
The Sunday-Sabbath Movement in American Reform Judaism: Strategy or Evolution?

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The Sunday-Sabbath movement emerged within nineteenth-century American Reform Judaism as a radical departure from the tradition of many centuries of Jewish worship, held daily but with the Saturday-Sabbath as the central day of prayer.

The Sunday-Sabbath controversy began when certain individuals advocated the actual transfer of the Jewish Sabbath to Sunday. Others simply preferred to institute an additional worship service on the "civil day of rest." Of course, any attempt to institute a central or ancillary service on Sunday was, for traditional and moderately progressive American Jews, an insurrectionary action. Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath had always been viewed by Jews as antagonistic days, a result of the deeply embedded anti-Jewish teachings of Christianity. A Sunday-Sabbath for these Jews could only be viewed as a large step toward total assimilation and the complete diffusion of Judaism in America.

Sunday-Sabbath: The German Experience

The antecedents of the Sunday-Sabbath movement in America can be traced to Germany in 1837 when the *Frankfurter Journal* published a series of debates on the issue of Sabbath transfer.¹ Proponents felt that a Sabbath transfer was absolutely necessary for full Jewish emancipation, a process that had started in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. Michael Creizenach, a leading lay Reformer, agreed that God might not care on which day Jews worshipped, but he considered the Sabbath an institution of Israel. Only a unanimous decision by all Israel, he said, could sanction a transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday.² He knew this kind of decision was impossible.

Samuel Holdheim, rabbi of the radical Berlin Reform Congregation, made a statement at the 1846 Breslau Rabbinical Conference con-

cerning Sabbath transfer, suggesting that only a Sunday-Sabbath would resolve the conflict between the traditional Sabbath and the demands of daily life.³ Holdheim refused to make a formal resolution, because he felt that it would have been rejected by a majority of the rabbis in attendance.

One of Holdheim's colleagues, Samuel Hirsch, then chief rabbi of Luxembourg, urged those rabbis in attendance at the Conference (via a letter) to make a formal declaration in support of a Sunday-Sabbath. Hirsch made his pro-Sunday position quite clear some years later in his *Systematischer Katechismus des israelischer Religion*. He reacted strongly to Michael Creizenach's earlier statements, contending that a Saturday-Sabbath was valid only when Jews had lived together in ancient Palestine, but for Jews of the Diaspora, the civil day of rest was appropriate.⁴

Few rabbis agreed with Samuel Hirsch and Samuel Holdheim. Nevertheless, the Sunday-Sabbath triumphed in various parts of Europe, because the people wanted it. The Sunday-Sabbath spread throughout Europe after the Berlin Reform Congregation initiated its first Sunday service in 1845. Initially, it conducted worship services on Saturday and Sunday. Later, the Berlin Reform Congregation rejected the Saturday-Sabbath completely, becoming the Sunday-Sabbath pioneer in Europe.⁵

Sunday-Sabbath: American Jewish Needs

Although the Sunday-Sabbath movement had its moorings in Germany, its activities in America soon took on a distinctly American tenor.⁶ Emancipation was the paramount issue in the European Sunday-Sabbath movement; it was, however, less significant to the American Reformers. America guaranteed complete freedom to the Jew, but its six-day work week was designed to accommodate the worship pattern of the non-Jew. This fundamental economic fact was often cited as the primary reason for the actual transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday.⁷ Other reasons were also indicated. Saturday services were poorly attended; rabbis wanted to preach to large congregational audiences.⁸ In the South, for example, the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation of Atlanta, Georgia, introduced Sunday services apparently at the insistence of its rabbi, David Marx. These services were intended to supplement the Saturday services, not replace them. Sunday services were to

give him an additional preaching audience. More people attended the Sunday service than the two Saturday services combined.⁹ Advocates of the Sunday service wanted to reach the youth, in particular. Many supporters of the Sunday service were afraid that the new generation of American Jews would, in time, reject Judaism. One goal of the Sunday services was to ensure that this did not happen.¹⁰ There were also Jews who attended church services on Sundays. Since the synagogues were generally closed on Sunday, their only day off from work, they saw this as their only alternative.¹¹ One final crucial issue was raised. Opponents to the institution of a Sunday-Sabbath said that it would lead to the total destruction of the Jewish Sabbath, contributing to the eventual success of Christianity over Judaism.¹² In other words, the Sunday-Sabbath was the initial step toward the complete assimilation of the Jew. In fact, however, attendance had increased in many of the synagogues where Sunday services had been instituted. This was the barometer of success, as well as evidence that Sunday services were preventing assimilation, not encouraging it.

