they set out together from Ur of the Chaldeans for the land of Canaan; but when they had come as far as Haran, they settled there. 10 The days of Terah came to 205 years; and Terah died in Haran.

12 The LORD said to Abram, "Go forth from your native land and from your father's house to the land that I will show you. I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you; I will make your name great, and you shall be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you and curse him that curses you; and all the families of the earth shall bless themselves by you."

4 Abram went forth as the LORD had commanded him, and Lot went with him. Abram was seventy-five years old when he left Haran. 5 Abram took his wife Sarai and his brother's son Lot, and all the wealth that they had amassed, and the persons that they had acquired in Haran; and they set out for the land of Canaan. When they arrived in the land of Canaan, 6 Abram passed through the land as far as the site of Shechem, at the terebinth of Moreh. The Canaanites were then in the land.

7 The LORD appeared to Abram and said, "I will give this land to your offspring." And he built an altar there to the LORD who had appeared to him. 8 From there he moved on to the hill country east of Bethel and pitched his tent, with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east; and he built there an altar to the LORD and invoked the LORD by name. Then Abram journeyed by stages toward the Negeb.

10 There was a famine in the land, and Abram went down to Egypt to sojourn there, for the famine was severe in the land. 11 As he was about to enter Egypt, he said to his wife Sarai, "I know what a beautiful woman you are. 12 If the Egyptians see you, and think, 'She is his wife,' they will kill me and let you live. 13 Please say that you are my sister, that it may go well with me because of you, and that I may remain alive thanks to you.'"

14 When Abram entered Egypt, the Egyptians saw how very beautiful the woman was. 15 Pharaoh's courtiers saw her and praised her to Pharaoh, and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's palace. 16 And because of her, it went well with Abram; he acquired sheep, oxen, asses, male and female slaves, she-asses, and camels.

17 But the LORD afflicting Pharaoh and his household with mighty plagues on account of Sarah, the wife of Abram. 18 Pharaoh sent for Abram and said, "What is this you have done to me! Why did you not tell me that she was your wife? 19 Why did you say, 'She is my sister,' so that I took her as my wife? Now, here is your wife; take her and be gone!" 20 And Pharaoh put men in charge of him, and they sent him off with his wife and all that he possessed.

13 From Egypt, Abram went up into the Negeb, with his wife and all that he possessed, together with Lot. 2 Now Abram was very rich in cattle, silver, and gold. 3 And he proceeded by stages from the Negeb as far as Bethel, to the place where his tent had been formerly, between Bethel and Ai, the site of the altar which he had built there at first; and there Abram invoked the LORD by name.

5 Lot, who went with Abram, also had flocks and herds and tents, so that the land could not support them staying together; for their possessions were so great that they could not remain together. 6 And there was quarreling between the herdsmen of Abram's cattle and those of Lot's cattle. The Canaanites and Perizzites were then dwelling in the land. 7 Abram said to Lot, "Let there be no strife between you and me, between my herdsmen and yours, for we are kinsmen. 8 Is not the whole land before you? Let us separate: if you go north, I will go south; and if you go south, I will go north." 9 Lot looked about him and saw how well watered was the whole plain of the Jordan, all of it—this was
1. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But the earth was desolate and void, and darkness was upon the face of the murrining deep, and the Spirit of God was hovering on the face of the waters. And God said, Be there light: and light was. And God saw the light, that it was good: and God caused a division between the light and the darkness.

2. THE BEGINNING GOD CREATED — This verse sets out an explanation in the manner that our Rabbis explained it: God created the world for the sake of the Torah which is called (Prov. 8:22). “The beginning (power) of His (God’s) way,” and for the sake of Israel who are called (Isa. 2:3) “The beginning (power) of His (God’s) power.” If, however, you wish to explain it in its plain sense, explain it thus: At the beginning of the Creation of heaven and earth when the earth was without form and void and there was darkness, God said, “Let there be light.” The text does not intend to point out the order of the acts of Creation — but to show that these (heaven and earth) were created first; for if it intended to point out this order, it should have written in a verse that He created the heavens and the earth, etc. And for this reason: Because, wherever the word “beginning” occurs in Scripture, it is in the context of the creation of the heavens and the earth. Similarly when you must translate words as some explain who it is the beginning of God’s creation, a similar grammatical construction (of a noun in the construct followed by a verb) is (Hos. 1:2) וַיֶּאֱלֹהִים עַל עַל דֶּרֶךְ הָאָדָם, which is as much as to say, “At the beginning of God’s speaking through Hosea, the Lord said to Hosea. Should you, however, insist that it does not actually intend to point out that these (heaven and earth) were created first, and that the meaning is, “At the beginning of everything He created these,” admitting therefore that the word “beginning” is in the construct state and explaining the meaning of a word qualifying everything by saying that you have texts which are elliptical, omitting a word, so far as, for example (Job 33:10) “Because it shut out the doors of my mother’s womb” where it does not explicitly say He was the first to speak the words; and (Isa. 8:4) “He shall take away the spoil of Samaria without explaining who shall the act away, and (Amos 6:12) “Both He ploughed with men,” and it does not explicitly state, Declaring from the beginning the end: and it does not actually intend to point out that these (heaven and earth) were created first, you should be astonished at yourself, because as a matter of fact the waters were created before heaven and earth,” for, it is written. (2) “The Spirit of God was hovering on the face of the waters,” and Scripture had not yet disclosed when the creation of the waters took place; consequently you must learn from

NOTES
1) See Appendix.
2) The Rabbis translated thus: For the sake of (a) the Torah and Israel which be the name of power God created the heaven and the earth.
3) See Appendix.
rich." For me, nothing but what my servants have used up; as for
the share of the men who went with me—Aner, Eshkol, and
Mamre—let them take their share."

15 Some time later, the word of the LORD came to Abram in a
vision, saying,
"Fear not, Abram,
I am a shield to you;
Your reward shall be very great."
But Abram said, "O Lord God, what can You give me, seeing
that I shall die childless,* and the one in charge of my household
is Damnesek Eliezer!" 3 Abram said further, "Since You have
granted me no offspring, my steward will be my heir." 4 The
word of the LORD came to him in reply, "That one shall not
be your heir; none but your very own issue shall be your heir."
5 He took him outside and said, "Look toward heaven and count
the stars, if you are able to count them." And He added, "So shall
your offspring be." 6 And because he put his trust in the LORD,
He reckoned it to his merit.

Then He said to him, "I am the LORD who brought you out
from Ur of the Chaldeans to give you this land as a possession."
And he said, "O Lord God, how shall I know that I am to possess
it?" He answered, "Bring Me a three-year-old heifer, a three-year-
old she-goat, a three-year-old ram, a turtledove, and a young bird.
8 He brought Him all these and cut them in two, placing each half
opposite the other; but he did not cut up the bird. 9 Birds of prey
came down upon the carcasses, and Abram drove them away. 10 As
the sun was about to set, a deep sleep fell upon Abram, and a great
dark dread descended upon him. 11 And He said to Abram, "Know
well that your offspring shall be strangers in a land not theirs, and
they shall be enslaved and oppressed four hundred years; but
I will execute judgment on the nation they shall serve, and in the
end they shall go free with great wealth. 12 As for you,
You shall go to your fathers in peace;
You shall be buried at a ripe old age.

** Heb obscure

16 And they shall return here in the fourth generation, for the
iniquity of the Amorites is not yet complete."
17 When the sun set and it was very dark, there appeared a
smoking oven, and a flaming torch which passed between those
pieces. 18 On that day the LORD made a covenant with Abram,
saying, "To your offspring I give this land, from the river of Egypt
to the great river, the river Euphrates: 19 the Kenites, the Kenizzites,
the Kadmonites, 20 the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Rephaim, 21 the
Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgasites, and the Jebusites."

16 Sarai, Abram's wife, had borne him no children. She had an
Egyptian maidservant whose name was Hagar. 2 And Sarai said to
Abram, "Look, the LORD has kept me from bearing. Consort with
my maid; perhaps I shall have a son* through her." And Abram
heeded Sarai's request. 3 So Sarai, Abram's wife, took her maid,
Hagar the Egyptian—after Abram had dwelt in the land of Canaan
ten years—and gave her to her husband Abram as concubine. 4 He
cohabited with Hagar and she conceived; and when she saw that
she had conceived, her mistress was lowered in her esteem.
5 And Sarai said to Abram, "The wrong done me is your fault! I
myself put my maid in your bosom; now that she sees that she is
pregnant, I am lowered in her esteem. The Lord decide between
you and me!" 6 Abram said to Sarai, "Your maid is in your hands.
Deal with her as you think right." Then Sarai treated her harshly,
and she ran away from her.

7 An angel of the Lord found her by a spring of water in the
wilderness, the spring on the road to Shur, 8 and said, "Hagar,
slave of Sarai, where have you come from, and where are you
going?" And she said, "I am running away from my mistress
Sarai."

9 And the angel of the Lord said to her, "Go back to your
mistresses, and submit to her harsh treatment." 10 And the angel
of the Lord said to her,
"I will greatly increase your offspring,
And they shall be too many to count."

* Lit. "he built up," play on ben "son" and ba'arh "build up"
the two walked off together. Then Isaac said to his father Abraham, "Father!" And he answered, "Yes, my son." And he said, "Here are the firestone and the wood; but where is the sheep for the burnt offering?" And Abraham said, "God will see to the sheep for His burnt offering, my son." And the two of them walked on together.

They arrived at the place of which God had told him. Abraham built an altar there; he laid out the wood; he bound his son Isaac; he laid him on the altar, on top of the wood. And Abraham picked up the knife to slay his son. Then an angel of the LORD called to him from heaven: "Abraham! Abraham!" And he answered, "Here I am." And he said, "Do not raise your hand against the boy, or do anything to him. For now I know that you fear God, since you have not withheld your son, your favored one, from Me." When Abraham looked up, his eye fell upon a ram, caught in the thicket by its horns. So Abraham went and took the ram and offered it up as a burnt offering in place of his son. And Abraham named that site Adonai-yireh, whence the present saying, "On the mount of the LORD there is vision."

