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Sharona R. Wachs
SUNY, University at Albany

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REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

Compiling a Bibliography of American Jewish Liturgy through 1925*

Sharona R. Wachs
SUNY, University at Albany
Albany, NY

Abstract: The experience of compiling a bibliography of American Jewish liturgy from the establishment of the press through 1925 is discussed. The parameters of the bibliography are detailed as well as its contents. The present lack of complete or systematic documentation of American Jewish liturgy in Judaica libraries is noted. Also discussed is the significance of liturgy for the study of American Jews, their religious and cultural identity, as well as their demographics.

This paper details the experience of compiling a bibliography of American Jewish liturgy through 1925, and describes some of the parameters and contents of the bibliography. This bibliography was published by Hebrew Union College Press in late 1997 under the title *American Jewish Liturgies: A Bibliography of American Jewish Liturgy from the Establishment of the Press in the Colonies through 1925*.

At the outset of this discussion, one might ask the following questions:

- 1) Why liturgy?
- 2) Why American Jewish liturgy?
- 3) Why the 1925 cutoff?

Why liturgy?

Throughout the ages, the *siddur* has been a mirror of the Jewish community. The *siddur* is full of prayers reflecting the political or social realities of the many countries in which Jews have lived, as well as the various theological or spiritual trends to which Jews have been exposed. As Abraham E. Millgram has written in *Jewish Worship*:

The *Siddur* is the Jewish book of piety. In it are reflected most clearly the Jews' intellectual and emotional attitudes to God. . . . This piety—or inwardness, as some call it—is based on a number of theological premises: the nature of God, the essence of sin, the efficacy of repentance, and similar articles of faith. These beliefs constitute the backdrop of Jewish piety, and they are fully and clearly expressed in the traditional prayers of the Synagogue. . . . All prayer is based on a number of assumptions which represent the essential truths and highest good to which a person or people is committed. In the prayers of the Synagogue one can find the Jews' traditional ideals, beliefs, values, attitudes and feelings toward God, Israel and mankind. . . . (1971, pp. 391–392).

The importance of the text of the prayer book is noted by Lawrence A. Hoffman in his book *Beyond the Text*:

It might be said, then, that whatever worshippers presume to say to God, they are at the same time directing a message to themselves. The very act of worship takes on the function of identifying for the worshiper what it is that he or she stands for, what real life is like, what his or her aspirations are. The liturgical medium becomes the message (1987, p. 69).

Therefore, liturgy serves as an index of where a people are at a given time, or where they would like to be.

Why American Jewish liturgy?

I chose this area of study for pragmatic reasons. Because I live in the United States, it was reasonable to assume that it would be easier to identify and locate American liturgy than prayer books of foreign countries. I also chose American Jewish liturgy because the time parameters are significantly smaller than those of Jewish liturgy as a whole. (The first item of American Jewish liturgy was published in 1760.) Lastly, I chose this field of study because it was

uncharted. While there existed some bibliographies of American Judaica, as well as catalogs of individual libraries, there was no separate compilation of American Jewish liturgy.

Why the 1925 cutoff?

The American Jewish bibliographer Ephraim Deinard's third and largest bibliography of American Judaica was entitled *Kohelet Amerika* (1926). This annotated bibliography documents American Jewish imprints issued from 1735 to 1925. Deinard intended his work to be comprehensive, but it was not so. It was also replete with errors. Of particular interest in this context is a section of the bibliography entitled "Sidre tefilot la-Reformim be-Amerika," an annotated list of "Reform" prayer books published in the United States. There are several problems with this section. It is not comprehensive in its documentation of Reform liturgy. More importantly, much of Deinard's work is inaccurate. For example, some books listed in the section on Reform liturgy can hardly be considered Reform, such as an 1852 edition of *Sefat emet*, compiled by Wolf Heidenheim (1757–1832), a German Hebrew grammarian and commentator on liturgy. This text, considered grammatically and textually correct, as well as typographically beautiful, enjoyed more than 150 printings and has been considered a standard, traditional—i.e., Orthodox—text.