Before the Sunday-Sabbath movement ran its full course, it attracted countless supporters, among them Rabbi Kaufmann Kohler, Joseph Krauskopf, and Emil G. Hirsch. It also succeeded in rousing the fury of individuals like Rabbis Isaac M. Wise and William Rosenau, both of whom supported the traditional Sabbath day. Nearly forty Reform congregations in America reported instituting Sunday services of one kind or another; tens of others discussed the issue of Sabbath transfer during congregational meetings.

Early Advocates and Opponents

An immediate opponent of the early Sunday-Sabbath movement in America was Isaac M. Wise, organizer of the Reform movement in America, who constantly wrote diatribes in his *American Israelite* condemning to failure the Sunday-Sabbath and its proponents. For Wise, the Sabbath represented one of the ten God-given commandments. He considered the observance of a Sunday service "a bare faced and downright hypocrisy and lie,"¹³ since the Sabbath was nothing less than a sign of the covenant between God and Israel. Thus, if one abrogated the Sabbath, one also rejected the divine covenant. Wise constantly repeated these sentiments. He termed Sunday a Christian

institution. "You can desecrate the Sabbath," he claimed, "but you cannot consecrate the Sunday."¹⁴

One of Wise's earliest antagonists on this issue was Kaufmann Kohler, who later succeeded him as president of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. Early in his career at Chicago Sinai Congregation, Kohler strongly advocated the Sabbath transfer, maintaining that the Sunday service was a substitute, a kind of *Shabbat Sheni* (Second Sabbath) for those prevented from keeping the Sabbath.¹⁵ This *Shabbat Sheni* argument became popular among Sunday-Sabbath supporters who sought a precedent in Halacha (Jewish law) to support their action. They created the *Shabbat Sheni* out of an analogy to the biblical *Pesach Sheni* (Num. 9:10–11). According to the text, if an individual is prevented from making the Passover sacrifice on the assigned day (the fourteenth of Nisan), he is permitted to make it on the fourteenth day of Iyar instead. What the advocates of Sunday services neglected to consider was Numbers 9:13, which indicated that the *Pesach Sheni* could only be enacted for individuals meeting specific criteria. Anyone else not keeping the Passover "shall be cut off from his people; because he did not bring the offering of the Lord in its appointed season, that man shall bear his sin" (Num. 9:13).¹⁶

Although Kaufmann Kohler initially advocated the Sabbath transfer, he later reversed his position and became a staunch supporter of the traditional Sabbath day, claiming that the renewal of anti-Jewish feelings in the world prevented him from continuing to support the Sabbath transfer.¹⁷ When he was rabbi of Chicago Sinai Congregation, he thought that the audience for his sermons would be increased when Sunday services were instituted.¹⁸ He was not a great orator, however, and services remained sparsely attended until Emil G. Hirsch was elected rabbi of the congregation. When Kohler went to Congregation Beth El in New York City to replace his father-in-law, David Einhorn, he advocated only an occasional Sunday lecture.¹⁹ Even with an infrequent Sunday lecture, Kohler could not attract large crowds to his services. This was probably the genuine reason for his position reversal, although publicly he lamented that the divine character of the Sabbath could not be changed to a day which had been instituted by human beings. Thus, Kaufmann Kohler renounced any type of Jewish assembly on Sunday, declaring that Sunday services would eventually destroy the Sabbath.²⁰ Supporters of the traditional Sabbath applauded