The angel of the LORD called to Abraham a second time from heaven, and said, "By Myself I swear, the LORD declares: because you have done this and have not withheld your son, your favored one, I will bestow My blessing upon you and make your descendants as numerous as the stars of heaven and the sands on the seashore; and your descendants shall seize the gates of their foes. All the nations of the earth shall bless themselves by your descendants, because you have obeyed My command." Abraham then returned to his servants, and they departed together for Beersheba; and Abraham stayed in Beersheba.

Some time later, Abraham was told, "Milcah too has borne children to your brother Nahor: Uz the first-born, and Buz his brother, and Kemuel the father of Aram; and Chesed, Hazo, Pildash, Jidlaph, and Bethuel"—Bethuel being the father of Rebekah. These eight Milcah bore to Nahor, Abraham's brother.

24 And his concubine, whose name was Reumah, also bore children: Tebah, Gaham, Tahash, and Maacah.

23 Sarah's lifetime—the span of Sarah's life—came to one hundred and twenty-seven years. Sarah died in Kirjath-arba—now Hebron—in the land of Canaan; and Abraham proceeded to mourn for Sarah and to bewail her. Then Abraham rose from beside his dead, and spoke to the Hittites, saying, "I am a resident alien among you; sell me a burial site among you, that I may remove my dead for burial." And the Hittites replied to Abraham, saying to him, "Hear us, my lord: you are the elect of God among us. Bury your dead in the choicest of our burial places; none of us will withhold his burial place from you for burying your dead." Thereupon Abraham bowed low to the people of the land, the Hittites, and he said to them, "If it is your wish that I remove my dead for burial, you must agree to intercede for me with Ephron son of Zohar. Let him sell me the cave of Machpelah which he owns, which is at the edge of his land. Let him sell it to me, at the full price, for a burial site in your midst."

Ephron was present among the Hittites; so Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the hearing of the Hittites, all who entered the gate of his town, saying, "No, my lord, hear me: I give you the field and I give you the cave that is in it; I give it to you in the presence of my people. Bury your dead." Then Abraham bowed low before the people of the land, and spoke to Ephron in the hearing of the people of the land, saying, "If only you would hear me out! Let me pay the price of the land; accept it from me, that I may bury my dead there." And Ephron replied to Abraham, saying to him, "My lord, do hear me! A piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver—what is that between you and me? Go and bury your dead." Abraham accepted Ephron's terms. Abraham paid out to Ephron the money that he had named in the hearing of the Hittites—four hundred shekels of silver at the going merchants' rate.

* i.e. all his fellow townsman

26 Reading 'cloud with many Heb. ms. and ancient versions; text 'altar' "after"
sacrifice to our God! 9 Let heavier work be laid upon the men; let them keep at it and not pay attention to deceitful promises.

10 So the taskmasters and foremen of the people went out and said to the people, "Thus says Pharaoh: I will not give you any straw. 11 You must go and get the straw yourselves wherever you can find it; but there shall be no decrease whatever in your work." 12 Then the people scattered throughout the land of Egypt to gather stubble for straw. 13 And the taskmasters pressed them, saying, "You must complete the same work assignment each day as when you had straw." 14 And the foremen of the Israelites, whom Pharaoh's taskmasters had set over them, were beaten. "Why," they were asked, "did you not complete the prescribed amount of bricks, either yesterday or today, as you did before?"

15 Then the Israelite foremen came to Pharaoh and cried: "Why do you deal thus with your servants? 16 No straw is issued to your servants, yet they demand of us: Make bricks! Thus your servants are being beaten, when the fault is with your own people." 17 He replied, "You are shirkers, shirkers! That is why you say, 'Let us go and sacrifice to the Lord.' 18 Be off now to your work! No straw shall be issued to you, but you must produce your quota of bricks!"

19 Now the foremen of the Israelites found themselves in trouble because of the order, "You must not reduce your daily quantity of bricks." 20 As they left Pharaoh's presence, they came upon Moses and Aaron standing in their path, 21 and they said to them, "May the Lord look upon you and punish you for making foolishness to Pharaoh and his courtiers—putting a sword in their hands to slay us." 22 Then Moses returned to the Lord and said, "O Lord, why did You bring harm upon this people? Why did You send me? 23 Ever since I came to Pharaoh to speak in Your name, he has dealt worse with this people; and still You have not delivered Your people.

6 Then the Lord said to Moses, "You shall soon see what I will do to Pharaoh: he shall let them go because of a greater might;
50 Joseph flung himself upon his father's face and wept over him and kissed him. Then Joseph ordered the physicians in his service to embalm his father, and the physicians embalmed Israel.

Yet it required forty days, for such is the full period of embalming. The Egyptians bewailed him seventy days; and when the wailing period was over, Joseph spoke to Pharaoh's court, saying, "Do me this favor, and lay this appeal before Pharaoh: 'My father made me swear, saying, 'I am about to die. Be sure to bury me in the grave which I made ready for myself in the land of Canaan.' Now, therefore, let me go up and bury my father; then I shall return.'"

And Pharaoh said, "Go up and bury your father, as he made you promise on oath."

He obeyed God's command and went up with all the officials of Pharaoh, the senior members of his court, and all of Egypt's dignitaries, together with all of Joseph's household, his brothers, and his father's household; only their children, their flocks, and their herds were left in the region of Goshen. Chariots, too, and horsemen went up with him; it was a very large troop.

When they came to Goren ha-Atad, which is beyond the Jordan, they held there a very great and solemn lamentation; and he observed a mourning period of seven days for his father. And when the Canaanite inhabitants of the land saw the mourning at Goren ha-Atad, they said, "This is a solemn mourning on the part of the Egyptians." That is why it was named Abel-mizraim, which is beyond the Jordan.

Thus his sons did for him as he had instructed them. His sons carried him to the land of Canaan, and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah, the field near Mamre, which Abraham had bought for a burial site from Ephron the Hittite. After burying his father, Joseph returned to Egypt, he and his brothers and all who had gone up with him to bury his father.

When Joseph's brothers saw that their father was dead, they said, "What if Joseph still bears a grudge against us and pays us

* Heb "the arms of his hands"
† Heb obscure
‡ Meaning of Heb uncertain; others "booty"
11 The angel of the LORD said to her further,
   "Behold, you are with child
   And shall bear a son;
   You shall call him Ishmael,*
   For the LORD has paid heed to your suffering.
12 He shall be a wild ass of a man;
   His hand against everyone,
   And everyone’s hand against him;
   He shall dwell alongside of all his kinsmen."
13 And she called the LORD who spoke to her, "You Are El-roi," by which she meant, 4"Have I not gone on seeing after He saw me?" 14 Therefore the well was called Beer-lahai-roi; it is between Kadesh and Bered. 15 Hagar bore a son to Abram, and Abram gave the son that Hagar bore him the name Ishmael. 16 Abram was eighty-six years old when Hagar bore Ishmael to Abram.

17 When Abram was ninety-nine years old, the LORD appeared to Abram and said to him, "I am El Shaddai.* Walk in My ways and be blameless. I will establish My covenant between Me and you, and I will make you exceedingly numerous.

18 Abram threw himself on his face; and God spoke to him further,
4"As for Me, this is My covenant with you: You shall be the father of a multitude of nations. 5 And you shall no longer be called Abram, but your name shall be Abraham,* for I make you the father of a multitude of nations. 6 I will make you exceedingly fertile, and make nations of you; and kings shall come forth from you. 7 I will maintain My covenant between Me and you, and your offspring to come, as an everlasting covenant throughout the ages, to be God to you and to your offspring to come. 8 I give the land you journey in to you and your offspring to come, all the land of Canaan, as an everlasting possession. I will be their God." 9

10 God further said to Abraham, "As for you, you and your offspring to come throughout the ages shall keep My covenant. 11 Such shall be the covenant between Me and you and your offspring to follow which you shall keep: every male among you shall be circumcised. 12 You shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and that shall be the sign of the covenant between Me and you. 13 And throughout the generations, every male among you shall be circumcised at the age of eight days. As for the born slave and the one bought from an outsider who is not of your offspring, 14 they must be circumcised, born slave and purchased alike. Thus shall My covenant be marked in your flesh as an everlasting pact. 15 And if any male who is uncircumcised fails to circumcise the flesh of his foreskin, that person shall be cut off from his kin; he has broken My covenant." 16 And God said to Abraham, "As for your wife Sarai, you shall not call her Sarai, but her name shall be Sarah.* 17 I will bless her; indeed, I will give you a son by her. I will bless her so that she shall give rise to nations; rulers of peoples shall issue from her. 18 Abraham threw himself on his face and laughed, as he said to himself, "Can a child be born to a man a hundred years old, or can Sarah bear a child at ninety?" 19 And Abraham said to God, "Oh that Ishmael might live by Your favor!" 20 God said, "Nevertheless, Sarah your wife shall bear you a son, and you shall name him Isaac; 21 and I will maintain My covenant with him as an everlasting covenant for his offspring to come. 22 As for Ishmael, I have heeded you. I hereby bless him. I will make him fertile and exceedingly numerous. He shall be the father of twelve chieftains, and I will make of him a great nation. 23 But My covenant I will maintain with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to you at this season next year." 24 And when He was done speaking with him, God went from Abraham.

25 Then Abraham took his son Ishmael, and all his born slave and all those he had bought, every male in Abraham’s household, and he circumcised the flesh of their foreskins on that very day, as God had spoken to him. 26 Abraham was ninety-nine years old when he circumcised the flesh of his foreskin, 27 and his son Ishmael was thirteen years old when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. 28 Thus Abraham and his son Ishmael were circumcised on that very day; 29 and all his household, his home-
Jacob then gave Esau bread and lentil stew; he ate and drank, and he rose and went away. Thus did Esau spurn the birthright.

26 There was a famine in the land—aside from the previous famine that had occurred in the days of Abraham—and Isaac went to Abimelech, king of the Philistines, in Gerar. The Lord had appeared to him and said, “Do not go down to Egypt; stay in the land which I point out to you. 27Reside in this land, and I will be with you and bless you; I will give all these lands to you and to your offspring, fulfilling the oath that I swore to your father Abraham. 28I will make your descendants as numerous as the stars of heaven, and give to your descendants all these lands, so that all the nations of the earth shall bless themselves by your offspring—sinasmuch as Abraham obeyed Me and kept My charge: My commandments, My laws, and My teachings.”