Other problems include the absence of important bibliographical data in some entries. Some items are entered twice, and there are omissions. Deinard focused on works published in Hebrew, while many of the newer works of Jewish liturgy were written in, or contained significant sections of, German or English. In addition, many of these items were entered in the bibliography in a Hebrew language format, regardless of the language of the title page.

Therefore, the goals of my bibliography were to correct Deinard's work and to amplify it to cover all works of Jewish liturgy published in the United States through

*Based on a presentation made at the 30th Annual Convention of the Association of Jewish Libraries, Chicago, June 19, 1995. Many of the ideas in this paper are included in the author's introduction to her bibliography.

1925. Any cutoff date is arbitrary. The number of works of American Jewish liturgy expands exponentially every decade, and 1925 turned out to be a good place to stop. The bibliography documents some Sephardic liturgy, a lot of Reform liturgy, the emergence of Conservative liturgy, and the growth of Orthodox liturgies in the early 20th century, but it stops before the emergence of Reconstructionist liturgy.

Methodology

The bibliography was created in two stages. The first stage was research for a Master's thesis at Brooklyn College, where I limited myself to documenting items that I could locate in New York, or that I could document through printed resources. I visited the libraries of Yeshiva University, the Jewish Theological Seminary, Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC—JIR), and the New York Public Library. I also examined various book catalogs, such as those of Harvard (1968; 1972), the New York Public Library (1960), and the Klau Library of HUC—JIR in Cincinnati (1964), as well as the National Union Catalog (1968–81). I searched through the various bibliographies of American Judaica compiled by Deinard (1926), A. S. W. Rosenbach (1926), Jacob Rader Marcus (1954), Allen E. Levine (1959), Nathan Kaganoff (1971), Edwin Wolf (1975), and Robert Singerman (1990), as well as Alfred Sendrey's *Bibliography of Jewish Music* (1951). (Full references for these works are found in the final section of this paper, "Bibliographies/Catalogs.") In addition, I regularly examined the online bibliographical databases of OCLC and RLIN. This bibliography, compiled over six years, was completed in 1990 with over 900 entries.

In 1988, I began working for the University at Albany. In the academic year 1990–1991, I received two grants, which enabled me to travel to several other major Judaica collections throughout the United States, in order to identify additional liturgical works, as well as examine some of the items I had identified through book catalogs. The Faculty Research Awards Program of the University at Albany, State University of New York and the Librarian Study Leave Award of the New York State/Union of University Professionals Professional Development and Quality of Working Life Committee gave me six weeks' leave to travel across the country, as well as the funding to do so.

During this leave I was able to visit the following libraries: Library of Congress; Harvard University; The American Jewish His-

torical Society, in Waltham, MA; Gratz College; Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati and Los Angeles; University of California, Los Angeles; the Jewish Community Library of Los Angeles; the University of Judaism; the University of California at Berkeley; and the Western Jewish Historical Society. Lack of time and money precluded my visiting other major institutions, and I was able to spend only a fraction of the time I would have liked in others, particularly HUC—JIR in Cincinnati. I would have also liked to go to the Spertus College of Judaica, in Chicago; to what was then the Annenberg Research Institute (now the Center for Judaic Studies), in Philadelphia; to the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research; the National Yiddish Book Center; and a few others. Through my travels I was able, nonetheless, to add significantly to my original bibliography, as well as refine and amplify the entries that I had previously compiled.

Definitions and Scope

In the bibliography, liturgy is defined broadly. Covered are all *siddurim* and *maḥzorim*, as well as any extracts from these works, such as an evening service (*'Arvit*) from the daily worship, or a *siddur* for the Sabbath. The bibliography also covers occasional prayers. Included are prayers designed to be said outside the synagogue, or designated for specific audiences, such as devotionals or prayer books for children or soldiers. Also covered are liturgies for life-cycle rituals, as well as religious ceremonies and worship services held for a specific event, such as a dedication ceremony for a new synagogue.

The bibliography contains the traditional liturgies of the Sephardic, German, and Polish or Ḥasidic rites, as well as the newer liturgies of Reform and Conservative Judaism. Also represented are musical renditions of individual prayers and prayer services, as well as Jewish hymnals. Liturgies in all relevant languages are included.