Kohler, but his former supporters thought that he had disowned them.²¹

Joseph Krauskopf, the second-most-important Sunday advocate after Kohler, continued his unrelenting support of the Sunday-Sabbath in spite of Kohler's renunciation. Krauskopf began his Sunday career as rabbi of Temple B'nai Jehudah in Kansas City, Missouri. Initially, he had rejected the idea of Sunday services.²² Later, in a dramatic pulpit presentation, he reversed his position entirely, offering his congregants a "remedy that promises to cure religious apathy in Israel."²³ Acknowledging the same anti-Jewish feelings that Kohler had cited, he reacted in the opposite way by trying even harder for Jewish-Christian harmony. Krauskopf's change bewildered many people, including Isaac M. Wise,²⁴ and certainly the reversal had its ironic side. Krauskopf had earlier opposed Kohler's advocacy of the Sabbath transfer, and now Krauskopf had adopted Kohler's former stance with Kohler in opposition. Krauskopf continued his struggle for the institution of Sunday services and in 1887 triumphantly introduced them to Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia when he took over as the rabbi of the congregation.²⁵ It has been suggested by his biographer, William W. Blood, that Krauskopf's superior command of English was the reason why his Sunday services were successful at Keneseth Israel,²⁶ but his Saturday services (which included a German sermon) were equally well attended. It was Krauskopf's grand oratory that attracted people to all of his worship services. As a result of the Sunday services, some congregants left Keneseth Israel, and local rabbis condemned Krauskopf, but increasing numbers attended his Sunday services year after year.²⁷ Eventually, Keneseth Israel became one of the largest Reform congregations in the United States due to its great rabbi and orator, Joseph Krauskopf.

The Larger Debate

Organizations, congregations, and Anglo-Jewish newspapers soon joined in the debate in favor of and in opposition to the transfer of the Jewish Sabbath. As early as the Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference of 1885, precursor to the formal organization of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, "a heated and lengthy discussion took place" concerning Sunday services.²⁸ The CCAR was entangled in the controversy from its very beginning. Its members, for the most part, took

positions which usually placed them at odds with rabbis in and out of the Reform movement in America. From then on, until almost the middle of the twentieth century, the members of the CCAR discussed the Sunday-Sabbath at almost every annual convention. At times, resolutions were made in favor of the Sunday-Sabbath.²⁹ At other times, committees were appointed to write special Sunday rituals,³⁰ or to study the influence of Sunday worship on Jewish congregations.³¹ In the end, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, as a body, refused to sanction a Sunday service or a special Sunday ritual, but the Conference did acknowledge the right of individual congregations and rabbis to act on the matter.³²

The National Council of Jewish Women experienced a similar problem. Its secretary, Sadie American, "denounced the maintenance of the Jewish Sabbath as indicating a lack of progressiveness and as a manifestation of narrowmindedness, and she advocated the substitution of the Christian Sunday therefore."³³ Many people were offended by American's views, including Isaac M. Wise, who thought it inappropriate of her to state them from the platform of the Council of Jewish Women.³⁴ However, the president of the National Council of Jewish Women at the time, Hannah Solomon, agreed with Sadie American that the Saturday Sabbath should be entirely abolished.³⁵ Other organizations were less liberal in their sentiments. The Federation of Zionists condemned the Central Conference of American Rabbis, denouncing the Sunday-Sabbath as assimilationist.³⁶

These organizations were obviously not alone in their struggle to resolve the Sunday-Sabbath conflict. As part of the interest spurred by Sunday-Sabbath supporters, interfaith groups formed which made the Sunday-Sabbath their *raison d'être*. Louis Jackson, for example, sponsored the World's Day of Rest League. This organization was dedicated to preserving a uniform day of rest.³⁷ That day of rest, however, was Sunday, already accepted by most Americans.

One Anglo-Jewish newspaper was intimately related to the Sunday-Sabbath movement. It too was interested in a uniform day of rest: Sunday. In 1887 Samuel Brickner and Louis Wiley began to publish the *Jewish Tidings* in Rochester, New York.³⁸ Initially, the *Tidings* supported the Sunday-Sabbath relentlessly. Both Brickner and Wiley were members of Temple Berith Kodesh, whose rabbinic leader at the time was the radical Max Landsberg. Later, the *Jewish Tidings* began to

moderate its position concerning the Sunday-Sabbath and proceeded to call only for supplementary services on Sunday.³⁹ Apparently, the editors felt that they had failed, but it was the Sunday-Sabbath which had really failed. Even their own congregation had not yet introduced Sunday services.⁴⁰ The *Jewish Tidings* was criticized by the *St. Louis Jewish Voice* for its unwillingness to stand its ground. The editors of the *Jewish Tidings*, however, thought that the opposition to exclusive Sunday services was much greater than the opposition to supplementary services on Sunday. In order to determine whether their assumption was correct, they requested statements from rabbis and laymen alike. Other periodicals reacted to the symposium and campaign of the *Jewish Tidings* by claiming that the *Tidings* had failed. Subsequently, the issue of Sunday services was removed from the editorial pages of the *Tidings*.⁴¹