29So Isaac stayed in Gerar. 30When the men of the place asked him about his wife, he said, “She is my sister,” for he was afraid to say “my wife,” thinking, “The men of the place might kill me on account of Rebekah, for she is beautiful.” 31When some time had passed, Abimelech king of the Philistines, looking out of the window, saw Isaac fondling his wife Rebekah. 32Abimelech sent for Isaac and said, “So she is your wife! Why then did you say: She is my sister?” Isaac said to him, “Because I thought I might lose my life on account of her.” 33Abimelech said, “What have you done to us! One of the people might have lain with your wife, and you would have brought guilt upon us.” 34Abimelech then charged all the people, saying, “Anyone who molest this man or his wife shall be put to death.”

35Isaac sowed in that land and reaped a hundredfold the same year. The Lord blessed him, 36and the man grew richer and richer until he was very wealthy: 37he acquired flocks and herds, and a large household, so that the Philistines envied him. 38And the Philistines stopped up all the wells which his father’s servants had dug in the days of his father Abraham, filling them with earth.

16And Abimelech said to Isaac, “Go away from us, for you have become far too big for us.”

17So Isaac departed from there and encamped in the wadi of Gerar, where he settled. 18Isaac dug new wells the which had been dug in the days of his father Abraham and which the Philistines had stopped up after Abraham’s death; and he gave them the same names that his father had given them. 19But when Isaac’s servants, digging in the wadi, found there a well of spring water, 20the herdsmen of Gerar quarreled with Isaac’s herdsmen, saying, “The water is ours.” He named that well Esek, because they contended with him. 21And when they dug another well, they disputed over that one also; so he named it Sitnah. 22He moved from there and dug another well, and they did not quarrel over it; so he called it Rehoboth, saying, “Now at last the Lord has granted us ample space to increase in the land.”

23From there he went up to Beer-sheba. 24That night the Lord appeared to him and said, “I am the God of your father Abraham. Fear not, for I am with you, and I will bless you and increase your offspring for the sake of My servant Abraham.” 25So he built an altar there and invoked the Lord by name. Isaac pitched his tent there and his servants started digging a well. 26And Abimelech came to him from Gerar, with Ahuzzath his counselor and Phicol chief of his troops. 27Isaac said to them, “Why have you come to me, seeing that you have been hostile to me and have driven me away from you?” 28And they said, “We now see plainly that the Lord has been with you, and we thought: Let there be a sworn treaty between our two parties, between you and us. Let us make a pact with you 29that you will not do us harm, just as we have not molested you but have always dealt kindly with you and sent you away in peace. From now on, be you blessed of the Lord!” 30Then he made them a feast, and they ate and drank.

31Early in the morning, they exchanged oaths. Isaac then bade them farewell, and they departed from him in peace. 32That same day Isaac’s servants came and told him about the well they had dug, and said to him, “We have found water!” 33He

* I.e. “contention”

* I.e. “harassment”

* Heb nihhâb, connected with “Rehoboth”
Deborah, Rebekah’s nurse, died, and was buried under the oak below Bethel; so it was named Allon-bacuth.9

God appeared again to Jacob on his arrival from Paddan-aram, and He blessed him. 10God said to him,
“You whose name is Jacob,
You shall be called Jacob no more,
But Israel shall be your name.”
Thus He named him Israel.
11And God said to him,
“I am El Shaddai, 
Be fertile and increase;
A nation, yea an assembly of nations,
Shall descend from you.
Kings shall issue from your loins.
12The land that I gave to Abraham and Isaac
I give to you; 
And to your offspring to come
Will I give the land.”

God parted from him at the spot where He had spoken to him; 13and Jacob set up a pillar at the site where He had spoken to him, a pillar of stone, and he offered a libation on it and poured oil upon it. 14Jacob gave the site, where God had spoken to him, the name of Bethel.

They set out from Bethel; but when they were still some distance short of Ephrath, Rachel was in childbirth, and she had hard labor. 15When her labor was at its hardest, the midwife said to her, “Have no fear, for it is another boy for you.” 16But as she breathed her last—for she was dying—she named him Ben-oni; but his father called him Benjamin. 17Thus Rachel died. She was buried on the road to Ephrath—now Bethlehem. 20Over her grave Jacob set up a pillar; it is the pillar at Rachel’s grave to this day.

Israel journeyed on, and pitched his tent beyond Migdal-eder.

While Israel stayed in that land, Reuben went and lay with Bilhah, his father’s concubine; and Israel found out.

Now the sons of Jacob were twelve in number. 23The sons of

Leah: Reuben—Jacob’s first-born—Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun. 24The sons of Rachel: Joseph and Benjamin. 25The sons of Bilhah, Rachel’s maid: Dan and Naphtali. 26And the sons of Zilpah, Leah’s maid: Gad and Asher. These are the sons of Jacob who were born to him in Paddan-aram.

27And Jacob came to his father Isaac at Mamre, at Kiriath-arba—now Hebron—where Abraham and Isaac had sojourned. 28Isaac was a hundred and eighty years old when he breathed his last and died. He was gathered to his kin in ripe old age; and he was buried by his sons Esau and Jacob.

36 This is the line of Esau—that is, Edom.

2Esau took his wives from among the Canaanite women—Adah daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Oholibamah daughter of Anah daughter of Zibeon the Hivite—1and also Basemath daughter of Ishmael and sister of Nebaioth. 4Adah bore to Esau Ethphaz; Basemath bore Reuel; 5and Oholibamah bore Jeush, Jalam, and Korah. Those were the sons of Esau, who were born to him in the land of Canaan.

6Esau took his wives, his sons and daughters, and all the members of his household, his cattle and all his livestock, and all the property that he had acquired in the land of Canaan, and went to another land because of his brother Jacob. 7For the possessions were too many for them to dwell together, and the land where they sojourned could not support them because of their livestock.

So Esau settled in the hill country of Seir—Esau being Edom.

8This, then, is the line of Esau, the ancestor of the Edomites, in the hill country of Seir.

9These are the names of Esau’s sons: Ethphaz, the son of Esau’s wife Adah; Reuel, the son of Esau’s wife Basemath. 11The sons of Ethphaz were Teman, Omar, Zepho, Gatam, and Kenaz. 12Timna was a concubine of Esau’s son Ethphaz; she bore Amalek to Ethphaz. Those were the descendants of Esau’s wife Adah. 13And these were the sons of Reuel: Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah.

# Lit. Isaac

# Cf. v. 20 “Hivite”
of Egypt, that iron blast furnace, to be His very own people, as is now the case.

21 Now the Lord was angry with me on your account and swore that I should not cross the Jordan and enter the good land that the Lord your God is giving you as a heritage. 22 For I must die in this land; I shall not cross the Jordan. But you will cross and take possession of that good land. 23 Take care, then, not to forget the covenant that the Lord your God concluded with you, and not to make for yourselves a sculptured image in any likeness, against which the Lord your God has enjoined you. 24 For the Lord your God is a consuming fire, an impassioned God.

25 Should you, when you have begotten children and children's children and are long established in the land, act wickedly and make for yourselves a sculptured image in any likeness, causing the Lord your God displeasure and vexation, 26 I call heaven and earth this day to witness against you that you shall soon perish from the land which you are crossing the Jordan to occupy; you shall not long endure in it, but shall be utterly wiped out. 27 The Lord will scatter you among the peoples, and only a scant few of you shall be left among the nations to which the Lord will drive you. 28 There you will serve man-made gods of wood and stone, that cannot see or hear or eat or smell.

29 But if you seek Him, if only you seek Him with all your heart and soul—when you are in distress because all these things have befallen you and, in the end, return to the Lord your God and obey Him. 30 For the Lord your God is a compassionate God: He will not fail you nor will He let you perish; He will not forget the covenant which He made on oath with your fathers.

You have but to inquire about bygone ages that came before you, ever since God created man on earth, from one end of heaven to the other: has anything as grand as this ever happened, or has its like ever been known? 31 Has any people heard the voice of a god speaking out of a fire, as you have, and survived? 32 Or has any god ventured to go and take for himself one nation from

the midst of another by prodigious acts, by signs and portents, by war, by a mighty and an outstretched arm and awesome power, as the Lord your God did for you in Egypt before your very eyes? 33 "It has been clearly demonstrated to you* that the Lord alone is God; there is none beside Him. 34 From the heavens He let you hear His voice to discipline you; on earth He let you see His great fire; and from amidst that fire you heard His words. 35 And because He loved your fathers, He chose their offspring after them; He Himself, in His great might, led you out of Egypt, 36 to drive from your path nations greater and more populous than you, to take you into their land and give it to you as a heritage, as is still the case. 37 Know therefore this day and keep in mind that the Lord alone is God in heaven above and on earth below; there is no other. 38 Observe His laws and commandments, which I enjoin upon you this day, that it may go well with you and your children after you, and that you may long remain in the land that the Lord your God is giving you for all time.

41 Then Moses set aside three cities on the east side of the Jordan, 42 to which a manslayer could escape, one who unwittingly slew a fellow man without having been hostile to him in the past; he could flee to one of these cities and live: 43 Bezer, in the wilderness in the Tableland, belonging to the Reubenites; Ramoth, in Gilead, belonging to the Gadites; and Golan, in Bashan, belonging to the Manassites.

44 This is the Teaching that Moses set before the Israelites: 45 these are the exhortations, laws, and rules that Moses addressed to the people of Israel, after they had left Egypt, 46 beyond the Jordan, in the valley at Beth-peor, in the land of Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, whom Moses and the Israelites defeated after they had left Egypt. 47 They had taken possession of his country and that of Og king of Bashan—the two kings of the Amorites who were on the east side of the Jordan, 48 from Aror on the banks of the wadi Arnon, as far as Mount Sion,* that is,
Wine bought with fines they imposed.
9 Yet I
Destroyed the Amorite before them,
Whose stature was like the cedar's
And who was stout as the oak,
Destroying his boughs above
And his trunk below!
10 And I
Brought you up from the land of Egypt
And led you through the wilderness forty years,
To possess the land of the Amorite!
11 And I raised up prophets from among your sons
And nazirites from among your young men.
Is that not so, O people of Israel?
—says the LORD.

12 But you made the nazirites drink wine
And ordered the prophets not to prophesy.
13 Ah, I will slow your movements
As a wagon is slowed
When it is full of cut grain.  
14 Flight shall fail the swift,
The strong shall find no strength,
And the warrior shall not save his life.
15 The bowman shall not hold his ground,
And the fleet-footed shall not escape,
Nor the horseman save his life.
16 Even the most stout-hearted warrior
Shall run away unarmed that day.
—declares the LORD.

