanu-El sends greeting to its old time Parnass, with the words, "Well done, thou true and faithful servant!"

NOTE.—Not long afterwards Mr. Seligman left San Francisco to take up his residence in Frankfurt-on-the-Main. The Congregation, on that occasion, tendered him a public reception at the St. Nicholas Hotel, and, through President Louis Sachs, presented him with an elegant chest containing twenty-three pieces of silver, to wit: one solid pitcher, one tray with the picture of the Broadway Synagogue engraved on it, twenty goblets and one larger one, all inscribed with the initials "H. S." Nearly six years ago when I visited Mr. Seligman this chest was proudly exhibited to me as one of the most cherished family heirlooms. Mr. Seligman, now in his seventy-second year, is hale and robust; and we all pray, may Heaven bless the afternoon and evening of his useful life!

With the retirement of Mr. Seligman several important facts deserve prominent notice. Firstly, the "old guard" of workers, the coterie of founders, gradually withdraws from leadership to make room for another number of equally devoted leaders, under whose guidance the Congregation would continue to prosper, despite the delicate issues that they would be compelled to face. The names of Louis Sachs, Martin Heller, William Scholle, Jules Cerf, Jacob Greenebaum, and others, begin to appear, to give prominence to the activity of the ensuing decades. The old leaders had practically founded the Congregation, and left to their successors a membership, that in point of numbers and standing both, must be considered the equal of any in the land; a strong, representative membership, ready to develop and maintain the inherent spiritual energies of the Congregation. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that, much credit as is due to the competent leadership of Emanu-El, the successful character of that leadership could only be confirmed by the splendid spirit of the membership, amongst whom were men fully cognizant of the duties and responsibilities devolving upon them, and therefore ready at all times to support active measures for the spiritual and material progress of the great institution they had founded. When Seligman withdrew, the unanimous choice of the Congregation fell on Louis Sachs, who theretofore had served as Vice-President, and Martin Heller in turn became the second officer of Emanu-El. The subsequent history of the Congregation proves that the leadership had been entrusted to efficient men.

LOUIS SACHS,

President of Temple Emanu-El,

1862-1866.

And yet, this meeting of 1862, which bears all the characteristics of a love feast, witnessed the first evidences of a contention, that two years afterwards would shake the Congregation to its deepest foundations. The meeting was attended by 179 out of 267 members, and it might be fair to assume that this large attendance was a distinct compliment to the retiring President, were it not that another motive becomes plainly apparent. It is difficult, even after the lapse of nearly forty years, to discuss with any degree of patience the ultimate "secession" of a number of members, whose withdrawal was publicly attributed to their conservative tendencies, to a desire of maintaining another Congregation upon traditional lines, but whose true motives may appear from the simple fact that there were two candidates for the office of Sexton, and that the tried and efficient incumbent was re-elected by a preponderant majority. Since most of the men who were engaged in that contention have either gone home or ultimately returned to the Temple; and since there are but a very few left now who are directly responsible for the issues that resulted in the organization of the Ohabe Shalome Congregation two years afterwards, it is probably best not to inquire too closely into the details of that unfortunate chapter of Emanu-El's history. The past is forgiven and forgotten. Emanu-El, for a time, seriously felt the loss of a numerous element of its membership; but out of that trial, imposed upon it by men who would not bow to a majority, it emanated stronger, and more firmly established; its peace so great that thereafter no one has been able to disturb it. Even the loss of sixty members could not arrest its progress.

President Louis Sachs found the work mapped out for him. Supported by Martin Heller as Vice-President, and by Dr. Cohn, whose life-long friend he became, these three set about to complete the difficult undertaking of completing the reorganization of the *Minhag*, and of building a Synagogue on the Sutter street site. An official committee had been appointed to devise ways and means. This committee, after long and anxious deliberation, decided to propose a plan, whereby a large sum of money could be realized by the sale of pews and seats in the contemplated Synagogue. This plan involved a complete revision of certain sections of the Constitution and By-Laws appertaining to the duties of membership and

the regulation of the taxes to maintain the Congregation, and it was resolved that, if at the next ensuing semi-annual meeting this revision would be ratified by the membership, the Board would be empowered "to proceed forthwith with the erection of the Synagogue, under the powers granted them in said revision and upon such plans as may be adopted by the Congregation" (Minutes, Vol. I, p. 291).

On Monday, February 1, 1864, the Board took decisive action in the matter of the *Minhag*, formally abrogating the old services by the following resolution, introduced by Mr. Louis Cohn:

"*Resolved*, That the Board of Trustees, through their President, hereby authorize the obtaining and introduction of the Merzbacher prayer-book for the use and purposes of the Congregation Emanu-El, and the same be held by them as the authenticated form of service until otherwise ordered by the Congregation."

In March, 1864, the Board appointed the President, with Messrs. Heller, Jacob Greenebaum, I. F. Block, and M. Meyerfeld, a committee "to solicit voluntary loans and subscriptions whereby the Building Committee may be enabled to proceed at an early date with the erection of a new Synagogue."

June 25, 1864, the Building Committee reported to the Board, submitting plans and specifications for a new Synagogue. The whole cost would be $134,000, and the committee recommended immediate action, for the Congregation should meet in its new house of worship on Rosh Ha'Shanah, 1865. The report was unanimously adopted, and President Sachs instructed to sign all building contracts. At the same meeting the Rev. Mr. Weisler was appointed Cantor, to serve until the annual meeting.

The corner-stone of the Sutter Street Synagogue was laid with solemn ceremonies on Tuesday, October 25, 1864 (5625). The ceremonies were exceedingly brief and simple. The exercises were opened by the chairman of the Building Committee, H. Regensburger, who introduced President Sachs. The President, in a brief address, recounted the early struggles of the Congregation, and put stress upon the important fact that the large sacrifices demanded for the erection of the new house of worship had been willingly and cheerfully made, and that, outside of the membership, no aid had been solicited. Dr. Cohn delivered an eloquent oration, after which

the President solemnly laid the corner-stone. The architect, Mr. William Patton, also delivered an address, some extracts of which are well worthy of reproduction:

"If there is anything especially admirable in this wonderful age," said Mr. Patton, "and in this wonderful land, that is great in its good effects upon the amenities of humanity, it is that cosmopolitan freedom of thought and toleration of opinion that treats all civilized men and women as equal. The past social history of Europe and Asia, almost up to the present day, is mostly a recount of schisms and enmities, vindictiveness and persecutions for religion's sake. In the language of the immortal Declaration of Independence, 'all men are born free and equal.' Here, at least, the Gentile does not revile the Jew, nor the Jew the Gentile * * * no sectarian prejudice interferes with the rapid progress of this people.

"We are met here to-day to consecrate to the God of Israel, to the Creator of the Universe and all within it, a church that is about to be built for the reception of the Ark of His Covenant, according to the history of the Hebrews, which, with the holy records, full of awe-inspiring associations, will be placed therein, and will form a house of worship for the Hebrew Congregation Emanu-El, of which many of its members are here present, and the first stone of which is laid to-day. That stone is a symbol that the good never dies! And it is a noteworthy matter, and of great significance and deep congratulation, not from the circumstance alone which it celebrates but that no one, be he Jew or Gentile, is prevented in this fair and free land from worshiping his God when and how he chooses, or in what manner he likes. Here he is untrammeled alike by Popish tyranny of intolerance or by Puritanical spite, and conscience is free. * * *"

Mr. Patton gave suggestive treatment to the ideas of religious architecture, and concluded as follows:

"The foundation of a house of worship is always a matter of importance, and in whatever language of ideas its construction and artistic appurtenances may be clothed, it is that step in the history of mankind that in the result marks the intellect of the country and the progress of its time, showing the intelligence of its founders, their mental powers and thinking capacity. No matter what may have been the means at their command, it will speak for itself as long as one

brick, or one stone, or one beam holds to another to indicate a temple once dedicated to holy worship. No matter what may be the nature of contemporary criticism, still it will be a reflex of the intelligence that created it."

The first step towards the completion of the great Synagogue had been taken, and the annual meeting of 1864 voiced the great rejoicing of the Congregation and its devout gratitude to Almighty God for His visible grace to the people He had led to their new home.*

The membership had grown to 302. Enthusiasm over the approaching completion of the magnificent Synagogue had brought forty new members that year to the ranks. The President reported the finances to be in an exceedingly flourishing condition, and asked for another $30,000 to complete the Synagogue, which was granted without a dissenting vote. Seventeen candidates for the position of Cantor to the Congregation had offered themselves, but the choice fell again on Hazan A. Weisler, who for some years afterwards continued to give the people faithful and efficient service.

In November, 1864, the Board was ready for the introduction of the Merzbacher prayer-book. Dr. Cohn was asked to prepare a number of regulations governing the new service. It was found that the mere introduction of an abridged prayer-book was insufficient to establish that order and decorum essential to an intelligent interpretation thereof; and the rules "for the proper solemnization of our divine service" also the "Regulations for Divine Service" then adopted† are still governing the service except in so far as the substitution of the Union Prayer-book necessitated their modification.

The most serious trouble Congregation Emanu-El has ever been compelled to face dates from the introduction of these rules. The facts of the ultimate founding of the Ohabe Shalome Congregation have already been briefly noticed, and it remains to be said that the factional troubles, that were fermenting for two years, finally culminated in a minority demand for a repeal of the Congregation's action whereby the *Minhag Ashkenaz* was abolished and the order of services of the Temple Emanu-El of New York introduced. A number

*Officers for 1864–1865: L. Sachs, President; M. Heller, Vice-President; Jacob Greenebaum, Treasurer; Trustees, Isaac F. Block, William Greenhood, Abraham Seligman, M. Mayblum, Louis Cohn, L. Dinkelspiel.

† Minutes of the Congregation Emanu-El, Vol. I, page 331.

of the members clamored for the retention of the traditional service. It must be said again, and upon the testimony of a number of the then seceding members, that the changes in the ritual were used as a *public* motive for precipitating a revolt against the established order of things in Congregation Emanu-El. The hour for the revolt, it must be confessed, was well chosen. The Congregation, still worshiping in the Broadway Synagogue, a building utterly inadequate to accommodate more than half its present membership, had become involved in an obligation exceeding the sum of $150,000 for the completion of the Sutter Street Synagogue. This obligation necessitated financial sacrifices the members were required to bear in proportionate degree; and whilst the outlook seemed clear for the ultimate discharge of the entire indebtedness so incurred, one of the main conditions was the keeping of the membership intact. Despite its great strength, the Congregation was at no time so ill prepared to lose members. Its very life, in view of the heavy obligations resting upon it, depended on unity. Just then the crisis came. The dissenting members professed to have no sympathy with external reforms. They pleaded for the retention of traditional forms. They criticized the abolition of the second days of the holidays and the abridgements sanctioned in the new prayer-book. A special meeting of the Congregation, held November 24, 1864, carefully listened to the representatives of this minority, and after earnest and prolonged discussion decided that Emanu-El could not, and must not, retrograde (Minutes, Vol. I, p. 332). Then followed what a number of the people for some time had considered inevitable, the defection of a large and, in many respects, influential element, in order to found another Congregation that should be conducted upon traditional lines. In January, 1865, the Board accepted the resignations of thirty-six members, who withdrew in a body; and these were followed by others, so that before the springtide nearly sixty members had severed their connection with the Congregation. The defection produced great depression. Dissension and friction, in both religious and social circles, were unavoidable. The people who had seceded and the people who remained were related and bound to each other by ties of kinship and association. The defection naturally reduced, temporarily, the capacity of the Congregation to develop its comprehensive and far-reaching

plans for the future. But at this most critical juncture we are again called upon to regard the admirable temper of this Western pioneer Congregation. The remaining members simply closed up ranks. The officers found a way of weathering the storm. After the resignation of these members, not very long afterwards, the pleasant discovery was made that Emanu-El, though somewhat reduced in numbers, was more homogeneous than ever before, and that the departure of the dissenters had only tended to promote a greater peace and harmony, and a stronger resolution to go forward in the path of progress and enlightened religion. "Ye have contemplated wrongfully, but God hath meditated unto good," said Joseph once unto his brethren, and a similar happy experience came to Emanu-El, that the organization of a new Congregation, upon ostensibly opposite fundamental lines, only tended in the end to greater prosperity, to a fuller sympathy with, and riper understanding of, its mission, and to the complete recognition of its representative position in the community. Happily the rancor of that secession is forgotten. We have been permitted—we of Emanu-El—to witness the return to the ranks of many brethren who participated in that agitation, and, after the lapse of thirty-five years, we may indeed devoutly confess that an almighty and beneficent Providence changeth all things for the best.

On Tuesday, April 18, 1865, the Congregation took formal notice of the assassination of President Lincoln.

"WHEREAS," said the Board, "We are apprised of the death of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by the abominable deed of an assassin, whereby our Nation has met with the irreparable loss of a pure, upright man, a true patriot and martyr, whose zeal and integrity as chief magistrate of the American Republic during the late national strife was the beacon light of hope for the restoration of our country, which already began to dispel the darkness of the gloomy horizon. Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Congregation Emanu-El, with the rest of their fellow citizens, deeply deplore the loss the Nation has sustained in the death of Abraham Lincoln.

"*Resolved*, That in respect to the memory of the illustrious dead we attend, with our fellow citizens, the funeral obsequies, on Wednesday, April 19th, and that our Synagogue be draped in mourning for thirty days."

The assassination of President Lincoln created the deepest distress in the Jewish community of San Francisco. The following pathetic description is incorporated in these chronicles: *

THE NEWS IN THE SYNAGOGUE.

Just as the Rev. Dr. Elkan Cohn, of the Congregation Emanu-El, on Broadway, was ascending the pulpit on Saturday to deliver the usual sermon, a copy of the dispatch announcing the assassination of President Lincoln was handed to him, and on reading the same, he was so overcome that, bursting in tears, he sank to the ground almost senseless. Recovering, in broken accents he announced the news to the Congregation, and it fell upon their ears like a thunderbolt—the whole audience being moved to tears. The impression created was beyond description. Dr. Cohn then made a very impressive and eloquent address on the character of the national calamity.

In the midst of this public distress, and hampered by the defection of a large body of its members, it is pleasant to notice that, from Board meeting to Board meeting, from month to month, new members sought admission, so that at the close of the year nearly the full number had again been attained. Before the approach of the holidays the new Congregation Ohabe Shalome had been organized, and a house of worship had been secured; and the spirit of Emanu-El towards its seceding element may be judged from the following (Minutes, Vol. I, p. 352, September 13, 1865):

"A communication was read from the Ohabe Shalome Congregation extending an invitation to the Board, and through them to the members of Congregation Emanu-El, to be present at the dedication of their new Synagogue, on Friday, the 15th inst. On motion, the communication was received and filed, and invitation accepted, the members of the Board, the Rev. Dr. Cohn, A. Weisler, Esq., the Secretary and Collector to meet at Dr. Cohn's school-building for the purpose of proceeding thence to the place of dedication in a body."

At the annual meeting of 1865 (October 8th) President Louis Sachs made no mention whatever of the causes of the defection of a large number of the members beyond stating that the number had fallen to 267, but that he was confident that before the lapse of another year the Congregation would witness a large increase. Of the new Synagogue the President writes as follows:

* Extract from one of the daily papers.

"Our new Synagogue, now in course of erection on the Sutter street site, promises to be a noble structure. It meets with the admiration of most everybody, and when completed the members of the Congregation Emanu-El may well feel proud of possessing such a house of worship. According to contract it should have been finished in August last, but on account of many unforeseen circumstances the contractors have not been able to do so at the stated time; the material is mostly on the premises, and we have the assurance that the holy edifice will be completed in three months."

The cost of the building, up to that period, was $135,000. The Congregation instructed its officers to proceed as rapidly as possible, and, inasmuch as the financial condition of the Congregation was prosperous in the highest degree, assurances were given that the funds needed to bring the great structure to an early completion would be immediately forthcoming.*

So came the time when the Congregation Emanu-El would reverently enter the portals of its new home, and crown the pioneer work of fifteen years with the solemn consecration of one of the most imposing and stateliest synagogues in America. On March 9th, 1866, the Board of Officers addressed a circular letter to the members of the Congregation from which we extract the following paragraphs:

"With feelings of extreme joy we beg leave to announce to you, that by the will of an Almighty Providence, and through the untiring zeal and perseverance of an energetic committee, your new synagogue on Sutter street has been completed, and will be ready for dedication on Friday, the 23d inst.

"If it was the original intention of your members to erect a House of Worship of a given, required capacity, and of a style calculated to be in conformity with the progress of architecture, we feel warranted in saying that not even the most sceptical could, or did, expect to see their most sanguine expectations realized to the full extent which now they certainly must, by beholding the TEMPLE EMANU-EL in its finished state, erected in the name of God, for His divine Service; a lasting monument of our faith; a positive ornament to our city.

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*Officers for 1865-1866: President, L. Sachs; Vice-President, Martin Heller; Treasurer, J. Greenebaum; Secretary, B. Hagan; Trustees, Isaac F. Bloch, A. Seligmau, L. Dinkelspiel, Louis Cohn, B. Price, A. Hirschfelder.

Interior of the Sutter Street Synagogue.

"* * * As far as the practical execution of this undertaking is concerned, it thus presents to all intents and purposes a complete success! Fellow members, we now appeal to your generosity; we appeal to your wonted attachment to our cherished Congregation, to take such steps and measures as may tend to secure a speedy liquidation of your financial liabilities, necessarily incurred in the absence * * * of pecuniary aid from any one outside the Congregation."

On Friday evening, March 23, 1866, after more than four years of anxious labor for a glorious and happy consummation, the Sutter Street Synagogue, commonly known as "the Temple Emanu-El," was solemnly dedicated to the service of the living God. The ceremony was very imposing. The members and their families, and a large number of invited guests, were called to the regular evening service, which was preceded by a brief programme of dedication prepared by Dr. Cohn. The programme was as follows:

ORDER OF SERVICES AT THE DEDICATION OF THE SYNAGOGUE OF CONGREGATION EMANU-EL.

Sutter Street, San Francisco, Friday, March 23, 5626.

1. VOLUNTARY.
2. ANTHEM.

   All men, all things, all that has life and breath, sing to the Lord, Hallelujah.

   Praise the Lord with lute and harp, in joyful song extol Him and all flesh magnify His might and His glory.

   Praise thou the Lord, oh my spirit, all my soul declare; praise His great loving kindness and forget thou not all His benefits.

   Praise thou the Lord, oh my spirit.
3. THE OPENING OF THE GATES.

   Open ye the Gates, that the righteous nation that keepeth the trust may enter. (Isaiah xxvi: 2.)

   Then were opened the doors, the procession admitted, the Congregation arose and the choir sang:

   Blessed be that cometh in the name of the Lord,
   We bless you out of the House of the Lord.
4. THE DEPOSITION OF THE SCROLLS.

   "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one!"
5. THE DEDICATORY PRAYER OF SOLOMON.
6. A PSALM OF DAVID.
7. DEDICATORY PRAYER.
8. ANOTHER PSALM.

9. THE RECESSION.

   Praise the name of the Lord, for His name alone is exalted.

10. ANTHEM.

    God watching over Israel slumbers not nor sleeps; shouldst thou, walking in grief, languish, He will quicken thee; He, watching over Israel, slumbers not nor sleeps.

11. THE CONSECRATION SERMON.

12. ANOTHER ANTHEM.

    The Heavens are telling the glory of God, the wonder of His work displays the firmament. To the day that is coming speaks the day, the night that is gone to the following night. In all the lands resounds the word never unperceived, ever understood. The heavens are telling the glory of God, the wonder of His work displays the firmament.