Haggadot, and any extractions from *haggadot*, are excluded, as they have been documented in a systematic and scholarly fashion by Avraham Yaari in his *Bibliyografyah shel Haggadot Pesah* (1960) as well as in supplements to his work, including Wiener (1971).

Also excluded from the bibliography are one-time memorials to individuals, with the exception of memorial services for noteworthy persons, such as Moses Montefiore and Isaac Mayer Wise, or a President of the United States. It would be nearly impossible to document all such services, because

most would never have found their way to a library or archive. A service for an individual is entered in the bibliography if it contains special prayers written or composed specifically for the event, such as a hymn composed by Alois Kaiser in memory of his mother Therese.

Liturgy in manuscript is excluded as well. This bibliography covers only published works. It does, however, include works that are privately published. This bibliography also does not list prayers published in newspapers, such as the *American Hebrew*, unless they were extracted and issued separately.

An American imprint is defined as a work published in the United States, regardless of the origin of the work. The bibliography includes reprints of works originally published abroad, as long as they were reissued with an American place of publication. Also listed are a few items printed in the United States for synagogues out of the country, e.g., a synagogue dedication ceremony for Shearith Israel of Montréal, published in New York.

Format and Arrangement

The bibliography is arranged chronologically, from the earliest works through 1925. Within any given year, entries are arranged alphabetically by title. Entries in Roman-alphabet languages precede items with Hebrew or Yiddish titles. Titles containing both Hebrew and Roman alphabets are entered under the language of the initial word in the title. Items containing a Hebrew title page as well as a Roman alphabet title page are entered under their Hebrew title.

Entries are described in the sequence and with the prescribed punctuation of the International Standard Book Description (ISBD). I chose not to enter items under main entry, however, because most of the works in this bibliography would require a uniform title for their liturgical form, if catalogued according to *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules, 2nd ed. revised* (1988) (AACR2rev.) While many different forms of liturgy are represented in this bibliography, most are *siddurim* or *maḥzorim*. Therefore, a uniform title main entry was not deemed particularly helpful. Access to the liturgical form of each item, as well as its rite, is available through the liturgical index at the end of the bibliography.

When the information is relevant and available, each entry contains the following elements: title and subtitle, including any parallel titles; author or editor; edition statement; place of publication; publisher;

date of publication and/or copyright; and languages of the item, if there is more than one. Also included are notes regarding authorship, edition, and translation, or other important information not found on the title page.

Each item contains, if applicable, the entry number from the above-mentioned bibliographies (Deinard, Kaganoff, Levine, Marcus, Rosenbach, Sendrey, Singerman, and Wolf). Each entry contains the National Union Catalog (NUC) symbols of libraries owning the item. In some cases there are items identified in Deinard, Singerman, or Sendrey for which no copies were located. These items have nonetheless been included.

At the end of the bibliography is a section of undated items which are assumed to have been published through 1925. Some of these items were compiled by individuals who published in the above-stated time frame. Other items, particularly those published by the Hebrew Publishing Company, have nearly identical items published with dates. There are likely to be errors in this section, mostly errors of omission. If I was not comfortable with a pre-1926 determination for a given item, I omitted it. In the case of the Hebrew Publishing Company, an address (Brooklyn, Eldridge Street, Delancy Street) was often printed on the title page, in both dated and undated items, which roughly identifies the span of years of probable publication. Throughout the bibliography there are undated items which could be more definitively identified as having been published within a particular decade. These items precede others in that decade (e.g., 189-? precedes 1890).

Indexes

At the conclusion of the bibliography there are four indexes: a geographical index, a name index, a title index, and finally, a liturgical index. The first three indexes are arranged alphabetically; the fourth is structured hierarchically. The entries in the geographical and name indexes are predominantly in the Roman-alphabet, with cross references from Hebrew forms. The entries in the title index reflect the title pages of the works. There are references from alternative titles.

The liturgical index attempts to divide and organize the sum total of liturgical forms found in this bibliography according to the innate structure of the *siddur*, the Jewish calendar, or life-cycle events. The first section covers the *siddur* and all its subcomponents, as well as the *maḥzor* and its subcomponents. This is followed by the

category special prayers or prayer books, such as those for the sick, devotionals, or children's prayer books. Then come liturgies for life-cycle events and one-time events. Individual prayers that cannot be categorized in a single section of liturgy come next. Finally, there is a section of liturgy subarranged by rite.