3  

Hear this word, O people of Israel,
That the LORD has spoken concerning you,
Concerning the whole family that I brought up from the land of Egypt;
2 You alone have I singled out
Of all the families of the earth—

That is why I will call you to account
For all your iniquities.

3 Can two walk together
Without having met?
4 Does a lion roar in the forest
When he has no prey?
Does a great beast let out a cry from its den
Without having made a capture?
5 Does a bird drop on the ground—in a trap—
With no snare there?
Does a trap spring up from the ground
Unless it has caught something?
5 When a ram's horn is sounded in a town,
Do the people not take alarm?
Can misfortune come to a town
If the LORD has not caused it?
6 Indeed, my Lord GOD does nothing
Without having revealed His purpose
To His servants the prophets.
7 A lion has roared,
Who can but fear?
My Lord GOD has spoken,
Who can but prophesy?
8 Proclaim in the fortresses of Ashdod,
And in the fortresses of the land of Egypt:
Say:
Gather on the hill of Samaria
And witness the great outrages within her
And the oppression in her midst.
9 They are incapable of doing right
—declares the LORD;

They store up lawlessness and rapine
In their fortresses.
10 Assuredly,
Thus said my Lord GOD:
An enemy, all about the land!
He shall strip you of your splendor,
The sword to slay them.
I will fix My eye on them for evil
And not for good.

5 It is my Lord the God of Hosts
At whose touch the earth trembles
And all who dwell on it mourn,
And all of it swells like the Nile
And subsides like the Nile of Egypt;
6 Who built His chambers in heaven
And founded His vault on the earth,
Who summons the waters of the sea
And pours them over the land—
His name is the Lord.

7 To Me, O Israelites, you are
Just like the Ethiopians
True. I brought Israel up
From the land of Egypt,
But also the Philistines from Caphtor
And the Arameans from Kir.

8 Behold, the Lord God has His eye
Upon the sinful kingdom:
I will wipe it off
The face of the earth!

But, I will not wholly wipe out
The House of Jacob

9 For I will give the order
And shake the House of Israel—
Through all the nations—
As one shakes sand in a sieve;
And not a pebble falls to the ground.

10 All the sinners of My people
Shall perish by the sword,
Who boast.

“Never shall the evil
Overtake us or come near us.”

11 In that day,
I will set up again the fallen booth of David;
I will mend its breaches and set up its ruins anew.
I will build it firm as in the days of old,

12 So that they shall possess the rest of Edom
And all the nations once attached to My name—
declares the Lord who will bring this to pass.

13 A time is coming
When the plowman shall meet the reaper—
And the treader of grapes
Him who holds the [bag of] seed;
When the mountains shall drip wine
And all the hills shall wave [with grain].

14 I will restore My people Israel.
They shall rebuild ruined cities and inhabit them;
They shall plant vineyards and drink their wine;
They shall till gardens and eat their fruits.

15 And I will plant them upon their soil,
Nevermore to be uprooted
From the soil I have given them—
said the Lord your God.
Because no response comes from God.
But I,
I am filled with strength by the spirit of the Lord,
And with judgment and courage,
To declare to Jacob his transgressions
And to Israel his sin.

Hear this, you rulers of the House of Jacob,
You chief of the House of Israel,
Who detest justice
And make crooked all that is straight,
Who build Zion with crime,
Jerusalem with iniquity!
Her rulers judge for gifts,
Her priests give rulings for a fee,
And her prophets divine for pay;
Yet they rely upon the Lord, saying,
"The Lord is in our midst;
No calamity shall overtake us."
Assuredly, because of you
Zion shall be plowed as a field,
And Jerusalem shall become heaps of ruins,
And the Temple Mount
A shrine in the woods.

4. In the days to come,
The Mount of the Lord’s House shall stand
Firm above the mountains;
And it shall tower above the hills.
The peoples shall gaze on it with joy.
And the many nations shall go and shall say:
"Come,
Let us go up to the Mount of the Lord,
To the House of the God of Jacob;
That He may instruct us in His ways,
And that we may walk in His paths."
For instruction shall come forth from Zion,
The word of the Lord from Jerusalem.
Thus He will judge among the many peoples,
And arbitrate for the multitude of nations,
However distant;
And they shall beat their swords into plowshares,
And their spears into pruning hooks.
Nation shall not take up
Sword against nation;
They shall never again know war.

But every man shall sit
Under his grapevine or fig tree
With no one to disturb him.
For it was the Lord of Hosts who spoke.
Though all the peoples walk
Each in the name of its gods,
We will walk
In the name of the Lord our God
Forever and ever.

In that day
I will assemble the lame [sleep]
And will gather the outcast
And those I have treated harshly;
And I will turn the lame into a remnant
And the expelled into a populous nation.
And the Lord will reign over them on Mount Zion
Now and for evermore.

And you, O Migdal-eder,¶
¶ Outpost of Fair Zion.
It shall come to you:
The former monarchy shall return—
The kingship of Fair Jerusalem.

Now why do you utter such cries?
Is there no king in you,
Have your advisors perished.

More exactly, the iron points with which wooden plows were tipped.
¶ Cf. Judg. 3:2.
* Meaning of Heb. uncertain; emendation with “yearlings” (Ezek. 34:4.
† Apparently near Bethlehem; see Gen. 35:10-23.
¶¶ Meaning of Heb. uncertain.
* * Emendation yields “the House of Israel”; cf. 3:1-2.
themselves to the Lord of all the earth. 6 The one with the black horses is going out to the region of the north; the white ones have gone out to the region of the south; and the dappled ones have gone out to the region of the east. 7 They were ready to start out and range the earth, and he gave them the order, “Start out and range the earth!” And they ranged the earth. 8 Then he alerted me, and said to me, “Take good note! Those that went out to the region of the north have done my pleasure in the region of the north.”

9 The word of the Lord came to me: 10 Receive from the exiled community—from Heldai, Tobijah, and Jedaiah, who have come from Babylon—and you, in turn, proceed the same day to the house of Josiah son of Zephaniah. 11 Take silver and gold and make crowns. Place [one] on the head of High Priest Joshua son of Jehozadak, 12 and say to him, “Thus said the Lord of Hosts: Behold, a man called the Branch shall branch out from the place where he is, and he shall build the Temple of the Lord. 13 He shall build the Temple of the Lord and shall assume majesty, and he shall sit on his throne and rule. And there shall also be a priest seated on his throne, and harmonious understanding shall prevail between them.”

14 The crowns shall remain in the Temple of the Lord as a memorial to Heldai, Tobijah, and Jedaiah, and Josiah son of Zephaniah. 15 Men from far away shall come and take part in the building of the Temple of the Lord, and you shall know that I have been sent to you by the Lord of Hosts—if only you will obey the Lord your God!

7 In the fourth year of King Darius, on the fourth day of the ninth month, Kislev, the word of the Lord came to Zechariah—when Belshazzar was king and the men sent to entreat the favor of the Lord, 2 and to address this inquiry to the priests of the House of

the Lord and to the prophets: “Shall I weep and practice abstinence in the fifth month, as I have been doing all these years?”

3 Thereupon the word of the Lord of Hosts came to me: “Say to the people of the land and to the priests: When you fasted and lamented in the fifth and seventh months all these seventy years, did you fast for my benefit? 4 And when you eat and drink, who but you does the eating and who but you does the drinking? 5 Look, this is the message that the Lord proclaimed through the earlier prophets, when Jerusalem and the towns about her were peopled and tranquil, when the Negeb and the Shephelah were peopled.

8 And the word of the Lord to Zechariah continued: “Thus said the Lord of Hosts: Execute true justice; deal loyally and compassionately with one another. 9 Do not defraud the widow, the orphan, the stranger and the poor; and do not plot evil against one another. 10 But they refused to pay heed. They presented a balmy back and turned a deaf ear. 11 They hardened their hearts like adamant against heeding the instruction and admonition that the Lord of Hosts sent to them by His spirit through the earlier prophets; and a terrible wrath issued from the Lord of Hosts. 12 Even as He called, and they would not listen, “So,” said the Lord of Hosts, “let them call and I will not listen.” 13 I dispersed them among those nations which they had not known, and the land was left desolate, without anyone who came and went. They caused a delightful land to be turned into a desolation.

8 The word of the Lord of Hosts came to me:

2 Thus said the Lord of Hosts: I am very jealous for Zion, I am jealous for her. 3 Thus said the Lord: I have returned to Zion, and I will dwell in Jerusalem. Jerusalem will be called the City of Faithfulness, and the mount of the Lord of Hosts the Holy Mount. 4 Thus said the Lord of Hosts: There shall yet be old men and women in the squares of Jerusalem, each with staff in hand because of their age. 5 And the squares of the city shall be crowded with boys and girls playing in the squares. 6 Thus said the Lord of Hosts: Though it will seem impossible to the remnant of this people in those days, shall it also be impossible to Me?—declares the Lord of Hosts. 7 Thus said the Lord of Hosts: I will rescue My people from the lands of the east and from the lands of the west, and I will bring them home to dwell in Jerusalem. They shall be My people, and I will be their God—in truth and sincerity.

Because of the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem, cf. 2 Kings 25:8 ff.
LORD, yet they had to leave His land. Therefore I am concerned for My holy name, which the House of Israel have caused to be profaned among the nations to which they have come.

22Therefore I am concerned for My holy name, which the House of Israel have caused to be profaned among the nations to which they have come. 23I will sanctify My great name which has been profaned among the nations—among whom you have caused it to be profaned. And the nations shall know that I am the LORD—declares the Lord God—when I manifest My holiness before their eyes through you. 24I will take you from among the nations and gather you from all the countries, and I will bring you back to your own land. 25I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean: I will cleanse you from all your uncleanness and from all your fetishes. 26And I will give you a new heart and put a new spirit into you: I will remove the heart of stone from your body and give you a heart of flesh; 27And I will put My spirit into you. Thus I will cause you to follow My laws and faithfully to observe My rules. 28Then you shall dwell in the land which I gave to your fathers, and you shall be My people and I will be your God.