13. THE EVENING SERVICE.

It was an occasion to be remembered unto future generations. The stately edifice, even now reckoned one of the handsomest church buildings in all America, was the pride and wonder of all California, and its repute reached to the confines of the country and far beyond. It is not only a monument to the liberality and generosity of the members of Emanu-El; it stands as a testimony to that great master-builder, its architect, William Patton, who considered the great structure the achievement of his life, and whose name will be inseparably connected with its existence. It represented the progressive tendencies of more than three hundred American-Jewish families, who but fifteen years before had ventured into the uncultivated regions of California, into the tented village of Yerba Buena, and by dint of unparalleled industry and perseverance had attained to a degree of wealth and influence that enabled them to rear this Great Synagogue as a contribution to the architectural beauty of San Francisco, as well as an expression of their sincere piety and their fealty to the ancestral faith. For years the spires of the Synagogue were the principal landmarks to the traveler approaching the city from the East; even now, overtopped by large, towering buildings, the golden globes that crown the towers are seen from the Bay. The Synagogue is still the handsomest church building in California—proud testimony of the devotion of the fathers. The inevitable is now happening. When the spirit of peace and amity is not hampered in a congregational body, when the latter is homogeneous, its growth is practically unimpeded; and so it doth happen, by the grace of God, that this noble building,

regarded with affection by its builders, with veneration by their successors, is finally proving, once again, the remarkable growth of the Temple Congregation, and with more regret that can be expressed in words, it is now felt that in the coming years another Synagogue, of still larger dimensions, will prove necessary, if the growth of the Congregation is not to be impeded. Within the next decade, the first of the TWENTIETH CENTURY, Emanu-El may be compelled to leave the venerated halls of the Sutter Street Synagogue; but, no greater can be the degree of holiness of any other structure; no greater can be its beauty, no deeper the spirit of them that shall worship in its precincts. Truly, the generation that reared "the Temple" were, as Isaiah once proclaimed, "a righteous people, guarding the truth"!

One of the dailies of San Francisco gave the following report of the consecration of the Sutter Street Synagogue:

The new Synagogue of the Congregation Emanu-El was dedicated yesterday afternoon in the presence of a large number of our most influential residents, both of the Christian and Jewish churches. The building was illuminated with gas, making a most striking appearance. All the architectural beauty of the vast auditorium was fully apparent, and the visitor was lost in admiration at the magnificent proportions of the interior, and the great skill manifested in harmonizing the whole. Shortly after 4:00 P. M. the organ gave notice that the ceremonies were commencing, and after the voluntary by Professor Herold, Mr. Weisler (a pupil of Rev. Dr. Sulzer, of Vienna), the Reader to the Congregation, sang the opening hymn in truly admirable style. In fact, this gentleman's chanting and reading of the Hebrew are faultless, for he combines with a sympathetic baritone voice an excellent musical school, and could rank most of those who aim for musical honors in more worldly professions.

The various hymns, psalms, etc., incident to the service were rendered by a choir of twenty-six voices, Miss Louisa Tourney being the leading artiste, doing herself great credit, particularly in the rendering of portion of Mendelssohn's Hymn of Praise; and they rendered full justice to the sacred and sublime music entrusted to them. The chanting of Mr. Weisler, and the responds by the choir, were remarkably effective.

The choir consisted as follows: Sopranos—Mesdames L. Tourney, E. Kosminsky, Grotjen, Gleason, Theis, P. Greenhood, H. Steppacher, and F. Rosenberger. Altos—Mesdames R. Mock, S. Wertheimer, J. Landesman, R. Levison, M. Mayrisch, and West. Tenors—Messrs. Anderson, Charles, Steffens, Swift, Brown, and Schraubstädter. Bass—Messrs. Wunderlich, Newman, Stadtfelt, Stephens, Zahn, Koetchman.

After the opening solo, the procession, headed by twenty-six little girls dressed in white, with wreaths and blue sashes, accompanied by a larger number of boys, preceded the bearers of the Law, and officers and members of the Congregation advanced one up each of the principal aisles to the front of the altar, Rev. Dr. Cohn, and Mr. Sachs, the President of the Congregation, bearing each a scroll of the Decalogue. After appropriate prayers and hymns, the sacred scrolls were deposited in the Ark, and Dr. Cohn gave the

dedicatory prayer, on the conclusion of which the Reader and choir chanted the balance of the service. This was succeeded by a sermon in English by Dr. Cohn, which, whilst it gave a review of the progress of the Jewish people and the reason of the reformation in style of worship, paid quite a deserved tribute to their energy, perseverance, talent and loyalty. He said that whilst in religion they were Israelites, they know no other nationality than that of Americans. His sermon, which for erudition and interest could not be surpassed, occupied an hour in its delivery, and was succeeded by a hymn. The usual Sabbath eve services were then chanted by Mr. Weisler, and the stranger became aware how grand and beautiful—how harmonious and pleasant is the ancient tongue—the Hebrew —combining the euphony of the Spanish, with a comprehensiveness of expression unknown to other tongues, it embraces grace, melody and force; and as we gazed around the large gathering seated in an edifice combining all that modern art and taste can design, we were carried back mentally to the days of the ancient kingdom, when Israel was a power and a nation on the face of the earth, and yet, for all the years of adversity and trial which have beset them, they still realize to a great measure, by their indomitable perseverance, energy and talent, the same power which was wrested from them in the Holy Land. On the conclusion of the Sabbath evening services, congratulations were passed between pastor and friends, and the large congregation dispersed, highly gratified, as were their visitors, with the ceremonies of the day. The usual Sabbath ceremonies will be held to-day in the new Synagogue, with the addition of a repetition of the same choral service of yesterday, and to-night the choice of seats will be offered at public competition.—*The Alta, Saturday, March 24, 1866.*

Thus Emanu-El commenced its life in the new Temple with a benediction: "For now hath the Lord enlarged us, and we have become fruitful in the land."

IV.

"From Generation unto Generation."

THE two decades succeeding the consecration of the Sutter Street Synagogue found the Congregation nobly engaged in meeting the responsibilities it had created. Religiously, it was an era of peace, content and harmony. The Congregation, having by its rapid growth and its pronounced reform tendencies taken rank amongst the leading religious organizations of the country, its leaders were bent upon preserving the prestige attained, and, by steadily developing the religious sentiment of the succeeding generation, securing the permanency of the institution founded by the fathers. From a material point of view, the Congregation was confronted with a heavy debt, which might have threatened its existence but for that unexampled liberality of its members, which, at every critical period of its history came to the rescue and finally brought the organization to a condition of prosperity almost unique in the history of Jewish congregations. During that period of careful administration and delicate treatment of educational questions, the names of Adolphus Hollub, Moses Selig and Martin Heller appear as those of laymen who served with a devotion that calls for unstinted praise; and a divine grace permitted the learned and lovable Rabbi, Dr. Elkan Cohn, to inspire a new generation with the maturity of his attainments, his most exemplary piety and his gracious deportment as a gentleman and American citizen.

Shortly after the consecration of "the Temple", the Broadway Synagogue was sold to the San Francisco Board of Education for $19,000. The annual meeting of September 30th, 1866, gave voice to the rejoicing of the people over the happy removal from the old cramped quarters and the enlarged opportunities of religion and education in the spacious halls of the Sutter Street Synagogue. "If I look back," said Louis Sachs to the Congregation, "and consider what we have accomplished during the past four years, we cannot help but express thanks to our Heavenly Father for His mercy in

giving us health, strength and perseverance to carry out our great undertaking, which without His guidance would have been impossible of accomplishment. Indeed, God has watched over and guarded our beloved Congregation. * * * Our Synagogue, in which we are to-day assembled, was finished and dedicated March 23d of this year. The dedication ceremonies were of an imposing character and highly impressive to whomsoever witnessed the same. It was a great undertaking, gentlemen, for our Society to erect such a building, the magnitude of which we ourselves did not realize until we got fairly started. It has cost a large amount of money, a great deal of labor and anxiety to carry this project to a successful conclusion. Often have I sat in the unfinished building, thinking to myself will we ever make a success of this ? Thank God, it is accomplished; we have erected a building of which every Israelite on the Pacific Coast may be proud. Here, gentlemen, stands a monument to Judaism, and, if we exist no more, our children will view it with pride and delight. And we have not erected this building for outward show, but for the honor our holy religion will derive therefrom."

Thus spoke this pious man upon his retirement from office. Before doing so, he expressed the deep gratitude of the Congregation to a number of gentlemen, composing the Building Committee of the Synagogue, whose names are here gratefully remembered. Henry Regensburger was Chairman, and upon him, until his death, which unhappily took place before the consecration, devolved most of the difficult work. David Stern was its Secretary. Of the members B. Reinhart and our venerable Aaron Cahn still survive, and we here bestow upon them the measure of praise due them in an eminent degree.

NOTE.—President Louis Sachs, after his retirement, continued to take a lively interest in the progress of the Congregation. He lived to see the institution completely out of debt, and to rejoice in the admission of a new generation to the usefulness of membership. A man of peace and retiring disposition, he was nevertheless an intelligent participant in public affairs, having been at one time a member of the Board of Regents of the University of California, and died December 19, 1890, at the age of 70, much lamented and regretted.

With the induction of Martin Heller into the presidential chair began that great systematization of all the departments of congregational work that has produced benign and lasting results. Martin

Heller, then in the prime of his life, was preëminently an administrator, who combined the ideals of religion with rugged, practical sense, and who, ambitious to elevate the character of the public service, would yet never forget that religion without a practical business administration might easily weaken, so far as its organized character is concerned. From his day begin two struggles, in both of which this great President of Emanu-El has taken a prominent part: the first, to clear the new Synagogue of its heavy incumbrances; the second, to bring each department of the Congregational service in harmony with the whole. As we will see later on, he entered the presidential office with no thought of being a mere passive representative of Congregational dignity; to him the position of a Parnass meant hourly thought and daily labor for the preservation of all the interests entrusted to him. His private affairs required his withdrawal from the office that year, but upon his return to San Francisco he continued to serve in the Board, and in 1880 resumed the presidency, continuing in office for fourteen years, and creating a distinct epoch in the history of the Congregation he loved with all the ardor of his nature.

President Martin Heller found the affairs of the Congregation somewhat critical. The Congregation was heavily indebted. The sum of $65,000 remained to be disposed of. Of this the Congregation owed $32,000, upon which it paid interest at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum: $30,800 was owed in "scrip" to members, bearing no interest; the rest was a floating debt. The annual deficit was $4,000. In this emergency the Board of Directors thought of mortgaging the Synagogue for the whole amount of the indebtedness, and reducing the deficit by curtailing the salaries of the officials. The annual meeting of October 27, 1867, over which Isaac F. Bloch, in the absence of the President, presided, refused almost unanimously to adopt either or both propositions. The members of Emanu-El would have no mortgage on their Synagogue, nor would they reduce the salaries of faithful officials. What they consented to do was to reduce the interest-bearing debt by further donations and subscriptions, and expressed no doubt that time, peace, and competent administration would successfully solve the financial problem.

The Congregation, at an adjourned meeting (October 30, 1867) elected Adolphus Hollub its President.

During the administration of this polished and refined gentleman, the Congregation made earnest efforts to reduce the debt. In April, 1868, a number of ladies and gentlemen organized a Fair for the benefit of the Building Fund, which netted $12,000, and which materially relieved the burden of taxation resting upon the membership. In his annual report Mr. Hollub strongly emphasized the great advantage the Congregation had derived from the intelligent support of its women, and through Messrs. Seixas Solomons and Jacob Steppacher, respectively President and Secretary of the Fair Association, presented the profound thanks of the Congregation to all who had been instrumental in furthering this good work. Unfortunately, the severe earthquake of October 21, 1868, threatened to wipe out the substantial advantages derived from the Fair. The synagogue had received a considerable shaking, and a close examination made by the Architect, Mr. William Patton, revealed the fact, that whilst ostensibly inconsiderable damage had been inflicted, some work to strengthen the buttresses had become imperative.

In May, 1869, orthodoxy sought to make itself felt for the last time. The Congregation, officered by intelligent gentlemen, feeling assured of its representative position, began to realize that it could not exclude itself from a sympathetic participation in public affairs. The completion of the Southern Pacific Railway, as is still remembered, was celebrated with a public procession, in which Dr. Elkan Cohn, as the representative Jewish clergyman on the Pacific Coast, and a delegate from his own congregation, was asked to take part. This procession took place on the Sabbath, yet Dr. Cohn, consulting precedents, as well as his own sense of propriety, thought nothing wrong of accepting the invitation and joining the procession. This act incurred the severe displeasure of a number of the members, who, at a meeting of the Congregation, held May 26, asked that the learned Rabbi be censured; but intelligent counsels prevailed and by a great majority Dr. Cohn's action was approved and sustained. That same meeting went a step farther on the path of reform, and permanently abolished the wearing of the *Tallith* by both Rabbi and Cantor.

On December 7, 1871, for reasons wholly private, Adolphus Hollub resigned the Presidency, and was succeeded by the Vice-

ADOLPHUS HOLLUB,

President of Temple Emanu-El,

1868-1871.

MOSES SELIG,

President of Temple Emanu-El,

1871-1880.

President, Moses Selig, who, for the ensuing nine years, safely, conservatively and successfully administered the temporal affairs of the Congregation.

NOTE.—Adolphus Hollub was one of the most interesting personages in the ranks of Emanu-El, that contained so large a number of able and progressive men. He was born in Bohemia, in 1820, and was educated for the Rabbinate. Experiencing no ambition for the sacred calling, he came to the United States, locating in St. Louis and subsequently in New Orleans, whence early in the fifties he came to San Francisco. He became a merchant, and for a number of years maintained a successful establishment. He was, likewise, a public-spirited citizen, being at one time Public Administrator for the city and county of San Francisco. In Masonic circles he was highly regarded for his knowledge of the peculiar lore of the Craft, in which he indeed greatly excelled. A gentleman in the true sense of the word, his bearing inspired respect, and his gentle patience commanded the veneration of all his friends. He went to his rest May 25th, 1890, at the age of three score and ten, leaving a name that is still most affectionately remembered.

President Moses Selig found his office no sinecure. In 1872 the Congregation was still burdened with a debt exceeding $52,000, and the impending renovation of the Temple would increase that indebtedness. Otherwise the Congregation was flourishing indeed. The membership steadily increased for a year or two, but thereafter a signal falling off began to be noticed. The heavy taxation began to tell its doleful tale in the reduction of numbers. This, however, caused the officers no discouragement. They knew that time and patience would bring a successful solution of the financial problems. Meanwhile the religious school, maintained by the Congregation and conducted by pious and devoted officials, began to develop a blessed usefulness. In 1872 more than four hundred scholars were enrolled.

On June 1st, 1874, Cantor Alexander Weisler resigned, after a faithful ministration exceeding a term of ten years. He immediately departed for Europe, and the Congregation, regretting to lose so competent a servant, presented him with Resolutions that breathe affectionate regards as well as gratitude for services most nobly and loyally performed. He was succeeded by Cantor Max Wolff, during whose term of office the divine services attained to a high degree of efficiency.

NOTE.—The Reverend Max Wolff was born in Carlsruhe, Germany, in 1839. After graduating with high honors from the University, he went to Vienna, where he attended the Conservatory to complete his musical education. His strong, resonant baritone voice created quite a sensation in Vienna, and he was urged to appear on the operatic stage,

but, for love of his father who abhorred the idea, he gave up all ambition in that direction. Shortly afterwards he accepted the office of Cantor in the Congregation of Mannheim, Grand Duchy of Baden, where he remained five years. Upon the retirement of Cantor Alexander Weisler, the Congregation Emanu-El selected Mr. Wolff as his successor out of a list of more than two dozen candidates: his call having been strongly urged by a visiting committee composed of Henry Seligman, resident abroad, and Messrs. Isaac Wormser and A. Wasserman, then visiting in Europe. He was elected May 24, 1874. Under Cantor Wolff's direction the musical services of the Temple received that artistic stamp they have retained ever since. His firm, full, sympathetic voice made him a favorite with all the Congregation, and he directed the music with marvelous good taste and precision. He was, unhappily, suffered to minister but a brief decade. In 1882 he was seized with an illness against which he bravely struggled for two years, but finally succumbed, August 30, 1884, greatly lamented and regretted. He was, in the fullest sense of the word, a sweet singer in Israel, one of the sons of Asaph, whose rich music filled the sanctuary.

On July 6, 1874, the Congregation participated in the obsequies over the remains of the Rev. Dr. Julius Eckman.* The ensuing years are the "seven years of famine" of the Congregation Emanu-El. Burdened with heavy and special taxation, yet sternly resolved neither to mortgage the sacred edifice and its grounds, nor to detract from the solemnity and impressiveness of the divine service by a reduction of the forces engaged in the ministration thereof; still less willing to cripple the usefulness of the Religious School by curtailing its large and substantial subsidy, the Congregation bravely struggled on, whilst a number of members sought to avoid the responsibility of its maintenance by resignation. Much credit, in these critical times, is due to the buoyant, hopeful spirit of President Selig and his Board of officers, and the time came, thanks to the generosity of many of the members, thanks also to successive efficient administrations, when the heavy clouds lifted, and the financial burdens rolled away. Withal, God blessed the Congregation with Peace; and Peace solves greater difficulties than those which confronted the people at that time.

On Sabbath, April 29, 1876, the Congregation had the pleasure of listening to the distinguished Dr. Max Lilienthal of Cincinnati, whose benign presence greatly delighted the community, and whose memory is a blessing unto all Israel.

The "Centennial" year was duly remembered. President Selig, reporting to the annual meeting held October 15, 1876, gives utterance to these memorable words:

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*See Chapter VII.

"The most striking feature of the past year has been the close of the first century of our Republic, more commonly called the Centennial. True, our country has existed but a comparatively short time, but mark the progress that has been made. Every heart rejoices at the thought. But, gentlemen, what has caused our rapid progress? Union and Independence. We see their marked effect upon a country filled with people of all kinds—how much greater must be their influence upon a congregation like ours, united in the bonds of fraternity, faith and good works?"

On October 7, 1877, the Congregation decided to give its support to the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati, and has remained the friend and well-wisher of that institution until this day.

An interesting notice of the same year is the establishment of the Michael Reese "perpetual membership." Mr. Reese had died some time previously, providing in his will a number of benefactions, revealing a true philanthropic intent, and causing his name to be a blessing unto future generations. In our city most of the charitable institutions were the beneficiaries of his benign disposition, yet his enduring monument is the Reese Library of the University of California, which he endowed with $50,000. No disposition had been made of his seats in the Temple Emanu-El; but after some correspondence with his heirs, the sum of one thousand dollars was given the Congregation for a "perpetual membership," which virtually keeps the name of Michael Reese in remembrance in the organization of which he had been a member for long years. (Minutes, Vol. III, p. 14.)

On October 10, 1880, at the annual meeting of the Congregation, Martin Heller was elected President. Mr. Selig, having served for fully nine years, felt that his time for retirement had come. The Congregation, profoundly grateful to the sincere and pious man, who had given its interests so much of his time and toil, presented him with eloquent resolutions of thanks, in which it is said—

"That with our heartfelt thanks for the valuable and generous services so cheerfully given to this Congregation by our retiring President, Moses Selig, we pray to God that He will bless him and his family with His choicest gifts and keep them long in our midst to enjoy the peace and comfort which generous and noble deeds spent for religion and humanity so richly deserve."

NOTE.—President Moses Selig, with the exception of Martin Heller, served longer than any other Parnass of the Temple Emanu-El. During his term of office financial difficulties greatly hampered the progress of the Congregation; but the President never lost that hopeful trust, which was so characteristic of him. A man of sincere piety and of fine education, he deserves a high place amongst the noble men to whom Emanu-El is indebted for its present position and stability. Moses Selig died May 1, 1894, full of days and revered by all his people for the beauty and consistency of his long life.

With the administration of President Martin Heller begins the long period of progressive work that finally brought the Temple Emanu-El to its present high and enviable position. Admirably schooled in the peculiar work of Congregational administration, thoroughly conversant with the needs of the service, this singularly devoted man made the future of the Congregation the task of his life; and we all still gratefully remember how well he succeeded. During the fourteen years of his administration many things have happened that virtually changed the constitution of the Congregation. He took charge at a peculiarly critical time. The financial burden was not then pressing; but the complexion of the membership was rapidly changing. The generation that founded the Congregation was even then traveling towards the long home from which no one has ever returned. The duty devolved upon this brave and devoted gentleman to carefully inquire into the evolving conditions of the Congregation and to encourage the children to take the places of the parents. He succeeded in this task, and was privileged, at the close of his useful life, to report a much larger membership than ever before the Congregation had been able to enlist. In his time the second generation of the San Francisco Jewish Community began to fill the pews. The children graduated from the school benches to the auditorium where their parents, in diminishing numbers, met to worship the living God. Martin Heller's policy to surround himself with younger men, and to give them voice in the administration, contributed largely to their sympathetic attitude, and it never could be said of Emanu-El that it was a Congregation of old people. His administration has been productive of many blessings. He, and the men who were with him and around him, the aged but ever progressive Anspacher, the unforgotten Moses Hyman, Jacob Greenebaum, an officer of the Congregation for nigh unto four decades, Julius Jacobs, Simon Silverberg, Raphael Peixotto, and many others who came in afterwards,

MARTIN HELLER,

President of Temple Emanu-El,

1866-1867,

1880-1894.