Assessment of the Corpus

When I began work on this bibliography in 1983, I had few expectations of what I would find. I am a librarian, not a scholar of liturgy or of the American Jewish experience, and so I did not begin with a hypothesis on the nature of the development of American liturgy. Nor did I expect a particular volume of material to exist. I had some vague concepts about liturgy in the U.S. developing along the lines of immigration patterns, that there might be a preponderance of Reform liturgy, or that most of the works would have been published in New York.

The first thing I discovered is that American Jewish liturgy is poorly documented, or inaccessible, as is most liturgy. The study of liturgy is still a relatively new field. People often have the attitude that *Tefilah*, or davening, is something you do, not something you study. In traveling throughout the country, I discovered that a large percentage of any library's liturgical holdings is uncataloged. Some of the most interesting works that I was able to evaluate were sitting on shelves in library directors' offices, or in pamphlet files.

I also discovered that the volume and range of liturgy produced between 1760 and 1925 is extraordinary. I have documented nearly 1,300 items. Clearly, these formative years of American Jewish life were filled with much intellectual and religious activity.

I found that the creation of liturgy does, in fact, roughly follow immigration patterns. The first works published were Sephardic, followed by German works—both "orthodox" *Minhag Ashkenaz* and German Reform. Orthodox liturgies multiplied as immigrant populations came to the United States; they include *Minhag Polin* as well as Hungarian and Romanian rites. Various personalities advocating Reform engaged in a vocal struggle for the definition, as well as the ritual manifestations, of Reform in America. At the turn of this century, the intellectual struggle between advocates of "Radical" Reform and those who felt more traditional, but not completely Orthodox, evolved into Conservative Judaism, and this struggle produced new liturgies. In the early 20th century, as immigration from Eastern Europe grew, we find the appear-

ance of *Nusah Sefarad*, or *Ari Rite*, in the U.S. There are, of course, some exceptions to the patterns of publication matching the waves of immigration, such as the proto-Reform prayer book of the Reformed Society of Israelites, of Charleston (1830), which was a breakaway from the Sephardic Beth Elohim. There is also a constant, quiet, Sephardic presence, with works generated by and for Shearith Israel in New York and Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia, a re-issuing of Leese's *Sidur šifte tsadiqim*, with the revisions of Abraham de Sola, in 1877 and 1924, and the works of Frederick de Sola Mendes.

The earliest work in the bibliography, published in 1760, is a Thanksgiving service. This is followed by a *Maḥzor* for Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur in 1761, and a Sabbath and High Holiday prayer book published in 1765. The printing press was established in the colonies in 1654, but no Jewish prayer book was produced for more than a century. The Jews of Sephardic origin continued to use the prayer books that they had brought with them. The 1761 and 1765 liturgies, published by Isaac Pinto, are in English, reflecting a level of assimilation in the Jewish community. Solomon Henry Jackson, of New York, published the first extensive *siddur* in 1825/1826, and Isaac Leese, of Philadelphia, published a six-volume *siddur/maḥzor* in 1837. Both have English translation, and both are Sephardic. Leese also published a prayer book for Ashkenazim in 1848, entitled *Sidur divre tsadiqim*. Until the 1850s, these are the only major Jewish prayer books published in the U.S. The bulk of liturgy issued prior to 1850 consisted of synagogue dedication ceremonies, burial compendia, and prayers for the sick. Most of the texts were very traditional; most are Sephardic. In the 1840s, new German synagogues in New York and Philadelphia were established, and thus German liturgies appeared.

With the exception of the Reformed Society of Israelites and the Beth Elohim *Hymnal*, Reform did not enter the picture until the 1850s. Beginning with the *Seder tefilah* of Leo Merzbacher, first published in 1855 and later revised by Samuel Adler, there was an explosion of Reform prayer books, each reflecting different levels of Reform as well as the personalities of the compilers: *Minhag Amerika* or *Tefilot bene yeshurun*, by Isaac M. Wise and the "Conference" (1857, 1862, 1864, 1866); *Olat tamid* by David Einhorn (1858, 1862, 1872); and various prayer books by Benjamin Szold, of Baltimore (*Avodat Yisra'el, Qodesh hilulim, Hегyon ha-lev*), with later revisions and translation by Marcus Jastrow.