29And when I have delivered you from all your uncleanness, I will summon the grain and make it abundant, and I will not bring famine upon you. 30I will make the fruit of your trees and the crops of your fields abundant, so that you shall never again be humiliated before the nations because of famine. 31Then you shall recall your evil ways and your base conduct, and you shall loathe yourselves for your iniquities and your abhorrent practices. 32Not for your sake will I act—declares the Lord God—take good note! Be ashamed and humiliated because of your ways, O House of Israel!

33Thus said the Lord God: When I have cleansed you of all your iniquities, I will people your settlements, and the ruined places shall be rebuilt; 34And the desolate land, after lying waste in the sight of every passerby, shall again be tilled. 35And men shall say, “That land, once desolate, has become like the garden of Eden; and the cities, once ruined, desolate, and ravaged, are now populated and fortified.” 36And the nations that are left around you shall know that I the LORD have rebuilt the ravaged places and replanted the desolate land. I the LORD have spoken and will act.

37Thus said the Lord God: Moreover, in this I will respond to the
and take another stick and write on it, "Of Joseph—the stick of Ephraim—and all the House of Israel associated with him." 17 Bring them close to each other, so that they become one stick, joined together in your hand. 18 And when any of your people ask you, "Won't you tell us what these actions of yours mean?" answer them, "Thus said the Lord God: I am going to take the stick of Joseph—which is in the hand of Ephraim—and of the tribes of Israel associated with him, and I will place the stick of Judah upon it, and make them into one stick; they shall be joined in My hand." 20 You shall hold up before their eyes the sticks which you have inscribed, 21 and you shall declare to them: Thus said the Lord God: I am going to take the Israelite people from among the nations they have gone to, and gather them from every quarter, and bring them to their own land. 22 I will make them a single nation in the land, on the hills of Israel, and one king shall be king of them all. Never again shall they be two nations, and never again shall they be divided into two kingdoms. 23 Nor shall they ever again defile themselves by their abominations and their abhorrent things, and by their other transgressions. I will save them in all their settlements where they sinned, and I will cleanse them. Then they shall be My people, and I will be their God. 24 My servant David shall be king over them; there shall be one shepherd for all of them. They shall follow My rules and faithfully obey My laws. 25 Thus they shall remain in the land which I gave to My servant Jacob and in which your fathers dwelt; they and their children and their children's children shall dwell there forever, with My servant David as their prince for all time. 26 I will make a covenant of friendship with them—it shall be an everlasting covenant with them—I will establish them and multiply them, and I will place My Sanctuary among them forever. 27 My Presence shall rest over them; I will be their God and they shall be My people. 28 And when My Sanctuary abides among them forever, the nations shall know that I the Lord do sanctify Israel.

38 The word of the Lord came to me: "O mortal, turn your face toward Gog of the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal. Prophecy against him; and say: Thus said the Lord God: Lo, I am coming to deal with you, O Gog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal! 1 I will turn you around and put hooks in your jaws, and lead you out with all your army, horses, and horsemen, all of them clothed in splendor, a vast as-}

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**Footnotes:**
1. "Of Joseph—the stick of Ephraim—and all the House of Israel associated with him.”
2. “Lit. ‘dwelling place.’”
3. "Of Joseph—the stick of Ephraim—and all the House of Israel associated with him.”
4. "Of Joseph—the stick of Ephraim—and all the House of Israel associated with him.”
5. "Of Joseph—the stick of Ephraim—and all the House of Israel associated with him.”
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18. "Of Joseph—the stick of Ephraim—and all the House of Israel associated with him.”
19. "Of Joseph—the stick of Ephraim—and all the House of Israel associated with him.”
20. "Of Joseph—the stick of Ephraim—and all the House of Israel associated with him.”

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**References:**
1. Ezekiel 38:1
2. Ezekiel 38:1
3. Ezekiel 38:1
4. Ezekiel 38:1
5. Ezekiel 38:1
6. Ezekiel 38:1
7. Ezekiel 38:1
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17. Ezekiel 38:1
18. Ezekiel 38:1
19. Ezekiel 38:1
20. Ezekiel 38:1
have stored up to this day, will be carried off to Babylon; nothing will be left behind, said the Lord. "And some of your sons, your own issue, whom you will have fathered, will be taken to serve as eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon." 7 Hezekiah declared to Isaiah, "The word of the Lord that you have spoken is good." For he thought, "It means that safety is assured for my time."

40 Comfort, oh comfort My people,
Says your God.
Speak tenderly to Jerusalem,
And declare to her
That her term of service is over,
That her iniquity is expiated;
For she has received at the hand of the Lord
Double for all her sins.

A voice rings out:
"Clear in the desert
A road for the Lord!
Level in the wilderness
A highway for our God!
Let every valley be raised,
Every hill and mount made low,
Let the rugged ground become level
And the ridges become a plain.
7 The Presence of the Lord shall appear,
And all flesh, as one, shall behold—
For the Lord Himself has spoken."

A voice rings out: "Proclaim!"
Another asks, "What shall I proclaim?"
"All flesh is grass,
All its goodness like flowers of the field;
Grass withers, flowers fade
When the breath of the Lord blows on them.

Indeed, man is but grass;
"Grass withers, flowers fade—
But the word of our God is always fulfilled!"

8 Ascend a lofty mountain,
O herald of joy to Zion;
Raise your voice with power,
O herald of joy to Jerusalem—
Raise it, have no fear;
Announce to the cities of Judah:
Behold your God!
Behold, the Lord God comes in might;
And His arm wins triumph for Him;
See, His reward is with Him,
His recompense before Him.
Like a shepherd He pastures His flock:
He gathers the lambs in His arms
And carries them in His bosom;
Gently He drives the mother sheep.

Who measured the waters with the hollow of His hand,
And gauged the skies with a span,
And-metered earth’s dust with a measure,
And weighed the mountains with a scale
And the hills with a balance?
Who has plumbed the mind of the Lord,
What man could tell Him His plan?
Who has consulted with Him, who has taught Him,
Guided Him in the way of right?
Who guided Him in knowledge
And showed Him the path of wisdom?

The nations are but a drop in a bucket,
Reckoned as dust on a balance;
The very constellations He lifts like moths.
Lebanon is not fuel enough.
22 Let them approach and tell us what will happen. 
Tell us what has occurred; 
And we will take note of it; 
Or announce to us what will occur, 
That we may know the outcome. 
23 Foretell what is yet to happen, 
That we may know that you are gods! 
Do anything, good or bad, 
That we may be awed and see. 
24 Why, you are less than nothing, 
Your effect is less than nullity; 
One who chooses you is an abomination.

25 I have roused him from the north, and he has come, 
From the sunrise, one who invokes My name; 
And he has trampled rulers like mud, 
Like a potter treading clay. 
26 Who foretold this from the start, that we may note it; 
From aforetime, that we might say, "He is right"? 
Not one foretold, not one announced; 
No one has heard your utterance!

27 The things once predicted to Zion— 
Behold, here they are! 
And again I send a herald to Jerusalem. 
28 But I look and there is not a man; 
Not one of them can predict 
Or can respond when I question him. 
29 See, they are all nothingness, 
Their works are nullity, 
Their statues are naught and nil.

42 This is My servant, whom I uphold, 
My chosen one, in whom I delight, 
I have put My spirit upon him, 
He shall teach the true way to the nations. 
30 He shall not cry out or shout aloud, 
Or make his voice heard in the streets.

32 He shall not break even a bruised reed, 
Or snuff out even a dim wick. 
33 He shall bring forth the true way. 
34 He shall not grow dim or be bruised 
Till he has established the true way on earth; 
And the coastlands shall await his teaching.

35 Thus said God the LORD, 
Who created the heavens and stretched them out, 
Who spread out the earth and what it brings forth, 
Who gave breath to the people upon it, 
And life to those who walk thereon: 
36 The LORD, in My grace, have summoned you, 
And I have grasped you by the hand, 
I created you, and appointed you 
A covenant people, 
A light of nations— 
Opening eyes deprived of light, 
Rescuing prisoners from confinement, 
From the dungeon those who sit in darkness:
37 I am the LORD, that is My name; 
I will not yield My glory to another, 
Nor My renown to idols. 
38 See, the things once predicted have come, 
And now I foretell new things, 
Announce to you ere they sprout up. 
39 Sing to the LORD a new song, 
His praise from the ends of the earth— 
You who sail the sea and you creatures in it, 
You coasts and their inhabitants! 
40 Let the desert and its towns cry aloud, 
The villages where Kedar dwells; 
Let Sela's inhabitants shout, 
Call out from the peaks of the mountains, 
41 Let them do honor to the LORD, 
And tell His glory in the coastlands.

11 The LORD goes forth like a warrior, 
Like a fighter He whips up His rage.
We now possess slave labor of unexampled productivity, whose appearance in civilization has proved fatal competition to handicraft; these slaves are our machines. It is true that we need workmen to set our machinery in motion; but for this the Jews have manpower enough, too much, in fact. Only those who are ignorant of the condition of Jews in many countries of eastern Europe would dare assert that Jews are unfit or unwilling to perform manual labor.

But in this pamphlet I will offer no defense of the Jews. It would be useless. Everything that reason and everything that sentiment can possibly say in their defense already has been said. Obviously, arguments fit to appeal to reason and sentiment are not enough; one's audience must first of all be able to understand or one is only preaching in a vacuum. But if the audience is already so far advanced, then the sermon itself is superfluous. I believe that man is steadily advancing to a higher ethical level, but I see this ascent to be fearfully slow. Should we wait for the average man to become as generously minded as was Lessing when he wrote Nathan the Wise, we would have to wait beyond our own lifetime, beyond the lifetimes of our children, of our grandchildren, and of our great-grandchildren. But destiny favors us in a different respect.

The technical achievements of our century have brought about a remarkable renaissance; but we have not yet seen this fabulous advance applied for the benefit of humanity. Distance has ceased to be an obstacle, yet we complain of the problem of congestion. Our great steamships carry us swiftly and surely over hitherto uncharted seas. Our railways carry us safely into a mountain world hitherto cautiously scaled on foot. Events occurring in countries undiscovered when Europe first confined Jews in ghettos are known to us in a matter of an hour. That is why the plight of the Jews is an anachronism—not because over a hundred years ago there was a period of enlightenment which in reality affected only the most elevated minds.