Lippman Sachs, Henry Wangenheim, Joseph Naphtaly, Simon Newman, S. W. Rosenstock, and the present Chairman of the Religious School, Philip Lippitt, all, successively entering the Board, became imbued with that indomitable spirit of Martin Heller, and to a considerable extent the traditions established by him prevail until this day. The chronicles of his time are so very near our own that a critical examination thereof is almost impossible, and we must content ourselves with the briefest enumeration of the principal events.

On October 23, 1881, the Congregation, in annual meeting assembled, formally expressed its sense of mourning, in common with the Nation, over the untimely death of President Garfield.

"In common with all the people of our land," said Mr. Heller, "we have been deeply affected by the death of our beloved President, James A. Garfield, and a fit expression of our grief was given during the services on New Year's Day, when our esteemed Rabbi, Rev. Dr. Cohn, pronounced a very able eulogy upon the illustrious dead."

Regarding the persecution of the Russian Jews, President Heller says in the same report:

"A cry for help has reached us in behalf of Russian-Jewish immigrants, who have been forced by terrible persecutions to leave their native land and seek refuge in this country. The Jews in all parts of America are rendering aid to these unfortunate brethren, and it is to be hoped that our Jewish Community will also contribute its share."

November 20, 1881, the Board, with the concurrence of the Congregation, took final action in the then latest feature of reform discipline. Thenceforward the members were permitted to sit bareheaded during the services, and a contention, enduring for two decades, was buried forever.

On June 6, 1882, the Board took formal notice of the death of Dr. Max Lilienthal, one of the great founders of American-Jewish reform.

It was, indeed, a time of the ingathering of the aged. The men who had reared the pillars of our religion began to bend before the ruthless approach of age and illness. In September the eloquent Henry Vidaver, the learned Rabbi of Sherith Israel was gathered to his fathers, and on the 17th of that month the Board passed resolu-

tions stating with great impressiveness that Emanu-El, too, mourned the loss of so great a scholar and teacher. Dr. Elkan Cohn's health began to fail that year. The officers, even then, discussed the wisdom of lightening his cares and of calling a younger man to his aid. This discussion became more pronounced, when the death of Cantor Wolff (August 30, 1884) threw the entire burden of the service upon the aged Rabbi. In this emergency the Congregation was able to engage the services of Madame Julie Rosewald, wife of the musician and composer, Jacob Rosewald, and herself a singer of note and remarkable gifts; and it must be stated, to the honor and credit of that gifted woman, that her fine appreciation of the needs of the service greatly delighted the Congregation and gave her an honorable place amongst those who served Emanu-El well and faithfully.

In October, 1884, the Congregation celebrated the centennial of Sir Moses Montefiore, the distinguished philanthropist, with a service in which all the Jewish congregations of the city participated.

Then came a pleasurable event in which all the community of San Francisco, regardless of creed or conditions, took part. On June 13th, 1885, the Congregation celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the advent of Dr. Elkan Cohn. The pious and learned Rabbi had grown old in the service of the Congregation. He was regarded by his people with a love and veneration that falls to the lot of but very few. But he was worthy of all their love. He had been true and faithful, the loving guide of two generations. So they assembled in the great Temple, filled it from floor to dome, an audience made majestic by exceeding numbers, and Dr. Abraham Illch, addressing the sage and patriarch, spoke such words of praise and affection as must have made an indelible impression upon all his hearers. And the Board repaired to the home of the venerable Rabbi, and presented him with a bronze medallion, whereon was engraved the record of his faithful service with the legend "*Sic nitescere non omnibus datur!*" Indeed—indeed, it is given to but few to excel like our good, beloved Dr. Elkan Cohn!

On April 19, 1885, Dr. Abraham Illch had been elected Junior Rabbi of the Congregation. He became Dr. Cohn's right hand, a beloved son rather than a co-worker, and their joint career promised to become a brilliant chapter in the history of Emanu-El. Dr. Illch

was an amiable character, whose rather radical tendencies detracted in no way from the great esteem in which he was held; but his premature death, but a few months afterwards (September 26, 1885), suspended a most promising life and cast the gloom of sincere mourning over the entire Congregation.

July 31st, 1885, the Congregation met to mourn, with all Israel, the loss of the beloved Sir Moses Montefiore, who went to his eternal rest full of years and honors, and whose memory is a blessing unto all his people.

On Friday night, December 11, 1885, Emanu-El lost its most faithful Sexton, the venerable Steppacher, after a devoted and loyal service of more than thirty years.

NOTE.—Maier Steppacher was born in Adelsdorf, Germany, and immigrated to the United States in 1844. He came to California in 1851, and, co-incidently with the consecration of the Broadway Synagogue in 1854, he became Sexton and Collector to the Congregation. He was also, for more than a quarter of a century, the collector of the Eureka Benevolent Society and the Israelitischer Frauenverein. His long service, his deep attachment to the interests of the Congregation and his personal virtues inspired the people with a great affection for this good man; and his death, at the ripe age of eighty-one, was felt to be a distinct loss to the Congregation Emanu-El, which, until this day, honors the memory of its dear old friend.

On June 14, 1886, Dr. Jacob Voorsanger was elected Junior Rabbi of the Congregation.

The story of the ensuing years cannot be written at present. Some other pen, in future times, perhaps after the lapse of another semi-centennial, may find material for the continuation of these "Chronicles of Emanu-El." It has been a period of changes. Emanu-El, under the dispensation and by the grace of God, renewed itself, like the eagle's plumage. One by one its pioneers passed on, and there are now but few left who were witnesses to the glorious yet modest beginnings of this noble institution. Their sons are in their places. As often as death knocked at our doors, God's benign goodness was visible in new acquisitions. The story of these years is not so much a story of reorganization as it is a chronicle of persistent building upon the lines the fathers left us. Good men and true have taken the places of the old, tried servants. Instead of Martin Heller, who went to his rest in 1894, after a blessed service of fourteen years, during which he led his beloved congregation with sagacity and piety, we

had the venerated Abraham Anspacher, whom God may preserve, and we have now Raphael Peixotto, whose intelligent and careful administration is leading the Congregation into new avenues of prosperity, and whose refined mind always suggests the proper methods for the greater beauty of the service and the usefulness of Emanu-El as a factor in the intellectual progress of the community. In the place of the old secretaries we have the indefatigable Henry Wangenheim. In the place of those tried men, Tichener, Emanuel Wertheimer, that great lover of children, L. M. Cahn, and Leon L. Dennery, we have Phillip Lippitt as the head of our religious school, and his service is an ample pledge that the future of that institution is confided to safe and faithful hands. And in the places of our sweet singers, Welhof, Weisler, and Wolff, we have our young Master, Cantor Edward J. Stark, whose noble voice fills the sanctuary, and whose scholarly rendition of the service is a source of the utmost satisfaction to all his people.

On March 11, 1889, we lost our dear Dr. Cohn. Ailing for months, God's messengers came for him, and he was called up to his eternal reward. And on September 22, 1894, we lost our beloved President, Martin Heller, a most devoted officer, a pious man, a most exemplary citizen. Martin Heller is a conspicuous figure in the history of the great Western Congregation. During the long years of his administration he promoted its peace, he brought about its abiding prosperity, and he developed its varied interests. He gave it, like his successors, personal service, and he established the traditions of a great Parnass of a modern congregation. He took care of it; its prosperity was the object of his solicitude by day and by night. He personally superintended all its departments, gave wise suggestion to his committees, encouraged progress, and by personal example enhanced the interest of the membership, which materially increased during the closing years of his administration. Not many months before his death he directed the changes in the service necessitated by the adoption of the Union Prayer Book. The day of his demise was a day of mourning, indeed, and now, six years after, the memory of Martin Heller is revered and beloved in the Congregation that can never forget the valuable services he has rendered it!

And this virtually ends the chronicles of the Congregation. As it was stated above, another pen must write its subsequent history, the

ABRAHAM ANSPACHER,

"Old Man Benevolent,"

President of Temple Emanu-El,

1894-1896.

story of its ever growing participation in all works that affect the intellectual and moral growth of the community. Just a few more words will conclude this chapter.

Fourteen years of residence in San Francisco have enabled the writer to the extent of his capacity for observation, to judge whether Emanu-El has remained true to the ideals of the pioneers, and whether its development has been as steady as that of earlier years. In setting down a suggestion or two, it is hoped the reader will understand that it is not intended to write any further history. It is difficult to write the story of one's own time, especially if one has been, to whatever modest extent, a participant in events which have either changed the current of thought or modified the influences which formerly prevailed. The writer is still too young to have a history, and his work has as yet been too unimportant to deserve prominent notice. It is, therefore, simply for the purpose of holding before them the mirror of the past few years that these concluding lines are written. If the good they recite will but encourage the young to continue in the footsteps of their elders, the object will be fully accomplished.

Without having many facts at our present command, we are enabled to draw inferences, which rest on a safe basis of historical truth. Had any young Rabbi come to this Coast fourteen years ago, and had he sought opportunities for observation, he would have noted the encouraging fact that all the institutions, fostered by the religious sentiment of Israel, were flourishing, and that, even then, their power and influence were growing. No one, placed in position since the days of Eckman and Elkan Cohn, the Rabbis who moulded the religious thought of our Emanu-El, can lay the flattering unction to his soul that he has hewn new pathways in imaginary forests. These men of whom, naturally, there existed two opinions among their contemporaries, so far as the character of their influence is concerned, were intellectually and spiritually strong men, whose responsibilities were appalling in their magnitude, yet who discharged them with courage and determination. Few men realize the delicate character of religious work in new communities. That there should be unconscious, as well as expressed, opposition to the authority needed in religious as well as in civil matters, sometimes astonishes the best intentioned. The position of the Rabbi in San Francisco was no

sinecure, nor was his work always appreciated. Eckman soon sank beneath the burden of his responsibilities and retired from office to spend his life among children. Elkan Cohn, the *Schoengeist*, the scholar and philosopher, was compelled to abandon his favorite pursuits to meet the demands of education, and labor as a teacher of children as well as the pastor of their parents. He, as least, was permitted to live his full life, and of all the faithful shepherds of early days, he was favored by Providence to realize that his pain and toil had not been in vain. If the congregations of San Francisco are now more numerous, both as corporations, and as regards their membership, it is only because they have obeyed a natural law of increase. Their prosperity is due neither to the Rabbis, nor to the laity of a younger generation. The old pioneer Rabbis, the old pioneer laity, gave the impulse, laid the foundation, and nursed the young institutions and never suffered them to decline. The present prosperity is but the result of past devotion, self-consecration, and sometimes martyrdom. Speaking for the Temple Emanu-El of San Francisco, the justice of history demands the statement that its commanding position, its influence and its power for good are wholly due to the self-sacrificing labors of the great men who have gone before. In making that statement we express our life-long obligations to the men whose example has enabled us to do even what we are called to do; our dear, beloved, unforgotten Dr. Cohn, and our late, venerated Parnass Martin Heller, and the noble men whom he succeeded. All but one have gone to their reward. The Temple Emanu-El is their monument.

The same encouraging evidence may be given of all other Jewish institutions, as well as of the growing strength of character, moral tone and intellectuality of the community. The aggregation of strong men on this Coast has been significant, almost noteworthy. With more extended opportunities than the limited scope of the Coast—despite railroad communication, still compelled to create much of its own social and intellectual resources—afforded them, some of our men would have made a national reputation. Our young men and women have a goodly heritage, not so much the affluence for which their fathers toiled in the sweat of their brow, but the proud institutions, which the faith, the love and devotion of an older generation

reared on this sun-kissed soil. Nor is the reputation some of them have already made for themselves so strong that it can stand too proudly beside the dead glory of the elders. The philanthropy that reared and sustained the Orphan Asylum, the Eureka Benevolent Society, or the Israelitischer Frauenverein, was an influence that will help the third and fourth generations. If we have founded new societies (amongst them our noble Emanu-El Sisterhood), the older foundations have been their strength. If we are, unhappily, compelled to call new workers to the field, because the elders, one after the other, seek their Home of Peace, the results of the latter's devotion abide with us. Our young people must know and understand and realize that the basis of all future aspirations rests in the glorious work of the past. And, confident as we may be, that nowhere in our own dear land the future of Israel appears as bright as on this brightest spot of Mother Earth, let history do our fathers justice. San Francisco and California, Oregon and Washington, are now in touch with the world. Our Congregations, our social, literary and eleemosynary institutions are among the best and proudest in the land. Their capacity for good is unequaled. Their growth is unimpeded. All along the line we notice steady, rapid progress, stimulated by the devotion of the community. Adverse influences are absolutely too limited to hinder the good that is coming to us. Let our fathers and mothers have the glory of it. Let it be said of them, in all truth and fairness, that whatever we enjoy, they made the enjoyment possible. If, perchance, they builded better than they knew, that detracts not an iota from their honor. For we are the reapers, God helped them to sow. The least we can do is to remain wide awake to leave so fair a bequeathment as our Emanu-El to the next generation. For we, in turn, shall grow old, and some day we, too, will need the testimony of history. Happy he of whom it will be said, he spent neither his young days nor his old age in culpable idleness. Happy he, who shall be permitted to witness God's faithfulness that endureth "from generation unto generation."

V.

The Emanu-El Religious School.

WHEN the Congregation Emanu-El was organized there were, in all, perhaps a dozen Jewish children in San Francisco. Louis Cohn, one of the best known and one of the most prominent members of the Congregation, founded the first religious class, and took pleasure and delight in teaching the little ones. In 1851 the number had materially increased, and the want of a religious teacher was felt. During this and the succeeding years Hazan Meyer Welhof took great pride in teaching Hebrew and religion without remuneration; though there was no organized religious school until the advent of Dr. Eckman. When that gentleman arrived, on July 1, 1854, he was immediately requested to take charge of the educational interests of the community. A convention of Israelites, regardless of congregational affiliations, was held, and it was concluded to give Dr. Eckman every possible moral and educational support, both congregations agreeing to assist the school with a subsidy. This institution developed into Dr. Eckman's *Hepzibah*.* Dr. Eckman's school was for a number of years the sole educational representative of the Jewish Community. He continued it after his election as Rabbi of the Congregation, and for many years after his withdrawal. A large number of our leading Jewish citizens have been privileged to benefit by Dr. Eckman's instruction. The following graphic description of "Hepzibah" and the later Emanu-El school is from the pen of Mrs. Mary Prag, Principal of the History Department of the Girls' High School, and herself an eminent teacher of religion, having served on the staff of the Emanu-El Religious School for an uninterrupted period of twenty-eight years:

"Twenty-eight years, over a quarter of a century,—more than half a lifetime of service—slowly unrolls the panorama of those years; class after class passes in review. One after another the bright faces

* With reference to Isaiah, 62:4.

JACOB GREENEBAUM,

Vice-President of the Temple Emanu-El.

LIPPMANN SACHS,

Treasurer of the Temple Emanu-El.

HENRY WANGENHEIM,

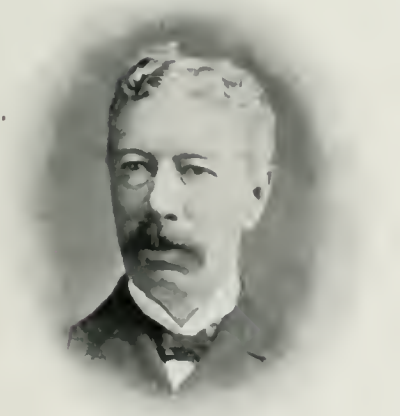
Secretary of the Temple Emanu-El.

HON. JULIUS JACOBS

SIMON SILVERBERG, ESQ.

S. W. ROSENSTOCK, ESQ.

JOSEPH NAPHTALY, ESQ.



SIMON NEWMAN, ESQ.

PHILIP LIPPITT, ESQ.

SIX MEMBERS OF THE THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE TEMPLE EMANU-EL.

come and go; boys and girls full of fun and frolic, full of an eager desire for knowledge, or perchance of mischief; jolly, pleasant, happy, studious. Each one of them brings to remembrance some particular incident, recalls some happy episode.

"What has become of all these children? Where are they? What are they doing? Into what have they developed and grown? How many of them are to-day the staid fathers and mothers of our community? How many are there in our midst to-day? Who can go back with me to my first recollection of the Sabbath school of the Temple Emanu-El? For my personal connection with that Sabbath school dates further back than merely twenty-eight years ago.

"Away back in the early fifties, I see myself, a little girl, going to my first Sabbath school—a Sabbath school which was the mother of the Religious school which is held in our magnificent Temple at present. That Sabbath school did not meet in a regular Synagogue, for in those days the Congregation had as yet no building of its own, but the services were held in what had been a private house on Green street, corner of Stockton. The upper rooms had been thrown into one, and were used as a place of worship in the morning and as a Sabbath schoolroom on Saturday afternoon. So, I see myself going there with my hand tightly clasped in that of him who had just been elected Rabbi of the Congregation. One of the gentlest, truest, noblest characters it has been my fate in life to meet. One whose every deed was Charity, and every thought was Mercy. One who left his impress upon the hearts and souls of all to whom was given the blessing of knowing him—Dr. Julius Eckman—the first Rabbi of the Temple Emanu-El.

"The Sabbath school was under the direction and instruction of a corps of volunteer teachers, ladies and gentlemen of the Congregation. Mr. Labatt was Superintendent, and among the most valued of the teachers was our dear departed friend, Leon L. Dennery, who later was for so many years the enthusiastic and earnest Chairman of the School Board of our present Religious school. In the meanwhile, the Congregation was busily engaged in the erection of its Synagogue on Broadway, above Powell, and when the Synagogue was dedicated the Sabbath school had its home in the basement. As long as Dr. Eckman remained Rabbi of the Congregation the Sabbath school was

held there; on his severing his connection the greater number of the pupils (so had he endeared himself to the hearts of the children), went with him regardless of the fact that the fathers of many of them were the leading men of the Congregation.

"Those children followed their dearly beloved teacher to the old "Portsmouth House," northeast of Clay and Dupont streets. In this building had been located the first postoffice in San Francisco, but when the postoffice was moved to its present location the old building was given over to other tenants. There was a drug store at the corner, while the upper rooms were rented out to stray roomers. It was a ramshackle, weird old building, falling into decay; full of strange noises and haunted corners; its hall and stairways unswept, and decorated with cobwebs and dust. There we appeared every afternoon, after our daily school hours, for our Hebrew lessons, and on Saturday and Sunday mornings for religious instruction. How we waited for each other at the corner, how slowly we ascended the rickety old stairs, one holding on to the other, how we held our breath and shivered with fear as we heard the rats, the only occupants besides ourselves of the old building, scurrying across the rafters; how we finally made a rush for the door of the room, to be welcomed by our dear old friend; to forget all our fears and troubles in the charm of his presence and the magic of his instruction.

"From the old Portsmouth House we followed our teacher to his editorial rooms. He was the editor and proprietor of the first Jewish periodical on this Coast, "The Gleaner." How we enjoyed our new quarters. What a sense of proprietorship we felt in every part of the establishment; how we watched the typesetters; what an interest we took in the hand printing press. What words of wisdom and of knowledge we gathered in his sanctum, which was now our schoolroom.

"Soon our numbers outgrew these rooms and the little German church on Sutter street below Stockton having become vacant, the premises were rented for us through the generosity of some of the prominent men of the Temple Emanu-El whose interest and sympathy had followed us in all our wanderings; and so, at last, we had a permanent habitation and a name; thus was established the *Hepzibah* Religious School.

"Oh the joy and pleasure of those dear old days! How we loved our school, how eagerly we hastened there every afternoon. How anxiously we looked forward to our Sabbath afternoon services which were regularly held there, and in which we officiated, where with all our souls we sang our "Shemah Yisroel" and "Enkelohenu," our dear Master seated at the organ, and then, how we enjoyed the feast of cake and fruit which was sure to follow if we had done well. No matinees for us; we had jollier times.

"There, in that dear old school, I stepped from student to teacher, and became the voluntary assistant of our beloved Master. Gone is the old Sabbath school and at rest is the dear old Master. Sacred is his memory to us, his children, enshrined in our inmost hearts.

"In the meantime the Temple Emanu-El had secured the services of that cultured, true gentleman, Dr. Elkan Cohn, and under his fostering care had reared another religious school. Years rolled on, time brought its many changes, and it was found necessary to make a life pursuit of that which had been undertaken as a pleasure. In response to an urgent request from Dr. Cohn and Mr. L. M. Cahn, Chairman of the School Board, a position as teacher in the religious school of Temple Emanu-El was accepted, and on October 22, 1871, I was elected and entered upon my duties.