Raphael de Cordova Lewin composed *American Jewish Ritual* for Temple Israel, Brooklyn, in 1870. Adolph Huebsch, of Ahawath Chesed, produced *Seder tefillah* (German and Hebrew, 1872, 1875, 1883), later translated by Alexander Kohut, as well as *Hymnen*. Aaron Hahn, of Cleveland, produced *Korban Aharon = Gebete für Sabbath . . .* (1876); David Levy of Mikveh Israel, Savannah, published *'Avodat ha-kodesh* (1879); Edward Browne produced *Tefilat Yisra'el* for Sha'are Tikvah, New York (1884, 1885, 1888); and S. H. Sonnenschein issued a trial ritual for Temple Israel, Saint Louis (1888).

The period of the 1850s–1880s also produced non-Reform liturgy. The above-mentioned Heidenheim *siddur* (1852) and a Heidenheim *maḥzor*, as well as a *siddur* and *maḥzor* published by Henry Frank (1856), were reprinted many times throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Also published was *Seder le-hadrat kodesh* (1887). These are Orthodox *Minhag Ashkenaz* or *Minhag Polin* texts.

During the late 1880s and 1890s there was a struggle for power in the newly formed Reform movement.¹ The ideological debate between the Einhorn camp—which included Kaufmann Kohler and Emil G. Hirsch—and Isaac M. Wise, and later Isaac Moses, ultimately evolved into the *Union Prayer Book* (1892; withdrawn 1894–1895). [The reasons for the withdrawal are given by Silberman, 1965.] Those who lost the battle for the *UPB* produced their own prayer books. Emil Hirsch, one of Einhorn's sons-in-law, translated *'Olat tamid* into English.

Prayer books were compiled by Isaac Moses, Joseph Leonard Levy (Pittsburgh), Joseph Bogen (Greenville, Mississippi), Joseph Krauskopf (Philadelphia), and Max Landsberg (Rochester). Home prayer books, devotionals, and individual rituals were also published by Gustav Gottheil (New York), Henry Berkowitz (Philadelphia, New York), and Joseph Voorsanger (San Francisco). Proto-Conservative works were compiled by New York rabbis Henry Jacobs, of B'nai Jeshurun, and Aaron Wise, of Rodeph Shalom, later arranged by Rudolph Grossman. The need to publish and influence through liturgy is clear. An interesting feature of this time period was the publication of Sunday services for Reform congregations, such as those issued by D. Stern, Kaufmann Kohler, and Leo Franklin. Those were not "Sunday as Sabbath" services, but an acknowledgment of congregants' working on Saturday. These were weekday services, mostly in English.

Children's Prayer Books

Another way to gauge the need to influence is by examining the many children's prayer books; there are over 200 in the bibliography. Many compilers of adult prayer books also wrote for children. Some children's prayer books are simplified extracts of adult prayer books; some were written originally for children. Some contain Hebrew; others are solely in English. Confirmation services and catechisms with prayers also abound. Prayer books for children of a more traditional nature were also published in the early 20th century. Some are readers with prayers; some are full prayer books with instructions. Some are in Hebrew and English, while others are in Hebrew and Yiddish.

Women's Prayer Books

Also published were devotionals and/or prayer books for women. Beginning in 1852 with *Ruḥamah* by Morris Raphall, and continuing in 1863 with the publication of *Stunden der Andacht* by Fanny Neuda, and its English translation, *Hours of Devotion* (translated by M. Mayer, 1866), as well as Isaac Leeser and Hester Rothschild's translation of Jonas Ennery's *Imre lev* (1864), prayer books for women and girls became common. Most are not in Hebrew, though many contain the Hebrew texts of some blessings. They were initially published in German and English, and, later, in Yiddish (1916). These texts were created for women of all affiliations. That is, some are Orthodox (Raphall, *Stunden der Andacht*, *Shas tehilot*, *Sefer Ohel Sarah*, by A. Hirschowitz), some are organizational (Council of Jewish Women), and some are Reform.