Sunday-Sabbath: Activities and Events

What was happening in other synagogues during this period of Sunday-Sabbath growth? Each congregation struggled in its own way. Although the many innovations were enticing, their execution was difficult. New York's Ahavath Chesed introduced Saturday-afternoon services. This was a way of making concessions to Jews who could not attend Saturday-morning services, without introducing Sunday services.⁴² Cleveland's Tifereth Israel introduced Sunday lectures with some worship.⁴³ And at St. Louis' Shaare Emeth, led by Rabbi Solomon H. Sonneschein, a congregational split occurred. Sonneschein's followers formed a new congregation called Temple Israel. Shortly thereafter, Sonneschein introduced Sunday services at the new temple.⁴⁴ These congregations felt that there were alternatives to the Sunday-Sabbath. The actual transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday was unnecessary.

The foremost and obvious variation of the Sunday-Sabbath was the Sunday service which used a weekday liturgy. It usually featured a full-length English sermon. At times, this service became a central worship service, although it was not called a Sabbath service.⁴⁵ In some cases, such as the service at Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia, it was the only service which featured a sermon in English instead of German.⁴⁶

A similar variation was proposed by Aaron Hahn, then rabbi at Tifereth Israel in Cleveland. Hahn kept the Saturday services intact but

instituted Sunday lectures which included a short worship service.⁴⁷ Although worship was a part of the Sunday program in this case, it was of minimal significance.

Others went a step further; they featured only a lecture in their Sunday-morning gathering.⁴⁸ These Sunday lectures had three goals. First, the lectures were intended for the exposition and explanation of the nature and scope of modern Judaism. Second, they were supposed to disseminate secular and religious knowledge. Third, they were instituted to encourage religious and intellectual activity among the indifferent.⁴⁹ The Sunday lecture was stimulated by Felix Adler, founder of the New York Society for Ethical Culture and organizer of the Sunday lecture movement.⁵⁰ Adler lectured every Sunday. His lectures were introduced by a little organ music, but absolutely no worship.⁵¹ There was probably little difference between Adler's lectures and contemporary Sunday-morning gatherings in synagogues featuring noted speakers or discussion groups. Adler was held in disdain primarily because of the religious orientation of his Society for Ethical Culture, not for his Sunday lectures.

For some individuals, like William Rosenau, rabbi of Oheb Shalom in Baltimore, a weekly Sunday lecture, with or without liturgical embellishment, was tantamount to a Sunday-Sabbath. These individuals held that any weekly Sunday lecture or service could potentially destroy the Jewish Sabbath.⁵² Abraham Geiger, the great German Reformer, had originally promulgated the idea of an occasional Sunday service. To counter critics of a weekly service, some of his American colleagues adopted this practice.⁵³

Nevertheless, Chicago Sinai Congregation, under Emil G. Hirsch's brilliant leadership, remained the Sunday-Sabbath pioneer, commemorating its first twenty-five years of Sunday services with a major celebration in 1899. In honor of the occasion, the congregation published a *Report of the Services of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Introduction of Sunday Services in Chicago Sinai Congregation*. This one-hundred-page document represented the largest, most comprehensive single document of the Sunday-Sabbath movement in American Judaism. It included statements by Sunday supporters, as well as a history of Sunday services at Chicago Sinai Congregation. Although no other congregation in America could offer a similar testimonial to the success of Sunday services, there were congregations which followed the lead of Chicago Sinai.

In most cases, it was the rabbi who ultimately made the Sunday service a success or failure. When Sunday services were resumed in 1901 at Pittsburgh's Rodef Shalom, for example, it was J. Leonard Levy, formerly Joseph Krauskopf's assistant in Philadelphia, who made them successful. In fact, the congregants responded so favorably to Levy's Sunday lectures that they decided to publish them for distribution.⁵⁴ Similarly, it was Emil Hirsch who drew crowds to Sunday services at Chicago Sinai. And Joseph Krauskopf was the one who brought hordes of people, Jews and non-Jews, to fill Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia.