"The history of the Religious School is a vital part of the history of the Temple Emanu-El. Its graduates are the strength of its Congregation. May God's blessing rest upon both."

The withdrawal of Dr. Eckman practically depleted the Congregational school. The appointment of the Rev. H. M. Bien, however, infused new life into it, and we have the testimony of President Bloomingdale (see page 52) that this gentleman labored zealously in its behalf. The subsequent appointment of Mr. Daniel Levy as Teacher of the Congregation fixed the status of the school as one of the leading educational institutions of the city. Mr. Levy was a competent educator, who conducted a day school in connection with the religious school, and amongst the earliest teachers of the latter was Miss Rose Levison. Beginning with 1858, the gradually increasing number of pupils induced the Congregation to appoint a Board of Education, composed of nine members, in after years reduced to five; and to endow the school with an annual subsidy, which at one time was as high as four thousand dollars.

Since its foundation, the Emanu-El religious school has been practically a free school. So far as its applicants were concerned, the qualifications of membership were never rigidly looked into. The Congregation's generous subsidies enabled the Board of Education to extend the privileges of teaching to a large number of poor children, with the result that the School became, numerically, the leading religious institute of San Francisco. This tradition of an "open" School is maintained until this day. Parents whose limited means prevent them from paying the taxes imposed upon membership need not hesitate a moment. Their children are most heartily welcome.

In organizing the Board of Education, the Congregation has always been fortunate to command the services of intelligent and educated gentlemen, who took a deep interest in the progress of the School. One of the main features of the permanent success of the institution has been this unwavering devotion and careful management on the part of the laity. Connected with the work of a generation are the names of H. J. Labatt, Seixas Solomons, Emanuel Wertheimer, Leopold Tichener, L. M. Cahn, and L. L. Dennery. It is especially to Lazard M. Cahn that the Sabbath school of Emanuel was indebted for its high degree of efficiency. Himself a man of education, trained in French schools, this pious and progressive gentleman devoted many years of his life to the development of the educational interests of the Jewish community of San Francisco. Highly imbued as he was with an ambition to introduce the latest and best methods of teaching in the management of the School, Lazard Cahn, nevertheless, put the greatest stress on the qualitative character of the information to be imparted to Jewish pupils. During his time the efficient work of the School attracted many pupils, and between 1870 and 1880 as many as 404 were registered in one year. He died July 5, 1886, mourned by the community, amongst whom were so many whose true friend he had been in their childhood, and was succeeded by Leon L. Dennery, whose identification with the religious interests of the community dated from 1854. During Dennery's administration a thorough reorganization of the School was effected. Old-time teachers were retired, and a rule established that, so far as possible, the teachers of the Religious School should be in possession of educational certificates. The classes were graded and a seven years'

RAPHAEL PEIXOTTO,

President of Temple Emanu-El.

THE REV. DR. JACOB VOORSANGER,

Rabbi of Temple Emanu-El.

course of instruction introduced. After Dennery's death Raphael Peixotto held the chairmanship until his elevation to the Presidency of the Congregation, when he was succeeded by Philip Lippitt, formerly Secretary of the Board and the present Chairman of the Standing Committee on Education.

The close relationship between the School and the Congregation found its highest expression, some few years ago, by a measure, introduced by President Peixotto, whereby the Board of Education was absorbed in the Board of Trustees, and in its place a constitutional Standing Committee on Education, composed of five members, appointed. This Committee, now composed of Messrs. Ph. Lippitt, Chairman, Julius Jacobs, Jacob Greenebaum, Simon Newman, and Abraham Anspacher, represents the Board of Trustees, and in all respects endeavors to maintain a high degree of efficiency. To the Chairman, Philip Lippitt, is due the initiative to many measures whereby religious education is constantly brought in closer contact with the spirit of the times. It was mainly through his efforts that the children's services were permanently introduced, and he has furnished the inspiration to a publication of sixteen services now regularly used in the School.

The present School numbers nearly three hundred children, divided into seven classes, besides a post-graduate class, and the annual confirmation class. The ceremony of public confirmation was introduced by Dr. Elkan Cohn in 1861, since which time nearly one thousand pupils have been confirmed, representing a little army of men and women, of whom a large number are now enrolled in the membership of the Congregation. In point of fact, the third generation is now on the school benches. May it be God's gracious will that these children, too, may graduate from our beloved School, animated with the same noble impulses as moved their parents and grandparents to foster and maintain the strength of our Emanu-El Congregation!

VI.

CEMETERIES.

EARLY in the year 1850 Emanuel Hart, a native of Holland, and a "forty-niner," presented the Jewish Communy of San Francisco with two "fifty vara" lots, situated at the intersection of Vallejo and Gough Streets, close to the United States military reservation and in his deed of gift specially provided that the grounds should be reserved as a place of burial for "the Jews of San Francisco." So far as now known, the first Hebrew whose remains were interred in the consecrated grounds was named Johnson, reputed to have been a brother of the late Edgar M. Johnson, the noted lawyer of Cincinnati, later of New York.

The rapid increase of the Jewish community, between 1850 and 1860, rendered the purchase of other grounds an absolute necessity. Joint committees from the Emanu-El and Sherith Israel congregations cared for the Hart Cemetery, but already in 1854 reports were made to both congregations concerning the cramped condition of the grounds. Several attempts were made to induce the two congregations to purchase land for a communal cemetery, without any perceptible effect.

In 1860, the Congregation Emanu-El and the Eureka Benevolent Society made joint purchase of Block 86 in the Mission Dolores, which was named the "Home of Peace" Cemetery. Adjoining, the Sherith Israel acquired similar grounds, which became the "Hills of Eternity" Cemetery. To facilitate the administration of the grounds both the Congregation Emanu-El and the Eureka Benevolent Society consented to the organization of the "Home of Peace Cemetery Association," which subsequently incorporated, and with which the name of its President, David Stern, is inseparably connected. The "Home of Peace" Cemetery was consecrated on July 25, 1860, in the presence of a large concourse of people, who had considerable difficulty in reaching the grounds, the sole tramway to the Mission having just

been opened. The dedicatory exercises were opened with a prayer by Dr. Eckman, and the reading of Psalms by the Rev. H. A. Henry of the Sherith Israel. President Henry Seligman gave an address, and handed the keys to August Helbing, Esq., the founder and President of the Eureka Benevolent Society. Dr. Elkan Cohn, who had but recently arrived, made the closing remarks and gave the benediction.

At the annual meeting of the Temple Emanu-El, held October 3, 1886, President Martin Heller reported the necessity of acquiring larger accommodations for the suitable interment of the dead. After the lapse of a quarter of a century the community had grown to dimensions that rendered the Eighteenth street cemetery wholly inadequate for its original purposes. Around the sacred grounds a populous city had arisen, and the matter of continuing to inter the dead in the heart of the city became a subject of the gravest discussion. An ordinance of the Board of Supervisors, forestalling possible action by the Jewish Congregations, demanded the close of the cemetery on January 1, 1889. Responding to the suggestions of the President, a committee of five was appointed, consisting of Louis Sachs, Emanuel Wertheimer, Jules Cerf, David Stern and Julius Jacobs, to inaugurate proceedings for the acquisition of new and more extensive grounds. This committee speedily reported the purchase of a large tract of land containing seventy-three and one-half acres, ten miles from San Francisco, in San Mateo County, in an exceedingly picturesque locality, and at the ensuing annual meeting the purchase was ratified by the Congregation. The cost of acquisition was $350 per acre or $25,725. On May 28, 1888, twenty acres of this tract, at the original cost, were sold to the Sherith Israel Congregation. An agreement was made between both congregations for the joint building of a mortuary chapel, to be situated at the head of a broad avenue, in the center of which is the dividing line between the two cemeteries, so that the grounds should consist of two tracts of twenty acres each, running from the county road to the foothills, and the whole appear as if it were but one cemetery. The remaining thirty-three and one-half acres were reserved by the Congregation for the distant future.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1888, Emanu-El and Sherith Israel joined in laying the corner-stone of the mortuary chapel and consecrating the

new grounds. In the presence of a large multitude, brought out in special trains, Dr. Elkan Cohn laid the stone, with a sweet expression of hope that Providence would safeguard the community for a long time to come, from losses the inevitable character of which was suggested by the ceremony in which the community was then engaged. The Rabbi of Sherith Israel Congregation gave the dedicatory prayer, and Dr. Jacob Voorsanger presented the address. On January 1, 1889, the grounds were opened for their destined purpose, and amongst the very first to rest in the flowered soil of the new Home of Peace was the gentle shepherd himself, Elkan Cohn, priest of the living God, and a lover of all his people.

The beauty of the new Home of Peace Cemetery is now proverbial in California and far beyond the State's borders. It was the foresight of Martin Heller that pointed out its location; it was his loving care that converted the heath into a veritable garden spot. Great as was his sagacious administration of the affairs of the Congregation, still greater, far more beautiful, was the daily sacrifice he made to render this resting place a spot to which pilgrims should turn without a sense of pain, a spot where the weary and the heavy-laden should learn a lesson from mother-earth's beauty that rest was sweet, and God's goodness eternal. We must never forget Martin Heller's labors in this great work. Our Home of Peace is his memorial. And with his name we couple one other, the name of one whose memory lingers most affectionately in our hearts, that of a noble man who, under Martin Heller's directions, took care of the removal of the dead from the old to the new cemetery—the removal of more than fifteen hundred bodies, involving the most delicate and painstaking labor —the name of our dearly beloved SAMUEL ROSENER, now, alas! also gone to his rest, lamented, yet lovingly remembered. Let the closing lines of this chapter be his, for among all the true servants of Emanu-El he deserves the most gracious testimony and a grateful inscription that his heart was true and tender, his service most loyal, and that, as long as memory lasts, his name will not disappear from our midst. Ah, how many true men and women have found their rest in these hallowed grounds! May their memory stir us to an ever-increasing service to the living, whilst we pray God to hallow the rest of the dead!

Entrance to the Home of Peace and Hills of Eternity Cemeteries.

VII.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

JULIUS ECKMAN.

UNTIL 1854 the Congregation Emanu-El experienced great difficulty in securing a Rabbi, under whose guidance it could assume its destined place amongst the growing German-Jewish Congregations of America. On the first day of the month of July of that year a gentleman arrived in the young City of San Francisco, who, almost from the moment of his advent, impressed his co-religionists and fellow citizens with the singular beauty of his character. He came with messages from the Rev. James K. Gutheim, then already resident in New Orleans, an eloquent preacher who had been compelled to decline the honor of an election as the first Rabbi of Emanu-El. Rabbi Gutheim's introductions and his own impressive personality secured Dr. Julius Eckman a hearty welcome, and not long afterwards he presided at the laying of the corner-stones of the Broadway and Stockton Street Synagogues. Upon the expiration of the fall holidays Dr. Eckman was unanimously called to the pulpit of the Emanu-El Congregation. Brief as was his career in the latter service—he withdrew before the next ensuing annual election—the greatest part of the life remaining to this remarkable man was spent in San Francisco, and his long and close identification with the progress of our religious and educational interests in this city and on this coast, as well as the eminent position he occupied in the world of letters, fully justify the presentation in these pages of a life, that because of its extreme modesty and simplicity, its unselfishness and consecration to duty, should be rescued from oblivion so that coming generations may know how strong were the pillars whereupon Emanu-El had cast its enduring foundations.

Julius Eckman was born in 1805 in the town of Rawicz, in the Duchy of Posen. Nothing is known to the writer of his early childhood. It may be assumed that his inclination for study, which was

one of his greatest virtues, was an inheritance from the paternal home; for in those early days the Jewish home was rarely without its resident teacher, nor its daily suggestions of culture and knowledge. It seems, however, that his parents had intended him for a mercantile career. At the age of fourteen he was sent to London to acquire a knowledge of business in the establishment of a relative, and he remained for three years in the British metropolis. Those who knew Dr. Eckman in after years will readily understand that even this long apprenticeship confirmed no taste in him for commercial affairs. His own testimony, given afterwards to his friends, was that the three unhappiest years of his life were spent in London trying to learn "business"; that his soul cried out for knowledge; that he felt miserable at the thought of having no time to engage in study. Eckman was not made of the stuff of merchants. Most probably, if the experiences of his later years may be taken as a guide, he was a timid, dreamy youth, always reading, studying and meditating, ill fitted for a life behind the counter or an active struggle with men. Accordingly, at the expiration of three years we find him returning to Berlin, the stamping-ground of poor Jewish students, the home of struggling aspirants for knowledge, the cradle of the great movement that sent men like Eckman into the world. Poor, unknown, and affrighted by the privations of his fellow students, Eckman nevertheless determined to persevere. His subsequent active life proved the efficacy of his Berlin training. He always remained an enemy to luxury, until the simplicity of his habits of life became proverbial amongst his friends. In two years this indefatigable student succeeded in gaining the requisite knowledge that enabled him to pass entrance examinations at the University. During the ensuing years he maintained himself by private teaching and occasional small stipends awarded him by one or the other of the affluent Jewish householders of Berlin. Meanwhile he pursued classical studies at the University and, under the guidance of the great master Zunz, prepared himself for the Rabbinical office. The literary world of Berlin attracted him. Content with a bare pittance, unambitious and eager for information, he was in no hurry to enter into the activities of his chosen profession. Long after he graduated from the University, receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and for

years after the Rabbinical diploma had been awarded him, Eckman, fascinated by the interesting phenomena of intellectual life in the Prussian residential city, remained there, a quiet on-looker, but absorbing knowledge, attending lectures, frequenting the society of Berlin's great Jewish savants, seemingly indifferent to the drift and current of events. Yet he was no mere casual observer. He carefully noted the particulars of that great contention then engaging the Jewish Community of Berlin, a contention for the right of Young Israel to identify itself with the world, not to remain hidden in the gloom of its mediæval environments. He knew the men of the progressive party, lived amongst them, and without becoming a publicist himself, contributed out of his own great store of knowledge materials that were incorporated in the polemical literature of the times.

Doubtless this life of studious and literary privacy suited Eckman. He was a gentle student, interested in learning and teaching. Always somewhat of a recluse, the successes of many of his fellow students offered him no temptation. If he could earn a modest competency by teaching, rummage amongst old books, and be permitted to sit in a quiet nook, whilst great men broke intellectual lances with each other, he was quite happy; the world owed him nothing else. But such men can not escape their destiny. The old and affluent Jewish congregation at Mobile having applied for an English-speaking Rabbi, Eckman was urged by his Berlin friends to avail himself of his masterful knowledge of that language to become one of the leaders of Jewish thought in America. There were, at the time, perhaps but a half a dozen Rabbis in the United States who could competently address their congregations in the language of the country. In looking at the facts of Eckman's subsequent career one can not escape the conclusion that he was by nature and disposition ill fitted for the contentious career of an American Rabbi half a century ago, a time when congregational life was embryonic, when began the great warfare of reform, that in its beginnings was a struggle for organization and unity, and demanded more rugged leadership than with which Eckman, always an idealist and student, was endowed. However, he determined to come to the United States. He believed he could do some good. With this generous nature the question of his helpfulness was always more important than that of his success.

His decision to accept the call to Mobile was based upon the most generous of all motives, sacrifice. He knew somewhat of the difficulties that attended the organization of Jewish congregations in America; but, idealist that he was, he believed he could encompass them and become a power for good in his new field of labor. He came to the United States in 1846, the same year in which Isaac M. Wise landed on these shores to begin his career of half a century's remarkable labors. Cordially received in Mobile, Eckman proved unable to maintain his position.

It is no reflection on the memory of this pious philanthropist and distinguished student to pass correct, though considerate, judgment on the fact that he was not endowed with the gifts requisite for the practical duties of the American Rabbinate. Kind and gentle, cultured to the highest degree, and endowed with that *politesse* that marks the born gentleman, he was not fitted for the rugged environments of life in America fifty years ago. We find Dr. Eckman, between 1846 and 1854, officiating in various Southern communities, Mobile, New Orleans, Richmond, Charleston; always in demand as a preacher, because he was a complete master of English, yet unable to establish a permanent field of labor for himself. In Richmond, during his brief residence, he was thrice called upon to open the Virginia Legislature with prayer, probably the first instance of such an honor having been conferred upon a Jewish clergyman. The incident would tend to prove the existence of opportunities for the development of a strong Rabbinate in the South. But evidently Eckman felt himself unhappy. Nowhere he seemed able to establish a permanent residence. Was it because of the unsettled religious conditions, or, which is more likely, was it because this great teacher of children had felt that the pulpit was not the natural place wherein to exercise his abilities? That he had correct views regarding the existing conditions of American Judaism and the methods of treating them may be evidenced from a statement in the *Gleaner* of January, 23, 1857, wherein he says: "In the momentary crisis through which our system of theology is now passing, we shall strive to pay due deference to the past, without, however, ignoring the requirements of the present, or failing to provide for our existence in the future." With such a splendid program, pointing, by active teaching, to the

Mortuary Chapel of the Home of Peace and Hills of Eternity Cemeteries.

restoration of the unity of Israel's spiritual powers, the way might have seemed clear to enlist the Southern congregations in the great work of regeneration, begun, before Eckman's time, by Isaac Harby and Gustavus Posnanski in Charleston, and splendidly continued by James K. Gutheim in New Orleans. But Eckman's program, so far as his personal activities were concerned, was to be tried in the far West.

The archives of the Congregation Emanu-El, between 1850 and 1854, show an interesting competition for the honor of becoming its first Rabbi. Learned scholars from every part of the world asked to be preferred, and the Elders of the new Congregation had quite a difficult task before them. The choice finally fell upon James K. Gutheim, who was compelled to refuse the honor. Unable thereafter to decide upon a leader, the advent of Julius Eckman, in July, 1854, solved the difficulty. Every element of the Jewish community received him with distinguished salutation. Letters from Gutheim had prepared the Emanu-El Congregation for his coming, and it was felt at the time that Eckman, with his thorough training and refined personality, was just the man to steer the new community through the difficult shoals it had encountered. Immediately called (Resolution of Board of Trustees of E. C., July 5, 1854) to lay the corner-stones of both the Broadway and Stockton Street Synagogues, Dr. Eckman was elected temporary lecturer to the Congregation Emanu-El, and as such officiated during the September holidays in the presence of unusually large audiences, his sermons creating the deepest impression upon the pioneers, to whom the use of vigorous English by a German Rabbi was a new and pleasing experience. Already, before his election, Eckman had engaged in a work with which his name will be permanently connected. He founded a Religious School (July 26, 1864) which, for a time, was incorporated in the Religious System of the Congregation Emanu-El, but was afterwards continued by Eckman as an independent organization. This school, his beloved Hepzi-bah, was first located at 184 Montgomery Street, a miserable locality, where existed but the barest accommodations for teaching. In after years a contentious journalist charged Eckman with having founded this school for purpose of gain, when he made the remarkable statement (*Gleaner*, May 1, 1857)

that his income from 70 children had at first averaged $43.00 per month; but that from September, 1855, to November, 1856, during a period of fourteen months, his income had been $500.00, out of which he had bought furniture, paid rent, collection fees, had bought books for his children — and lived! But we anticipate this remarkable man's story.