Reform devotionals, in their titles, are not explicitly directed to women (e.g., *Prayers for Private Devotion*, 1912). They were authored by both men and women. Some include just prayers, but more often they contain ritual directions as well. Some of these works were republished often, or went into several revisions. This speaks of a need to reach women in the vernacular, but also to the fact that many women were literate and would look to such a volume for spiritual and ritual guidance. Complementary to this was the appearance of home prayer books.²

Denominations and Rites

The period of the 1880s through 1924 was a time of heavy immigration from Eastern Europe. These immigrants, by and large, were not responsive to the Reform of their Central European co-religionists. There-

fore, the late 19th and early 20th centuries saw the proliferation of Orthodox *siddurim*, *maḥzorim*, *teḥinnot*, *seliḥot*, *kinot*, and books of home ritual. There was a succession of publishers (Rosenbaum, Sakolski, Werbelowsky) who bought Henry Frank's plates; these publishers merged in the early 20th century to form the Hebrew Publishing Company. This publisher issued many prayer books, including *Sidur bet Yisra'el 'ivri taitsh*, *Sidur korban minḥah*, *Sidur Raban*, and *Maḥzor 'im be'ur bet Levy*.

The 1910s saw the importation of *siddurim* from England, such as the Nathan Adler/S. Singer *Standard Prayer Book* and Herbert Adler/Arthur Davis *Maḥzor 'avodat ohel-mo'ed*. We see the appearance of Ḥasidic rite/*Nusah Sefarad/Nusah Ari*, beginning in 1912 with *Sidur Ari*. The early 20th century produced liturgy noted as Conservative. Some of those involved include Barnet Elzas, Abraham Hyman Charlap, The United Synagogue, Jacob Bosniak, and the Bloch Publishing Company. These were "unofficial" conservative works, as the movement did not produce an official *siddur* until 1946 (Silverman), although the United Synagogue published a Festival prayer book in 1927.³

The Language of Prayer Books

One of the features of these prayer books that bears comment is their language, as well as their directionality. The first Jewish prayer books published in the U.S. were in English, with transcribed Hebrew in Sephardic pronunciation. These were followed by prayer books in Hebrew and English on facing pages. As the German immigration grew, prayer books were published in German and Hebrew, or in German alone. As the German Jews in America went into a second and third generation, prayer books began to appear in English. Some were translations from the original German, and some were new. In the latter part of the 19th century, new Hebrew and English prayer books appeared, some of them with parallel texts, but many featured English texts with Hebrew inserted. In the last decade of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century, we also see the publication of Hebrew-only texts as well as Hebrew and Yiddish texts. Sometimes the texts were parallel; others, such as those published by J. Magil were interlinear; and sometimes Hebrew texts included Yiddish instructions. We also find Yiddish-only texts, such as *teḥinnot*, published in the early 20th century.

The directionality of the prayer book indicates how "radically" Reform a prayer book

was. The prayer books of Merzbacher, Szold, I. M. Wise, Jastrow, Aaron Wise, and Henry Jacobs were right-opening (i.e., "traditional") books. Einhorn's was left-opening, as were the *Union Prayer Book* and most Reform prayer books of the 1890s and early 20th century, such as those published by Krauskopf, Moses, Berkowitz, J. L. Levy, Louis Grossmann, Landsberg, Bogen, and Gottheil.

Liturgical Music

An interesting aspect of American Jewish liturgy is music and/or hymnals. My bibliography lists nearly 200 such works. The 1842 *Hymnal* of Beth Elohim, Charleston, written predominantly by Penina Moïse, was reprinted four times, and ultimately contributed significantly to the *Union Hymnal* (1897). The congregations of Rodeph Shalom (1843), Emanu-El (1848), and Adath Jeshurun (1866) in New York; Kene-seth Israel in Philadelphia (1856); and Oheb Shalom in Baltimore (1862) had their own hymnals. Individuals such as G. M. Cohen (1864) and Wilhelm Fischer (1863) composed hymnals or music. Music also began to develop in divergent ways in the second half of the 19th century. Synagogue music, particularly for organ, was composed for Reform congregations. Earlier works were composed by Jewish composers such as Alois Kaiser, E. J. Stark, and S. B. Schlesinger, but later, many musical services were composed for the *Union Prayer Book* by gentiles, often the Temples' choir directors or organists. This was in contrast to congregational singing using hymnals.⁴ Hymns were often in German, and later in English.