Decline and Residue

Growing anti-Semitism produced two opposite reactions toward the end of the nineteenth century, both of which influenced the Sunday-Sabbath movement. The forces of anti-Judaism had already turned the tables on European Jews waiting for the onset of Jewish-Christian brotherhood. The messianic vision of universal brotherhood held by the early Reformers was destroyed. Jews were being systematically excluded from everything in Rumania. The blood libel was renewed in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, while in cosmopolitan Vienna, the infamous anti-Semite Karl Lueger was elected mayor on a blatantly anti-Jewish platform. Against this background, the Sunday-Sabbath movement struggled for survival. The American Jewish community was in contact with its European brethren. In fact, most major American Jewish leaders were recent European immigrants.

American assimilationists sought as a result of these events to establish more Sunday services in order to "prove" that there was little difference between Reform Jews and non-Jews. They hoped in this way to assuage the anti-Jewish element. They believed that the renewal of anti-Jewish sentiment would be short-lived. On the other hand, anti-assimilationists rejected emancipation by reestablishing their own roots and eliminating all traces of acculturation, the Sunday-Sabbath included. Some of this interplay was made manifest in the liturgical material which began developing in 1880 for the Sunday-Sabbath as well as for daily services held on Sunday. For example, Emil G. Hirsch translated Rabbi David Einhorn's *Olath Tamid* so that Chicago Sinai could use it for Sunday services. And J. Leonard Levy prepared *A Book of Prayers* for Pittsburgh's Rodef Shalom Congregation. These prayer-

books took different approaches to the Sunday services; each prayer-book was designed with individual congregations in mind.

By 1920, however, the Sunday-Sabbath movement was virtually non-existent. The five-day work week had begun to spread, eliminating the economic reasons for a Sunday-Sabbath. The universalistic reasons were no longer deemed valid. Finally, Reform Judaism had absorbed a great many of the Eastern European immigrants. Since they brought with them a Jewish experience different from that of their German immigrant brethren of some years earlier, and had experienced severe anti-Jewish sentiments, this dealt a death blow to the radical German wing of Reform, whose members, Einhorn, Hirsch, and Krauskopf, had been among the most important advocates of the Sunday-Sabbath movement. Of course, congregations like Rodef Shalom in Pittsburgh could still draw an attendance of approximately 375 on Sunday mornings, but these people would have come to hear Rabbi J. Leonard Levy speak on any day of the week.⁵⁵ While radicals like Isaac W. Bernheim of Louisville, Kentucky, still advocated the Sabbath transfer, the movement had, nevertheless, run its full course.⁵⁶ It no longer attracted major press coverage. It was no longer the focal point of congregational meetings. And Sunday services were for the most part no longer Sabbath services.

There was one congregation, however, which instituted Sunday services as late as 1958.⁵⁷ Temple Emanuel in St. Louis included a provision for Sunday services. These services are still held today, but an occasional Friday-evening service has been added. In addition to Emanuel in St. Louis, Chicago Sinai has remained faithful to the cause, holding services on Sunday morning instead of Saturday morning.⁵⁸ Others have services both on Saturday and Sunday. The Sunday liturgy, however, does not differ from any other daily morning service held in Reform congregations throughout the country.

Conclusion

The Sunday-Sabbath in America was instituted for three major reasons: economics, attendance, and Christian acceptance. None of these factors was sufficient for the Sunday-Sabbath to succeed in the American Jewish community. The development of the five-day work week and the improved economic status of Jews enabled them to keep the

Jewish Sabbath on Saturday and participate in Sunday leisure. The non-Jewish world, furthermore, did not change its views of Jews who abandoned their historical Sabbath. The messianic universalist vision of the early German Reformers was shattered, as was the dream of Jewish-Christian unity. The Reform movement began to retrace its steps, back toward the traditional Sabbath.

The Sunday-Sabbath movement failed despite the fact that it lingers on today, especially in congregations which continue to hold daily services on Sunday. Hundreds of Reform congregations across the country hold activities on Sunday, but these activities, whether social or educational, do not threaten the status of the traditional Sabbath. The problem of Sabbath service attendance has not changed since the nineteenth century, but the response is no longer the same.