The Broadway Synagogue was consecrated by Dr. Eckman on Thursday, September 14, 1854. After the fall holidays, the annual meeting of the Congregation was held October 10th, President Henry Seligman in the chair, at which Dr. Eckman was unanimously elected Rabbi, Reader and Teacher to the Congregation for one year at a salary of $2,000.00. During the year of his incumbency, he had difficult problems to confront. The Congregation was poor and in debt. In our present prosperous and affluent circumstances the fact that in 1854 Emanu-El was compelled to borrow $1,500.00 "on the faith of the Congregation" presents itself as interesting evidence of early struggles and difficulty to maintain itself. Congregational debts always beget contention and Emanu-El proved no exception. The Congregation was far from harmonious, for this and other reasons. The advent of a strong, energetic as well as learned minister might have gone far to adjust the difficulties in which the Congregation was involved, but Eckman who was learned, energetic and refined lacked those more rugged qualities of strength that at that critical time were prerequisite. The question of the Congregation's financial obligations might have been easily solved by such experienced financiers as Henry Seligman, but there were other problems, affecting the religious unity of Emanu-El, with which Eckman found it difficult to cope. Conservative by nature and temperament, yet alive to the problems of the period and the peculiar character of his environments, Eckman sought to perpetuate the absolute authority of the Rabbi in all questions affecting religious discipline, believing that by assuming such uncompromising attitude he could best preserve the religious interests of the community. Barely two months after his induction into office the struggle between him and the Elders of Emanu-El began. Universally respected, even by his opponents, for the singular purity of his character, it was felt nevertheless that his attitude in the *Shchita* question had raised a barrier between him and

the Congregation which made the continuance of its confidence an impossible fact. The Congregation, at that time, still retained two official *Shohetim* or ritual slaughterers, whose license was renewed from year to year, subject to an examination by a congregational committee. After the advent of Dr. Eckman all the *Shohetim* of the city, to the number of five or six had presented themselves before the Rabbi for examination. Two of the number were appointed *Shohetim* for the Congregation Emanu-El upon condition that they would appear before the Congregational Committee for the renewal of their licenses. One of them, refusing to appear, his license was rescinded, and public notice thereof given to the people. Dr. Eckman, who probably felt his authority imperiled by this notice, appeared in public print (*Daily Herald*, Dec. 20, 1854) with a flat denial of the Congregation's right to either issue or rescind licenses to *Shohetim* and specially intimated that the person who was retained by the Congregational Committee of Emanu-El was not fitted by education for the performance of his duties. After these many years, when nearly all the contestants in this unseemly struggle have gone to their long home, the action of the refined, peace-loving Eckman seems inexplicable. It can only be accounted for on the ground that he felt his authority imperiled. It is known, besides, that there had been considerable friction between the two leading Jewish congregations of the city, and that in the adjudication of differences between them Eckman did not exercise that diplomacy that would easily solve problems of a non-essential character. So he fell victim to contentions which to-day are not suffered to arise, and his career was endangered by an attitude that honors his conscience as a spiritual guide, but set him at variance with the men who had engaged his services. The Congregational meeting of December 24, 1854 took official notice of Rabbi Eckman's published utterances in the *Shehita* question, and a committee, in strong resolutions, suggested "that the Congregation felt confident that the course taken by Dr. Eckman will sever the harmonious bonds of the Congregation as long as he continues to preside in their House of Worship, and therefore it would be for the welfare of the Congregation if he would resign from the Ministry." Happily, for the dignity of the Congregation Emanu-El it may be stated that this resolution did not pass, but the

meeting adopted as its own the strong preamble wherein Dr. Eckman was charged to have exceeded his authority as the Minister of the Congregation. The whole matter was unfortunate in the extreme. It created a feeling amongst the members of Emanu-El that they had not been successful in the selection of a permanent guide. Such men as Henry Seligman, L. Tichener, E. M. Berg, Samuel Marx, Louis Cohn and A. C. Labatt, then at the helm of congregational affairs, kindly disposed as they necessarily must have been towards the gentle, modest Rabbi, whose error towards them was one of vacillation rather than of inimical aggressiveness, nevertheless realized that the unfortunate differences in the *Shchita* question had made Dr. Eckman's continuance in office an impossibility. And so it proved. At the ensuing annual election, September 30, 1855, Hazan Welhof received a majority of votes and Dr. Eckman's Ministry in Emanu-El came to an end. But even then his blessed work on this Coast only commenced. Freed from bonds, which he then realized he should never have contracted, he set about for the realization of his cherished ideals. Eckman, with boundless faith in the future of American Israel, deplored the lack of spirit and interest that characterized his own time. Regarding his mission to the Jews of the Pacific Coast by no means at an end, he continued to teach the children of the poor, whom he, having no other ties, made the children of his affection. *Hepzibah* became the passion of his life. The men and women of our own time, who were Eckman's pupils, still speak of him with boundless veneration. He was father, teacher and companion to his children. It mattered nothing whether the poor could not or the rich would not pay the monthly stipend. All were welcome, all felt the benign influence of this man's wondrous affection for children, which was the scholar's greatest virtue. Careless in the extreme in matters financial, he often lacked the means wherewith to continue his beloved *Hepzibah*. Then he would appeal to the affluent members of the community for help. "I want nothing for myself," he once pathetically said, "the loaf of bread and crucible of water suffice for my necessities. But my children need the bread of life and must not go hungry." Rarely did he appeal in vain. His strongest opponents of Emanu-El were the first to rally around him to maintain his good work. Even with this, and the proceeds of his *Gleaner*, Eck-

man never earned more than a pittance. For his pupils of *Hepzibah* he wrote a "Prayer-book for Children" published at his own expense and distributed gratis, and a "Vocabulary of the Hebrew Tongue" of which unfortunately I have been unable to obtain a copy. The school was a remarkable institution. Eckman would gather his pupils in a daily morning service, give them a sermonette, and dismiss them to their work inspired with a feeling that he was their best friend as well as their teacher. Thus, this gifted man helped to quicken the pulsations of religious life in our community, and it is but just to his memory to state with deep gratitude that the effects of his labors still survive in the religious acts and deeds of many of his former disciples. .

Shortly after the severance of his relations with the Congregation Emanu-El, Dr. Eckman decided to enter the journalistic field. Jewish journalism was then quite a new experience in the United States. Robert Lyon's *Hasmonæan*, Isaac Leeser's *Occident* and Isaac M. Wise's *American Israelite*, then but recently published, were the eastern efforts in that direction. The field on the Pacific Coast was new and unploughed. The necessity for reaching the scattered Jewish communities, from Victoria down to San Diego, with competent educational literature was paramount. Eckman decided upon the publication of the *Gleaner* (January, 1856), which in its early years enjoyed a liberal circulation. It became the medium of correspondence for the hundreds of settlements all along the Coast. It brought to the cabins of the Jewish miners and traders news from their distant homes, and it gave Eckman his opportunity for impressing his readers with the advantages of organized religion, and providing religious instruction for their children.

The four first volumes of the *Gleaner* are thoroughly encyclopædic in their character. Their editor evidently used his columns as a medium of teaching. His editorial utterances are few; his essays and sermons numerous. Dr. Eckman was a versatile scholar. Well acquainted with both the classical and oriental languages, partial to archæology and fond of philology, he used all his knowledge in the preparation of material, that in our day appears somewhat too ponderous for popular information, but which no doubt suited the times. As a polemist, Dr. Eckman was a failure. Such gentle spirits are

not prepared for the journalistic arena. All the attacks on his principals or teachings he met with mild reproof and patient argument; all ignoble sneers at himself he quietly ignored. The *Gleaner* shows his character both as a man and a scholar. As a man, he was impractical and ignorant of business, trustful of human nature, an easy prey to agents who made ducks and drakes of his affairs; generous to the poor, and to his last day, indifferent to the social habits of his environments. As a scholar, he was original, almost massive, given somewhat too much to the fascinations of philological speculation, but strongly grounded in theology, and a master of Rabbinical literature. As a linguist he was universally esteemed as the best on the Pacific Coast.

Of his unselfishness many fine tales could be told. In 1860 his idealism induced him to offer himself as a missionary to China to devote a few years of his life to the restoration of the supposedly old Jewish congregation at Kai-fong-foo.* Subsequently he officiated for a period of three years in Portland, Oregon, and despite his poverty, refused to receive a cent of remuneration for his services. His lonely quarters at the corner of Clay and Leavenworth Streets, a veritable hermitage, were nevertheless the scenes of interesting occurrences. Scholars, Catholic priests, and Protestant ministers came to see the Rabbi, who, though somewhat eccentric in his habits, was a well-spring of learning, and he was never niggardly with his information.

He gave to all who were ready to receive. He was exceedingly liberal in his doctrines. Personally conservative, and disinclined to radical reform, as it was understood in his day, he was tolerant, confident of his people's great future and exceedingly idealistic in his attitude towards other faiths. "Faith, not prayers, constitutes orthodoxy," he once answered a correspondent. At times his gentleness and tolerance were sorely tried, but he was able to rise to the situation. His interesting attitude in the Mortara question is not yet for-

* Kai-fong-foo, more properly Kai Fuug Fu, is the capital of the province of Hunan, and is situated on the Hoang-Ho River, about three hundred miles south of Pekin. It is asserted that a Jewish colony existed there for the last two thousand years. A stone tablet found in 1867 on the site of what was supposed to be a synagogue records the fact that the structure was built in 1162. There are now claimed to remain some 400 of these native Chinese Jews, who are said to be descendants from Persian Jews who ventured into China about the time of the second destruction of Jerusalem. Bruno Navarra, a French traveler and scientist, lately furnished some interesting data regarding the origin of the Kai Fung Fu Jews, but the whole subject requires further investigation.

gotten in San Francisco. When men of every faith denounced the Papal authorities for their infamous robbery of a Jewish child, the clear-sighted Eckman predicted that a generation afterwards Edgar Mortara would be amongst the faithful ones of the Church, and counseled a more gentle attitude towards the great Catholic organization, which, however, did not deter him from speaking in words of burning indignation at the great Mortara mass meeting held in this City (Saturday evening, January 15, 1859). One of his religious mottoes is worth preserving: "Every religious system contains the sources of good; infidelity never built schools, homes for the poor, or hospitals for the sick."

He died July 5, 1877, suddenly and alone. He had never married, this man, whose heart was given to the little children of his people and to the suffering poor; and no assistance was nigh to the aged Rabbi in the hour of his mortal illness. His funeral was an imposing demonstration. "Young and old," says an eye witness, "Jew and Christian assembled in great numbers to follow the remains of a philanthropist, a distinguished scholar, and a good man in the word's true sense." The funeral was conducted under the auspices of the Sherith Israel Congregation. The late Dr. Elkan Cohn, who had known Eckman in Berlin, preached a sermon of great beauty. He was buried in the Hills of Eternity and his remains were subsequently removed to the new Hills, where, in the honored Row, where lie all the faithful servants of Sherith Israel, he reposes in peace, his name beloved and honored as that of the pioneer Rabbi of San Francisco.

ELKAN COHN.

It is now nearly twelve years since Rabbi Dr. Elkan Cohn went to his rest. In looking over my manuscripts to be used in the preparation of this work I recalled the words I had been privileged to speak at the service in honor of my dear friend's memory (Sunday, April 7, 1889), and in re-examining these words I find them to contain all the essential materials for a full and complete biography. I have therefore thought it wise to incorporate those remarks, without material change, adding thereto only such reflections as after a lapse of twelve years seem appropriate:

Brethren, in unfolding the chapter of our beloved Rabbi's life before you, I experience a sense of reverence akin to the prophet's feeling when he was informed he stood on holy ground. The four decades that have preceded our time have witnessed struggles in the house of Israel that are inscribed on a separate page in our religious history. The air was rent with cries of war, the ground heaved under the violent movements of the combatants, but to us younger men the ground is holy. The battle was waged around the sanctuary, to preserve it in its purity, to keep its holy spirit from dying amongst men, to permit its continuance as the witness of God unto His people. The heroes are all dead or dying. One or two are left to enjoy the fruits of their labors and receive the measure of our reverence; and let us thank God that the great number of these valiant soldiers did not pass away without at least seeing the silver line of Jordan, and beyond it the certainty that they had not lived in vain. When to-day we mention the name of Dr. Elkan Cohn, we do not simply mention the name of Emanu-El's faithful pastor, but that of a man who in the spiritual struggles of the last forty years took a prominent part; who contributed a large share towards the wondrous upbuilding of Judaism in the United States; who braved contempt, despised danger, risked rank and fortune, and the good opinion of his brethren, in the attempt to liberate Judaism from the deathly stupor in which it had fallen. Years before his death he knew that the cause had succeeded; and, though his compeers were one after the other borne hence, having fought the good fight, he knew that the foundations of the regenerated Judaism being well set, no human hand could henceforth undermine them.

He was born on February 22—a memorable day—of the year 1820. The town of Kosten in Posen, where his parents lived, had experienced little of the European upheaval of a few years before. All around, in the great cities of Europe, the downfall and exile of Napoleon had been succeeded by the re-establishment of old lines, which carried with them the recurrence of conservative thought in religious matters. The nascent Jewish reform party, which had been favored by the Napoleonic princes, despite the anathemas of the Rabbis, spoke with but a timid voice. Its early leaders were dead or indifferent, and Israel was in no present humor to give ear to

THE REV. MAX WOLFF,

Cantor of Temple Emanu-El,

1874-1884.

THE REV. EDWARD J. STARK,

Cantor of Temple Emanu-El.

liberal thought. Everywhere Rabbinism had obtained a stronger hold; its resentment against the religious anarchists who dared preach a reconciliation between the spirit of Judaism and the spirit of modern times was deep and bitter. No wonder, then, that Elkan Cohn was born in orthodox surroundings. His father was a learned and intelligent man, who, on account of the early death of his wife, was compelled to send his son to Shempin, where his grandparents lived. In the latter village the child was raised in an atmosphere purely Talmudical. Traveling Rabbis were the guests of his relatives; learned discussions were the topics at family meals; morning and evening the hum of dialectics, the monotone of controversy and exposition resounded in his ears. In these surroundings Elkan Cohn imbibed that great desire for knowledge that clung to him through life. When he left his grandparents' house at the age of fourteen to begin his studies, he was already well equipped in Talmudical lore. An eager, receptive mind was his—endowed by nature with the remarkable faculty of not alone grasping the salient points of knowledge, but of retaining them to be used as the material for future structures of wisdom. I do not know whether in the home circle he was permitted to enrich his mind with the elements of profane knowledge. But he had the making of a great scholar in him, and his wonderful application and incessant devotion to his tasks made him the favorite pupil of all his teachers. Remember that the men of his class became scholars in profane knowledge, not by the consent or the command of their early teachers. The spirit of Israel's teachers, excepting a few, was then inimical to profane knowledge; versatility in the Talmudical codices, dialectic ability, learning in the complex Talmudical jurisprudence, were all deemed the highest accomplishments. The greatest Talmudist was the greatest scholar. The Mendelssohnians — men of progress, of whom Zunz was already a worthy representative—who stood then well-nigh alone, the others having fallen away, were deemed next to infidels. The generation of Rabbis who had publicly anathematized Mendelssohn's German translation of the Scriptures was succeeded by men whose enmity was of no less degree. Few were then the Rabbis who sought to supplement their Talmudical accomplishments by a university career. These few, every one standing out as a hero amongst men, were the

forerunners of our modern Judaism. They infused a desire for classical knowledge and for scientific attainments into the *Talmudjuenger* —Bahurim—, whom a consciousness to rise above their surroundings had driven to the German schools. Some of our leading American Rabbis, the greatest number of whom are now gathered to their fathers, belonged to that class.

Elkan Cohn, having passed some time in Breslau, was sent to Braunschweig, the cradle of poets and scholars, where he was exceptionally fortunate in the selection of his teachers. Amongst Dr. Cohn's papers there is a certificate in Dr. Herzfeld's handwriting, to the effect that the young student had been for three years a pupil of Rabbi Isaac Eger, a son of the great Rabbi Akiba Eger, and that after the death of that scholarly Talmudist, the famous historian himself had instructed him. The name of Herzfeld suggests the ripest knowledge, the finest historical acumen, the most versatile talents, and from him, whose history of the Jews is still a textbook among students, Elkan Cohn imbibed that scholarly faculty of industrious, painstaking research, which enabled him to master difficult problems of learning, and did not leave him until his growing infirmities robbed him of the pleasure of patient study. Meanwhile he attended the gymnasium, where he received a thorough modern education. At the age of twenty, Herzfeld sent him to Berlin with letters of loving regard to the spiritual authorities and influential Jewish laymen, and there, in that greater center of learning, he slowly developed those remarkable faculties which were destined, under the protection of Heaven, to become a blessing to the Jews of the far West. He matriculated as a student of the *humaniora* at the University of Berlin, and pursued his theological and Rabbinical studies under the famous J. J. Ettinger, then chief Rabbi of the Berlin community. His ten years' residence in Berlin form a tale of patient toil, often diverted by intercourse with learned and polite society. In no haste to seek a professional position he maintained himself, independently of the world, as a private tutor, and was enabled, as seems always to have been his fondest desire, to pursue science for its own dear sake, giving but a fleeting thought to the responsibilities he would be called upon in future to assume. The university made him a scholar; his intercourse with Zunz and the growing number of pro-

gressive scholars opened his eyes to the demands of the times. Israel wished to break its fetters; the young particularly had grown weary of Rabbinical domination. In them the embers of a purer faith were being fanned until they grew into bright flames; and they had learned already that the sum of all knowledge was not contained in the Talmud, its codices and commentaries. They had a precious bequeathment from the generation preceding them, namely, the great thought that Israel's political freedom could not be accomplished in the midst of mental stupor; that to wrench enfranchisement and manhood from the nations would be impossible if Israel persisted in enveloping itself in its oriental frame. That thought, spoken first in whispers, grew to an angry demand when Elkan Cohn was a student, and some of those who found the German Jews indifferent to spiritual regeneration had already crossed the seas to dedicate new shrines to the God of Israel on the virgin soil of free America. Our friend was one of those young men whose pursuit of literature and intercourse with refined minds had rendered them forever incapable of a career circumscribed on all sides by Rabbinical restrictions. But his time had not yet come. He plodded patiently, diverting himself with writing beautiful Hebrew poetry, copying the Arabic version of the Pentateuch, or composing Greek and Latin verse.* He remained long enough in Berlin to witness the exciting scenes of the Revolution of '48, and, being a member of the students' corps, the peaceful devotee of science became a soldier for the nonce, and did good service in defense of the national property. In Berlin also the romance of his life was enacted. In one of the families he attended in the capacity of tutor he met the lady whom most of you have known and esteemed, who was herself patiently moulding young minds given in her care. Her beauty, her gentleness and sweet demeanor, no less than her charming gifts of mind, attracted the student, and between these two there sprang up an attachment that ripened into a love true and tender and all-absorbing, and they agreed that God had created them for each other. When he left Berlin in 1850, having become Rabbi of Brandenburg, he brought his young wife with him, and she ever remained the proudest and most cherished treasure of the gentle

* Several very interesting poems and a fragment of the manuscript above alluded to, I have found among Dr. Cohn's papers.

scholar, who, but for that dear companion by his side, might have found some difficulty in braving the risks of his period; for he was essentially a man of peace. God had created him with a gentle nature, a temperament the reverse of aggressive, and though he was the peer of any scholar in the land, he might have remained content with a pittance and his beloved books, but for that pure wifely ambition that lead the noble young sage into more worldly paths for the happiness of those who had already begun to admire the depth of both his learning and his character. Four years he remained in Brandenburg; then the world unfolded to his gaze, and he was summoned to do manly toil.

In America men were needed. The nascent congregations of Israel clamored for teachers in whom the fire of faith had become intensified by research and study. A few were on the premises already, men who had come of their own choice. To give you a picture of Judaism in America in 1854, the year of Dr. Cohn's arrival, would require more time than may be utilized at present. The distant thunder of revolution was being heard. The broad spirit of the land created in the hearts of the Jews irreconcilable objections to petrified traditions. Everywhere callousness, indifference, lack of spiritual fervor were the result of imperfect organization, half-educated preachers, and an orthodoxy of form, an empty shell, beneath which the substance of faith had disappeared. The congregations suffered from the want of preachers. The number of educated men of that class was surprisingly few. The cause of reform had just been stirred, and the attempts to hush the timid voices were many. Already in 1832 a Jewish layman of Charleston, Isaac Harby, had pleaded with his congregation for an intelligent, modernized presentation of Jewish religious forms. For a long time his voice remained unheard, outside of his own congregation; then in the North one voice after the other gave forth sound. The battle was soon to commence. Our revered friend, quietly ministering to his Brandenburg congregation, received a call from the Jewish community of Albany, N. Y., to cross the ocean and become their spiritual guide. Without any thought of the agitation in which he was to take so prominent a part, simply conscious that his talents would be useful to his co-religionists in the New World, Dr. Elkan Cohn, at the age of thirty-four, in the

closing months of the year 1854, took his wife and child, and committing himself to the mercy of Heaven, withstood the perils of the sea to found for himself an American home.