A late 19th-century interest in *hazanut* brought music to the Orthodox arena. Abundant musical scores began to appear (in romanized Hebrew or Yiddish) during the 1910s. Many of the composers were born in Eastern Europe. Later, the Young Israel movement and related early Conservative synagogues produced a counter-trend toward congregational singing, with the publication of "songsters," such as those published by Henry Gideon, Louis Weinstein, Israel and Samuel Goldfarb, and Israel Levinthal.⁵

Public services are another interesting phenomenon. Abraham Karp notes that America was a religious environment, where Jewish religiosity was seen as a patriotic act.⁶ There were several Jewish services of public mourning for a president, or celebrations of American events. There were also instances of Jews such as Morris Raphall and Rudolph Coffee, acting as "chaplains" in American government, as well as of

anniversary services marking 400 years since Columbus' journey (1492–1892) and 250 years of Jewish settlement in the United States (1655–1905).

Where Was Liturgy Composed and Published?

American Jewish life began in New York, and most immigrants came through New York, but liturgy was produced in many different places. Liturgy was published predominantly in New York (including Brooklyn), with the next greatest number of publications appearing in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, Baltimore, San Francisco, and Boston. Philadelphia began with Sephardic works (Leeser) and moved on to include Reform. Some of Philadelphia's prominent Reform rabbis, including Marcus Jastrow, Joseph Krauskopf, and Henry Berkowitz, were not satisfied with the "Union" products and produced their own liturgies, many of which were reprinted often. The Bible publisher Joseph Magil produced several Orthodox liturgical works, including his often-reprinted linear prayer book.

Cincinnati, as the home of Hebrew Union College and the first home of Bloch Publishing Co., produced a great deal of liturgy. Baltimore was the home of Benjamin Szold and, for a time, David Einhorn, both of whom produced liturgical works. The Reform pulpits of Chicago (Sinai and Zion) also produced their share. But liturgy was produced all around the country, as Jews populated the United States: in Charleston, Richmond, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Albany, Rochester, Milwaukee, Mobile, New Orleans, Louisville, and Detroit. Even smaller towns such as Elmira, and Altoona and Wilkes-Barre, PA, produced liturgy.

The 19th century was a time of great intellectual ferment. American Jews were attempting to define who they were and what they believed. There was also a great struggle between the attempts to organize American Jewish religion, and the independence inherent in the "pioneer" spirit. In Edward Calisch's introduction to his prayer book for Beth Ahabah in Richmond, and in Max Landsberg's introduction to his prayer book for Brith Kodesh in Rochester, both rabbis claim that they had not originally intended to write new prayer books. But Beth Ahabah wanted its own prayer book, and Brith Kodesh could not be satisfied theologically with any existing Reform prayer book. Ego, politics, and conflicting definitions of Reform caused a proliferation of liturgy, not unlike what we are seeing in the 1990s.

It is my perception that a lot more undocumented liturgy exists. So many synagogues

produced dedication and anniversary services, and I am sure that all of these texts did not make it into libraries and archives. Synagogues also folded, and not all their documents were saved. I hope that a comprehensive listing of American Jewish liturgy will some day be compiled, but I fear that this is an elusive goal. I believe that there is a bit of a vicious cycle here, where liturgies remain uncataloged because only a few scholars study them. But if liturgical works remain uncataloged, and, therefore, inaccessible, no one will know that these items exist as a legitimate source of study. I believe that the comments by Millgram (1971) and Hoffman (1987) cited above are valid, and that the study of these liturgical texts will add to our knowledge of how Jews in America lived, and what values they held dear, during our early history in this country. I hope that my bibliography helps to document the existence of previously unknown liturgical works, and that it will encourage institutions that hold unique liturgical items to catalog them and thus make them accessible.