To my mind, the electric light was certainly not invented so that the drawing rooms of a few snobs might be illuminated, but rather to enable us to solve some of the problems of humanity by its light. One of these problems, and not the least of them, is the Jewish question. In solving it we are working not only for ourselves, but also for many other downtrodden and oppressed beings.

The Jewish question still exists. It would be foolish to deny it. It is a misplaced piece of mediocrity which civilized nations do not even yet seem able to shake off, try as they will. They proved they had this high-minded desire when they emancipated us. The Jewish question persists wherever Jews live in appreciable numbers. Wherever it does not exist, it is brought in together with Jewish immigrants. We are naturally drawn into those places where we are not persecuted, and our appearance there gives rise to persecution. This is the case, and will inevitably be so, everywhere, even in highly civilized countries—see, for instance, France—so long as the Jewish question is not solved on the political level. The unfortunate Jews are now carrying the seeds of anti-Semitism into England; they have already introduced it into America.

Anti-Semitism is a highly complex movement, which I think I understand. I approach this movement as a Jew, yet without fear or hatred. I believe that I can see in it the elements of cruel sport, of common commercial rivalry, of inherited prejudice, of religious intolerance—but also of a supposed need for self-defense. I consider the Jewish question neither a social nor a religious one, even though it sometimes takes these and other forms. It is a national question, and to solve it we must first of all establish it as an international political problem to be discussed and settled by the civilized nations of the world in council.

We are a people—one people.

We have sincerely tried everywhere to merge with the national communities in which we live, seeking only to preserve the faith of our fathers. It is not permitted us. In vain are we loyal patriots, sometimes superlative; in vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow citizens; in vain do we strive to enhance the fame of our native lands in the arts and sciences, or her wealth by trade and commerce. In our native lands where we have lived for centuries, we are still decried as aliens, often by men whose ancestors had not yet come at a time when Jewish sages had long been heard in the country. The majority decide who the “alien” is, this, and all else in the relations between peoples, is a matter of power. I do not surrender any part of our prescriptive right when I make this statement merely in my own name, as an individual. In the world as it now is and will probably remain, for an indefinite period, might takes precedence over right. It is without avail, therefore, for us to be loyal patriots, as were the Huguenots, who were forced to emigrate, if we were left in peace...

But I think we shall not be left in peace.

Oppression and persecution cannot exterminate us. No nation on earth has endured such struggles and sufferings as we have. Jew-hating has merely winnowed out our weaklings; the strong among us defiantly return to their own whenever persecution breaks out. This was most
glorious in history and, in spite of every degradation, too noble to make its annihilation desirable. Though perhaps we could succeed in vanishing without a trace into the surrounding peoples if they would let us be for just two generations. But they will not let us be. After brief periods of toleration, their hostility erupts again and again. When we prosper, it seems to be unbearably irritating, for the world has for many centuries been accustomed to regarding us as the most degraded of the poor. Thus out of ignorance or ill will they have failed to observe that prosperity weakens us as Jews and wipes away our differences. Only pressure drives us back to our own; only hostility stamps us ever again as strangers.

Thus we are now, and shall remain, whether we would or not, a group of unmistakable cohesiveness.

We are one people—our enemies have made us one whether we will or not, as has repeatedly happened in history. Affliction binds us together, and thus united, we suddenly discover our strength. Yes, we are strong enough to form a State, and, indeed, a model State. We possess all the requisite human and material resources.

This would, accordingly, be the appropriate place to give an account of what has been somewhat crudely termed our "human material." But it would not be appreciated till the broad outlines of the plan, on which everything depends, have first been marked out.

The Plan

The whole plan is essentially quite simple, as it must necessarily be if it is to be comprehensible to all.

Let sovereignty be granted to us over a portion of the globe adequate to meet our rightful national requirements; we will attend to the rest.

To create a new State is neither ridiculous nor impossible. Haven't we witnessed the process in our own day, among nations which were not largely middle class as we are, but poorer, less educated, and consequently weaker than ourselves? The governments of all countries scourged by anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in obtaining sovereignty for us.

The plan, simple in design but complicated in execution, will be executed by two agencies: the Society of Jews and the Jewish Company.

The scientific plan and political policies which the Society of Jews will establish will be carried out by the Jewish Company.

The Jewish Company will be the liquidating agent for the business interests of departing Jews, and will organize trade and commerce in the new country.

We must not visualize the exodus of the Jews as a sudden one. It will be gradual, proceeding over a period of decades. The poorest will go first and cultivate the soil. They will construct roads, bridges, railways, and telegraph installations; regulate rivers, and provide themselves with homesteads, all according to predetermined plans. Their labor will create trade, trade will create markets, and markets will attract new settlers—for every man will go voluntarily, at his own expense and his own risk. The labor invested in the soil will enhance its value. The Jews will soon perceive that a new and permanent frontier has been opened up for that spirit of enterprise which has heretofore brought them only hatred and obloquy.

The founding of a State today is not to be accomplished in the manner that a thousand years ago would have been the only possible one. It is silly to revert to older levels of civilization, as many Zionists propose. Supposing, for example, we were obliged to clear a country of wild beasts, we should not set about it in the fashion of the fifth-century Europeans. We should not take spear and lance and go out individually in pursuit of bears; we would organize a grand and glorious hunting party, drive the animals together, and throw a melinite bomb into their midst.

If we planned to erect buildings, we should not drive a few shaky piles in a marsh like the lake dwellers, but should build as men build now. Indeed, we shall build in bolder and more stately style than has ever been done before; for we now possess means which heretofore did not exist.

The emigrants standing lowest in the economic scale will be gradually followed by those of the next grade. Those now in desperate straits will go first. They will be led by the intellectual mediocrities whom we produce so abundantly and who are oppressed everywhere.

Let this pamphlet serve as the beginning of a general discussion on the question of Jewish emigration. That does not mean to suggest, however, that the question should be called to a vote. Such an approach would ruin the cause from the outset. Whoever wishes may stay behind. The opposition of a few individuals is quite immaterial. Who would go with us, let him fall in behind our banner and fight for the cause with word and pen and deed.

Those Jews who agree with our State idea will rally around the Society. Thence they will give it the authority in the eyes of governments to confer and treat on behalf of our people. The Society will
be recognized as, to put it in terminology of international law, a State-creating power. And this recognition will, in effect, mean the creation of the State.

Should the powers show themselves willing to grant us sovereignty over a neutral land, then the Society will enter into negotiations for the possession of this land. Here two regions come to mind: Palestine and Argentina. Significant experiments in colonization have been made in both countries, though on the mistaken principle of gradual infiltration of Jews. Infiltration is bound to end badly. For there comes the inevitable moment when the government in question, under pressure of the native populace— which feels itself threatened— puts a stop to further influx of Jews. Immigration, therefore, is futile unless it is based on our guaranteed autonomy.

The Society of Jews will treat with the present authorities in the land, under the sponsorship of the European powers, if they prove friendly to the plan. We could offer the present authorities enormous advantages, assume part of the public debt, build new thoroughfares, which we ourselves would also require, and do many other things. The very creation of the Jewish State would be beneficial to neighboring lands, since the cultivation of a strip of land increases the value of its surrounding districts.

**Palestine or Argentina?**

Is Palestine or Argentina preferable? The Society will take whatever it is given and whatever Jewish public opinion favors. The Society will determine both these points.

Argentina is one of the most fertile countries in the world, extends over a vast area, is sparsely populated, and has a temperate climate. It would be in its own highest interest for the Republic of Argentina to cede us a portion of its territory. The present infiltration of Jews has certainly produced some discontent, and it would be necessary to enlighten the Republic on the intrinsic difference of the new immigration of Jews.

Palestine is our unforgettable historic homeland. The very name would be a marvelously effective rallying cry. If His Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could in return undertake the complete management of the finances of Turkey. We should then form a part of a wall of defense for Europe in Asia, an outpost of civilization against barbarism. We should as a neutral state remain in contact with all Europe, which would have to guarantee our existence.

The holy places of Christendom could be placed under some form of international extraterritoriality. We should form a guard of honor about these holy places, answering for the fulfillment of this duty with our existence. The guard of honor would be the great symbol of the solution of the Jewish question after what were for us eighteen centuries of affliction.

**Conclusion**

**How much remains to be elaborated, how many defects, how many harmful superficialities, and how many useless repetitions in this pamphlet which I have so long considered and so frequently revised?**

But a fair-minded reader, who has sufficient understanding to grasp the spirit of my words, will not be repelled by these defects. He will rather be roused thereby to enlist his intelligence and energy in a project which is not one man's alone and improve it.

**Have I not explained obvious things and overlooked important objections?**

I have tried to meet some objections; but I know that there are many more, high-minded and base.

It is one of the high-minded objections that the Jews are not the only people in the world who are in a state of distress. But I should think that we might well begin by removing a little of this misery, be it only our own for the time being.

**It might further be said that we ought not to create new distinctions between people; we ought not to raise fresh barriers; we should rather make the old disappear. I say that those who think in this way are amiable visionaries; and the Homeland idea will go on flourishing long after the dust of their bones will have been scattered without trace by the winds. Universal brotherhood is not even a beautiful dream. Conflict is essential to man's highest efforts.**

Well, then? The Jews, in their own State, will likely have no more enemies, and in their prosperity they will decline and dwindle, so that the Jewish people will soon disappear altogether? I imagine that the Jews will always have sufficient enemies, just as every other nation. But once settled in their own land, they can never again be scattered all over the world. The Diaspora cannot be revived, unless all of civilization collapses. Only a simpleton could fear this. The civilized world of today has sufficient power to defend itself.
The base objections are innumerable, just as there are indeed more base men than noble in this world. I have tried to refute some of the narrow-minded notions. Whoever would rally behind the white flag with the seven stars must assist in this campaign of enlightenment. It may be that it is against many a malicious, narrow-minded, short-sighted Jew that the battle will first have to be joined.

Will it not be said that I am providing weapons for the anti-Semites? How so? Because I admit the truth? Because I do not maintain that there are none but excellent men among us?