He arrived in Albany in the closing month of the year, was received with the honors due his exalted station, and instantly went to work. In New York a few choice spirits had welcomed him—men who knew the solid metal of the newcomer. Lilienthal, whom a grateful posterity has named the "Prince of Peace," was the principal of an academy, Merzbacher was preaching to the Emanu-El Congregation, Raphall was preacher of the B'nai Jeshurun, and the lamented Isaacs was in the midst of his career of blessed usefulness. Wise, Dr. Cohn's predecessor in Albany—a fiery, warlike spirit, whose perennial strength seems to withstand the times—had gone to Cincinnati; Gutheim had departed for New Orleans; Einhorn and Adler had not yet come, but they were in time for the battle. The outposts were being filled, the sentinels properly stationed, and the notes of war were rumbling like distant thunder in the angry sky. The *casus belli* is historical. When the forces separated, the gage lying between them was the Ark of the Covenant. The one side coveted the Ark, the other its contents. That is the simplest presentation of the case. We render our opponents the justice that they sought on their side to cultivate the spirit of Judaism, and felt that they could do so by perpetuating the traditional envelopments of that spirit. Whether they succeeded or not I need not say. Forty years of history have given answer. Dr. Wise during his ministrations in Albany had been the means of throwing the congregation into a ferment. He had spoken with no doubtful voice; he demanded changes which, denounced at the time in the bitterest, most abusive language, have since been adopted by nearly every congregation in the land. In New York, Merzbacher had launched his new abridged prayer-book with much fear and timidity. The time for open discussion had come. What meant these turbulent reformers, these half-infidels, violators of the traditional law, who openly disregarded many of the traditional customs? Their answer never was equivocal. They demanded the up-building of the spirit of Judaism, the elevation of Jewish manhood, the abrogation of spiritless devotional compositions; and the great underlying factor of their movement was the

harmonizing of the Jewish religious ideas with the spirit of the times. Nine reform congregations existed in 1854. To-day we have two hundred. These nine with their leaders stood the brunt of battle and wavered not for a moment, nor was their crest lowered on the day of war. Jewish organs fulminated against them in Pope-like bulls; they were denounced as enemies of Judaism; of some it was said they were self-called preachers. A temporary truce was called a year later. In 1855 an attempt was made to harmonize the differences between the parties, and had these differences been as to the form only, the reform party of the United States would have died in its infancy. A convention of Rabbis and delegates was called in Cleveland in 1855. The call set forth grandiloquently the great things that were expected. Peace was to reign supreme, asylums to be established, colleges to be endowed; in brief, the sanguine hopes of these young men gave a rosy color to the attempt. When the convention met, the newcomer was honored as befitted his station. Wise was president; Lilienthal, secretary; Elkan Cohn was vice-president and chairman of the committee on text and prayer-books. The results of that convention may be summed up in the fact that after its adjournment the delegates were more than ever convinced of the futility of a compromise. And in the course of a few years, when the reform cause prospered by accessions to its ranks, it was readily seen how impossibly the few true reformers could harmonize with the advocates of the *status quo*. When Einhorn of honored memory began to thunder against half-reform, against the pomp and tinsel and glitter of a compromise worship, Dr. Elkan Cohn readily came to his side, and thereafter his history in the East was closed. He was no Titan, no world-stormer, simply a peaceful citizen, who could accomplish his sacred objects by teaching, and he loathed from his soul the bitter words that were spoken on both sides.

In the month of January, 1860, the Board of Trustees of the Emanu-El Congregation of San Francisco, Henry Seligman then being President, elected Dr. Elkan Cohn their Rabbi and Minister for three years. In the summer of that year, in time for the solemn festivals, he arrived and was installed. He came, after a struggle with himself. Six years of devoted service had endeared him to his Albany congregation. Another child had been born to him, and his

surroundings were thoroughly congenial. He was aware of the future that awaited him, knew that all the scholarly attainments acquired by years of painstaking labor would not be valued as highly as the faculty to organize schools and to build up the rather lukewarm spirit of the West. He felt that he would be a pioneer minister, and realized the difficulties of that position. If he hesitated for a moment before he came, you who knew him can testify that he never wavered in his devotion to his work after he arrived. Numbers who welcomed him to San Francisco are here to-day within the reach of my voice; they can do him better justice than the young who inherit the fruits of their parents' toil. Those who have seen him wend his way to the old Broadway Synagogue, those who were with him when he descended from the chair of an academician to become the teacher of little children, do him the justice that no man of his tastes and inclinations ever made greater sacrifices than he did; and he was well rewarded. No man was more admired, no man enjoyed the love of his flock in such a degree. And when in his elegant German discourses he began to plead the cause of Reform, he found a congregation ripe for the change and willing to follow. He was no half-hearted reformer. Whatever savored of unreason, whatever was retrogressive, whatever partook of the nature of the insensate was abhorrent to his soul. To educate his people to a pure, reasoning worship of God—a worship clad in forms harmonious—was one of the main objects of his mission. In our local history he therefore occupied the place that Einhorn, Lilienthal, Wise, and others occupied in their respective spheres. If his language was less bitter than that of some of his colleagues in the East, his cause lost not an iota by it. Sabbath after Sabbath he attacked the rust of centuries, grew eloquent when pointing out the needs of timely changes and the objects to be accomplished thereby.

In the stately temple his Congregation meant to erect for him, not a sound of disharmony should be heard, and the worshipers should be weaned from the unreasonable features of traditional thought and worship. But, thorough-going radical as he was in these respects, he shared with Einhorn and Lilienthal the beautiful distinction that no purer men, no better Jews, no greater lovers of their people, no more pious worshipers of the God of their fathers, ever trod the soil

of America. Dr. Cohn's reverence was the result of an abiding faith in God; his reforms were no mere policy, no mere catering to a more or less modern taste. They were the results of an anxious, prayerful inquiry how to render the greatest honor to the God he reverently worshipped. Many misunderstood him; many opposed him. He made enemies for truth's sake, but, gentle soul that he was, he never yielded an inch in the service of his cause. Only recently, shortly before his fatal illness overtook him, he spoke again with some degree of impatience of the men who, just when the Congregation assumed a heavy financial debt to enable them to build the new sanctuary, left the ranks and founded a new congregation, ostensibly upon principles diametrically opposed to his own—principles they had not kept, for, with but trifling differences their present worship and doctrines of religion are the same as ours. How his heart swelled with pleasurable emotion when for the first time he performed his priestly functions in this house! How his soul sung pæans of praise, that at last the cause had been permanently established! Since then twenty-two years have come and gone, and say now of him that he faithfully ministered unto you, never yielding when he was right, always forgiving when he was assailed. Not one among you who had not at some time received his ministrations, for he was a priestly Rabbi, who came to your households to give you peace. Thus he pursued his career and passed his life in the far West—preaching, teaching, ministering; arousing every noble impulse in his flock; fostering every charitable sentiment; assisting in the foundation and endowment of our public charitable institutions; setting an example every day of his life—the example of a singularly devoted husband, a loving father, a religious man, a public-spirited citizen, and a benefactor of his kind in speech, thought, and action. Every impulse of his noble soul, every thought of his rich mind was consecrated to God, to religion, to humanity, and in the domain of charitable action his spirited example created noble philanthropists among the young Hebrews of the West. You will not, I am sure, contradict me when I aver that, much as the Emanu-El Congregation of San Francisco—to-day the most liberal and most intelligent Congregation of the West—owes to its public-spirited laymen, to its devoted presidents and officers, its standing is in a large measure owing to the twenty-nine years' services of Dr. Elkan Cohn.

And now that his last page is turned, now that the elegies have been sung, and the hoary head has been laid to rest on its eternal pillow, let us say of him with deep reverence: "Tell ye of the righteous that it was good." Well done—well done, good and faithful servant! What need to recount the long list of his services to his generation, the singular devotion that characterized his every action? What need to name the beautiful deeds of each year, the wise teachings of every period? Give him one page in your history, men of San Francisco; inscribe on that page simply his name—the honored, revered name of Dr. Elkan Cohn—and the name will stand for all that is beautiful in life, and all that is lofty in character, all that constitutes the true man, the faithful shepherd, the noble scholar."

The services of Dr. Elkan Cohn constitute the largest part of the history of Emanu-El for the past five decades. He served his people for twenty-nine years. He found the Congregation in 1860 well-intentioned, but scarcely ready for service in the cause of Reform, and distracted by internal dissensions and the clash of opinions. The Reformers had no plain sailing on the western seas. There were men enough in the Congregation who believed the institution of changes to be fraught with the most dangerous consequences, and they spoke loudly and strongly. Still they were ready to listen to the representations of a competent scholar, and gladly enough supported the movement to call Dr. Cohn from Albany. That distinguished Rabbi was elected by the Congregation, after a lengthy correspondence, on Thursday, February 2, 1860, President Henry Seligman casting the vote for the Congregation. A "full Board meeting," held April 25th, received his acceptance, which was entrusted to a Congregational meeting held two days later, April 27, 1860. At that time the Congregation Emanu-El was in the fullest sense of the word a German orthodox Congregation. The majority of the members sanctioned trifling changes in the ritual with extreme reluctance, and the few Reformers found a display of conviction rather venturesome. Dr. Elkan Cohn, who never sanctioned any Reform for love of innovation or to please the radical tendencies of some of his friends, found the service and the school in a condition that required immediate treatment. The service depended largely upon the interpretation of the lay officials, Hazan Welhof not being able to display much force;

and the school was but indifferently maintained, though Daniel Levy had given splendid service in its behalf. The Congregation needed a spiritual guide, one competent to assume all personal and professional responsibility for the impending reorganization of the service.

Dr. Cohn arrived in May, and immediately demanded the appointment of a committee with whom to consult upon the question of the ritual and the reorganization of the religious school. It is strictly in keeping with Dr. Cohn's character, that at first he suggested no sweeping changes. He was quite content to let the impulse of Reform develop itself, but he was above all things concerned with the establishment of order and decorum and the institution of a permanent school. The first Reform Committee, Messrs. A. Tandler, Louis Cohn, L. Tichener, E. Wertheimer, Daniel Levy, B. Hamburger, and I. Ackerman, a body of intelligent and sincere men, presented their report to a special meeting of the Congregation July 27, 1860, at which meeting Dr. Cohn was introduced and made elaborate presentation of his views. The brethren realized that a master had come among them, one who would give them security of the sincerity of his intentions. Dr. Cohn urged the elimination from the prayer-book of all elements that were not strictly devotional, pleaded for the insertion of a limited number of German or English prayers and the reorganization of the choir. Farther than that he was for the present unwilling to venture. With regard to the school he insisted upon reclassification, the systematic instruction of religion and the assurance of its permanence by a congregational subsidy. It is useless to add that all these representations which had been previously incorporated in the committee's report were unanimously adopted by the Congregation, and Dr. Cohn was permitted to begin his labors unhampered by factional feeling. The rapid development of Reform tendencies in the Congregational Emanu-El after that memorable meeting only tends to emphasize the wisdom of Dr. Cohn's conservatism. He knew, from his experiences in the East, that the movement could not long be retarded, for the men of Emanu-El were keenly alive, like their Eastern brethren, to the necessities of the hour; but he felt also that he could sanction no haste, no impetuous trampling on tradition which might endanger the future prosperity of the Congregation by refusing to respect the scruples of the

more orthodox families. Dr. Cohn, a Rabbi of the Berlin school, a competent theologian and a man of deliberate judgment, always loath to break with the historical past, and reluctant to a degree to give offense to the least of God's creatures, made *Peace* the foundation of his labors in California, and in those early years held radicalism in check, because he desired the membership to remain united. And he succeeded; Reform prospered only as its necessity developed, until by five years of patient teaching he had won its opponents to consent to its trial; and then was built and consecrated our magnificient Sutter Street Temple, and the beloved and honored pastor put in charge.

In June, 1886, when I saw Dr. Cohn for the first time, he appeared like an octogenarian, though he had barely reached the age of sixty-six. He rendered me the inestimable favor of admitting me to his confidence, and during our numerous conversations I learned much that casts a bright light upon the struggles of the Temple Emanu-El. Already then somewhat indisposed, and compelled to seek leisure, he whiled away many an hour by ransacking his memory and recalling his old friends from the depths of the tomb. He spoke of his friends in the struggle, living or dead, with an affection that bordered on veneration. He freely admitted that without their active support his labors for the elevation of Judaism on the Coast might have been crippled. He would speak in the tenderest accents of the religious meetings in the old Broadway Synagogue, of the fine looking men in the auditory, the beautiful women in the gallery, a nucleus of pioneers, whose strength of character, piety and liberality rendered progress valuable assistance, and protected the learned, but gentle and peace-loving Rabbi against the *Dunkelmænner*, who, in and out of season, assailed him and sought to endanger the growth of culture and intelligent religion. Those, who like myself, only knew Dr. Elkan Cohn in the evening of his useful life, might be surprised at the thought that this benign personality could have been at any time a subject of unkind criticism. But bigotry is no respecter of persons. Dr. Cohn lived in a period when men's hearts were more divided than they are to-day; when religious contentions as well as political feuds severed friendships, tore asunder family ties, and created conditions demanding the most judicious and delicate treatment. But his

quiet, gentle strength was equal to all the obstacles put in his way by fanaticism, and his friends, who loved him with intense devotion, stood by and saw that no harm came to his cause. It was this sympathy, this ready response to his suggestions, and their firm resolutions to uphold him, that sustained him in the trying times when the orthodox Emanu-El Congregation of San Francisco became one of the standard bearers of Reform. But of this, also, more is said in another chapter.

Dr. Elkan Cohn was a very remarkable man. His scholarship was broad and liberal. He presented the finest type of the German Rabbi of a generation ago. He was a Talmudist, trained to use the materials of the great Rabbinical enclyclopædia for the advancement of a correct knowledge of Judaism. From the hour of his arrival in San Francisco, his scholarship became a fact that no one ever gainsaid. The orthodox Congregations down town honored the Reform Rabbi because he was a *Lamdan*. But Dr. Cohn was many-sided. He was probably one of the best Orientalists in the Rabbinate. He was a master of Hebrew, and read the Quran fluently. He often deplored the fact that he felt too old to take up the new science of Assyriology and its idioms, the Babylonian-Assyrian. His methods of study were conservative; he had little patience with our new processes of determining facts. But, for all that, he was a thorough and painstaking student. He was, above all, a classical scholar, and preferred Homer to Shakespeare, Virgil to Schiller. His Greek classics were always near him, and his greatest delight was to test the capacity of Greek students to scan correctly. I may say that Greek was as familiar to him as his native German. He wrote it fluently as he did Hebrew, in which language he could express himself with elegance and precision. He spoke French, English and German with equal facility. Nor was he a niggard with his vast store of learning. He was a most liberal and generous teacher. He always found some student, Jew or Gentile, whose mind he could enrich. My personal experience is, that his information was vast, and of the most varied order. He was an assiduous reader, and this great student was, what Horatio Stebbins once called him, "a walking encyclopædia." It is, of course, to be regretted that he never published anything. Dr. Cohn disliked rushing into print. His humble nature conceded the

fact that he was too far away from the centers of learning to contribute anything material to the literature of the times. He often complained of his want of opportunity to incorporate a number of his decidedly original ideas in permanent form, but he had learned the patience of the scholar who can content himself with his books. For the newspaper literature of the period he cared very little. From the moment of his advent in San Francisco he carefully abstained from meddling with the so-called Jewish press. He was on the friendliest terms with Eckman, whom he had known in Berlin, a student and tutor like himself; but he could give Dr. Eckman little assistance in his newspaper work simply because Elkan Cohn, a high-minded man, despised and disliked the polemics of the period, which too often demanded a sacrifice of dignity and decorum, sacrifices which Dr. Cohn had found it impossible to make. In fact, his judicious and discreet silence in the whirl of contention, his firm resolution never to reply to newspaper attacks except when in the gentlest way he could correct mistakes and remove false impressions, assisted the growth of the Reform movement to a considerable extent. His treatment of his opponents indicates a lovable combination of kindness and sound judgment. Too generous to return blow for blow, and too deliberate not to know that the return of abuse for abuse would present no argument, he preferred to let the champions of a so-called orthodoxy have their own way in the newspapers, whilst he conferred with his friends and matured his ideas for the regeneration of Judaism. He was the pioneer Reformer of the Pacific Coast. He was the first to give concrete expression to the popular demand for changes in the service, and to give religion the inspiration of an educational and improving tendency. Every radical change in the service of the Temple Emanu-El dates from his arrival. As was stated before, it was not his nature to proceed in haste. That gentle scholar was no Titan to storm the heights of unbelief or indifference. Kind, persuasive, didactic, he impressed his friends with the force of argument, and one by one the bulwarks of the antiquated service were surrendered. And in the school he proved that Reform was not a mere instrumentality to effect external changes, but an educational movement designed to give permanence in America to the noblest truths of our religion and the most honorable aspirations of our people.

As a preacher, Dr. Elkan Cohn was very attractive. His sermons in the early sixties, then mostly delivered in German, prepared the community for the impending changes. They were deeply impressive. His presence was benign. His face shone with love and kindness. In his corrective moods he never forgot he loved his people. His German sermons of which there are, unhappily, but few in print, were masterpieces of elegance and diction. His English sermons were at times severely philosophical, but Dr. Cohn believed that sermons were intended to arouse thought, and should not be the mere frivolous small-talk to be measured by a dial of ten minutes. He was very serious about his preaching. He never entered the pulpit without turning to the ark and engaging in a moment's silent prayer. He never began a sermon without a prayer. His voice was soft and tender. In prayer he was unexcelled. When people remained indifferent to the force of his arguments they were moved by the tenderness of his appeals, the soft cadence of his voice in supplication. He has established traditions in the pulpit of the Temple Emanu-El both as to preaching and interpretations of the ritual that cannot be violated by his successors without incurring serious criticism.

As a man and citizen Dr. Elkan Cohn presented the strongest type of the American-Jewish gentleman. He identified himself with the interests of the community, because he felt that course to be the competent expression of his religious convictions. He had strong faith in Republican principles, and it is easily explained that this disciple of the law of Moses, this warm friend and guide of the oppressed, was an ardent Abolitionist. He was, for a man of his period, singularly liberal. All religion was sacred to him. He often said that the key to Heaven's kingdom was in the possession of no particular denomination. He enjoyed the friendship of the political and religious leaders of the community. His home, in the years before death robbed him of his idolized wife, was often the *salon*, where choice spirits met and debated great questions. He was thoroughly esteemed, because he presented the example of a man of unflinching integrity, of the noblest conceptions of honor, and of an unyielding consistency in both his religious and political principles. His heart was tender as a woman's. He was a philanthropist, a daily apostle of mercy, doing no deed of love by deputy, but being himself

a frequent visitor to the homes of the poor, gently instructing them in practical ways, yet never withholding his hand from lending help. He was a kind, patient, generous friend; slow to anger, slow to resent injury, quick to forgive, always ready to make peace, ever ready to believe the best of human nature—in brief, a pious, learned, admirable man whose death was the greatest loss Emanu-El had ever suffered, and who is, until this day, lovingly and affectionately remembered in the ever-growing circles of the great San Francisco Congregation, and far beyond. After the lapse of twelve years his memory is dear to me, his successor, and I have written these words with a heart full of gratitude that Heaven, in my younger years, enabled me to profit by so noble and lovable an example.

When he died, the community was in mourning. Among other expressions the following was received from the First Unitarian Church:

The Trustees of the First Unitarian Church of San Francisco to the Presidency of Congregation Emanu-El:

BRETHREN—In our own name, and in the name of our Church, we offer you and your people our sincere regards, and unite with you in common sentiments of respectful and tender sorrow at the death of your beloved and revered Rabbi, the late Dr. Elkan Cohn. He was the teacher and friend of your people, and the dignity and purity of his character made him beloved by all. We have special reason to recognize and feel his wise magnanimity, his liberal judgment and high sense of duty. Allow us, brethren, to unite with you in these sentiments, and while accepting trustfully the will of Heaven, to commit him, and ourselves, and our people, to God as to a faithful Creator.

Very sincerely,

CHAS. M. GORHAM,
Moderator of the Board.

SHELDON G. KELLOGG,
Clerk.

Resolved, That the foregoing letter be sent to the Presidency of Congregation Emanu-El.

The above resolution was adopted by the Board March 26, 1889.

SHELDON G. KELLOGG,
Clerk Board of Trustees First Unitarian Society.

A month or two after his death the addresses delivered at his funeral were incorporated in a pamphlet, which was introduced by the venerable Leo Eloesser with a few lines that may worthily conclude this sketch:

Das Leben eines Mann's von echtem Adel,
Erhaben ueber beide, Lob und Tadel,
Das wollen diese Blaetter ehrlich schildern;
Sie sollen Nichts vergroessern und Nichts mildern.

So wahr wie er im Leben ist gewesen,
So wahr im Tode sollt ihr von ihm lesen;
Dann ruft auch ihr in trauervollem Tone;
" Ein Edelstein fiel aus Jisraels Krone !"

DR. ABRAHAM ILLCH.