Notes

1. On the development of early Reform prayer books and the theological and social tensions between some of these compilers, see Eric Friedland, *The Historical and Theological Development of The Non-Orthodox Prayerbooks in the United States* (1967, c1968) and his "Olath Tamid by David Einhorn," in *Hebrew Union College Annual* (1974); A. Z. Idelsohn, "The Liturgy of Reform Judaism," in his *Jewish Liturgy and its Development* (1932); Leon A. Jick, *The Americanization of the Synagogue, 1820–1870* (1976); and "American Jewish Liturgies," by Lawrence A. Hoffman (1987). For a discussion of the history and conflict surrounding the *Union Prayer Book*, see: Lou H. Silberman, "The Union Prayer Book: A Study in Liturgical Development" (1965); Samuel S. Cohon, "The Theology of the Union Prayer Book" (1928; 1973); Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (1988); and David Philipson, "The Reform Prayer Book" (1919).

2. For a discussion of *tehinnot* and/or women's prayers in the vernacular, see: Solomon Freehof, "Devotional Literature in the Vernacular," *CCAR Yearbook* 33 (1923), pp. 375–424; Chava Weissler, "The Traditional Piety of Ashkenazic Women," in Arthur Green (ed.), *Jewish Spirituality from the Sixteenth-Century Revival to the Present* (New York: Crossroad, 1987), pp. 245–275; "Prayers in Yiddish and the Religious World of Ashkenazic Women," in Judith Baskin (ed.), *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective* (Detroit: Wayne State Press, 1991); Chava Weissler, "Tkhines and Women's Prayer," *CCAR Journal* (Fall 1993), pp. 75–88; Shulamith Z. Berger, "Tehines: A Brief Survey of Women's Prayer," in Susan Grossman and Rivka Haut (eds.), *Daughters of the King* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1992), pp. 73–78. These articles deal with the *tehinnot* of European Jewish women, and specifically with Yiddish prayers. I have not

yet seen a full analysis of American or English-language devotionals.

3. *Seder tefilot Yisra'el le-Shabat ule-shalosh regalim: 'im tirgum Angli hadash ve-he'arot = Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book*. [New York]: hotsa'at Kenesiyat ha-rabanim be-Amerikah u-Vate ha-keneset ha-me'uhadim be-Amerikah 1946 or 1947; *Mahzor le-shalosh regalim = Festival Prayer Book*. New York: United Synagogue of America, 1927.

4. For a discussion of American Jewish hymns and synagogue music, see A. W. Binder, "A History of American Jewish Hymnody" and his "A Perspective on Synagogue Music in America" (1971). On the Reform Hymnal, see Benjie-Ellen Schiller, "The Hymnal as an Index of Musical Change in Reform Synagogues" (1992).

5. On the *hazanut* craze see Jeffrey S. Gurock, "The Orthodox Synagogue," in Jack Wertheimer (ed.), *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed* (1987, pp. 37–84). Gurock's essay also includes discussions of the Young Israel movement in Orthodoxy and the development of the Orthodox synagogue in America.

6. "The immigrant Jew quickly perceived that religion and religious institutions were highly esteemed in America, and that those associated with these institutions were respected as 'good citizens,' and that religious diversity was viewed as a mandate of democracy . . . The diversity that the synagogue brought to the religious scene was a service to democracy. Hence, to build and maintain a synagogue was a response to the American as well as to the Jewish call to duty. Whenever Jewish and American interests fortified each other, American Jews responded with complete enthusiasm" in Abraham J. Karp, "Overview: The Synagogue in America," in Jack Wertheimer (ed.), *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed* (1987, p. 6).

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2. יערי, אברהם. ביבליוגרפיה של הגדות פסח מראשית הדפוס ועד היום. ירושלים: במברגר את ואהרמן, תשכ"ח.

Sharona R. Wachs has worked as a librarian in a number of institutions, including Spertus College of Judaica, Brooklyn College, Florida International University, Yeshiva University, and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. She is currently a Monographic Cataloger and Judaic Studies Bibliographer at the University at Albany, where she has worked since 1988.

Ms. Wachs is the compiler of Kosover Collection of Judaica, 1545–1850, a catalog of early Judaica in The University at Albany's Department of Special Collections and Archives. She also serves as Contributing Editor to the "Catalog Department" column of Judaica Librarianship.