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Notes

1. *Hebrew Union College Journal* 5 (October 1900): 25.
2. *Ibid.*
3. David Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York: Macmillan, 1907), p. 293.
4. Samuel Hirsch, *Systematischer Katechismus des israelischer Religion* (Luxembourg: Druck and Verlag, 1856), p. 157.
5. Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, p. 359.
6. The Berlin Reform Congregation had its American counterpart in the Chicago Sinai Congregation. In 1873, the Congregation resolved to introduce the Sunday-Sabbath the following year under the guidance of Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, its rabbi. Although Baltimore's Hebrew Reform Association introduced the first American Sunday service in 1854, the Sinai Congregation may be considered the pioneer congregation of the movement for two reasons. First, it introduced Sunday services independently, not merely in sympathy with its European brethren as had the Hebrew Reform Association. Second, it became the first American congregation to abrogate Saturday-Sabbath services completely in 1887. Since Chicago Sinai's Sunday service was introduced in 1875, it has held uninterrupted Sunday services for over one hundred years. On the Hebrew Reform Association, see Charles A. Rubenstein, *History of Har Sinai Congregation of the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Har Sinai Congregation, 1918), p. 21. The Hebrew Reform Association in Baltimore held Sunday services for six months in 1854 in sympathy with its Reform brethren in Pest, Hungary. Later, when the Association became Har Sinai Congregation, it reintroduced Sunday services. Rubenstein, *History of Har Sinai Congregation*, p. 21; and William S. Rayner, *Souvenir: Jubilee Year of Har Sinai Congregation* (Baltimore: Har Sinai Congregation, 1892), p. 11. There is an interesting account of the split between the Har Sinai Association and the Hebrew

Reform Association in David Einhorn, "Geschichte des religiösen Umschwunges," *Sinai* 1 (August 1856): 198–199. For Chicago Sinai Congregation, see "Special Board of Directors Meeting, 4 November 1873," Board of Directors Minute Books, Chicago Sinai Congregation (Box 9, Folder 5, Manuscript Collection No. 56, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio). Anshe Chesed in Scranton, Pennsylvania, under Abraham Cohen, its spiritual leader, instituted a Sunday service with lecture in 1860. However, the congregation's main service remained on Saturday. *Occident*, November 15, 1866, p. 208.

7. Otto Irving Wise, ed., *Sermons and Addresses by Jacob Voorsanger* (New York: Bloch, 1913), p. 268.

8. Benny Kraut, *From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture: The Religious Evolution of Felix Adler* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1979), p. 114.

9. Janice O. Rothschild, *As But a Day: The First Hundred Years, 1867–1967* (Atlanta: Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, The Temple, 1966), p. 59; and David Marx, *Hebrew Benevolent Congregation: Atlanta, Georgia, 1867–1917* (Atlanta: Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, 1917), p. 22.

10. David Davidson, *Sabbath or Sunday* (Cincinnati: Bloch, 1889), p. 21.

11. *American Israelite*, May 5, 1876, p. 5.

12. Leo M. Franklin, "A Decade of Sunday Services, 8 June 1913" (Leo M. Franklin Collection, Box 3335, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio).

13. *American Israelite*, December 2, 1859, p. 172.

14. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1887, p. 4.

15. *Jewish Times*, April 17, 1874, p. 121.

16. Samuel Holdheim, the radical German Reformer, was one of the earliest proponents of the *Shabbat Sheni*. From him, a number of Reformers adapted this analogy to fit their needs. See W. Gunther Plaut, *The Rise of Reform Judaism: A Sourcebook of Its European Origin* (New York: World Union for Progressive Judaism, 1963), pp. 194–195.

17. Kaufmann Kohler, "The Sabbath Day of the Jew," *Menorah* 2 (September 1895): 156.

18. Kaufmann Kohler to Chicago Sinai Congregation, June 4, 1879 (Chicago Sinai Congregation, Box 2, Folder 4, Manuscript Collection No. 56, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio).

19. Kaufmann Kohler, *Sabbath Observance and Sunday Lectures* (New York: Temple Beth El, 1880), pp. 4–5, 8. For an interesting account of Kohler's new position by a lay leader of Kohler's former Chicago Sinai Congregation, Julius Rosenthal, see the *American Israelite*, June 27, 1879, p. 4.

20. Kaufmann Kohler, "Rocks Ahead," *Menorah* 2 (October 1891): 284–293.

21. Eugene Cohn, "The Sabbath Day of the Jew: An Answer to the Rev. Dr. Kohler," *Menorah* 2 (November 1891): 283.

22. *American Israelite*, June 8, 1886, p. 5.

23. *Kansas City Journal*, June 19, 1886 (clipping in Joseph Krauskopf, Miscellaneous File, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio).