Dr. Abraham Illch was born in Albany, New York, on the fifth of October, 1858. From his earliest childhood he evinced an ardent love of study. In public school he always stood at the head of his class, and was the favorite of all his teachers. He was only fifteen years old when he graduated with highest honors from the Albany High School. He was the valedictorian of his class, and his reputation for scholarship is still the tradition of the school.

Long before his graduation from the High School, he had resolved to devote his life and his unusual abilities to the ministry. To become a Rabbi in Israel was his ideal. Unfortunately his physical constitution was unequal to the constant strain to which his restlessly active mind subjected it. His physician insisted that he must take a rest for at least one year. But even this year of rest was judiciously spent in preparation for his future career. Under the direction of the Rabbi of his Congregation, Dr. N. Schlesinger, he pursued very successfully a course of Hebrew studies.

In 1875 he left Albany for New York. There he entered the Temple Emanu-El Theological Seminary and Columbia College. In both institutions he became as distinguished a student as he had been in Albany. Twice, in 1877 and 1878, Columbia College awarded him a mathematical prize of $100.00; and his teachers in the Seminary, the Rev. Dr. S. Adler, Dr. Huebsch, and Dr. Mielziner, always esteemed him very highly for his indefatigable diligence and marked ability.

Sometime after his graduation from Columbia College (April, 1880), he went to Germany to pursue a post-graduate course of studies both in theology and Semitic literature. For somewhat over four

THE REV. DR. ABRAHAM ILLCH,

Junior Rabbi of Temple Emanu-El,

1885.

years he studied successively at the universities of Berlin, Tuebingen, and Leipzig. At the University of Leipzig he took his degree of Ph. D. "*magna cum laude*," and very soon thereafter he returned home, July, 1884. The report of the marked success with which he had pursued his studies preceded him, and, very naturally, not only his parents and friends but all who knew him expected great things of the brilliant young man.

It seemed as if these expectations were to be fully realized. His discourses which he delivered in New York, Albany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Detroit and other cities, impressed his audiences with the earnestness and glowing enthusiasm of the young theologian, and there were none who did not predict a very bright future for Dr. Abraham Illch. Still, idealist as he was, he could not easily find a position to suit him, and there was a period of great discouragement and depression through which he had to pass. At last, in 1885, he received a call from Congregation Emanu-El in San Francisco. There, as junior Rabbi, at the side of the Rev. Dr. Elkan Cohn, he was confident ample opportunity for congenial work would be given him. But alas! this bright prospect was soon to be overcast by the darkness of death. His frail body could not sustain his soaring mind. After six short months of service, one Sabbath morning, the assembled Congregation was shocked by the sad tidings that Dr. Abraham Illch was no more. At the very threshhold of a magnificent career he was suddenly summoned to his everlasting reward. Only those who knew him intimately can have any conception of the magnitude of the loss which our sacred cause as well as the literary world sustained by his premature demise. A German professor, one of his teachers, when he heard of his death, wrote to his relatives, begging them to examine carefully Dr. Illch's manuscripts, as there must be among them some work on Arabic literature "too valuable to be lost." Only very little of what Dr. Illch wrote has been published; though even this is quite sufficient to show him the ripe scholar and conscientious, painstaking laborer he was.

He died at the age of twenty-six and buried in the rural cemetery of Albany. Over his grave rises a plain monument, bearing an Acrostic, composed by his revered teacher, the Rev. Dr. Mielziner. It gives a pen picture of his image as it lives in the memory of those who knew and loved him.

Officers of the Congregation Emanu-El.

1900.

President,	Raphael Peixotto.
Vice-President,	Jacob Greenebaum.
Treasurer,	Lippmann Sachs.
Secretary,	Henry Wangenheim.

Directors.

Jacob Greenebaum.	Henry Wangenheim.
Raphael Peixotto.	Jos. Naphtaly.
Simon Silverberg.	Julius Jacobs.
Ph. Lippitt.	S. Newman.
Abr. Anspacher.	Lippmann Sachs.

S. W. Rosenstock.

Minister,	Rev. Dr. Jacob Voorsanger.
Cantor,	Edward J. Stark.
Clerk,	Emanuel Levy.
Collector,	H. Ehrman.

Staff of the Religious School.

Ph. Lippitt, *Chairman.*

Dr. Jacob Voorsanger, *Superintendent.*

Edward J. Stark, *Director of Music.*

Miss Jeannette Ephraim.	Miss Ada Goldsmith.
" Josephine Cohn.	" Lily Kalmuk.
" Laura Heineberg.	Mrs. Jennie Ehrman.
" Bertha Goldsmith.	

Miss Florence Benjamin, *Secretary.*

Committees of the Congregation Emanu-El.

1900.

Finances.

Jacob Greenebaum. Julius Jacobs. S. W. Rosenstock.

Membership.

S. Silverberg. Simon Newman. Ph. Lippitt.

Building and Repairs.

Lippmann Sachs. Jos. Naphtaly. S. Silverberg.

Choir.

Jos. Naphtaly. Jacob Greenebaum. Abr. Anspacher.

Ritual.

Julius Jacobs. Jacob Greenebaum. Abr. Anspacher.

School.

Ph. Lippitt. Julius Jacobs. Simon Newman.
Jacob Greenebaum. Abr. Anspacher.

Home of Peace Cemetery.

H. Wangenheim. Lippmann Sachs. Simon Newman.

Semi-Centennial Celebration.

Julius Jacobs. Lippmann Sachs. H. Wangenheim.

Ladies' Committee on Decoration.

Mrs. William Frank, *President.* Miss Alice Greenebaum, *Secretary.*
" Jacob Voorsanger. Mrs. Alfred Greenebaum.
" Leon Sloss. " I. W. Hellman, Jr.
" Chas. Colman. Miss Jessica Peixotto.
" Juda Newman. Miss Eva Castle.
Mrs. Henrietta Newman.

APPENDIX A.

The First Lease for a Jewish Place of Worship in California.

This Indenture made this first day of September One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty between Loring Bartlett, Jr., of the City of San Francisco of the first part and the

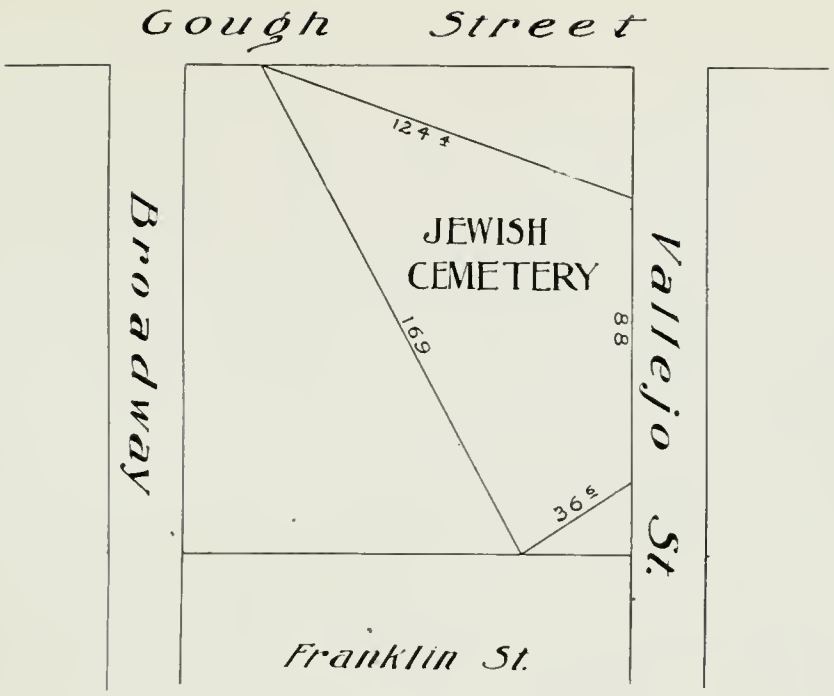
CONGREGATION EMANU-EL

of the second part, Witnesseth: That the said party of the first part in consideration of the rents and covenants hereinafter named doth hereby demise and let to the said party of the second part a certain room in a building belonging to the party of the first part situated on Bush Street in said City between Montgomery and Sansome Streets about one hundred and thirty-seven feet westerly from the southwest corner of Bush and Sansome Streets, the said room being on the floor of said building, and being about eighty feet in length by twenty-three in width for the monthly rent of Two Hundred Dollars payable monthly in advance for the period of two months with the privilege to the said party of the second part to hold the same upon the same conditions for four months longer from the expiration of the said two months. And it is agreed by the parties hereto that they will and faithfully perform the conditions and covenants to this agreement, and the party of the second part hereby agrees to give the party of the first part ten days notice before the expiration of the said two months of their intention to surrender up the premises or they shall be deemed to have accepted the same for the said four months longer and the said party of the second part hereby agrees to quit and surrender up the premises at the expiration of the lease without notice from the party of the first part.

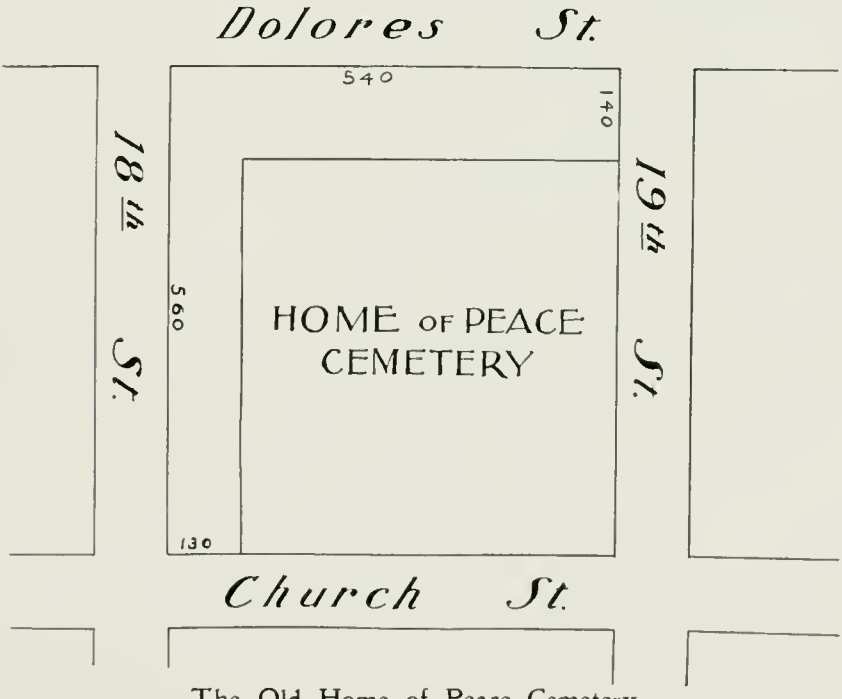
In Witness whereof the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

In presence of
C. Gilchrist.

For the Congregation Emanu-El
E. M. Berg, President. [seal]
Loring Bartlett Jr. [seal]



The Vallejo Street Cemetery.



The Old Home of Peace Cemetery.

APPENDIX B.

Brief Sketch of our Religious Affairs from 1849 to this Day.

(BY AN ANONYMOUS WRITER.)

Among the first settlers of our people on the Pacific Coast after the purchase of California by the government of the United States we find the following names: Major A. C. Labatt, Mr. M. Schaefer, Mr. Sharp, Mr. A. Hess, Mr. Ph. Schloss, Mr. Louis Franklin, Mr. Bodenheim.

The first religious meeting of our people in this city was held on Yom Kippur 5609 (1849) in a tent room occupied by Mr. Louis Franklin, situated on Jackson near the corner of Kearney Street; there were about ten persons present.

After Yom Kippur no meetings were held till the fall holy days of the following year 5610, when the first temporary synagogue was organized in this city for the purpose of celebrating the solemn Holy days. They met in Kearney Street under the management of Leon Dyer, Esq., President; J. J. Joseph, V. P.; H. Hart, J. Rosenbaum, P. Runkle, Samuel Marks, L. A. Levy, Esqs.

But the first regularly organized and incorporated congregation was instituted anno 5611 (1851) under the title "Emanu-El." They then performed service on Kearny Street, between Pine and Bush and afterwards in other temporary localities.

List of officers for 1851:

A. C. Labatt, President; A. Waters, V. P.
M. Schwartz, Secretary; N. S. Neustadt, Treas.
J. J. Joseph, P. Runkle, L. A. Levy, R. Wyman,
I. Seligman, Trustees. } *Esquires.*

List of officers for 1852:

J. Shannon, President; S. Fleishacker, V. P.
E. M. Berg, Secretary; S. Myers, Treas.
A. Waters, D. Jacoby, J. Myer, D. Gottschalk,
H. Hess, Trustees. } *Esquires.*

WRITTEN BY ANOTHER HAND.

1853: E. M. Berg, President, L. Wertheimer, V. P., Israel Woolf, Treas., Ch. Hess, Sect'y; H. Regensburger, Louis Cohn, M. Barnett, Moritz Cohen, M. Morgenthau.

List of officers for 1853-54. H. Seligman, President; M. Barnett, V. P.; L. Hess, Treasurer; Charles Emanuel, Sect'y; E. M. Berg, Louis Cohn, L. Tichener, Moritz Cohen, M. Frank.

At the commencement of the year 1851 a present of a most elegantly written Sepher Torah accompanied by a *Yadh* (pointer), composed of solid gold . . . . . were transmitted by Sir Moses Montefiore through B. Davidson, Esquire, agent to the Messrs. Rothschild, to the first Jewish congregation in San Francisco. The Cong. Emanu-El claimed and obtained the same. The *Sepher* is still preserved and used by the Congregation.

For though as early as 1851, the Cong. Emanu-El being desirous of building a proper place of worship raised a contribution for that purpose, in which they were generously and liberally assisted by their fellow citizens of other denominations. They collected a sum amounting to Fifteen Hundred Dollars. But the disastrous conflagration of 1851 frustrated our efforts for that time. However in the year 1853 another effort was made at a meeting of the congregation held at their temporary Synagogue, cor. Stockton and Green Streets, date.. ... ., a committee for receiving subscriptions was appointed; collections flowed that time as in 1851 liberally from Jew and Gentile so that the sum of $20,000 was raised.

The Cong. seeing itself enabled to realize its long desired object, a lot of 63 by 137 feet was purchased on Broadway Str. on which building was commenced (Date June;) executed by Craine and England, architects; builder, John Daniels, which by the help of God we expect to consecrate before Rosh Hashanah next. And on July 23d the ceremony of laying the corner stone was celebrated, in the presence of a.....

The ceremony was performed by Rev. Dr. Eckman in the cavity. The stone was laid and the objects contained (therein) were deposited by A. C. Labatt, Esq., now Vice-President of the Congregation. *Contributors*—Members, List of Officers from—to—Sir Moses Montefiore. *The Ministry*, May the Lord speed our work and establish it.

APPENDIX C.

Roll of Officers of the Congregation Emanu-El from 1865 until 1900.

[Note.—For a list of officers from 1850–1865 see chapters I, III and IV.]

1865 - 1866

President,	Louis Sachs
Vice-President,	Martin Heller
Treasurer,	Jacob Greenebaum
Secretary,	B. Hagan

Directors

I. F. Bloch.	L. Dinkelspiel	B. Price
A. Seligman.	Louis Cohn	A. Hirschfelder

These Officers served during the building of the Temple on Sutter Street.

Mr. B. Hagan resigned as Secretary March 29th, 1866, and G. S. Goodman elected to fill the vacancy.

1866 - 1867

President,	Martin Heller
Vice-President,	Isaac F. Bloch
Treasurer,	L. Dinkelspiel
Secretary,	G. S. Goodman

Directors

A. Seligman	M. Mayblum	Nathan Scheeline
Benj. Price	Aaron Cahn	Lewis Gerstle

1867 - 1868

President, ... A. HOLLUB
Vice-President, ... S. LIPPMANN
Treasurer, ... AMSON GOLDSMITH
Secretary, ... SEIXAS SOLOMONS

Directors

MORRIS MAYBLUM — A. SELIGMAN — SOLOMON SWEET
LOUIS SACHS — MOSES SELIG — BERNHARD GATTEL

1868 - 1869

President, ... ADOLPHUS HOLLUB
Vice-President, ... S. LIPMAN
Treasurer, ... A. L. WANGENHEIM
Secretary, ... SEIXAS SOLOMON

Directors

JACOB GREENEBAUM — ISAAC F. BLOCH — MOSES SELIG
SOLOMON SWEET — LOUIS SACHS — SAMSON ROSENBLATT

1869 - 1870

President, ... A. HOLLUB
Vice-President, ... S. LIPMAN
Treasurer, ... EM'L. WERTHEIMER
Secretary, ... SEIXAS SOLOMONS

Directors

LOUIS SACHS — JACOB GREENEBAUM — MOSES SELIG
A. SELIGMAN — LAZ. DINKELSPIEL — SOL. SWEET
I. F. BLOCH — EM. WERTHEIMER — A. L. WANGENHEIM

1870 - 1871

President, ... A. HOLLUB
Vice-President, ... S. LIPMAN
Treasurer, ... E. WERTHEIMER
Secretary, ... SEIXAS SOLOMONS

Directors

I. F. BLOCH — LOUIS SACHS — MOSES SELIG
J. GREENEBAUM — A. SELIGMAN — SOL. SWEET
L. DINKELSPIEL — EM. WERTHEIMER — A. L. WANGENHEIM

MAIER STEPPACHER,

1854-1885.

MOSES MEYERFELD,

1885-1892.

SAMUEL ROSENER,

1892-1900.

HERMAN EHRMAN.

THE SEXTONS

of the Temple Emanu-El.

1871 - 1872

President,	A. HOLLUB
Vice-President,	MOSES SELIG
Treasurer,	L. DINKELSPIEL
Secretary,	MOSES HYMAN

Directors

E. WERTHEIMER	I. F. BLOCH	LOUIS SACHS
J. P. NEWMARK	J. GREENEBAUM	SOL. SWEET
M. MEYERFELD	L. DINKELSPIEL	A. L. WANGENHEIM

EMANUEL LEVY was elected Secretary on resignation of MOSES HYMAN, Feb. 5th, 1872.

1872 - 1873

President,	MOSES SELIG
Vice-President,	LAZ. DINKELSPIEL
Treasurer,	M. MEYERFELD
Secretary,	E. LEVY

Directors

LOUIS SACHS	E. WERTHEIMER	I. F. BLOCH
A. L. WANGENHEIM	J. P. NEWMARK	JACOB GREENEBAUM
AMSON GOLDSMITH	M. MEYERFELD	MOSES HYMAN

1873 - 1874

President,	M. SELIG
Vice-President,	L. DINKELSPIEL
Treasurer,	M. MEYERFELD
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

E. WERTHEIMER	LOUIS SACHS	JACOB GREENEBAUM
J. P. NEWMARK	I. MANHEIM	MARTIN HELLER
M. MEYERFELD	AMSON GOLDSMITH	S. B. DINKELSPIEL

1874 - 1875

President,	MOSES SELIG
Vice-President,	LAZ. DINKELSPIEL
Treasurer,	M. MEYERFELD
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

LOUIS SACHS	JACOB GREENEBAUM	E. WERTHEIMER
ISAAC MANHEIM	MARTIN HELLER	M. MEYERFELD
AMSON GOLDSMITH	S. B. DINKELSPIEL	LEWIS EMANUEL

1875 - 1876

President,	MOSES SELIG
Vice-President,	N. SCHEELINE
Treasurer,	M. MEYERFELD
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

JACOB GREENEBAUM	E. WERTHEIMER	LOUIS SACHS
MARTIN HELLER	M. MEYERFELD	I. MANHEIM
S. B. DINKELSPIEL	L. EMANUEL	A. GOLDSMITH

1876 - 1877

President,	MOSES SELIG
Vice-President,	NATHAN SCHEELINE
Treasurer,	M. MEYERFELD
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

EMANUEL WERTHEIMER	LOUIS SACHS	MARTIN HELLER
M. MEYERFELD	ISAAC MANHEIM	JACOB GREENEBAUM
LEWIS EMANUEL	MEYER WEIL	MOSES HYMAN

1877 - 1878

President,	MOSES SELIG
Vice-President,	N. SCHEELINE
Treasurer,	MEYER WEIL
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

ISAAC MANHEIM	MARTIN HELLER	M. MEYERFELD
MEYER WEIL	J. GREENEBAUM	L. EMANUEL
ABR. SCHWABACHER	M. HYMAN	SAM SACHS, JR.