Will it not be said that I am suggesting a way in which we can be injured? This I categorically deny. My proposal can be carried out only with the free consent of a majority of Jews. Action may be taken against individuals, even against groups of the most powerful Jews, but never and by no means by governments against all Jews. The equal rights of the Jew before the law once granted cannot be rescinded, for the first attempt would immediately drive all Jews, rich and poor alike, into the ranks of revolutionary parties. The very beginning of official discrimination against the Jews has invariably brought about economic crises. Very little, therefore, can effectually be done against us that will not redound to the detriment of the perpetrator. Meantime hatred grows apace. The rich do not feel it much. But our poor! Let us ask our poor, who have been more severely proletarianized since the last resurgence of anti-Semitism than ever before.

Will some of our well to do say that the pressure is not yet severe enough to justify emigration, and that even the forcible expulsions that have occurred show how unwilling our people are to depart? True, because they do not know whether it is because they only pass from one trouble to the next. But we are showing them the way to the Promised Land. And the splendid force of enthusiasm must fight against the terrible force of habit.

Persecutions are no longer as vicious as they were in the Middle Ages. True, but our sensitivity has increased, so that we feel no diminution in our suffering. Prolonged persecution has strained our nerves.

Will people say, again, that the venture is hopeless, because even if we obtain the land with sovereignty over it, the poor only will go along? It is precisely they whom we need at first! Only desperate men make good conquerors.

Will some one say: If it were feasible it would have been done long ago?

It has never yet been possible. Now it is possible. A hundred, even fifty, years ago it would have been sheer fantasy. Today it is reality. The rich, who enjoy a comprehensive acquaintance with all technical advances, know full well how much can be done for money. And this is how it will go: precisely the poor and simple, who have no idea what power man already exercises over the forces of Nature, will have the staunchest faith in the new message. For these have never lost their hope of the Promised Land.

Here you have it, Jews! Not fiction, nor yet fraud! Every man may convince himself of it, for every man will carry over with him a portion of the Promised Land—one in his head, another in his arms, another in his acquired possessions.

Now, all this may appear to be a drawn-out affair. Even in the most favorable circumstances, many years might elapse before the founding of the State is under way. In the meantime, Jews in a thousand different places will suffer insult, mortification, abuse, drubbings, degradation, and death. But no; once we begin to execute the plan, anti-Semitism will cease at once and everywhere. For it is the conclusion of peace. When the Jewish Company has been formed, the news will be carried in a single day to the utmost ends of the globe by the lightning speed of our telegraph wires.

And immediate relief will ensue. The intellectuals whom we produce so superabundantly in our middle classes will find an immediate outlet in our organizations, as our first technicians, officers, professors, officials, lawyers, physicians. And so it will continue, swiftly but smoothly.

Prayers will be offered up in the temples for the success of the project. And in the churches as well! It is the relief from the old burden, under which all have suffered.

But first the minds must be enlightened. The idea must make its way into the uttermost miserable holes where our people dwell. They will awaken from barren brooding. For into all our lives will come a new meaning. Every man need think only of himself, and the movement will become an overwhelming one.

And what glory awaits the selfless fighters for the cause!

Therefore I believe that a wondrous breed of Jews will spring up from the earth. The Maccabees will rise again.

Let me repeat once more my opening words: The Jews who will it shall achieve their State.

We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and in our own homes peacefully die.
The world will be liberated by our freedom, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness.

And whatever we attempt there for our own benefit will redound mightily and beneficially to the good of all mankind.

FIRST CONGRESS ADDRESS (1897)

Delivered at Basel, August 29, 1897

FELLOW DELEGATES: As one of those who called this Congress into being I have been granted the privilege of welcoming you. This I shall do briefly, for if we wish to serve the cause we should economize the valuable moments of the Congress. There is much to be accomplished within the space of three days. We want to lay the foundations of the edifice which is one day to house the Jewish people. The task is so great that we may treat of it in none but the simplest terms. So far as we can now foresee, a summary of the present status of the Jewish question will be submitted within the coming three days. The tremendous bulk of material on hand is being classified by the chairman of our committees.

We shall hear reports of the Jewish situation in the various countries. You all know, even if only in a vague way, that with few exceptions the situation is not cheering. Were it otherwise we should probably have convened. The unity of our destiny has suffered a long interruption, although the scattered fragments of the Jewish people have everywhere endured similar vicissitudes. It is only in our days that the marvels of communication have brought about mutual understanding and union between isolated groups. And in these times, so progressive in most respects, we know ourselves to be surrounded by the old, old hatred. Anti-Semitism—you know it, alas, too well—is the up-to-date designation of the movement. The first impression which it made upon the Jews of today was one of astonishment, which gave way to pain and resentment. Perhaps our enemies are quite unaware how deeply they wounded the sensibilities of just those of us who were possibly not the primary objects of their attack. That very part of Jewry which is modern and cultured, which has outgrown the ghetto and lost the habit of petty trading, was pierced to the heart. We can assert it calmly, without lacing ourselves open to the suspicion of wanting to appeal to the sentimental pity of our opponents. We have faced the situation squarely.

Since time immemorial the world has been misinformed about us. The sentiment of solidarity with which we have been reproached so frequently and so acrimoniously was in process of disintegration at the very time we were being attacked by anti-Semitism. And anti-Semitism served to strengthen it anew. We returned home, as it were. For Zionism is a return to the Jewish fold even before it becomes a return to the Jewish land. We, the children who have returned, find much to redress under the ancestral roof, for some of our brothers have sunk deep into misery. We are made welcome in the ancient house, for it is universally known that we are not actuated by an arrogant desire to undermine that which should be revered. This will be clearly demonstrated by the Zionist platform.

Zionism has already brought about something remarkable, heretofore regarded as impossible: a close union between the ultramodern and the ultraconservative elements of Jewry. The fact that this has come to pass without undignified concessions on the part of either side, without intellectual sacrifices, is further proof, if such proof is necessary, of the national entity of the Jews. A union of this kind is possible only on a national basis.

Doubtless there will be discussions on the subject of an organization the need for which is recognized by all. Organization is an evidence of the reasonableness of a movement. But there is one point which should be clearly and energetically emphasized in order to advance the solution of the Jewish question. We Zionists desire not an international league but international discussion. Needless to say this distinction is of the first importance in our eyes. It is this distinction which justifies the convening of our Congress. There will be no question of intrigues, secret interventions, and devious methods in our ranks, but only of unhampered utterances under the constant and complete check of public opinion. One of the first results of our movement, even now to be perceived in its larger outlines, will be the transformation of the Jewish question into a question of Zion.

A popular movement of such vast dimension will necessarily be attacked from many sides. Therefore the Congress will concern itself with the spiritual means to be employed for reviving and fostering the national consciousness of the Jews. Here, too, we must struggle against misconceptions. We have not the least intention of yielding
of Reform Judaism—for him the only true Judaism—to draw closer the messianic future.

Kohler had little patience with contradictory ideas of Judaism, and when he became president of the College he set out to exclude their advocacy from its halls. The symbols of traditionalism—head covering and prayer shawl at worship services, for example—were strictly forbidden in the chapel; the understanding of Judaism as involving observance of ritual commandments was banished from the classrooms.

"Not by Romanticism and Ritualism or Legalism," he declared in his address to the rabbinc graduates of 1914, "but by the accentuation of the eternal principles of our prophetic truths can our faith be revitalized." 16 No less forbidden was any form of Jewish nationalism which challenged the notion that Israel’s future lay in its religious mission as a people scattered among the nations, especially when—as in the case of certain Zionist leaders—nationalism was combined with atheism. In fact, Kohler felt a great deal more honor and respect for a traditional Jew like Solomon Schechter whose Zionism, Kohler argued, was aimed at unfolding the religious soul of the Jew, 17 than for secularists who regarded the Jewish religion as an inessential and outmoded expression of cultural nationality.

Kohler did not believe that the Hebrew Union College was like a university which must allow every point of view a fair hearing. He did grant in principle that freedom of thought and independence of research were important, but scholarship, to his mind, was not the college’s primary aim. Rather, the goal was indoctrination in Reform Judaism. He inserted the following paragraph into the catalogue for 1906:

A rabbinical school, however progressive its tendency, must necessarily have a positive Jewish character. It fails of its purpose if it treats Judaism, with all of its treasures of literature and history, as a matter of the past only, and not as an ever-living and ever-progressive truth to guide and to inspire generations to come. There must be unity and harmony in the system of instruction, and the various branches of study must be so interrelated as to lead to, and culminate in, the incultation of the doc-

trines of Judaism as a living faith and as the life-mission of the Jew.

He saw it as the duty of president and faculty to mold the character and outlook of the rabbinc students who came to the College, preferring young men who were "pliable" 18 to those with views already formed. Above all, he was concerned to create a religious atmosphere at the College, for Kohler in his later years, despite his disregard of ceremony, his affirmation of radical criticism, and his rationalist theology, was basically a deeply religious man of untroubled faith, and he desired that every aspect of College life reflect a similar commitment.

Immediately upon taking over his duties in the fall of 1903, the new president proclaimed his wish that "the attitude of professors and the conduct of the students should be thoroughly religious" manifested by regular attendance at divine service as well as in the religious spirit which is to prevail in the studies and the teaching. The whole atmosphere should be a religious one and the daily lessons begin with religious exercises." 19

During the first months of his administration, Kohler instituted a daily worship service in the College chapel and somewhat later a Friday evening Kabbalat Shabbat in addition to the existing service on Saturday afternoon. A resolution of the Board of Governors, later incorporated into the catalogue, made it explicit that both faculty and students were required regularly to attend all services. When most of the professors protested the board’s decision as interference in their private religious lives, they were informed that their presence was required in order thereby to "set a proper example to the students." 20 Kohler also introduced the celebration service on the day preceding ordination. When this ceremony was first held, in 1904, each graduate gave a five-minute address of personal consecration to his life’s task, speaking in the College chapel to relatives, close friends, faculty, and members of the College board. 21

Even more than in Wise’s time, the College chapel now came to be the focus of the institution. Here the president would frequently comment to faculty and student body on particular issues of general Jewish concern or of consequence to the life of the College. More
than the classrooms, the chapel represented a direct expression of Reform Judaism, appearing in its two most prominent forms: prayer and the sermon. Both had to be so regulated as to present a model of Reform Judaism in its single legitimate variety. Kohler believed, for example, that it was proper to bow physically while reciting the Adoration, and one Saturday afternoon, following the service, he made an address to the students urging them to do so. So, too, Kohler would allow only those student sermons which he had previously seen and approved in advance to be given in the chapel. His criteria for rejection were by no means limited to homiletical quality, but included as well the degree of adherence to his own version of Reform.