24. *American Israelite*, July 2, 1886, and July 3, 1886, p. 4.

25. William W. Blood, *Apostle of Reason: A Biography of Joseph Krauskopf* (Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1973), p. 44; and Joseph Krauskopf, *Sunday Lectures*, 37 vols. (Philadelphia: Keneseth Israel, 1888–1924): 5:21:2.

26. Blood, *Apostle of Reason*, p. 45. Attendance at Saturday services also increased after Krauskopf's arrival.

27. Martin P. Beifield, Jr., "Joseph Krauskopf: 1887–1903" (Rabbinic thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1975), p. 101.

28. *Proceedings of the Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference November 15, 17, 18, 1885* (Richmond, Va.: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1923), p. 33.
29. *CCAR Yearbook, 1904* (Baltimore: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1904), p. 117.
30. *CCAR Yearbook, 1905* (Baltimore: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1905), p. 112.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
32. For examples of special Sunday rituals, see Leo M. Franklin, *Order of Worship for Sunday Service* (Detroit: Temple Beth El, 1904); Joseph Krauskopf, *The Service Ritual* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1888); Harry Levi, *Sunday Services* (Boston: Stetson Press, 1919); and David Stern, *Sunday Services for Jewish Reform Congregations* (Philadelphia: Edward Hirsch, 1883).
33. *American Israelite*, January 18, 1900, p. 4.
34. *Ibid.*, February 8, 1900, p. 4.
35. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1900, p. 4. See also the December 1900 issues of the *American Jewess*. Note particularly the material concerning Rosa Sonneschein, former wife of the noted Sunday-Sabbath radical, Solomon Hirsch Sonneschein. Unlike her former husband, Rosa Sonneschein was not in favor of the Sabbath transfer.
36. *American Jewish Yearbook, 1902* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1902), pp. 18, 102.
37. *American Israelite*, January 5, 1886, p. 4. The original article which Wise quoted was from the *New York Times*, December 31, 1885.
38. Stuart E. Rosenberg, "The *Jewish Tidings* and the Sunday Service Question," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 42 (June 1953): 372.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, p. 377.
41. According to Rosenberg, Sunday services were introduced at Berith Kodesh in 1899. Thus, the *Jewish Tidings* had not failed in its campaign for Sunday services at Berith Kodesh.
42. *Jewish Messenger*, October 28, 1881, p. 5.
43. Lloyd P. Gartner, *History of the Jews of Cleveland* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society and Jewish Theological Seminary, 1978), p. 155.
44. Joseph D. Cosoe, *From Leffingwill to Spoede: Highlights of the History of Temple Israel* (St. Louis: Temple Israel, 1977), p. 7.
45. *American Israelite*, April 22, 1887, p. 4.
46. Blood, *Apostle of Reason*, p. 45.
47. Gartner, *History of the Jews of Cleveland*, p. 155.
48. Kaufmann Kohler, *Sabbath Observance and Sunday Lectures* (New York: Temple Beth El, 1880), p. 4.
49. Solomon H. Sonneschein, *Sunday Lectures* (St. Louis: Temple Israel, 1886–87), 1:1.
50. Kraut, *From Reform Judaism to Ethical Culture*, p. 109.
51. *American Israelite*, June 2, 1876, p. 6.
52. Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, p. 295, note 3.
53. *Chicago Occident*, November 15, 1866, p. 208.
54. "Congregational Meeting, 29 September 1901" (Minute Books, Rodef Shalom Collection, Box 905, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio). Apparently, the services had ceased when J. Leonard Levy's predecessor left the congregation.
55. *Report of the Committee of Unassigned Pew Seats* (Pittsburgh: Rodef Shalom Congregation, 1970), p. 3.
56. Isaac W. Bernheim, *An Open Letter to Rabbi Stephen Wise* (Louisville: By the Author, 1922), pp. 8–9. Although this proposal was mentioned in the *Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations*, the text of the address was not included. Union of American

Hebrew Congregations, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Convention* (Buffalo: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1921), p. 8895.

57. Board of Incorporation Meeting, January 31, 1957, p. 2, Temple Emanuel, St. Louis, Missouri (Microfilm No. 2505, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio).

58. Theodore Lenn, *Rabbi and Synagogue in Reform Judaism* (West Hartford, Conn.: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1972), pp. 119–120.