1878 - 1879

President,	MOSES SELIG
Vice-President,	NATHAN SCHEELINE
Treasurer,	M. HYMAN
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

MARTIN HELLER	M. MEYERFELD	ISAAC MANHEIM
JACOB GREENEBAUM	LEWIS EMANUEL	MEYER WEIL
MOSES HYMAN	SAM SACHS, JR.	ABR. SCHWABACHER

1879 - 1880

President,	MOSES SELIG
Vice-President,	NATHAN SHEELINE
Treasurer,	MOSES HYMAN
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

MARTIN HELLER	ISAAC MANHEIM	MOSES MEYERFELD
JACOB GREENEBAUM	MEYER WEIL	LEWIS EMANUEL
MOSES HYMAN	A. SCHWABACHER	SAM SACHS, JR.

1880 - 1881

President,	MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President,	A. SCHWABACHER
Treasurer,	M. HYMAN
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

ISAAC MANHEIM	JACOB GREENEBAUM	MOSES MEYERFELD
MEYER WEIL	MOSES HYMAN	SAM SACHS, JR.
SIMON SILVERBERG	ISAAC WALTER	E. R. LILIENTHAL

1881 - 1882

President,	MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President,	JULIUS JACOBS
Treasurer,	M. HYMAN
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

JACOB GREENEBAUM	M. MEYERFELD	S. SILVERBERG
MOSES HYMAN	SAM SACHS	A. SCHWABACHER
I. N. WALTER	E. R. LILIENTHAL	ISAAC HECHT

1882 - 1883

President,	MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President,	JULIUS JACOBS
Treasurer,	M. HYMAN
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

M. MEYERFELD	SIMON SILVERBERG	J. GREENEBAUM
SAM SACHS	A. SCHWABACHER	M. HYMAN
E. R. LILIENTHAL	ISAAC HECHT	I. N. WALTER

1883 - 1884

President,	MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President,	JULIUS JACOBS
Treasurer,	M. HYMAN
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

SIMON SILVERBERG	JACOB GREENEBAUM	MOSES MEYERFELD
ABR. SCHWABACHER	MOSES HYMAN	SAM SACHS
ISAAC HECHT	I. N. WALTER	H. W. NEWBAUER

1884 - 1885

President,	MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President,	JULIUS JACOBS
Treasurer,	M. HYMAN
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

JACOB GREENEBAUM	M. MEYERFELD	A. SCHWABACHER
MOSES HYMAN	A. ANSPACHER	S. SILVERBERG
P. N. LILIENTHAL	H. W. NEWBAUER	ISAAC HECHT

1885 - 1886

President,	MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President,	A. ANSPACHER
Treasurer,	M. HYMAN
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

M. MEYERFELD	ABR. SCHWABACHER	J. GREENEBAUM
JULIUS JACOBS	S. SILVERBERG	M. HYMAN
H. W. NEWBAUER	ISAAC HECHT	P. N. LILIENTHAL

1886 - 1887

President,	MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President,	A. ANSPACHER
Treasurer,	M. HYMAN
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

ABR. SCHWABACHER	JACOB GREENEBAUM	JULIUS JACOBS
S. SILVERBERG	MOSES HYMAN	H. W. NEWBAUER
ISAAC HECHT	P. N. LILIENTHAL	E. S. HELLER

1887 - 1888

President, ... MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President, ... A. ANSPACHER
Treasurer, ... M. HYMAN
Secretary, ... EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

JACOB GREENEBAUM
P. N. LILIENTHAL
MOSES HYMAN
JULIUS JACOBS
E. S. HELLER
H. W. NEWBAUER
S. SILVERBERG
S. ROSENER
L. S. BACHMAN

1888 - 1889

President, ... MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President, ... A. ANSPACHER
Treasurer, ... M. HYMAN
Secretary, ... EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

JULIUS JACOBS
E. S. HELLER
HERRMAN LEVY
S. SILVERBERG
S. ROSENER
L. S. BACHMAN
JACOB GREENEBAUM
M. HYMAN
P. N. LILIENTHAL

1889 - 1890

President, ... MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President, ... A. ANSPACHER
Treasurer, ... M. HYMAN
Secretary, ... EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

SIMON SILVERBERG
SAM ROSENER
L. S. BACHMAN
MOSES HYMAN
J. GREENEBAUM
P. N. LILIENTHAL
JULIUS JACOBS
HERRMAN LEVY
E. S. HELLER

1890 - 1891

President, ... MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President, ... A. ANSPACHER
Treasurer, ... M. HYMAN
Secretary, ... EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

MOSES HYMAN
JACOB GREENEBAUM
P. N. LILIENTHAL
JULIUS JACOBS
HERRMAN LEVY
E. S. HELLER
S. SILVERBERG
S. ROSENER
R. PEIXOTTO

1891 - 1892

President,	MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President,	A. ANSPACHER
Treasurer,	M. HYMAN
Secretary,	EMANUEL LEVY

Directors

JULIUS JACOBS	SIMON SILVERBERG	M. HYMAN
ISAAC STRASSBURGER	S. ROSENER	P. N. LILIENTHAL
LIPPMANN SACHS	R. PEIXOTTO	JACOB GREENEBAUM

1892 - 1893

President,	MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President,	ABR. ANSPACHER
Treasurer,	LIPPMANN SACHS
Secretary,	RAPH. PEIXOTTO

Directors

MARTIN HELLER	P. N. LILIENTHAL	SAM ROSENER
A. ANSPACHER	LIPPMANN SACHS	ISAAC STRASSBURGER
JACOB GREENEBAUM	S. W. HELLER	RAPH. PEIXOTTO
JULIUS JACOBS	S. SILVERBERG	

1893 - 1894

President,	MARTIN HELLER
Vice-President,	ABR. ANSPACHER
Treasurer,	LIPPMANN SACHS
Secretary,	RAPH. PEIXOTTO

Directors

JULIUS JACOBS	J. GREENEBAUM	MARTIN HELLER
P. N. LILIENTHAL	S. SILVERBERG	ABR. ANSPACHER
ISAAC STRASSBURGER	S. W. HELLER	H. WANGENHEIM
LIPPMANN SACHS	R. PEIXOTTO	

1894 - 1895

President,	ABR. ANSPACHER
Vice-President,	R. PEIXOTTO
Treasurer,	LIPPMANN SACHS
Secretary,	H. WANGENHEIM

Directors

JACOB GREENEBAUM	HENRY WANGENHEIM	SIMON NEWMAN
SIMON SILVERBERG	ABR. ANSPACHER	LIPPMANN SACHS
JACOB FRAUENFELD	JOS. NAPHTALY	S. W. ROSENSTOCK
RAPH. PEIXOTTO	JULIUS JACOBS	

1895 - 1896

President,	ABR. ANSPACHER
Vice-President,	R. PEIXOTTO
Treasurer,	LIPPMANN SACHS
Secretary,	H. WANGENHEIM

Directors

ABR. ANSPACHER	SIMON NEWMAN	RAPH. PEIXOTTO
HENRY WANGENHEIM	LIPPMANN SACHS	SIMON SILVERBERG
JOS. NAPHTALY	S. W. ROSENSTOCK	J. FRAUENFELD
JULIUS JACOBS	JACOB GREENEBAUM	

1896 - 1897

President,	R. PEIXOTTO
Vice-President,	J. GREENEBAUM
Treasurer,	LIPPMANN SACHS
Secretary,	H. WANGENHEIM

Directors

JULIUS JACOBS	JACOB GREENEBAUM	ABR. ANSPACHER
SIMON NEWMAN	RAPH. PEIXOTTO	H. WANGENHEIM
LIPPMANN SACHS	SIMON SILVERBERG	JOS. NAPHTALY
S. W. ROSENSTOCK	JACOB FRAUENFELD	

1897 - 1898

President,	RAPH. PEIXOTTO
Vice-President,	JACOB GREENEBAUM
Treasurer,	LIPPMANN SACHS
Secretary,	H. WANGENHEIM

Directors

JACOB GREENEBAUM	A. ANSPACHER	SIMON NEWMAN
RAPH. PEIXOTTO	H. WAGENHEIM	LIPPMANN SACHS
SIMON SILVERBERG	JOS. NAPHTALY	S. W. ROSENSTOCK
EM. M. HELLER	JULIUS JACOBS	

1898 - 1899

President,	R. PEIXOTTO
Vice-President,	J. GREENEBAUM
Treasurer,	LIPPMANN SACHS
Secretary,	H. WANGENHEIM

Directors

ABR. ANSPACHER	SIMON NEWMAN	RAPH. PEIXOTTO
H. WANGENHEIM	LIPPMANN SACHS	SIMON SILVERBERG
JOS. NAPHTALY	S. W. ROSENSTOCK	EMANUEL M. HELLER
JULIUS JACOBS	JACOB GREENEBAUM	PHIL. LIPPITT

1899 - 1900

President,	RAPH. PEIXOTTO
Vice-President,	JACOB GREENEBAUM
Treasurer,	LIPPMANN SACHS
Secretary,	H. WANGENHEIM

Directors

JULIUS JACOBS	JACOB GREENEBAUM	A. ANSPACHER
SIMON NEWMAN	RAPH. PEIXOTTO	H. WANGENHEIM
LIPPMANN SACHS	SIMON SILVERBERG	JOS. NAPHTALY
S. W. ROSENSTOCK	PH. LIPPITT	

APPENDIX D.

List of Members of the Congregation Emanu-El on December 1, 1900.

A.

Abrahamson, A.
Ackerman, Charles L.
Ackerman, Edward
Ackerman, I. S.
Adler, Moses
Ahrendt, Harris
Alpern, Max
Alexander, Joseph
Anspacher, Abraham
Anspacher, Philip
Anspacher, Simon
Arnhold, Benjamin
Aronson, Charles S.

B.

Bachman, Mrs. L. S.
Bachman, Mrs. Leopold I.
Bachman, Leopold S.
Bachman, Simon
Baer, Joseph
Baer, Leopold
Baruch, Frederick
Bauer, S.
Bauer, Moses
Baum, Mrs. Julius
Bettman, Estate Moses
Bier, Charles S.
Bissinger, A.
Blaskower, M.
Block, Mrs. A. B.
Block, Daniel
Block, Harry
Block, Leopold
Bloom, J. H.
Bloomingdale, Estate E.
Blum, Moses
Boscowitz, Mrs. C. J.
Brandenstein, Joseph
Brandenstein, M.
Brandenstein, M. J.
Brandt, Maurice
Bremer, W. H.
Brenner, Gustave
Brown, Morris
Brown, Charles
Breslauer, L.

C.

Cahen, Estate Louis
Cahn, Aron
Cahn, Israel
Castle, Mrs. F. L.
Castle, Mrs. Michael
Cerf, Albert
Cerf, Moise
Clayburgh, Albert
Clayburgh, Moses
Clayburgh, Mrs. Katie
Clayburgh, Simon
Coblentz, Felix
Cohen, Herrman
Cohn, Estate Edward
Cohn, Samuel
Cohn, S. S.
Cook, Mrs. Aron
Colman, Charles

D.

Dannenbaum, J.
Dannenbaum, S.
Davis, A. M.
Davis, G. A.
Davis, Max
Deutsch, Julius
Dinkelspiel, Joseph S.
Dinkelspiel, Mrs. Moses
Dinkelspiel, Mrs. Lazarus
Dinkelspiel, Samuel

E.

Ehrman, Herman
Elkus, Louis
Eloesser, Leo
Emanuel, Mrs. Lewis
Englander, Estate Max
Eppinger, J.
Eppinger, Herman
Erlanger, Mrs. H.
Ettlinger, B.
Esberg, Mrs. M.

F.

Feder, S.
Feigenbaum, Joseph
Feuchtwanger, S.
Fisher, Ph.
Fleishaker, Mrs. A.
Foorman, Samuel
Frank, A. L.
Frank, Mrs. G. W.
Frank, Jacob
Frank, J. J.
Frank, M. E.
Frank, S. M.
Frank, William
Frank, W.
Friedlander, S. J.
Friesleben, Mrs. Daniel N.
Frohman, Henry
Frowenfeld, J.
Furth, Mrs. Simon

G.

GALLAND, MRS. J. B.
GALLINGER, M.
GERST, G.
GERSTLE, MARCUS L.
GERSTLE, LEWIS
GETLESON, B.
GODCHAUX, A.
GOLDMAN, I. W.
GOLDMAN, JACOB
GOLDMAN, JOSEPH
GOLDSTEIN, MRS. E. L.
GOLDSTEIN, S.
GREENBAUM, MRS. LOUIS
GREENBERG, AB. H.
GREENEBAUM, ALFRED
GREENEBAUM, JACOB
GREENEBAUM, MOSES
GREENEBAUM, SIG.
GREENEWALD, JACOB
GREENEWALD, MRS. S.
GREENZWEIG, GEORGE
GUGGENHEIM, BERTHOLD
GUGGENHEIM, LEON
GUMP, MRS. GUS.
GUMP, SOL.
GUNST, M. A.

H.

HAAS, LOUIS S.
HAAS, WILLIAM
HARRIS, ISAAC
HART, MARCUS
HAUSSMAN, S.
HECHT, BERT
HECHT, MRS. ISAAC
HECHT, M. H.
HEINEMAN, H. M.
HEINEMAN, MRS. ELIAS
HELBING, ESTATE A.
HELLER, MRS. E. M.
HELLER, ESTATE MOSES
HELLER, MOSES
HELLER, SAMUEL W.
HELLMAN, I. W.
HELLMAN, I. W., JR.
HEYMAN, JACOB
HEYNEMAN, H.
HILP, HENRY
HIRSCH, LEOPOLD, SR.
HIRSCH, LEOPOLD, JR.
HIRSCH, CHARLES
HIRSCHFELDER, MRS. A.
HIRSCHLER, EDWARD
HOCHSTADTER, S.
HOFFMAN, J. L.
HOFFMAN, JOSEPH
HORT, MRS. SAMUEL
HYMAN, H. W.
HYMAN, JOSEPH
HYMAN, MORRIS
HYMAN, MRS. MOSES

I.

KELHEIMER, HENRY
ISRAEL, M

J.

JACOB, MRS. S.
JACOBS, HENRY
JACOBS, ISIDORE
JACOBS, JULIUS
JACOBS, S. L.
JUDELL, H. L.

K.

KAHN, A.
KAHN, JOSEPH
KAHN, DR. S. S.
KALISHER, E. D.
KAUFMAN, LEON
KEESING, MRS. BARNETT
KLINE, DAVID
KOHLBERG, MANFRED S.
KOHN, ISAAC
KOSHLAND, M. S.
KULLMAN, H.
KUSEL, S. A.
KUTZ, MRS. G. M.

L.

LACHMAN, ESTATE S.
LAZARUS, SAMUEL
LEDERER, MRS. G. M.
LEFFMAN, L. D.
LESZINSKY, MRS. AMELIA
LEVENTRITT, MARION
LEVI, JACOB
LEVINSKY, L.
LEVISON, J. B.
LEVISON, MARK
LEVY, EMANUEL
LEVY, FREDERICK
LEVY, HERRMAN
LEVY, H. M.
LEVY, ISAAC
LEVY, JULES
LEVY, MRS. MELANIE
LEVY, OSCAR S.
LEVY, SAM. N.
LEVY, S. W.
LEWIS, HARRIS
LEWIS, SOL.
LEWIS, WM.
LICHENSTEIN, B. H.
LIEBES, ISAAC
LIEVRE, ISIDOR
LILIENTHAL, E. R.
LILIENTHAL, MRS. J. L.
LILIENTHAL, JESSE W.
LILIENTHAL, P. N.
LINDHEIMER, M.
LIPPITT, PHILIP
LIVINGSTON, D.
LOUPE, MRS. L.
LOWENBERG, G.
LOWENSTEIN, MRS. I.
LYONS, HENRY

M.

MANHEIM, H. S.
MARKS, S. M.
MEERTIEF, A.
MEININGER, LOUIS
MEYER, CHARLES
MEYER, HENRY
MEYER, L. C.
MEYER, MATTHIAS
MEYER, M. C.
MEYERFELD, JESSE
MEYERFELD, MORRIS, JR.
MEYERSTEIN, LOUIS
MICHELS, LEOPOLD
MOORE, MRS. I. C.
MYER, MRS. FANNIE
MYERS, HENRY

N.

NAPHTALY, JOSEPH
NATHAN, C. P.
NEUSTADTER, DAVID
NEUSTADTER, J. H.
NEWBAUER, H. W.
NEWMAN, JUDAH
NEWMAN, SIMON
NEWMAN, S. J.
NEWMAN, W. J.
NORDMAN, LEON

O.

OLCOVICH, H.
OPPENHEIM, MRS. HENRY
OPPENHEIMER, ROSA
ORDENSTEIN, MAX

P.

PATEK, MRS. A.
PAUSON, FRANK
PECK, PH.
PEIXOTTO, RAPHAEL
PLATSHEK, JULIUS
PLATSHEK, M. J.
POLEY, J.
POSNER, MAX

R.

REHFISCH, PAUL
RICH, JOSEPH
ROOS, ADOLPH, SR.
ROOS, ADOLPH, JR.
ROSENBAUM, CHARLES W.
ROSENBAUM, D. S.
ROSENBAUM, I. S.
ROSENER, MRS. SAMUEL
ROSENSHINE, A.
ROSENSHINE, M. W.
ROSENSTOCK, S. W.
ROSENTHAL, I. L.
ROTH, MRS. BERTHA
ROTH, DANIEL
ROTHCHILD, J. M.
ROTHSCHILD, JOSEPH
ROTHSCHILD, HUGO

S.

SACHS, DAVID
SACHS, LIPPMANN
SACHS, ESTATE LOUIS
SACHS, MRS. MARTIN
SACHS, SAMUEL
SAHLEIN, HENRY
SALOMON, SYLVAIN
SALZ, J.
SAMSON, RUDOLPH
SAMUELS, D.
SARONI, LOUIS
SCHEELINE, S.
SCHLOSS, BENJ.
SCHMITT, B. L.
SCHMITT, CH. A.
SCHOENFELD, L. S.
SCHONBERG, LOUIS
SCHONWASSER, EMIL G.
SCHONWASSER, MRS. S.
SCHUSSLER, BERTHA
SCHUSSLER, JOHN
SCHWABACHER, A.
SCHWABACHER, MRS. LOUIS
SCHWABACHER, LUDWIG
SCHWABACHER, SIGMUND
SCHWARTZ, ISIDOR
SCHWARZSCHILD, LOUIS
SCHWEITZER, BERNHARD
SCHWEITZER, MRS. JACOB
SCHWEITZER, MAURICE
SELIG, I.
SELIG, MRS. MOSES
SELIGMAN, MRS. MOSES
SELLER, J. H.
SELLER, SAMUEL
SICHEL, MAX
SIEBENHAUER, S.
SIEGEL, MOSES
SILVERBERG, SIMON
SILVERMAN, ADOLPH
SIMON, ESTATE H. L.
SINSHEIMER, HENRY
SLOSS, LEON
SLOSS, LOUIS
SLOSS, M. C.
SOLOMON, MRS. S.
SON, ADOLPH A.
SON, ALBERT A.
SPITZ, A.
STAHL, ADOLF
STARK, EDWARD J.
STEINER, THEODORE
STEINFELD, A.
STEINHART, IGNATZ
STEINHART, MRS. WILLIAM
STERN, E. L.
STERN, JACOB
STERN, JACOB
STERN, SIGMUND
STERNHEIM, SAMUEL
STONE, MRS. ISAAC
STRASSBURGER, ISAAC
STRASSBURGER, SIGMUND
STRAUSS, K.
STRAUSS, LEVI
STRAUSS, MRS. M.
SUSSMAN, SAMUEL
SUTRO, MRS. GUSTAVE
SWEET, MRS. S.

T.

TRIEST, B.
TUSKA, W. J.

V.

VOORSANGER, A. W.

VOORSANGER, JACOB

W.

WALTER, CLARENCE R.
WALTER, MRS. D. N.
WALTER, I. N.
WANGENHEIM, HENRY
WANGENHEIM, SOL.
WASSERMAN, S.
WEIL, BERNARD
WEIL, DAVID
WEIL, JOSEPH
WEIL, L. A.
WEIL, SAMUEL
WEIL, WILLIAM
WEILHEIMER, MRS. SELIGMAN
WEINLANDER, E.
WEINSHENK, CHARLES
WERTHEIMER, MRS. MOSES
WERTHEIMER, JACOB
WIEL, L. P.
WIENER, MITCHELL
WILLARD, MAURICE
WILSON, WILLIAM
WISE, OTTO IRVING
WOLLNER, JACOB
WORMSER, MRS. ISAAC
WORMSER, LOUIS
WUNSCH, M.