Throughout the eighteen years of his administration, Kohler maintained his perception of the Hebrew Union College as a religious institution devoted to a clearly defined Reform understanding of Judaism. His innovations, his accomplishments, frustrations, and failures, and most of the major controversies that afflicted the school during those years, are explicable in terms of this fervent and sincere, but necessarily intolerant commitment to shaping the College community according to his own ideal of Reform Judaism.

Even before he took office as president, Kohler indicated to the Board of Governors that the existing rabbinical curriculum was not acceptable to him. He would not allow a new catalogue to go out bearing his name as responsible for the College until certain "essential changes" had been made. As faculty minutes for the early years of the Kohler administration are not extant, there is no record of the prolonged, and no doubt vehement, discussions that preceded the issuance of the first revised catalogue in January 1905, nearly a year and a half after Kohler took office. It is a pity, for the changes that appear here officially for the first time are striking.

The rabbinical program was now extended from eight to nine years, the final year to be devoted exclusively to studies at the College after completion of the secular bachelor's degree. Although this additional year had already been proposed by Wise and had even appeared tentatively in earlier catalogues, it was now carried through for the first time. Kohler thought that he could raise the academic level of the College by converting it gradually into a postgraduate institution. He would like the curriculum to include three years after university graduation, but this was apparently not yet feasible. Sporadic attempts to raise the minimum level of secular knowledge at admission from the lowest grade of high school to its junior year proved to be failures. Yet the tendency to increase the degree of student maturity was at least apparent at this stage and continued to manifest itself during succeeding administrations.

With regard to its content, the new curriculum of 1905 varies markedly from its predecessor. The most obvious change is the total elimination of any instruction in modern Hebrew. During the last year of Wise's presidency, and especially during the interim leadership of Moses Mielziner, Caspar Levi was taught selections from modern Hebrew writers including the Cultural Zionist Ahad Ha-A'm. In the catalogue of 1903, modern Hebrew appeared for the first and only time in this period as a regular subject. That same spring Gotthard Deutsch; on the single occasion when he ordained the graduates, composed and read his charge to them in rhymed Hebrew. Kohler, however, did not share this enthusiasm for modern Hebrew, and in his very first speech to the students, at the opening of the Preparatory Department in 1903, he expressed his attitude and intentions in the most forcible terms:

The College should have a thoroughly American character. The students should endeavor to be imbued with the American spirit, and this includes the mastery of English diction. Neo-Hebraic Literature may be a necessity for Russian Jews who have no genuine national literature from which to derive culture and idealism. For us the English literature is a source of culture and enlightenment; wherefore Neo-Hebraic Literature will be abolished here."

And abolished it was, not to be taught again until after Kohler's retirement.

For modern Hebrew the new president substituted Midrash, especially that portion of this exegetical literature which would be
with the College and its president and ultimately to tender their resignations to the board. 19

Henry Malter had been unhappy at the College and eager to leave even before the appointment of Kohler. He longed to receive a position at the newly reorganized Jewish Theological Seminary, which was located in the heart of Jewish intellectual life, enjoyed a more secure financial foundation, and would, he thought, be paying higher salaries. He was not at all devoted to Reform, which he thought had destroyed historical Judaism, holding on to no more than the vapid sermon. When Kohler came, Malter found to his regret that the new president was “totally a rabbi” and demanded of him, against his will, that instead of teaching talmudic dialectics he concentrate on the faith, ethics, and sanctity the Talmud contains. Of course Kohler was out of sympathy with the Zionism Malter had freely expressed in an extended article in the HUC Journal, the last installment of which, Malter claimed, Kohler had prevented from appearing. He had felt very lonely at the school until the arrival of Schoessinger and Margolies. 20

Unlike Malter, Max Schoessinger had been appointed by Kaufmann Kohler himself. He came in 1904 to replace Magnes, who had been instructor in Bible and rabbinic literature as well as librarian. He was a German Jew who had received his Ph.D. at the University of Berlin and was a promising scholar. Though sympathetic to Zionism, he seems not to have expressed himself on the subject in print before his appointment to the faculty.

It was not long before these three men began openly to challenge Kaufmann Kohler’s leadership, in the first instance bringing a student complaint about the content and quality of the teaching over the president’s head to the Board of Governors. The tactic, which was manifestly intended to embarrass Kohler, resulted in the president’s charging the trio with showing “a spirit of rancor and insubordination.” He further told the board that “some” of them had demonstratively shown their lack of sympathy for Reform Judaism by not attending the school’s religious exercises and that they desired to crowd weaker men, such as Buttenwieser and Mannheimer, out of the College altogether. Though not including the matter in his accusation, he also reiterated his intention “to make the College stand for the principles of Reform Judaism and not for unreligious Zionism or nationalism…” 21

The following academic year brought to a head the ill feeling the three men harbored toward the College in general, toward Kohler in particular, and toward most of their other colleagues. Their resignations cannot be explained by reference to any single cause. At least three factors played a role in the dispute: money, personalities, and Zionism.

It seems likely that Malter did not intend for the Board of Governors to accept the resignation he submitted to it in December of 1906. Throughout his lengthy letter he deals only with grievances regarding the conditions of his employment and especially the failure of the board sufficiently to increase his salary vis-à-vis those received by his colleagues. He points out his contributions as a teacher, makes no complaint against Kohler, and says nothing of any ideological disaffection. The board was apparently expected to raise his salary appropriately and thus bring about withdrawal of the resignation. But despite some negotiation, no agreement was reached. As student enrollment was lower than it had been in years, there was little need to retain him, and Malter’s resignation was thus accepted. 22

Although Malter’s letter did not even hint at the Zionist issue, it may well be, nonetheless, that the board refused to raise his salary for reasons other than financial stringency alone. For as a scholar of American Zionism has recently pointed out, “it is quite likely that Solomon Schechter’s public declaration of his adherence to the Zionist cause in December 1906 had its effect on the leadership of the Hebrew Union College. Shortly after that well-publicized statement, a member of the board felt it necessary to introduce a resolution specifically reaffirming that the Hebrew Union College remains dedicated to the motto: “America is our Zion.” This attitude must have affected Malter’s case even as it surely affected the two which followed.

After Malter’s resignation, Schoessinger publicly committed himself to Zionism. In an extended article in the Baltimore Jewish Comment, beginning January 4, 1907, he argued against David Philipson
that Reform Judaism and Zionism were reconcilable. The following
month Kohler refused to give Schlesinger permission to attend a
banquet in New York honoring Shmarya Levin, "the Zionist agitator
of Warsaw." When Schlesinger went nevertheless and even offered
a toast entitled "Zionism in the West," Kohler preferred charges of
insubordination against him before the board. Committed to anti-
Zionism and given the choice between the president and a member of
the faculty, the board, after examining both men, of course sustained
Kohler, with only Maurice J. Freilich and Jacob Ottenheimer voting
in the negative. Schlesinger's resignation followed in March.

The case of Margolis was the most complex of the three. Like
that of Maltz, it too involved compensation, although in 1906 Mar-
golis was receiving $3,960, the same amount as Deutsch, and more
than any other member of the faculty. Even before the Zionist
issue came to a head, he had made several applications for positions
elsewhere. After his years at Berkeley, Margolis did not find it easy
to adjust to the atmosphere and conditions of a theological school;
the chapel exercises he regarded as "unacademic." A powerful per-
sonality—according to Kohler, "domineering"—he was unable to toler-
ate the strict control which the president maintained over the faculty
in the early years of his administration. Even had there been no ideo-
logical disagreement between the two men, it is unlikely that they could
have remained together for long in the same institution. An oral
tradition goes so far as to suggest that Margolis at one point harbored
the ambition of displacing Kohler as president. Be that as it may,
it was the issue of Zionism, in this instance appearing in academic
garb, into which their personal conflict was channeled.

As a letter from the students supporting him attests, Margolis
did not blatantly preach Zionism in the classroom, though, like
Schlesinger, he confessed his adherence to the movement in the
*Jewish Comment,* and in one instance he gave voice to it from the
pulpit of the chapel. Instead, he did something which to Kohler's
mind was far more damaging: he read Zionism into the Prophets
without mentioning it by name. In this way Margolis was able to
bring his advocacy of the Zionist cause under the umbrella of *Lehre-
freiheit*. After all, was he not entitled to teach the subject matter of

his courses as he saw fit, free of any external pressures? For Kohler,
however, placing a nationalistic interpretation on Isaiah and Miriam, the
great fountainheads of Reform's universal mission to the nations, was
nothing short of treason to the cause of the College. Obviously, he
could not tolerate it. This is what he told the board about Margolis:

He infuses ideas subversive of the very fundamental principles
of American Reform Judaism in his teachings of the Prophets
and of the Pentateuch without characterizing them as Zionist
and this is by far more pernicious than if he would openly
speak as a Zionist. It is the poison instilled in sugar-coated pills
that is much more harmful than the one labelled as such.
Against the latter we can be cautioned. We learn how to deal
with Zionism by hearing all its arguments and then refusing
its premises by pointing out that it is anti-Jewish, irreligious and un-
American. But if it is taught under the guise of exegetical
science, then it works insidiously, undermining the very  
foundations of Reform Judaism. . . . The whole teaching of Prof. Mar-
golis is nothing less than playing into the hands of the Anti-
Semitic Professors of Biblical Exegesis in Germany and elsewhere.

It is Un-Jewish. In response to Margolis's Biblical interpretations, Kohler took two
steps: first he relieved Margolis of responsibility for teaching the
prophetic literature, turning his courses in this field over to Butten-
wieser; second, he justified his policy publicly in articles he wrote for
the Jewish press stressing that in a rabbinical school academic freedom
must have its limits. Even as the Jewish Theological Seminary could
not allow critical dissection of the Pentateuch, so too, he argued,
the Hebrew Union College could not permit "twisting and distorting
of the grand universal teachings of the prophets." When Margolis
reacted to the president's rejection of his mode of teaching by sub-
mitting a letter of resignation, the board, after some hesitation, accepted
it. One-third of the faculty thus departed in a single academic year and
Kohler was forced to rebuild his staff anew. Yet amazingly, even after
the experience of 1906-7, he did not reconstruct it entirely in his
own image.